

KER, JOHN

485 v. 2

*Chs. Bingham*

## MRS CAMPBELL OF ELLENGREG.

An article in the "Herald" of September 16 on "An Historic Island" reminds us of an association the name of Ellengreg has with an extinct West Country family—with its very extinction indeed—some detail of which will be found to have a quaint interest of its own.

In the necessarily brief account which is given of the Earl of Argyll's ill-fated "rebellion" no reference is made to a force which was mustered in the south-west counties and had moved towards a junction with the unfortunate nobleman. Peden the Prophet was with this party, and it is said that when on the march he called a halt, saying, "We have no occasion to go any further, for the Earl is this minute fallen into the hands of his enemies." Several gentlemen, pulling out their watches, marked the time, which was afterwards found to be exactly that at which Argyll was seized at Inchinnan. Probably there were just then indications enough, without the aid of prophecy or the supernatural, to show that the affair was "off."

The leader of the party was a youth, Daniel Ker of Kersland, who, like his father, had been for some years an exile. He was now representative of a family whose settlement in Ayrshire, some time in the twelfth century, antedates by a long time any others of the name, either on the Borders or elsewhere in Scotland. His father was one of John Howie's "Scots Worthies," and great-grandson of Crawford of Jordanhill, who figures so prominently in the Reformation period. The male line of the Kers having run out, Jordanhill marrying the heiress, their eldest son took his mother's name. A strong religious bent had character-

Howie's description of them as "an ancient and religious family."

Of the esteem in which they were held we have evidence in the fact that when, at the Revolution, "the honest people of the western shires" raised the regiment afterwards to be renowned as the "Cameronians," claiming the unusual privilege of choosing their own officers, they stipulated that Kersland should be Major. We have no mention of him when, shortly after their embodiment, the Covenanters successfully held Dunkeld against six or seven times their number of Highlanders. But he was with his regiment at Steinkirk in 1692, and like so many others, Scots and English, there he died at the age of twenty-three.

The male succession of the family having again run out, Anna Ker, by purchase or arrangement with his other sisters, obtained possession of the estate, and her husband, John Crawford, a cadet of the Crawfordland family, assumed her name, and made that of Ker of Kersland sadly notorious or, as some people will have it, infamous. Base intriguer, traitor, and spy are the terms usually applied to him. We need not here discuss either his motives or his methods. His "Memoirs" are published, and Mr Andrew Lang has dealt with him more than once, and especially in the two articles in the "Herald" four years ago.

### Debt.

Anna Ker, Lady Kersland, as she was styled after the old Scottish fashion, seems to have been a person of considerable capacity. In the repeated absences of her husband she looked after his affairs and managed the estate—a difficult matter, in consequence of his fruitless and costly intriguing. He was reduced to the necessity of raising money by continual sales of the property till the broad lands of his wife's people had dwindled down to two or three small farms and the Mains of Kersland, on which stood the old manor house. And these would be smothered beneath a burden of indebtedness in one shape or another.

With other means of raising the wind, we find the furniture and other movable property at Kersland being pledged as security for an advance of some three thousand merks. The inventory contains such items as—

Four horse, thirteen tidy

one great overcoat, one certain quantity of

hay in the barn at two shillings Scots per

ston, thirty-two sheep young and old, come

bear and other grain, beehives, a mash fatt

and other brewing vessels, chests, girnells,

naprie, beds, bolsters, and blankets." We

have even such trifles as "porringers, pots,

pans, chimney crookes, and tongs." That

they were not without some of the refine-

ments of life at the Kersland is apparent

from "two virginals and a viol de gambo"

coming between the house clock and

"seventie-five chairs at four merks the

piece overhead." The whole concludes—

"With all other plenishing utensils and

donicils of whatsoever kind, qualitie, or

quantitie, metal, or size the same may be

of, either in or about my manour place of

Kersland, barne, byres, or yard thereof, or

in Edinburgh or elsewhere the same may

be." Surely a comprehensive assignment.

It was all redeemable, of course, on pay-

ment of the sums advanced. But there is

too much reason to fear that neither

porringers, pots, and pans, nor yet the viol

de gambo were ever released from pawn.

Indeed a few years later Lady Kersland and

her daughter, for an advance of a hundred

merks as security, "sold assigned impig-

nerated and disposed all and haill nyne

silver spoons four silver forks and three

silver knives, which by paction is valued to

be att or near ye principal sum."

### Penury.

But by such expedients as these the proverbial wolf never is kept long from the door. A judicial sale of what was left of the estate was brought about by Crawford of Crawfordland and his eldest son, Walkingshaw of that ilk. (Their people, by the way, seem to have had the knack of marrying into families they thought of better standing than their own.) The father and son had apparently been security for their kinsman, John Crawford or Ker. In these proceedings the family of the debtor was of course cited to appear. Lady Kersland produced a conveyance which appeared to have been executed by her elder sister, Jean, in her favour in 1697, but it was set aside as a forgery. A "mutual disposition and tailzie" of the estate between her and her husband to the survivor of them and to the children of the marriage in fee was of too late date to be of effect, and decree of sale was given. As to the "forged instrument," most people will agree in laying it to the account of the intriguing husband. Goodness knows! one little irregularity more or less is not going to largely affect the load he has to carry.

This was in 1724. In 1726 John Crawford or Ker died, at the age of 52, "in comparative penury," and was buried in St George's, Southwark. His wife survived him only by four years, and it does not stretch the imagination much to suppose her at her death worn-out and broken-hearted. As if even the grave were not to be the end of it all for her, we find that the Court of Session is petitioned to in that year (1730) by "Margaret Stewart and others, creditors for necessary furnishings to Anna Ker, Lady Kersland, during the distress in the latter part of her life and expenses of her funeral, amounting to £38 12s." The actual sale of the estate was in 1738.

### The Campbells.

Of the family of three daughters born to John Crawford and Anna Ker, two died unmarried. Elizabeth, the eldest, had been married to "John Campbell of Ellengreg in Argyllshire." To that bald statement we can add nothing. Whatever historic importance may be claimed for the little island at the mouth of Loch Ridden, it was perhaps of very small account in any other way. At any rate, Mrs Campbell was now home at Kersland, a widow, childless, and apparently without means. In what way the mother and daughter had remained in occupation, though not in possession, of the house after the sequestration, and—as regards the latter—even after the sale in 1738, it is impossible now to say. But whatever their footing, it must at best have been a precarious one.

An old lady who died in Beith in 1825 at an advanced age could remember seeing Mrs Campbell in the old house at Kersland.

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Lady Kersland, as she was usually styled—and it would be mean to grudge her the title when certainly there was nothing else to inherit—could just be remembered as ladylike in manner and appearance. She sat in a room in which was a bed with blue or green mounting, and a picture of her grandfather, the Covenanter, hung on the wall. It is thus to the observation of a little girl we are indebted for the last glimpse we can have of the lady in the home that had sheltered her forebears for so long. We are tempted to linger a little over it. The blue or green bed hangings must long ago have been frayed or mouldered into dust. But one wonders if the grim, pictured Covenanter may not yet be looking forth upon other people and very different surroundings, a mere unnamed portrait of a gentleman of the olden time.

### End of Kersland.

Poverty, as we know, is comparative, but it was no question of degree with Lady Kersland when next we hear of her. She was, in fact, homeless and destitute, an object of charity. A gentleman in Beith received the decayed head or representative of the old name into his house, and in its hospitable shelter she remained the last few years of her life. We are told that when she went to church she sat in the gallery of the Ralstons, themselves descended from a lady of the Kersland family. It is pleasant also to record that Lady Ralston gracefully and considerably always gave her the head of the seat.

When she was on her deathbed the then tenant of Kersland, also a Kerr, called upon her and offered to take charge of her funeral and if she wished, lay her head in the grave. But for some reason of her own she declined, sending instead for Mr M'Lellan, the minister of the parish, and asked him to perform the last offices for her. She also expressed a wish to be laid in the Hessilhead Tomb, in which some of her ancestors were buried. The Montgomeries of Hessilhead had themselves not long before this become extinct, but Mr Ogilvie, then in possession of the estate, readily gave the required consent. And so to rest among her kinsfolk the Montgomeries, with every mark of respect we may believe, they laid the last of her line of Kersland. J. K.

T H E  
M E M O I R S

A N D

Secret Negotiations

O F

J O H N K E R, of *Kerland* Esq;

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P A R T II.

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Published by his express Direction.

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If *Corruption* be a Crime so Gross, that no Man pretends to justify it; sure it is allowable to appear in *Print* with an honest *English* Freedom upon such a Subject.

Confid. on *Corrupt Elect* :

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L O N D O N :

Printed in the YE A R. M. DCC. XXVI!

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T H E  
P R E F A C E.

**T**HE Publick may be hereby assured, that, the Piece they have been obliged with under Mr. KER's Name, is no more than a *kind of Brief* extracted from his numerous Papers of the unparalleled Injuries he had sustained, for his real Services, through the avaricious Temper of a *Foreign Minister* lately deceased.

*This*, he thought but Justice to Himself to represent to the *present Ministry*, whom he pre-acquainted with his Intention, and little expected their Displeasure, when he did all that in him lay to Merit their Esteem.

ii      The PREFACE.

THE *Papers* now offered, were all finished by him in the Year 1721, excepting some few Alterations made in them, upon a Review, before he deposited them in our Custody; his *Memorial* to Count *Starhemberg*, &c. and the Letter concerning the Duke of *Ripperda's* Disgrace.

THE *Charge* he gave with them, was, that, *We should continue to do that Justice to his Memory which Himself had begun, and of which, he assured Us, he had likewise acquainted his Superiours.*

THIS *Trust*, with the utmost Fidelity we have discharged, and humbly hope that, as, *Humanum est Errare*, is an uncontroverted Maxim: no *Malice prepense* can be laid at the Door of our dear Friend departed, since in the deepest Sense of Contrition he has both, *with Sorrow and Shame confessed, that*  
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*the British Ministry ought to have been informed of some Transactions which he concealed from them.\**

SURELY then, whatever severe Expressions may be found in his Writings will meet with Forgiveness, since his only Aim in desiring they might be published was, *to vindicate himself by telling real Matters of Fact, †* and to declare to his King and Country, that as he had lived an Offender, he died a Penitent.

As such were the Motives of drawing up all his Political Papers, he desired they might be made Use of, as an Apology for their Publication; which is all we shall add, till we come to close his *Remains* in a succeeding Volume, wherein some farther Particulars of

\* See, His Memoirs, Part I. pag. 155.

† See, His Dedication to Sir Robert Walpole.

iv      The PREFACE.

his Life and Character will be attempted.

WHAT a very eminent *Author* said of *Himself* in King WILLIAM'S Time \* may be Litterally applied to Mr. *Ker* at this Juncture.

THE Writer of these Papers, from the first Time he bent his Studies to Matters of this Nature, has all along endeavoured to propose *the best* Ways and Means of raising Money for *Publick Service*.

IT is true, the Freedom and Sincerity with which he has Written, may have drawn upon him powerful Enmities, but if he has given any Hints, by which *his Country may be Benefited*, he thought his Labour well employed, and little valued the Displeasure of particular and interested Persons, whose Re-

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\* *D'Avenant's Discourse of Grants and Resumpti-  
ons.* 8vo. pag. 445. & Seq.



## The PREFACE. V

*sentments* ought truly not to fall upon Him, but rather upon those, whose general ill Conduct has made *so plain a Treatment* necessary.

HOWEVER, he who looks into any *Male-Administration*, stirs up a Nest of *Hornets*. If any one be touched, who has been concerned in procuring *Grants*, all that have participated in his Guilt will be alarmed, and think themselves bound to Act in his Defence, for if one Criminal falls, the rest are all in Danger, as TACITUS well observes, — *Nam si Marcellus Eprius caderet agmen reorum ster-neretur.*— *Hist. lib. 4.*

THERE is an Anecdote, or Secret History, belonging to *Grants*, well worth the Knowledge, of good Patriots; the Writer of these Papers is not quite without Materials for it: Nor is he at all  
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vi      The P R E F A C E.

with-held by any of those private and mean Fears which commonly obstruct *National Designs*.— To look into the *Depredations* lately committed is so copious a Subject, that he who bends his Thoughts this Way, is sure to have Matter enough before him; (And no Man can employ his Hours of Leisure more to his Country's Service, than in Inquiries of this Nature.) And if he finds a Continuation of these *foul Practices* which have been so destructive to *England*, and so prejudicial to the KING'S Interest: That Zeal for the Publick which warms him, should not in the least cool, and though he should be left to stand alone, he ought still to Combat on, and neither ask, nor give Quarter in the Conflict he intends to maintain with the Corruptions of the Age.

The P R E F A C E.      vii

BESIDES what Papers relate to his *publick Negotiations*, he had *hewn out*, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* expresses it, *the rough Draught of a History of his Native Country*, which will be finished, by a Hand equal to so Laudable an Undertaking, upon the Plan and Materials he has left behind him.

WE think our selves obliged to declare, that if any Papers whatever, besides these we have mentioned, should come from the Press, bearing Mr. *Ker's* Name, the same ought to be looked upon as Spurious, and as such would have been stigmatized by himself, had he been Living.

V A L E.

Testi-

# Testimonium.

**W**ILLIAM BEAUMONT, late  
Servant to JOHN KER of  
Kerland, Esq; deceased, maketh  
Oath, that a Book intituled,  
The Memoirs and Secret Ne-  
gotiations of JOHN KER of  
Kerland in North Britain, Esq;  
PART the Second, is faithfully  
Printed (as was also the former  
Part) from the Original Manu-  
script, transcribed by the said Mr:  
KER's Amanuensis, in the Year  
One Thousand Seven Hundred and  
Twenty One, excepting such Alte-  
rations and Additions, as the said  
Mr. KER himself, and his Friends  
the Editors made, on a late Review  
thereof, to fit it for the Press.

W<sup>M</sup>. BEAUMONT.

Midd<sup>x</sup>. & Westm<sup>r</sup>. ff.

Jurat 2<sup>o</sup>. die Septembris,  
1726. coram me.

W<sup>M</sup>. GORE.

York-Buildings.



# MEMOIRS

O F

*JOHN KER, Esq;*

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P A R T II.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the great Losses and Misfortunes I have sustained by serving His Majesty, and my Country, I now think it an incumbent Duty upon me to satisfy my own Family, that whatever Sums of Money I received from the Government, were not profusely cast away upon my own Personal Occasions, but were faithfully disbursed by me in the publick Service; and that I could not possibly resist the Importunities, shun the Solicitations,

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nor

nor answer the Arguments (being prejudged by my Education) which were used and held forth, to persuade me to follow such Measures and Steps which have all proved so very retrograde, that my Reflection upon them has sometimes made me very uneasy.

BUT having in the former Part of these *Memoirs* (for Expedition sake) omitted several material Facts, very proper to be known; and in these Papers having added to, altered and diminished many other Points and Passages of the Counsels and Conduct of *Foreigners*; and last of all, a *late Famous Trial*, which made abundance of Noise in *Westminster-Hall*, 1718, and as the Story whereof may follow, I hope the Reader will be satisfied with these Reasons why I have not published my *Memoirs* till now.

I hope none will be so unjust to believe I have any Personal Prejudice to the *Germans*, for I have none now, resolving firmly to despise their Friendship and Malice both alike, my Design being, with all the little Rhetorick I am Master of, only to convince my Countrymen of the Danger they are subject to, by suffering *Foreigners* to be so much about our Sovereign, though every Day convinces me, that they cannot influence his sincere and well-disposed Mind, and good Inclinations

Inclinations for the Benefit of *Great-Britain*; for if they could, every honest Subject might justly dread the Consequences.

FOR who knows not that *Great-Britain's* true Interest is to preserve the Liberty and Freedom of Parliament, advance Trade, encourage Foreign Plantations, and Manufactories at Home, and to keep the *Ballance* of *Europe* even, as I have already observed in the 128th Page of my former *Volume*.

SOME Politicians, upon being told that his Majesty had made a Treaty with the *Swedes*, as King of *Great-Britain*, with a League Offensive and Defensive, have expressed their Fears, that it might very probably have brought us to a War with the Czar of *Muscovy*, and consequently to the Loss of our Trade with that Country, which is ten Times the Value of that of *Sweden*. These Gentlemen likewise alledged, That our Trade to *Muscovy* is preferable to that of *Sweden*; for in the late Reign, the *Muscovite Trade* was reckoned so considerable, that the then *Evil Ministry*, as some called them, declined to assist their Darling the King of *Sweden*, by forcing the *Danes* to observe their Articles at *Travendal*, being afraid we should lose our Trade to *Muscovy* thereby; and if the Loss of that

Trade appeared to *Harley's* Ministry so prejudicial, as to divert them from forcing *Denmark* to a Peace, which they could have done with a much better Face than we can now: Then every Body must believe with them, that by this Breach with *Muscovy*, we must lose a very valuable Branch of our Trade.

I shall conclude these Surmises, with this Truth, that the most beneficial Trades we have, are with *Muscovy* and *Spain*; and it is indeed too apparent, that we have quarrelled with them *both*, which is contrary to *Great-Britain's* true Interest, and the entire Ruin of our Commerce, without which we never could, or can subsist.

'T is probable Foreigners may find their Account much more in a Breach with *Muscovy*, for they will thereby take Occasion to suggest to us their Fears of Invasions, &c. from *Archangel*, and the Frigid Zone; and when we want Money, we shall hear of the March of *Russians*, *Tartars*, *Laplanders* clad in Bear's-Skins, and other strange People filing towards the North; in order to embark for *Great-Britain*, for we can have no Correspondence with those Parts to which all Commerce is prohibited; but any thing for such Ends may pass with us  
here



here for Truth, without being able to discover it so easily as from *Sweden*, because of the Correspondence we have with that Kingdom, and the other Parts of the *Baltick*.

FAR be it from me to have any manner of Jealousy; nor is it in the least reasonable to suspect, That His Majesty knows any thing of these Facts and Proceedings, so as to suffer, or in the least to connive at them, for they are so very contrary to his Interest, as King of *Great-Britain*, his Affections thereunto, which he hath been graciously pleased to declare so often from the Throne, and even to his Just and Princely Qualities; that no doubt they must have another Cause, because the Effects are so very bad, that it is too plain no Cause can produce such, but pernicious Counsels, such Advisers therefore, are only to be charged with them.

GIVE me leave now to make some few necessary Reflections upon the War with *Spain*, our Trade thither must be of the greatest Value, since the *Spaniards* consume no less than the best half of the *British* Manufactures; and our being afraid to lose it, by its falling into the Hands of the *French*, was what produced the War in the latter End of King WILLIAM's Reign, which

continued near ten Years together, and cost us the Lives of so many brave Men, and so many Millions of Money.

I confess, it was not fair for the King of *Spain* to attack the Emperor when he was generously engaged against the *Turks* in Defence of *Christendom*; and no doubt, if we had broke with *Spain* then, in Defence of the Emperor's Dominions in *Italy*, it would have looked well, since it might have been reasonably thought that the Emperor wanted Assistance, but certainly, after the Peace of *Passarowitz*, he wanted none; and consequently, there was no Occasion for us to go into a war with *Spain*, and all upon his Account, having then nothing to do for his own Troops, but to turn them against *Spain*, who by Land cannot pretend to compare with him, either as to Numbers or Goodness of Men, for the Emperor could pour such numerous Forces into *Naples*, as was able with the greatest Ease in the World, to cut in Pieces all that the King of *Spain* was able to carry into these Parts.

IT is but begging the Question to object, That the King of *Spain* would have made himself Master of *Sicily*, if our Fleet had not prevented it, which was none of our Business, since the Emperor had no

Title

Title or Pretence to, it being given by the Treaty of *Utrecht* to the Duke of *Sarvoy*; it was Time enough to break with *Spain*, when he attacked *Naples*, or any other Imperial Dominions which we were obliged by Treaties to defend.

NEITHER was it just for us to fall out with *Spain*, for attacking *Sardinia*, it being likewise reserved in the said Treaty of *Utrecht*, for the Duke of *Bavaria*, and was only yielded to the Emperor by the King of *France*, in the Treaty of *Baden*, Anno 1714, which the *British* Nation were concerned in no manner of Way, having not so much as one Minister there.

AND, methinks, it is also unreasonable to object, That *Spain* would become too formidable, if they were suffered to go on, for it is very evident, that the Emperor is now much more formidable than the King of *Spain* with all his *European* Dominions, and his *West-Indies*, at so remote a Distance, into the Bargain. What then must the Emperor be, when he shall add *Sicily* to his *Italian* Dominions, viz. *Naples*, *Milan*, *Mantua*, &c. ? In this Case, it will be in his Power to make himself Master of all *Italy*, and consequently of the *Mediterranean* Trade, which at present I can see nothing

to hinder him from ; but more of this elsewhere.

'TIS also obvious, That by this War we have lost our Effects in *Spain*, which must amount to an Immense Sum, much greater than our Merchants are willing to own, for trusting to their Credit, they are tender of publishing their Losses, which is the only Reason that so little Noise is made about them, as being forced to conceal their Misfortunes, till they either run away, or become Bankrupts, and then they are generally known, witness the *Gazette*, &c. the *Fleet*, the *King's-Bench*, &c. at Home, and Letters from *France*, *Holland*, &c. Abroad.

AND as we thereby lost our Trade with *Spain*, as another Consequence of the War, so it is much doubted, if even after a Peace with that Nation, we shall be able to fix it upon the old Footing, if our cunning Rivals of *France* and *Holland* chance to get it into their Hands, for us to recover when we best can ; for Trade is like a River, which having altered its Course, seldom or never reverts to its old Channel ; we shall never recover it from a People who have not only been too many for us in Point of Trade ; but upon this Head the *Dutch* may be justly called the Tricksters of *Europe* ; and sure no Body  
will

will doubt but they incline to get into this Trade, if they can by their resisting and undervaluing the Importunities of his *Britannick* Majesty and the Regent of *France*, and the alternative Threats and fair Promises of the Emperor so very long, notwithstanding all his great Possessions in the *Netherlands*, and the Uneasiness given them by the Rubs they have met with in settling the *Barrier-Treaty*, which, one would think, ought to make them more cautious in giving Offence, as they have done in that Affair of the *Quadruple-Alliance*, which, for all the Prevarications that hath been made upon it, they have but just now acceded to, as some say, tho' others doubt it, and that probably in a private Agreement with *Spain*, having, as it is said, both come in at one Time.

THE Expences of this War is to be considered as the next Concomitant of it, which was not so soon over as some have been pleased to advance in the Parliament-House upon several Occasions: The War, it is true, may perhaps end in a Peace struck by some of our faithful Allies, without our Knowledge or Consent, having given them a Precedent for it in the last Reign; but in that Case, we have no Reason to expect they will make any other Articles for us, than such as we made for our Allies, when they complained

complained they were left in the Lurch, and so the Remedy may prove as bad as the Disease. And as for Charges in the War, they will be best known when the Expence of the Fleet, and the Repairing of our Men of War, which must have suffered much in the *Straits* by the usual Accidents in those Seas, come to be laid before the House in order for a Supply.

FROM this unaccountable Management, let every impartial Reader consider, if both *France* and the Emperor will not be rendred too formidable, whilst we are at so much extravagant Trouble and Pains, and unavoidable Loss, even of the private Merchants, besides the publick, to suppress *Spain*, which in my Opinion can never do so much effectual Mischief, as either of the two, for these Reasons.

I. THE *French* are lately possessed of six Parts in seven of the Island of *Hispaniola*, commonly reckoned larger than *Great-Britain*, whereby, besides its convenient Situation, they are able to under-sell us in our Sugars, and supply our Merchants at half the Price we can, and consequently must be Masters of that Trade.

THIS

THIS is new indeed! a thing never heard of before! some say strange! the *French* out-do *England* in Trade! but I shall leave it to any Body to judge, except those wondering People, who will not give themselves Leave to think of any thing, but the Trade and immense Riches of *England*, as if nothing in the World could come up to it: That if the *French* or any other Nation can live at half the Expence, as I believe most other Nations do, and have Provisions two Parts in three, cheaper in that large Island, than we have in ours. What can hinder them from all these Advantages, to under-sell us in the Market, by which Means that Trade particularly, will no doubt fall into their Hands?

II. THEY have increased their Colonies in that Island to above 14000 fighting Men; to which, if we oppose the Strength and Number of the *Spaniards* there, we shall not find them half the Number, and that only consisting of Clergymen, Lawyers, Gentlemen, Hunters, &c.

DOUBTLESS People of such Professions are willing enough to do abundance of Mischief if they can, sure no Body will offer

offer to compare them to the *French*, either in Trade or War; from which I naturally conclude, that our Sugar Islands have more Danger to fear from the industrious Power of the *French*, than these *Spanish* Gentlemen.

III. THEY have lately made large Settlements in *Mississippi*, whereby they must soon be capable to supply *Europe* with Indigo, Tobacco, Drugs, Sugar, Chocolate, &c. having also rich Mines, and are still transporting Colonies into these Parts, which will in a little time, to the Surprize of the whole World, make them very powerful in *America*.

IV. *France* is very populous, and the People much better adapted for foreign Plantations than the *English*, and can with greater Facility, and less Expence, make more powerful Settlements abroad, than any other Nation in *Europe*.

V. THE present *French* Government are so intent upon this new Establishment, that there is nothing wanting to encourage and advance it, that Ingenuity and State Policy can contrive, not a Family of Note in *France*, but hath a Parcel of Land assigned them, and are transporting People  
to



to settle in that Country every Day, which at last must be the Terror of all *America*.

THEY are likewise sending great Numbers of regular Troops to those Parts, as if they intended to conquer the new World; and have lately seized some of the best Harbours the *Spaniards* have in the Gulph of *Mexico*, *Pensicola*, &c. And if they get *St. Augustin*, or any other Place in *Florida*, to command these important Streights of the *Bobama* Islands, they will not only secure the chief Key of the *West-Indian* Trade (as they have already those of less Note, as appears by their Fortifications near *Cape Mayze*, in the vast Island of *Cuba*, to command the windward Passage) but they are also endeavouring to strengthen themselves in *Hispaniola*, which is larger than *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, over against *Porto Rico*, no Doubt, endeavouring to secure all the Streights and chief Keys and Inlets of the *West Indies*.

AT this rate, our Trade to the *West Indies* will be reduced to a very narrow Compass, and they who know those Parts better than I, are very sensible of the great Advantages *France* hath obtained above their Neighbours, whereof *Great Britain* may feel the bad Consequences perhaps sooner

sooner than they imagine ; and we have no Reason to believe they will stop there ; for what they cannot obtain by War, they will by Articles and Treaties, to our Sorrow and Disappointment.

VI. FROM the convenient Situation of *Mississippi*, *Great-Britain* and all other trading Nations in *Europe*, who have any Colonies or Plantations in *America*, or the *West Indies*, have no Good to expect from the Power of the *French* in that Settlement, which bordering upon *Mexico*, will probably make themselves soon Masters of it, as well as that of *Peru*, with its inexhaustible Mines ; which, in my humble Opinion, is enough to alarm all *Europe*, as well as our famous *South Sea Company*, but like true *Scots Men*, it is probable we shall see our Danger when it is too late.

*Mississippi* borders upon our Plantations on the Continent of *America*, by which Means, they may at last be encouraged, or provoked to fall upon *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Carolina*, &c. and consequently be able to furnish *Europe* with better Tobacco, and much cheaper than we : For by Description, *Mississippi* is of a vast extent, such a temperate wholesome Climate, and a wonderful fruitful Soil, that it produces every thing useful,

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ful, as good, if not better then any o-  
ther Country.

IF these Facts be true, and if *France* by a wise Super-structure upon this Foundation, shall be able to conquer *America*; it follows that all other Nations, who have any Trade to it must suffer, but especially *Spain*, which I hope will convince my Reader, that we have no Mischief to apprehend from it; for the *Spaniards* in *America* are so effeminate and unaccustomed to War, that small Crews of Privateers, and Letter-of-Mart-men, both *British* and *French*, &c. hath put to flight above ten times their Number of them, even tho' they were armed, as appears by many Instances during the late War.

AND in *Europe*, the *Spaniards* have lately been so pressed by the unequal Powers of the Emperor, *France*, and *Britain*, that they are in no Circumstances now to send any Force to preserve their Dominions abroad; but the *French*, besides the vast Number of Troops they have there already, above 10000, which is such a Force, as was never heard of in those Parts before, are transporting every Day more and more, both Forces, Planters, Artificers, and Tradesmen of all Sorts, &c.

FROM

FROM all which I am afraid likewise to convince my Reader, that the *French* will soon be Masters of the *Spanish West Indies*, or at least have it in their Power, when they please ; and then let them judge what the State of the *Spaniards* will be, and guess where the Ballance of Power will center, notwithstanding the vain Supposition of the near Relation of the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, which is all the Argument that some Pretenders advance to preserve it.

To make my Assertion good, that we have no Prince or Potentate to fear so much as the Emperor and the King of *France*, I shall compare the present State of *Great Britain* and *France* with what they were formerly.

WE find our Commerce with *Spain* and *Muscovy*, the two most valuable Branches of our Trade, impaired, if not in danger of being quite lost. Our *East India* Company likewise threatned by the *French* and Imperial Companies, lately formed for that End. Our publick Debts, which amount to above 60000000, increase every Year considerably, rather than diminish, since the Peace of *Utrecht*, whereas, at the glorious Revolution,

Revolution, the Publick was in no Debt at all. Our Colonies in *America* complaining of Oppression from their Governors; some of them being forced to turn Pyrates upon our selves; many of them afraid to be turned out of their Estates, which they justly dispossessed the *French* of in the late Wars, particularly in *St. Christopher's*, which must inevitably produce a Decay of Business and Trade, the *French* supplying foreign Markets with the Commodities our Colonies used to do, much cheaper than we; whereof take an Evidence or two, of the Remonstrances, Petitions, and Representations to the Government from the Inhabitants of *Barbadoes* and the *Leeward Islands*, against *Lowther* in *Barbadoes*, and *Hamilton* a Native of *Westphalia*, &c. for the Barbarities by them committed on those poor People, now lying before the Board, and all without Hopes of Redress, because it is supposed these Gentlemen, and only such as they, are supported and encouraged by some here, who find their Account in it; and which is worst of all, our Discontents and Divisions at Home, with our Debts, rather increasing, our Poors Rates likewise increasing with our Loss of Trade, and the manufacturing Part of the Nation wanting Employment and Bread.

BUT when we compare *France* with what it was in the late Reign, we find the quite contrary: In a much more flourishing Condition now, her Foreign Plantations much enlarged, *Mississippi*, which was often attempted by Monsieur *Croizat*, come to such a Gigantick Power now, as surprizes all Mankind; the publick Debts of the Nation paid, which at the late King's Death amounted to above 1800000000 *Livres*; their Publick Credit so restored, that from 60 *per Cent.* Discount; the State Bills are now exceedingly above *Par*; the *East* and *West-India* Company formed, which from 64 *per Cent.* Discount, is now at 2000. A Bank of such Credit established at *Paris*, as never was before, in a Nation, where not long ago, it was harder to fix a publick Credit than in any Country in *Europe*; which, if *Lewis XIV.* had encouraged with Trade, and a prudent Management, but half so much as the Regent hath done, who hath corrected all his Mistakes, he had certainly never been so much disappointed of his ambitious Designs to be Universal Monarch; and in short, *France*, every Way improving the Advantages of Peace, lessening their Taxes, removing all superfluous and needless Offices and Expence, easing the Publick in collecting, and otherwise managing

naging the Revenues, &c. so that the People, instead of murmuring and complaining, are full of Mirth and Joy.

FOR, as a learned Friend of mine has remarked, the sudden and surprizing Turn the Affairs of *France* have lately taken, in relation to their Trade, under the Conduct and Direction of Mr. *Law*, is justly looked upon as one of the most prodigious Events any Age has produced, and I believe is scarce to be paralleled in History.

IT has for some time past been the general Topick of Conversation in most Countries in *Europe*, and as every Man finds himself in a Manner forced to say something or other about it; all your *heavy* Fellows, who would pass for *wise*, but who have neither Parts nor Application sufficient to examine so great a Scheme, have thought it the shortest Way to tell us bravely it will certainly come to nothing, and to treat it in all their Discourses as a meer *Chimera*.

IN the mean time, it is scarce credible that a Nation, broken by a long and unsuccessful War, plunged in immense Debts, groaning under intollerable Imposts, and in a word, almost reduced to the utmost Degree of Misery, should at once start up in so flourishing a Condition, as to be able to clear off all

the Debts of their King, settle their Commerce upon the most solid and extensive Bottom any People have yet done, and become at once the Envy and Admiration of all their Neighbours. The *Mississippi Company* has at present in Cash and Credit above *one hundred Millions Sterling*. *Paris*, like the Temple of Fortune among the *Heathens*, is resorted to by innumerable Crowds of every Nation, Quality and Condition, and the dirty Kennel of *Quinquempoix* has for some time been more frequented than the *Royal-Exchange* of *London*.

THO' all this at first View seems incredible, yet if we would give our selves the Trouble to reflect seriously on all the happy Circumstances which concurred to favour *Mr. Law's* Projects, our Wonder will in some Measure be abated.

THE People of *France*, upon the Death of their late Monarch, began to take Breath, after the many grievous Oppressions they had suffered, during a long and Tyrannical Reign, and being in some Measure delivered from heavy Taxes, and Arbitrary Power, began to resume the Notions of Property, to apply themselves to the Arts of Peace, and to employ their Industry in improving their  
Home



Home Manufactures, and extending their Trade over the whole Face of the Globe.

THE *Regent*, like a true Father of his People, cherished this laudable Disposition in them with the utmost Indulgence. He began his Administration with punishing those Men who had been their most notorious Oppressors, and who, amidst the publick Calamities, had raised immense Fortunes, and enriched themselves, by equally defrauding the Crown and the Publick. When he had taken this necessary Step, resolved to merit the Title of the *Founder*, or at least the *Restorer* of the Grandeur of *France*; he turned all his Care to the settling of the *Finances* on a solid and just Foundation, and to the enlarging of Trade. His Endeavours in these two Particulars being publickly known, set all the projecting Heads in *France* at Work to assist him in so glorious an Undertaking; among these, it was easy for such a Genius as Mr. *Law*, to distinguish himself in a very remarkable Manner. The *Regent* soon comprehended, and relished his Proposals, and resolved to assist him in the Execution of them with all his Power: Countenanced by so August a Patron, and happening to hit the enterprizing Genius of the *French*, he has executed his Designs with that Success which has astonished all *Europe*.

IT would be somewhat foreign to my present Design, to examine particularly all Mr. *Law's* Schemes, in order to demonstrate their Certainty, yet to the Confusion of those Gentlemen, who are pleased to call them Novelties, Dreams and Chimeras, I shall just observe, That the Basis which supports them all, *viz.* the King's granting to the united *East* and *West-India* Companies a Lease of the general Farms, is not so *new a Project*, as I am persuaded these superficial Politicians take it to be. It was first set on Foot many Years since, in the State of *Genoa*, for the *same Reasons*, and with the *same Success*, that it is now established in *France*.

THAT Republick, as *Machiavel* in his History of *Florence* informs us, after a long and unsuccessful War with the *Venetians*, finding themselves unable to pay the large Sums of Money they had borrowed from their Subjects, thought it the best and honest Method to assign over to them the *Revenues of the Government* for the Payment of their Money, and they had a common Hall allotted them to meet in, and consult about the Management and Improvement of their *Finances*. The Creditors, thus possessed of the publick Taxes, called their Corporation,

tion, *St. George's Bank*, and appointing proper Directors out of their own Body, for the Collecting and Management of their Stock, which became so rich and considerable in a short Time, that the Preservation and Security of the Commonwealth, depended upon them, the People both in their publick and private Necessities, constantly applying to them for Relief: Hence it was, that amidst all the several Factions in the Republick, *St. George's Bank* still preserved its first Lustre and Credit; nor did the Body of the People think it worth their while to enter heartily into any Quarrel, till they saw their Patron and Benefactor was concerned in it. *A most excellent and rare Thing*, says the Historian, *never found out by any of the old Philosophers in their imaginary Forms of Government, that in the same State, and same People, one might see at once both Liberty and Tyranny, Justice and Oppression.* This last Observation is so very applicable to the Government of *France*, upon the Foot it is now established, that I could not help quoting it. Mr. *Law*, as a late Writer finely observes, *has found out the Secret in an absolute Monarchy, to make it the Interest of the Prince to secure the Liberty of the Subject.* This is so true a State of the Case, that if those superficial Reasoners, who telling us every Day, there can be no Security under a despotick Government,

and that the *Regent* may at once cancel all the Bank Bills, now current in *France*, had Capacity enough to weigh the Probability of such an Accident, they would be ashamed of their weak Assertions.

THERE had been no such Thing as publick Credit in *France* for some Years past. The Government, when it was too late, were thoroughly sensible of her Loss. They made some vain Efforts to retrieve her, but like a coy Mistress, when pursued, she flew the faster. Mr. *Law*, like *Hyppomenes* of old, has at last flung out a Lure which has brought her back. She is at present, the brightest Ornament of the Court of *France*, and has added such a Lustre to their Crown, as has made it infinitely more Powerful and Valuable than any other in all *Europe*. It is an allowed Maxim in Politicks, that *Greatness is to be maintained by the same Methods it was at first acquired*. And to suppose that the *Regent*, or any succeeding Prince in *France*, in order to aggrandize himself, will take Things out of the *present Channel* in which they run, to fling them into their former *Confusion*, is full as improbable, as that a Man who is building, should take away his *Foundation* in order to raise his *Superstructure*.

FROM what has been said, it pretty plainly appears, that Mr. *Law's* Plan is founded both on *Reason* and *Practice*, and I shall leave it to the Reader's Judgment to suggest, of what Consequence it is to the united Companies to have the whole Revenues of *France* in their Hands, with many large Privileges, and additional Advantages; how great the Improvement of so vast a Sum, well managed, must be, and what an extensive and flourishing Trade that must prove, which is settled on the Credit of so inexhaustible a Capital.

THE only Matter of Wonder remaining with me, and which Posterity perhaps will be equally amazed at, is, That a People so careful as the *English* have always been, to assert and secure the several Branches of their Trade, and so jealous of their most peaceable Neighbours in this tender Point, should stand gazing at these prodigious Preparations, with as little Concern as if they only beheld some uncommon Appearance in the Air, which could no ways affect them; either insensible of their Danger, or too lazy to take the necessary Steps to prevent it.

I hope it will be remembered, what Clamours were raised against the Managers of

of the late Treaty at *Utrecht*, for yielding up *Cape-Breton* to the French, tho' by the way, it is more than probable, as will appear from what I shall observe on that Head in another Place, that if the *twelfth Article* of that Treaty had been strictly observed, and duly put in Execution, they must have abandoned that Island before this Time. It cannot likewise be forgot what Struggles we have had with them for *Hudson's Bay*, *Nova Scotia*, and *Newfound-Land*; yet now their possessing themselves of a Country more valuable than all our Plantations put together, is such a Trifle, as scarce seems to merit our Consideration.

WHATEVER Motives may have prevailed with those to sit silent and unactive, whose more particular Business it seems to be to examine into this Affair, and ward against the impending Danger; or how plausible soever the Pretences of the French may seem, to People unacquainted with their Practices in *America*, and the Situation and Extent of their new Empire *Louisiana*, I think my self obliged to acquaint my Countrymen, That if these new Settlements are permitted to be carried on, the *English* Trade will in a great Measure be ruined on the Continent of *America*, and all our Colonies, unless much better regulated

lated and secured than they are at present; may one Time or other be *entirely taken from us* ; and as I shall advance nothing in Proof of this Assertion, but what will be supported by Authority, or undeniable Facts, I am in hopes the Legislature will take some Measures for the Security of our Plantations Abroad, on which the Wealth of *Great-Britain* so much depends.

HAVING said thus much by way of Introduction, I come now to consider the Consequences of the *French* settling Colonies on the *Mississippi*; in order to which, it will be very necessary to give an Account of the Country it self, and of the first Discovery of it.

WE find no Account of the River *Mississippi* (tho' without doubt something of it was known from the Days of *Hernandes à Soto*, who crossed over it *Anno 1541*, as he was returning from his fruitless Expedition against *Florida*) before the Year 1674, when Count *Frontenac*, at that Time Governor of *Canada*, hearing it much talked of by the *Indians*, and supposing on their Report, it might fall into the Bay of *California*, and so open a Passage into the *South Sea*, ordered Mr. *Joliet*, with six more, to undertake the Discovery. These Adventurers

rers setting out from the Bay of *Puants*, in the Lake *Illinois*, proceeded to the Westward by Water, sixty Leagues, and being obliged to carry their Canoe over Land about half a League, embarked again on the River *Misconsin*, which conveyea them into the *Mississippi*, into the Latitude of 42 Degrees and an half. They followed its Course directly *South*, to the Latitude of 34, and intended to have run down to the very Mouth, according to the Instructions they had received; but the dreadful Stories the Savages told them of Monsters, that devoured both Men and Canoes, and a Devil that guarded the Mouth of the River, and sunk those who approached the Place where he stood, together with the Apprehension of meeting with the *Spaniards*, made them change their Resolution, and return Home the same Way they had gone, contenting themselves with having discovered, that the *Mississippi* did not discharge it self into the *South-Sea*, nor to the *Eastward* of *Florida*, as was supposed.

THE next Attempt was made by *Monfr. de Sale*, a Man of great Courage and Capacity, of good Learning, and well versed in several savage Languages. He was bred a *Jesuit*, and had lived ten or eleven Years in that Order, but taking more delight in Trade



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Trade and Projects for new Discoveries, he went over into *Canada*, and purchased a Settlement in the Island of *Monireal*, 60 Leagues above *Quebec*, on the River *St. Lawrence*. Upon the Recommendations of the Governors of *Canada*, who had successively expressed their Esteem for him, he was first made Governor, and then Proprietor of Fort *Frontenac*, on the *Lake Ontario*, the Place at that Time farthest advanced among the Savages, which gave him an Opportunity of gaining more certain Informations touching the *Mississippi*, and the Country it runs through, than had been published in a Book, entitled *Monfr. Joliet's Voyage*: For this Gentleman having unfortunately, in his return, lost the Journal and Map he had made, by the over-setting of his Canoe, many fabulous Accounts of that Voyage were forged to amuse the Publick, of all which he was unjustly supposed to be the Author.

MONSR. *de Sale* had a passionate Desire to visit the rich Mines of *St. Barbe*, and to find out a nearer Passage into the *South-Sea*, than thro' the Streights of *Magellan*; and both these, he hoped, might be accomplished by Means of the *Mississippi*. With this View he made a Voyage to *France*, Anno 1676, having been well received at Court, and  
dispatched

dispatched with the necessary Orders for pursuing his Designs, he returned to *Canada* two Years after. To make the Discovery more compleat, he appointed Father *Hennepin* to travel to the *Northward*, and trace the River up to its Source, reserving to himself the Honour of searching for its Mouth. The Friar set out a long Time before *Monfr. de Sale*, who was thwarted in all his Undertakings by his envious and malicious Countrymen; and passing down the River *Illinois*, into the *Mississippi*, where the other discharges it self, instead of going *North*, as he was ordered to do, went first *South*, hoping to acquire a Name, for his Ambition that Way, was at least equal to *Monfr. de Sale's*, by being the Discoverer of this mysterious River. He pursued the Stream to the Gulph of *Mexico*, where he perceived it empties it self thro' three different Channels, between the 27th and 28th Degree of *North Latitude*, as near as he could conjecture, for he had no Instrument to observe with, and then returning back, advanced towards its Head, as far as 50 or 51.

*MONSR. de Sale* began his Expedition in 1682. He ran down the River, which he found parted into two Branches about 60 Leagues from the Sea; he followed that to the  
*Northward,*

*Northward*, and having discovered its Mouth, and the Latitude it lies in, *viz.* between 28 and 29 Degrees, he resolv'd to make another Trial to find out an Entrance into the *Mississippi* by Sea, by which he thought an easy and safe Communication might be formed between *Canada* and the Gulph of *Mexico*; with this Prospect he took another Voyage to *France*, where his Project being approved, the King order'd him three Vessels, with a Man of War of forty Guns, a considerable Number of Soldiers, and all other Things necessary for the enabling him to carry on his Enterprize. With these he came into the Bay of *Mexico*, in the Beginning of the Year 1685, where he sought for the same Mouth in vain, for the Space of three Weeks, and was at last oblig'd to go ashore to the *South West* of the Place where it really was, which was the Cause of his Death, and the Ruin of the whole Design; three of his Ships having been lost, and himself barbarously murder'd by the perfidious Villains who attended him.

A War breaking out in *Europe*, before the News of these Disasters had reach'd the Court of *France*, this Project was laid aside till the Peace was concluded at *Reswick*, when it was revived by *Monfr. d' Iberville*, a Gentleman

tleman born in *Canada*, and famous for his Exploits in several Parts of *North America*. He sailed from *France* into the Gulph of *Mexico*, in the Year 1698, and searched along the Coast so narrowly, that he found out the Mouth of that fatal River, and built a Fort upon it, where he left a Garrison. He went thither a second Time with Reinforcements from *France*, and having penetrated far into the Country, discovered many savage Nations, and made several Alliances with them. He built another Fort, which he left well stored with Men and Necessaries. After this he returned Home, but happening to die on his third Voyage back to the *Mississippi*, and *France* being soon after engaged in a new War, this Enterprize was again laid aside.

DURING the Cessation of Arms in 1712, the late King granted by Letters Patent, to his Secretary, Mr. Crozat, (the fittest Person in *France* to support and execute so great an Undertaking) the sole Power to Trade and settle Colonies on the *Mississippi*, and in all the Countries lying between *Carolina* on the *East*, and new *Mexico* on the *West*. This Grant Mr. Crozat resigned about two Years ago, on good Considerations, in Favour of the *West-India* Company.

AFTER

AFTER this short Narrative, I must desire the Reader, before I proceed farther, to reflect on the inexpressible Toil and Danger that attended these several Discoveries, the unsuccessful and fatal Attempts of most of the Adventurers, the Care and Expences the Crown of *France* was at in providing Armaments, and all other Requisites for supporting the Project, and that constant, irresistible Ardor wherewith the *French* have, in spite of their Nature, pursued this single Design for the Space of six and forty Years successively; and then tell me, if, after all, you can seriously believe that what they have been so long aiming at, is only a Chimera, or an empty Name, invented by Mr. *Law* to recommend (as it is affirmed) his own imaginary Schemes. I am sure the *English* in *North America*, who understand somewhat better than the Stock-Jobbers in *London*, the Nature and Situation of this new Country, with the Advantages the *French* will certainly reap from planting their Colonies in it, have all along been of another Opinion, as some not far from *Whitehall* can testify, from the many Letters, Memorials, Representations and Remonstrances, which have been written on that Subject from Time to Time, and transmitted to *England*.

How far the Limits of the Country the *French* intend to possess, may extend, is impossible to be known at present, and may, perhaps, remain a Secret for some Ages. That Part of it which was granted to *Monfr. Crozat*, and is now vested in the Company, is bounded by *New Mexico*, and the Lands of the *English* of *Carolina*, *West* and *East*, and by the River *Illinois*, and the Gulph of *Mexico*, *North* and *South*; wherein if it be meant, as no doubt it is, that all the Tracts of Land not actually possessed by the *Spaniards* of *Mexico*, and the *English* of *Carolina*, though claimed respectively by both, shall be comprehended, it will take in more than two Thirds of the Gulph, and reckoning from *St. Fe*, in *New Mexico*, to our most westerly Settlements in *Carolina*, about twenty four Degrees of Longitude, or 1440 Miles, and from the Mouth of the *Illinois*, to that of the *Mississippi*, 150 or 160 Leagues in a strait Line.

BUT this is only a Part of *Louisiana*, which the King of *France* (by a Reservation expressed in the Patent) may enlarge, when he thinks fit, the whole Extent of that immense Country, reaching the *South-Sea*, *Japan*, and the *Frozen Ocean*.

FATHER *Hennepin*, in the Account he dedicated to King *William*, of his Travels through a great Part of it, positively asserts, That *Japan* is contiguous to the *Northern America*, (The great *Grævius* was also of this Opinion) and that an easy Passage may be infallibly found out, from *Louisiana* to the *South-Sea*, through Rivers that run beyond the *Mississippi*, deep enough to carry Ships of great Burthen; and he farther offered to return back in his Majesty's Service, to make the Discovery. I have very good Reason to believe that great Prince would have accepted the Proposal, and improved it to the Glory and Advantage of *England*, had it not been for his Alliance with *Spain*, which likewise proved fatal to the Settlements of the *Scots* in *Darien*. It is a melancholy Consideration, that so noble an Enterprize, founded on just and honourable Motives, and carried on with invincible Zeal and Bravery, should have been discouraged, betrayed and ruined, and the *French* at the same Time permitted to build Forts, and plant Colonies, as I have already hinted, under the Command of *Monfr. D'Iberville*, in a Country, to which both *England* and *Spain*, had a much better Title. It is true, *Monfr. D'Iberville's* Commission impowered him only to “ establish the Colonies,

D 2

“ and

“ and maintain the Garrisons, which had  
 “ preserved the Possession of what was  
 “ acquired to the Crown of *France* by Mr.  
 “ *De Sale*”; but one of the Forts having been  
 intirely razed by the *Spaniards*, and the Gar-  
 rison carried off, and the other abandoned  
 some Years before the Date of this Com-  
 mission; the Right insisted on by Virtue of  
 that Possession was quite lost and and etxin-  
 guished: Besides, if the Charters granted  
 by the Crown of *England*, to the Lords  
 Proprietors of *Carolina*, be allowed to be of  
 any Validity or Force, it may be doubted  
 whether a Possession of much longer Con-  
 tinuance could devolve any Right on the  
*French*; but as the Decision of this, and  
 other Points of the same Nature, depends  
 wholly on the Wisdom of those Sovereign  
 Princes, whose Prerogative it seems to be  
 to create and annihilate Rights in *America*,  
 I shall trouble you no farther about it.

THE Missionaries, and others, who have  
 had the most perfect Knowledge of *Louisi-  
 ana*, give us so great an Idea of its uncom-  
 mon Beauties and Productions, that one  
 would take it for the *Frenchmen's* Paradise.  
 The Climate is so temperate, that the Inha-  
 bitants enjoy a continual Spring, and are  
 scarce subject to any Diseases; the Soil is so  
 fertile, that (as Father *Hennepin* told King  
*Wil-*



*William*) it yields two Crops every Year, without Ploughing or Sowing. It naturally brings forth in great Abundance, Sugar-Canes, Tobacco, Cotton-Trees, Silk-Worms, Corn, Hemp and Vines: In a word, whatever is esteemed valuable among us, either for Use or Pleasure, may be found there with very little Art or Industry. There is Plenty of Fish, Fowls, and Beasts of sundry Kinds, unknown to us in *Europe*, especially wild Oxen, which are twice as large as ours; and instead of Hair, are covered with a Wool, equal in Length and Fineness to that the *French* have from their Sheep in *Europe*. The Land is every where well stored with Mines of Iron, Copper, and in many Places of Silver, whereof prodigious Quantities are dug up in *St. Barbara*, *St. John's*, and *Ende*, by the *Spaniards*; and many more, and perhaps rich Mines of the same Metal, may be opened to the *Northward* and *Eastward*, where the *Spaniards* have never yet ventured to establish any Settlement.

Mr. *Gage*, who lived twelve Years in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, in his Description of *New Galicia*, informs us, That the *Spaniards* were continually in War with the *Indians*, who inhabited the *Northern* Parts of that Province, for the sake of the Silver

Mines in their Territories, fearing lest the *English* from *Virginia* (for *Carolina* was not then planted) should be before-hand with them in gaining the Possession of these hidden Treasures. He farther adds, That he has often heard the *Spaniards* express their Wonder, that the People of that Colony should prefer a little *paultry Tobacco* (as he terms it) before the invaluable Advantages they might, with the greatest Certainty, expect to draw from such an easy Conquest. As for the Gold Mines, near the River *Missouri*, of which some Accounts have been published in *France*, I shall suspend my Belief concerning them, and many other Things, grounded on the like Reports, 'till that curious and adventurous Nation shall oblige the World with clearer and more certain Discoveries in that Particular, than any they have yet published:

BUT the chief Glory of *Louisiana*, is the famous *Mississippi*, in many Respects the finest River in the World; it springs from several Lakes to the *Westward* of *Hudson's-Bay*, and bending its Course directly *South*, falls through six large Channels, into the *Gulph* of *Mexico*. Father *Hennepin*, who pretends to have surveyed it from both its Extremities, says, It is about eight hundred Leagues long, its Windings and Turnings

ings included, and it is very probable it may be much longer; for with all due Respect to that great Traveller (whose singular Courage and Piety in searching out new Countries, and barbarous Nations, and propagating among them his Religion, none of the best indeed, yet good enough for Savages, can never be sufficiently applauded) I am inclined to think, that he reached neither the Head, nor any of the Mouths. It is free from Shoals and Cataracts, and Navigable within sixty Leagues of its Source: The Channel is every where deep, and the Current gentle, except at a certain Season of the Year, when, like the *Nile*, it swells with Floods, occasioned by excessive Rains, and the Snow melting away in the *Northern* Regions. Its Banks, according to the Relations of those who have sailed within them, yield the most beautiful Prospects that can be imagined: They are adorned with a delightful Variety of Meadows and Groves, covered with wild Beasts, and inhabited by almost Two hundred different Nations, whom the *French* found tractable and ingenious. Our *American* Seamen, who have ranged along the Coasts, and observed the Mouths of this River, for the *French* say nothing of them, assure me, That Three are fit to receive the biggest Ships, and afford several safe and commodious Harbours.

BUT what renders the *Mississippi* still more considerable, and deserves a particular Remark, is a vast Number of other large and navigable Rivers, that run from the *Eastward* and *Westward*, and mix at last with its Stream. Of the first, Mr. *de Sale*, in the Account he presented to Count *Frontenac* of his Voyage on this River, affirms, there are six or seven, three hundred Leagues each in Length, that fall below the *Illinois*, and proposes it as a Matter of the greatest Importance, that the Discovery of them should be carried on to prevent the *English* of *Carolina* from interfering with the *French* in their Trade with the *Indians*, since some of these Rivers take their rise from the *Apalachin* Hills, not far from our Settlements in that Colony. Higher up on the same Side, are many more, which by means of others, afford a Conveyance into several great Lakes, and from thence into the River of *St. Lawrence*, and *Hudson's Bay*. Those from the *Westward* are yet more numerous, and much longer; the *Missourdi*, not to mention any of the rest, runs from the *North-West* at least six or seven hundred Leagues, beginning, as it is commonly believed, from a certain Mountain in *Cibola*, where another River issues forth into the Gulph of *California*, and probably it was  
this

this Way Mr. *de Sale*, and Father *Hennepin* propos'd to go into the *South-Sea*. In short, the Reader must conceive one River watering so large a Country as the *Louisiana*, and extending its several Branches far enough to open a Communication between *New Spain* and *Canada*, the *South-Sea*, and the Gulph of *Mexico*; so that what the Poet said of *Egypt* and the *Nile*, may very justly be applied to *Louisiana*, with respect to the *Mississippi*.

*Terra suis contenta bonis, non indiga mercis,  
Non Jovis, in solo tanta est fiducia Nilo.*

As it can hardly then be supposed by any Man of common Sense, that the *French* will so far neglect their Interest, whatever others may have done, as not to continue their most vigorous Efforts for establishing Commerce, and planting Colonies in this promising Country: So it seems evident, even from the short and imperfect View I have given you of its Situation, Produce and Extent, that these Settlements, whether we have War or Peace with the *French*, will not only prove hurtful, but destructive at last to our Plantations in *America*, and consequently weaken, in a very sensible Manner, the Strength and Power of *England*, by drying up the Streams that convey thither the  
greatest

greatest Part of their Wealth, and lopping off the most valuable Branches of the *British* Trade and Navigation.

FOR 1<sup>st</sup>. When the *French* have drawn a Line along the Borders of our Settlements in every Province, from *St. Lawrence* to the *Mississippi*, and built Forts to secure the most convenient Passes on the Lakes and Rivers that form the Communication, they will effectually cut off all Intercourse and Traffick between us and the *Indians* inhabiting the Inland Countries, and likewise compel those who are Neighbours and Allies, by reason of the absolute Dependance they must in that Case have upon the *French* for their Liberty of Hunting and Fishing, to fall under their Subjection, or starve; and by that means, besides the Usurpations and Incroachments on the Rights that have been granted and confirmed to the *English* Subjects in *America*, by his Majesty's Royal Predecessors, and the Loss of a most beneficial Trade, I mean that of Skins, whereby the *French* in *Canada* have exceedingly enriched themselves, and increased the Revenues of the Crown; and had our Industry or Conduct been but equal to theirs, the Customs arising only from thence, as a noble Person once affirmed, would have defrayed in a short Time the Charges of an Expedition  
for

for reducing that Country: Besides these Hardships, I say, we must also expect to suffer continual Incurfions, Depredations and Murthers, from the Savages on our Frontiers, with whom it will be impossible for us in fuch Circumftances to make a *real Peace*, or manage by our own Forces a *successful War*, confidering the Advantages the Savage Nations have over the *Europeans*, by their Way of fighting in the thick Forrefts of this Continent.

THAT this Project is neither new nor impracticable, and that the Governors of *Canada* wanted only Encouragement from their late King to put it in Execution, appears, I think, very plainly, by the Account *la Hontan* gives in fome of his Letters, which have been published, (both in *French* and *English*) of the Plan he prefented to the Court of *France* in the Year 1692, by Order of Count *Frontenac*, for destroying the *Iroquois*, a very warlike and numerous People, who have on all Occafions fhew'd themfelves faithful Friends to us, and formidable Enemies to the *French*.

To carry on fo great an Enterprize, whereof this Writer pretends to have been the firft Project to (tho' in Truth, Mr. *de Sale* had contrived it long before him) he propofed only to have three Forts built and maintained

tained at the Mouths of the Lakes *Errie* and *Huron*, with some light Vessels fit for sailing or rowing, and to be provided with two hundred Soldiers, fifty able Seamen, and 15000 Crowns a Year for their Pay and Subsistence: He tells his Friend, That the Count being then Governor of *Canada*, conceived so good an Opinion of this Undertaking, that in a private Letter to Mr. *Pontchartrain*, he assured that Minister of State, he would oblige those barbarous Nations, in two Years, to abandon their Country. But the King being engaged in a bloody and expensive War in *Europe*, was not in a Condition to allow the Supplies of Men and Money which were demanded, and for that Reason the Matter was dropt: However, as this important Design was formed when the *French* had demolished their Forts of *Frontenac* and *Niagara*, and durst advance with their Settlements on the River *St. Lawrence*, no higher than *Monreal*, within sixty Leagues of *Quebec*, can it be imagined that they will not pursue the same, and endeavour to carry it much farther, in order to subdue the *Indians*, distress our Colonies, and enlarge their own, whenever they become Masters of that vast Tract of Land, within which the Course of those Lakes and Rivers both begins and ends.





A New Map of  
**LOUISIANA**  
 and the River  
**MISSISSIPPI.**

KER's Memoirs part 2. page 45.

IN the next Place, if the *French* be allowed to possess themselves of the Country I have described, and a War should afterwards happen to break out between the two Crowns, an Event not *impossible*, I presume, though far removed perhaps from the Days we live in, they will find it a Matter of no great Difficulty, with the Assistance of the *Indians*, to invade from thence and *Canada*, all the *English-Plantations* at once, and drive the Inhabitants into the Sea, unless they come to be enabled by some extraordinary Means, which is a Thing rather to be *wished for* than *depended on*, to provide infinitely better than they can at present for their Safety and Preservation.

THE Reader will easily perceive, by casting his Eye upon this Map, that *St. Lawrence* and the *Mississippi*, with the Lakes and Rivers that run between them, surround by Land all the Provinces on the main of *America*, belonging to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and that from the Branches of these great Rivers, and some falling into the Lakes *Champlain* and *Errie*, a safe and direct Passage may be found out almost to every one of them, by means of other large Rivers, wherewith the whole Country abounds.

THROUGH

THROUGH some of these Channels the *French* have already made many Descents from *Canada* upon our *Northern* Colonies, destroyed our Settlements, and laid entire Provinces waste; nor could the Inhabitants of *New York* (there being only a Land Carriage of two Leagues from the Lake *St. Sacrement*, at the Bottom of that of *Champlain*, to a Branch of *Hudson's* River, whereon the City of *New York* stands) have been able to secure themselves from the dismal Consequences of the like Attempts, but by the singular Valour of the *Mobacks* or *Proquois*, who galled the *French* so sensibly, that they obliged them to retire, as I have already observed, within sixty Leagues of *Quebec*, and sue for Peace on any Terms; and that they may easily penetrate the same Way into those *English* Colonies that lie to the *Southward*, particularly *Virginia* and *Carolina*, when once they have planted themselves on the Banks of the Lakes *Frontenac* and *Errie*, and some Rivers that run from the same Side into the *Mississippi*, is obvious by their own Accounts, and the Discoveries of our *Indian* Traders, or *Coueurs de Bois*, as the *French* call them, who range over these Parts of the Continent.

BESIDES, all the Plantations we are actually possessed of at this Time, lie naked and open to every Attack by Land; we have no *Forts* or *Garrisons* to defend our Frontiers; the Numbers of our People are small and inconsiderable, in respect of the large Tracts of Land they inhabit; their Dwellings scattered at a great Distance from one another, except towards the Sea. In short, I know of no Protection we have to rely on, but that of the *Indians*; and with how little Reason we can expect it in the Case above-mentioned, I have endeavoured to shew.

It seems therefore very surprizing, that during these seven Years of Peace, no Proposals have been offered, or effectual Measures taken to settle and fortify *Nova Scotia*, the only Province in *America* belonging to the Crown, that can be made a sufficient Barrier to cover any of our Plantations from the Invasions of the *French*, and check their Motions on that Side by Sea and Land: It is impossible for one so little acquainted with publick Affairs as I am, to guess the Reason why a prudent and frugal Nation, instead of improving the vast Advantages that naturally flow from so important a Conquest, should lavish away their Money

ney only to support an useles insignificant Title.

THAT I may explain my Thoughts on this Point more fully, I beg leave to observe, that the *French* having been dispossessed of all their Settlements to the *Southward* of the River *St. Lawrence*, by Sir *Samuel Argal*, Governor of *Virginia*, so much of the main Land as lies between that River and the Bay *Françoise*, from the River *St. Croix*, *West*, to the Isle of *Assumption*, *East*; together with the *Peninsula*, which the *French* named *L'Accadie* (formed by two large Bays, to be seen in the Map) was granted in the Year 1621, by King *James* the First, to Sir *William Alexander*, afterwards Earl of *Sterline*, \* who sent thither a Colony of his Countrymen; and as a farther Encouragement, obtained a Patent for advancing a certain Number of Persons to the Hereditary Dignity of Baronets, or Knights of *Nova Scotia*; the Profits whereof were to be wholly employed for the Benefit of this Plantation; but finding it a Matter of much greater Weight than at first he apprehended it to be: He soon quitted *Port-Royal*, and

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\* This Illustrious Nobleman was an Excellent Poet, as may be seen by the Plays and Poems he hath published in a Folio Volume.

with it the whole Country, to the *French*, in whose Hands it continued for the most part 'till the Year 1654, when Colonel *Sedgewick* re-took it by Order of the Usurper *Oliver Cromwell*. The *French* Ambassador made pressing Instances at the Treaty of Peace in the Year following, to have it restored ; but the then Government of *England* could by no Means be prevailed with to resign a Country, which they looked upon as the Bulwark of the several Colonies planted at that Time in *New-England*. However, after the *Restoration*, they had it delivered up to them, and kept Possession of it, 'till Her late Majesty, being moved with the many Representations that were laid before her of the Damages done to the Colonies, I have just now mentioned, by the *French* in *Nova Scotia*, was pleased to order an Expedition to be made thither, Anno 1710, under the Direction of General *Nicholson*, by whose good Conduct, *Port-Royal*, which he named *Annapolis-Royal*, was once more recovered ; and by the Treaty of Peace at *Utrecht*, all *Nova Scotia*, with the Islands thereto belonging, except *Cape Breton*, was yielded up to the Crown of *Great-Britain*.

It must be acknowledged indeed, That ever since that Time no Care has been want-

ing to provide this Province with Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and other inferior Officers, both Civil and Military, and also with a considerable Number of regular Forces; but with great Submission, I think the Orator's Question may very pertinently be repeated here, *Cui bono?* And, indeed, what great Service can be expected from a single Garrison, whose Command reaches no farther than their Guns, whilst the whole Country is abandoned to the *French*, who make Settlements, and erect Forts by Order of the Governor of *Canada*, on all the principal Rivers, particularly *St. John's*, *Passamaquady*, and *Penobscot*, and have possessed themselves of our Fishery at *Canseaux*, which is, perhaps, the best in the World? For though, according to the true Meaning of the 11th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, they can claim no more Liberty to Fish there, than on any other Part of that Coast; yet finding that their new Plantations on *Cape Breton* were scarce habitable, they not only managed their Fishery on our Ground, and in our Harbours, but by the Assistance of the *Indians*, pulled down our Stages, destroyed our Vessels, and have at last proceeded so far, as to suffer none of His Majesty's Subjects to catch or cure Fish at the Island of *Canseaux*, without first paying for a License from the Governor of *Cape Breton*:

*Breton*: Which by the way, in my humble Opinion, is a convincing Argument, that unless you can suppose that Gentleman to be of the same Complexion with one I may perhaps name before I conclude these Observations, the *French* have no manner of Right to these Islands and Harbours: If they had, it would be an unpardonable Crime in him to allow the *English* to Trade or Fish there on any Account whatsoever; and the Reason is, Because all Governors in *America*, whether *English* or *French*, receive express Instructions from their respective Masters, to put in Execution the Articles of the Treaty of Neutrality in *America*, between King *James II.* and the late King of *France*, wherein it is stipulated, That none of the Subjects of either King, shall Trade or Fish in the Bays, &c. belonging to the other, under the Penalty of the Vessel so Trading or Fishing, and Lading, being confiscated. But on the other Hand, if it be a doubtful Case, whether the Right belongs to them, Why have not skilful and judicious Men been employed to draw the imaginary Line from the Isle of *Sables*, to the Coast of *Nova Scotia*, in order to fix the Boundaries set down in the Treaty, and thereby prevent, at least, the Mischiefs wherewith our Trade to those Parts has been for several Years attended? Without such an Expedient, I am

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persuaded



persuaded the Controversy can never be decided fairly at *Paris* or *London*: But to return to our Fishery at *Canseaux*.

THERE being no Hopes of any Support or Relief from the Government of *Nova Scotia*, Application was made from Time to Time, to that of the *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New-England*, whose chief Interest consists in the Preservation of that Fishery, but nothing was done, for what Reasons I shall not say at present, 'till 1719. Captain *Smart*, who attended that Station with His Majesty's Ship the *Squirrel*, went thither by Direction of the Governor and Council: He found sundry *French* Ships and Vessels laden and lading with Fish, but wanted Hands to carry off more than two of the smallest, which he brought into the Harbour of *Boston*, and upon his Arrival, acquainted the Governor, Colonel *Shute*, with his Proceedings. His Excellency commended the Captain's Conduct, and being obliged to attend the *weighty Affairs* of his other Government of *New-Hampshire*, advised him to prepare an exact Account of what he had taken from the *French*, to be laid before him at his Return. In the mean Time, the Fish on Board beginning to spoil, the Captain desired the Advocate-General to libel the Vessels and Cargoes in the Court  
of

of Admiralty, and move for a Sentence of Confiscation, pursuant to the Treaty of Neutrality. The Judge, Monfr. *Menzies* seemed very unwilling to proceed in the Governor's Absence, but the Consideration of *Forty Pounds* New-England-Money, a Hoghead of Claret, and a large Cask of Brandy, made him wave all others, and so the whole was adjudged to be disposed of by Captain *Smart*, for the Use of the King.

HIS Excellency, notwithstanding the Decree, no sooner returned, than he gave a written Order to the Marshal of Admiralty to raise the *Posse*, and force the Prizes out off Captain *Smart*'s Custody, but the Marshal finding no Body so obsequious to the Vice-Admiral (as he stiles himself) as to venture on so desperate an Attempt, turned his Military Exploit into a submissive Complement; and thus Captain *Smart* saved his Prizes, though he lost by it that *great Man*'s Favour.

IT would be too trifling for the Subject I am upon, to pursue the Circumstances of this Affair any farther; but it ought not to be forgot, that by his Excellency's Means, Captain *Smart* was imprisoned, his Friend Mr. *Smith* the Advocate-General suspended, and Mr. *Cooke* turned out of a

Place of 300 l. a Year, for asserting the Governor was no *Blockhead*, tho' I must own there is as severe a Law against *lying* in that Country, as there is in all others, against the most predominant Vices; I shall therefore only mention two short Passages, because they serve to explain what I am by and by to offer to publick Consideration.

THE first is this. About two or three Months after Captain *Smart* had left *Cansaux*, a *French* Officer arrived at *Boston*, with Instructions from the Governor of *Cape Breton*, to demand Satisfaction for the Injury done the Subjects of *France*, and Restitution of the Vessels. He was well received by the Governor, and advised to lay the Matter before his Excellency and the Council-Board, which he did in such Terms, that Captain *Smart* thought himself obliged in Duty to his Majesty, as well as in Justice to himself, to complain in a Letter to them, of that Gentleman's Manner of Negotiating, seeing what he had done was by their own Direction, for their Interest, and approved. Whether this Letter was ever read in Council, I will not be positive, but it wrought so little upon the Governor, that in his Answer, he told Captain *Smart* the *French* had been too severely used, and that the Governor of *Cape Breton* ought to have been first consulted,

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consulted, tho' he knew very well at the same time, that no *Englishman* durst Trade there without that Governor's License; and accordingly, it was moved at the Board, That their Agent in *England* should be directed to use his best Endeavours at Court for obtaining Reparation for the Losses the *French* had sustained at *Canseaux*; but some of these grave Senators were too wise to give into such Measures as must infallibly have ruined their Country. However, I am informed, that an Order was sent over from the Regency, one may easily guess who were the Solicitors, requiring Captain *Smart* to deliver up what he took, or the Value, notwithstanding a former Order from the King, whereby His Majesty was graciously pleased to grant to him and his Officers the whole; but this is the Captain's Business, not mine, and so I leave it.

THE other Passage is of the same Nature with the first, and only confirms it. When Captain *Smart* was at *Canseaux*, among the *French* Inhabitants, he found one *la Sonde*, who had formerly lived near *Annapolis-Royal*, and sworn Allegiance to the late Queen; but afterwards removing to *Cape Breton*, and from thence to *Canseaux*, by his Practices and Influence on the *Indians*, he forced our People to quit the Place,

burnt their Vessels, and committed the greatest Outrages, and even Murther upon them, for which he pretended to have a Commission from the Governor of *Cape Breton*; what Truth may be in that, it is certain, Colonel *Doucet*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Nova Scotia*, the Governor being then Absent, sent several Complaints against this *la Sonde*, to the *French* Governor, without the least Effect: Upon Colonel *Doucet's* Letters, and at the earnest Request of the *English* Merchants and Masters, Captain *Smart* carried him to *Boston*, where he delivered him up to Colonel *Shute*, with the Reasons he had to bring him. His Excellency, who *without doubt* is a very good natured Man, having talked with Monsieur *la Sonde* aside, told him, *He was as good an Englishman as he was*, and instead of examining into the Truth of what was alledged against him, or sending him to Colonel *Doucet*, within whose Jurisdiction he had resided, and committed the Crimes charged upon him, he desired he might give into the Council-Board an Account of what he had lost by Captain *Smart's* Expedition. The Account was brought in and sworn to; and though every Article of it was disproved by the Oaths of very worthy Men, yet the Governor would have *Monfr. la Sonde* still pass for an honest Fellow. But the trading

Part of the Country being extreemly provoked at such Proceedings, sent from all Parts, Accusations and Affidavits against him; so that being furnished with a private Pass, and as much Money as purchased a Vessel, he was content to march off in the dark, and to confirm the good Opinion his Excellency was pleased to entertain of him, burnt one of our Ships immediately after his Return to *Nova Scotia*.

THUS do the *French* treat us in *America*, when there is the firmest Alliance between the two Crowns, and thus are we *protected*; and if under such Circumstances our Plantations shall ever attain to a prosperous and flourishing Condition, I will venture to say, it must be the same Way Duke *Robert* of *Normandy* was carried into Heaven. The Story is long, and therefore I beg Leave to refer to the History of the *Holy Wars*, where the Reader may find it.

I have insisted the longer on this Head, that all may be able to judge how essential it is to the Preservation of our Colonies, especially *New England*, that *Nova Scotia* should be planted and put in a Condition to make Head against the *French*. I can affirm, that if the Charges the Nation hath

hath been at ever since the Peace, in maintaining a numerous Garrison at *Annapolis-Royal*, when fifty Men might have done the same Service, had they been employed that Way, they would before this Time have had their Money returned with double Interest. A certain *French* Author, above thirty Years ago, having given an Account of this Country, and the Advantages it yielded at that Time to *France*, viz. Furs, Naval-Stores, Fish, &c. concludes with a Prophecy, That the *English* would be sole Masters of it some Time or other; I hope the Prophecy will be true, but I am sorry I should have Reason to say, That it is not yet fulfilled.

*Tarpeio quondam cecinit de Vertice Cornix.  
Est bene non potuit dicere dixit erit.*

AND now, Reader, having observed to you the easy Access the *French* have to all our Colonies on the Continent of *America*, from *Canada* and *Louisiana* by Land and Water, and that without the Aid of the *Indians*, our Neighbours, it will not be in our Power to prevent their Irruptions. I come in the next Place, to consider the Condition we are in to defend our selves against the *French*, if they should attack us within our Settlements.

THO' the *French* in *Canada* have neither exceeded us in Numbers, nor the rest of their Countrymen in Courage, nevertheless it is certain, they have gained upon us for many Years past; and whilst *Lewis* the XIVth was losing Towns and Battles in *Europe*, they had the good Fortune to extend their Conquests, and enlarge his Dominions in *America*. Nor will this seem any Matter of Wonder, to one who reflects seriously on the Constitution and Form of their Government, the Encouragement they have from the Crown of *France*, and their dextrous way of managing the *Indians*.

IT has been a Maxim constantly observed by all Princes and States, who have planted Colonies or subdued Nations, to keep them united under the Command of particular Governors, in Subordination to others, who presided over the whole, to the end Justice might be impartially administred, Seditions prevented, or easily suppressed; and each inferior Government strengthened and supported by the rest. In the *Roman* Empire, which contained one hundred and twenty Provinces, and near three hundred Colonies, we find only four Prefects or chief Governors under the Emperor, in the Kingdoms of *Peru* and *Mexico* two, and in *Canada*



*da*, to which *Louisiana* is added, but one. And lest it should be imagined, that an extensive Command must necessarily be attended with Arbitrary Power, it may be affirmed with a great Deal of Truth, that the Governor-General of *Canada* is more effectually restrained from breaking in, either upon the Rights of the *Crown*, or those of the *Subject*, than the most petty Governors, being liable to the Check of the Intendant in the first Case, and of the Sovereign Council in the last.

BESIDES Guards and Garrisons, there is a considerable Body of regular Troops continually employed in the Service of the Colony, without the least Burthen or Charge to the Planters: All Civil Officers as well as Military, have certain Yearly Pensions settled upon them, and none are admitted into Places of the greatest Trust, but such as have distinguished themselves at the Court of *France* by their Quality and Merit, under whose Administration the Country is become so Populous, that as I am informed, it contains at present 200000 Souls. This prodigious Increase is chiefly to be ascribed to their inter-marrying with the *Indians*, whom by this means they firmly engage in their Interest. In every Tribe there are some Missionary Priests, and tho' few or  
 none

none of the Savages have ever been made thorough Converts to the Truth of the *Christian* Religion, yet in all other Matters, they look upon these good Fathers as *Tutelar Gods*, and give themselves up entirely to be directed by their Councils.

ON the other Hand, the Country possessed by the *English* in *America*, seems to be much in the same State *Britain* was at the first Entrance of the *Romans*, for as that was divided (to use the Words of a good Historian) \* into several Nations, each governed by its own Kings and particular Princes different in their Ends and Counsels, it was more easily subdued by united Forces: for *dum singuli pugnabant universi vincebantur*, i. e. While they fought in single Bodies, the whole Island was conquered; so in this Country, to draw the Parallel no farther, we have thirteen Colonies at least severally governed by their respective Commanders in chief, according to their peculiar Laws and Constitutions. It would be too tedious and foreign to my Design to consider the several Sorts of Government established in these Provinces, and the different Views and Interests they have to pursue; nor would I give the Reader Oc-

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\* Sir *William Temple*.

caſion to think that I am an Enemy to thoſe Liberties and Privileges, moſt of them enjoy by the Favour of the Crown; I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that next to their being independent one of another, nothing weakens our Plantations more, nor will expoſe them to greater Danger in Caſe of a War with *France*, than the unſkilful Administration (to call it no worſe) of thoſe, who are appointed Governors of many of them, and are left to truſt to Providence for their Subſiſtance.

I will not ſay that all who go thither, like thoſe in *David's* Camp, are in *Debt* or *Diſtreſs*, and conſequently unfit to advance Matters of publick Intereſt; but we may find ſome in *London*, who can inform us, that in time of War, the *Indians* have been ſupplied with *Powder* and *Shot*, the *French* with *Proviſions*, and the *Spaniards*, with *Naval Stores*. *Themistocles* ſaid, that he could not play on a *Fiddle*, but underſtood how to make a little City a great one; but ſome of theſe fiddling Gentlemen, by keeping up Parties and Factions, and oppreſſing the People under Colour of his Maſteſty's Authority, have made a flouriſhing Colony a very poor one.

AND here I beg leave to mention another Set of Officers, who are ſettled in every

very Province by Commissions from *England*, but without any Salaries annexed to the ample Powers they are invested with. These are Judges, Advocates, Registers, and Marshals of Admiralty, who having nothing to depend upon but the *Fees of Court*, and being altogether unqualified for such Employments, by promoting litigious Actions, and pronouncing unjust Decrees, have brought our Trade under a very sensible Decay. It is Pity so useful a Court in these Parts, should not be better established: I am persuaded, if the Nation considered how much their Interest depends upon the Prosperity of the Plantations, and at the same Time, what Discouragements we lie under by the Means of such *Volunteer Governors, Judges, &c.* who use their Commissions as some do Letters of Reprizals, they would order these Matters to be more strictly examined, and take proper Methods for preventing so great Abuses.

BUT to give now, a more distinct View of the Difference between the Colonies depending absolutely on the Crown, and such as are granted by Patents and Charters, with respect to the Resistance they are able to make in Time of War: I need only compare *Virginia* and *New-York*, with *New-England* and *Carolina*.

*Virginia*

*Virginia* was planted Anno 1584, at the Charges, and by the Direction of the incomparable Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who took Possession of it by *Amadas* and *Barlow*, in the Name of Queen *Elizabeth*. In the Year 1606, a Commission was granted to some Noblemen and Merchants, to advance the Settlements under the Government of Captain *Smith*, who was succeeded by Lord *Delaware*. Since that Time the Colony has flourished so much, having been always supplied with great Men for their Governors, who not only kept the *Indians* in Subjection, but acquired to the Crown *New-York*, *Nova-Scotia*, and all the Countries lying to the *Southward* of *St. Lawrence*, as I have said before, that it is at present of more Value to *England*, than perhaps half of the Plantations on the Continent besides.

*New-York* has been no less happily governed; they have inviolably maintained their Alliance with the numerous Nations of the *Iroquois*, and by that Means preserved the Tranquility of their Country.

ON the contrary, the Inhabitants of *New-England* and *Carolina*, find the Savages implacable Enemies; for which, I think, no other

other Reason can be assigned, than that the Governors of these Colonies, have not Authority enough to prevent the unfair Usage the *Indians* frequently complain of, or neglect to give them due Satisfaction when they are wronged. In short, that Person ought to be a *cunning* Man, who treats with the *Indians*, and therefore the *French* leave that Business to the *Jesuits*.

To conclude this Point, As His Majesty's Dominions on this Continent, is cantoned into so many petty, independant States or Commonwealths, whereof there is scarce one that can expect Relief or Assistance from another, in the most imminent Danger, which I could make appear by several Instances; as the Inhabitants of each Colony are unable to defend themselves against a powerful Army of *French* and *Indians*, and the Administration of some of them too weak and unsteady to be confided in, and as it seems impossible we should ever succeed in engaging the *Indians* on our Side against the *French*, for the Reasons I have already given, I think it naturally follows, that some Time or other, the *Mississippi* will drown our Settlements on the Main of *America*.

THE Third unhappy Circumstance that attends the *French* settling in the *Louisiana*, with respect to us, is their being thereby Masters of the *Gulph of Mexico*, and consequently in a Condition to ruin our Trade to *Jamaica*. They are already possessed of a great Part of *Hispaniola*; they have not long ago taken *Pensacola* from the *Spaniards*, a Place of very great Importance, and when they have fortified their Settlements at the Mouth of the *Mississippi*, *Havana* and *Vera Cruz* will probably fall into their Hands also. How much it concerns the Interest of *England*, that the Rights of the Crown of *Spain* should be asserted and preserved in the *West-Indies*, we learn from the Example of Queen *Elizabeth*, who had it in her Power, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* affirms, to have stripped her professed Enemy King *Philip II.* of those Dominions, and yet could not be prevailed upon by her Officers to put the Design in Execution. I cannot therefore believe, that the *French* will ever be allowed, directly against the Letter of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, to enjoy any Acquisitions they have made in *America* during this War (which undoubtedly we should not have engaged in, but upon the wisest Reasons, and most mature Deliberations) since, in such a Case, they would plainly have made

made us the Cat's Foot, and the headless Instruments of our own Destruction.

IN the last Place, When the *French* have planted *Louisiana*, they will be able to supply from thence the Markets of *Europe* with Tobacco, Sugars, and all other Sorts of Commodities, growing or produced in our Plantations, at a much cheaper Rate than we can; for besides the Goodness of the Soil, and the Industry and Frugality of the *French*, wherein they infinitely exceed us, the Planters are furnished with Necessaries from *France* at a moderate Price, which is settled by the Company, and affixed in those Store-Houses and Magazines they have in the Colony, half the Number of *Negroes* we commonly employ, will suffice them, and these they have Liberty to bring directly from *Guinea*; the Country abounds with all Kinds of Provision, which our Islands want extremly; nor will the Inhabitants be oppressed with grievous Taxes and Imposts, as we are, to support their Civil Government: To give you an undeniable Instance of this, Sugar at this Time is sold in *Jamaica* for three and twenty Shillings per Hundred, and in *Hispaniola* for Six and Six-pence, which is the Reason the Merchants in *Jamaica* clandestinely import vast Quantities of the *French Sugars*, and send them



them to *England*. Whence it is evident, the Consumption of our enumerated Plantation Goods, must center entirely in *Great-Britain*, and what then becomes of our Commerce up the *Elbe* and *Weser*, the two Rivers (as we are told) of the greatest Consequence in the World to England, the *Thames* and *Severn* excepted, through whose Streams so great a Part of our Riches is conveyed, and flows Home continually amongst us?

WELL! But our *Chimerical* Gentlemen assure us, that the *French* cannot within the Compass of an Age, bring their Settlements to such a Degree of Perfection, as to interfere with our Interest, and so we shall have Peace in our Days; if this was true, is there no regard due to those who come after us? Or are we to be the less careful to prevent the Danger, because it may only overtake our Children? But to convince us, that even from this Moment we may expect to feel the Effects of their growing Colony, it will be sufficient that I observe only two Ways, amongst many others, the *Regent* has taken to increase the Number, and encourage the *Industry* of the Planters.

FIRST, All Persons who have a mind to go thither, are furnished with Ships and Necessaries at the publick Charge; those  
who

who are bred up in the Hospitals (whereof there is a prodigious Number in *France*) are transported in the same Manner, and every single Man is obliged to marry an *Indian* Woman. In the next Place, to enable them to Trade amongst themselves, they have a continual supply of twenty five Millions in Bank Bills granted them, by an Arrêt of the 16th of *July* 1719, and as the Preamble of that Arrêt may serve to give us a clearer Idea of the State of that Country, I shall here insert it, to save the Reader's trouble of consulting the publick Papers.

“ The King having by his Letters Pa-  
 “ tents of the Month of *August* 1717, e-  
 “ stablished a Trading Company under the  
 “ Name of the *West India* Company, and  
 “ by his Edict in *May* last, re-united to the  
 “ said Company the Trade to the *East-Indies*,  
 “ *China*, &c. His Majesty sees with  
 “ great Satisfaction, that that Company  
 “ takes the best Measures for securing the  
 “ Success of its Establishment, that they  
 “ send a great Number of Inhabitants to  
 “ the Country of *Louisiana*, which was  
 “ granted them, that many private Per-  
 “ sons make Settlements in that Colony,  
 “ and send thither Husbandmen, Tillers,  
 “ and other Handicrafts-Men, to manure  
 “ and improve the Land, sow Corn, plant

“ Tobacco, breed Silk-worms, and do  
“ whatever is necessary to improve the  
“ Country. Furthermore, his Majesty be-  
“ ing informed that the said *India* Compa-  
“ ny is at great Charges for transporting the  
“ said Inhabitants, and furnishing the Co-  
“ lony with Meal and other Necessaries,  
“ till the Land affords a sufficient Quantity  
“ of Provisions for their Subsistence, that  
“ the Company sends thither all Sorts of  
“ Goods and Merchandizes, to render the  
“ Life of the Inhabitants more comfortable,  
“ and that for preventing Abuses too fre-  
“ quent in Colonies, they have taken Care  
“ to settle the Price thereof at a moderate  
“ Rate by a general Tariff, &c. Which  
“ Dispositions have appeared so wise and  
“ necessary, that his Majesty is resolved to  
“ favour the Execution thereof, and know-  
“ ing that the exchanging of Goods not  
“ being sufficient to carry on Commerce in  
“ its full Extent, it is necessary in the  
“ beginning of Establishments of this  
“ Nature, to give them all possible Pro-  
“ tection and Countenance, his Majesty has  
“ resolved to supply the said Company  
“ with a Sum of Bank Bills to enable the  
“ Inhabitants of *Louisiana* to Trade amongst  
“ themselves, and bring into *France* the  
“ Fruits of their Labour, Industry and Oe-  
“ conomy, without any Risque or Charge.

THE

THE Effects of these wise Ordinances are but too visible, their Settlements being already farther advanced, and in a better Condition than ours were in *Virginia* for twenty Years after it was first planted; nor indeed is it possible to conceive how they can miscarry in their vast Designs, being supported by the Revenues of *France*, and those Revenues increased by their Industry and Labour.

WOULD a certain Body of Men, who in some other Points disdain not to Copy after Mr. *Law's* Schemes, instead of Stock-jobbing the publick Debts (whereby the Nation evidently loses great Sums, especially to Foreigners) employ their Money and Interest at Court, in securing and enlarging our Trade, by planting fine Countries belonging to the Crown in *America*, which at present are inhabited by *Indians* only, and wild Beasts, they might with a great Deal of Justice be entitled to the Honour of being thought *the English Mississippi Company*; but if neither this nor any other Undertaking equally Beneficial to the Kingdom be intended, I leave every Reader to judge, whether malicious Persons at least, will not be ready to suggest, that whilst some go about to lessen our Apprehensions of a real

*Danger*, they endeavour only to amuse us with *Chimeras* of their own.

HAVING finished the Reflections, I proposed, on the Consequences of the *French* settling themselves in *Louisiana* with Respect to our Plantations, I shall recite the Words of Dr, *D'Avenant*, which may very properly, in my Opinion, be applied to the *French* at this time; *In some Parts they supplant us, and every where out-wit us, and when we observe them still endeavouring to get Ground, and never yielding any Point, but forming long Schemes, calculated to take Effect for many Years to come, in order to enlarge themselves at any Expence, it will become good Patriots to look about them, and to take Care, lest in time, England should be in a Manner excluded from the Commercial World.*

I am sorry, to find it confirmed at this Juncture, that my Fears about the *Plantations* are but too well justified by the Accounts we have just now received from *South-Carolina*, the Substance whereof is, that the Inhabitants have Deposed their Governor, and set up one of their own chusing in his Room. In what manner these Proceedings will be resented in *England*, I will not take upon me to determine, but with humble Submission to our Superiors, I beg  
leave

leave to affirm, that they will find it no easy Matter to prevent such unwarrantable Steps, so long as Oppression and Corruption are suffered to reign amongst us, and those who are injured, must be obliged to attend some Boards many Months, nay Years, and at last return perhaps without being Heard. When the *Roman* Grandee told the old Woman, who delivered him a Petition, that he was not at Leisure to mind it, she smartly replied, *exue te officio, then quit your Post.*

I would therefore, as one Instance, have the following Case duly weighed, for which Purpose, I have here inserted it, because it fully explains what I have already advanced concerning the Courts of Admiralty established in *America*.

A Gentleman, who was *Advocate General* in one of these Courts, having been suspended, very unjustly as he believed, by the carrying his Complaint to *England*. Soon after his Arrival, he signified in a Letter to a Person of Honour, that the hard Usage he had met with from C. S. in being discharged by his Order on the 23d of *June* 1719 without any Colour of Reason or Notice given him, not only from exercising the Office of *Advocate General*, but likewise from pleading in the Court during his pleasure,

sure and had forced him to leave *America*, in order to make his Application to the Lords of the *Admiralty* more effectually, and that if their Lordships would give him leave, he hoped he should be able to prove, that as the Governor in Quality of *Vice-Admiral*, had used his utmost Endeavours to suppress their Lordships Authority and Jurisdiction in those Parts, and thereby ruin the Trade of the Inhabitants; so the Oppression he complained of, proceeded only from his adhering to the strict Rules of his Duty, and refusing to justify such Arbitrary Practices.

THIS Letter was followed by a Memorial to the Board, wherein he represented, that after the many Complaints, which had been laid before their Lordships against that Governor's Proceedings with Respect to *Admiralty Matters*, the little Regard he had shewed to their repeated Orders, and the Injuries the *Complainant* suffered from him for asserting the *Rights of the Crown* and their Authority, he humbly conceived, it was his Duty to attend their Lordships with a full and particular Account of the great Abuses committed by that *Gentleman*, under Colour of his Commission for being *Vice-Admiral*. And first,

THAT

THAT by Virtue thereof, he assumed the Power of issuing out Warrants under his Hand and Seal (with a Clause directing military Execution to be used in Case of Resistance) to the *Marshal of Admiralty*, or such other Persons, as he thinks fit to appoint from time to time, for *citing Parties, examining Witnesses, making Discoveries upon Oath of Perquisites of Admiralty, and for seizing under that Pretence, Ships and Effects, and disposing of the same without any legal Process or Tryal to his own Use, and generally to execute by his own Authority only, all other judicial Acts whatsoever, to the grievous Oppression of his Majesties Subjects, &c.*

To prove this Article, he set forth, that the most beneficial, and indeed the only Trade that Country has to depend on during the Winter Season, is *Whale-fishing*, wherein the Method constantly observed by those, who work upon the *Whales*, is, after they have struck their Irons, and marked the Places which are wounded, they leave them to be driven ashoar by the Winds and Tides, and upon making out their respective Properties, they have the *Whales* delivered up by the Finders. That the *Vice Admiral*, notwithstanding clear and evident Proofs brought by the Claimants, not only possessed himself at several Times of sundry *Whales*, but  
took



took by Force considerable Quantities of Oil and Bone out of the Hands of the lawful Owners, and last Winter seized about thirteen *Whales*, which were killed in the Bay, and taken upon the Land.

THAT the said *Advocate General* at the Request of the Parties aggrieved, and pursuant to his Duty, moved in Court, that the Property of the *Whales* might be tryed and adjudged according to Law, and that having exhibited Libels for that Purpose, he obtained a Decree upon one of them in Favour of the Claimers, tho' by means of the *Governor's* sham Warrants, several long and unnecessary Adjournments of the Court, and many other Obstructions which were thrown in the way, to deter others from applying in the like manner for Redress, the Charges equalled almost the Value of the *Whale*; but that two Days before he was to be heard on the rest, to prevent making any farther Opposition to his Excellency's Interest, he was *suspended from the Exercise of any Employment in that Court*, by a private Order directed to the Judge.

THERE are many more Articles contained in this *Memorial* against the *Vice Admiral's* Conduct, which I omit; it is sufficient here to take Notice only, that the Per-  
son

son who presented it, assured me that it had been his Misfortune to find no Access to the Rt. Hon. Board, and that neither the Memorial nor the following Letter were thought worth reading.

Abstract of a LETTER concerning the Officers of Admiralty in Newfoundland.

S I R,

**I**N the Representation I lately gave in, I did with great Submission observe to their Lordships, That the Court of Admiralty established in Newfoundland, instead of being useful to the Trade and Navigation of the Country, proves at present an intolerable Grievance, and in some of my Letters from thence, I acquainted you, That in my humble Opinion, the Abuses therein complained of, could neither be prevented nor reformed any other way, than by appointing Men of Probity and Knowledge, and in all other Respects fitly qualified to execute the several Offices whereof the Court consists.

THAT I may explain this Matter more fully, I beg leave, from the Experience and Knowledge I have had of the Officers, who are now by Virtue of their Warrants, in the actual Exercise of these Employments, to give  
you

on the following Account of their Ability and Conduct.

THE Judge, besides his unskilfulness in the Maritime Laws, and unintelligible Kind of Speech, hath been so notoriously guilty of Corruption, that very few Cases of any Importance have been brought before him, wherein his Interest hath not over-ruled his Judgment, and framed the Decision in Favour of the highest Bidder. In June 1717, a Controversy happening amongst the Fishermen, concerning the Property of two Whales, he took one to himself to answer his Costs, and divided the other between the contending Parties, in Consideration of 30 l. over and above his Costs paid to him by those who in Justice were entitled to no Share at all. He could not be prevailed with to proceed to a Condemnation of Captain Smart's Prizes, before he was assured of receiving 40 l. and taking Advantage of the Difference between the Governor, and Captain Smart, he refused at last to give Sentence without a larger Premium, viz. a Hogshead of French Claret, and a Cask of Brandy, which Captain Smart, to prevent the Prizes being delivered up to the Governor, was forced to yield to. In May 1718, he acquitted a Ship called the King George, which was Libelled for importing from Ireland, Iron, French Brandy, and Irish Freeze, contrary to  
Law,

*Law, in Consideration of having assigned over to him, as it is believed, two Men Servants, valued at 22 l. each. To these, and many more undeniable Instances of Bribery, may be added other Parts of his Conduct, not only unbecoming, but with Submission, entirely inconsistent with the Character of an upright Judge; namely, his soliciting and drawing vexatious Suits before him, only for the Sake of Costs, and encouraging for that End, Attorneys, and others, to create Quarrels between Sailors and their Masters; his advising Parties privately, both before and during the Trial, how to proceed; his compounding for Costs before Sentence, and altering the Sentence after it is pronounced and lodged in Court several Times, according to the several Applications made to him by the contending Parties.*

*THE Register is the Governor's menial Servant, and the immediate Instrument made use of by his Master in committing many of those Abuses, which I have humbly represented to them, the Warrants and Orders complained of, being commonly issued out by the Register, and consequently of greater Authority, as coming from a legal Officer. Nor is it to be expected, that Justice can be impartially administered in a Court, whilst the Person who ought to be the Hinge of it, is wholly under the Direction and Command of one, who makes no  
Scruple,*

*Scruple to sacrifice the Court, &c. to his Arbitrary Power.*

As to the Marshal, I have often mentioned him to you in my Letters as a very corrupt Officer, both in the Custom-House and Admiralty; in which Employments the Governor finds it necessary to continue him, notwithstanding their Lordships Order to the contrary, by Reason his Warrants for seizing Ships and Goods, are always directed to him; and so punctual he is in the executing of them, that in Contempt of the Decree of Court, he attempted to force Captain Smart's Prizes out of his Possession. In every Case he exacts treble Fees at least, and combining with the Register, takes out Warrants under the Seal of the Office, for arresting poor ignorant Strangers, and then compounds for a Sum of Money to discharge them. I have often complained in Court of these Practices, but found the Judge too deeply engaged himself to suffer Matters of this Kind to come under a strict Examination.

By this brief Description, which I can prove, and enlarge to a hundred Particulars more, you may easily perceive what a wretched Court this must needs be, that is made up of such Members, with whom an honest Man would think it a Scandal to act in Society; and

and how unhappy the People who live within the Limits of its Jurisdiction; and as it is very unlikely, that these Offices which have no Salaries annexed to them, can be supplied from England with Men of Worth, and such competent Fortunes, as may secure them from falling before the Temptations their Necessities would certainly expose them to; I hope it will seem reasonable that none be admitted but such as are recommended by Men of Figure and Esteem in the Country; and it being as unlikely that even good Officers can faithfully discharge their Duty, so long as the Governor, by Virtue of his Power, over-awes them into a Compliance with his Orders: I humbly submit it to their Lordships Wisdom, whether it would not be for His Majesty's Service, the Interest of his Subjects, and their Lordships Honour, that the Governors should be divested of that Power, as others have been heretofore, and that the Money arising by Perquisites of Admiralty, should be levied, collected and applied, by such Persons, and to such Uses, as their Lordships shall from Time to Time be pleased to direct.

I am, &c.

BEFORE I proceed any farther with (what I am sensible will be called) these feeble Remarks of mine, I think my self

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bound

bound both in Honour and Probity to acknowledge, that the most judicious Observations above-recited, were confirmed by the long Experience of my late learned Friend and Countryman Mr. *James Smith*, L. L. D. and Advocate-General of *Carolina*. To his Memory, therefore, the Publick stands indebted for these invaluable Considerations on the Consequences of the *French* settling Colonies on the *Mississippi*, with respect to the Trade and Safety of the *English* Plantations in *America*, and the *West-Indies*. And I shall quit the Subject in Debate, by an Application of two Passages from the *Poet* and the *Orator*,

— *Quis cum ruat arduus Æther*  
*Complosas tenuisse manus — velit, says*  
*Lucan.*

AND then pronounces *Cicero*, *Nam quæ reliqua spes manet libertatis, si illis & quod libet licet; Et quod libet possunt: Et quod possunt, audent; Et quod audent, faciunt: Et quod faciunt, vobis molestum non est?* (Orat. ad. *Heren.*)

THE foregoing, unanswerable Observations, of my well-experienced Friend Mr. *Smith*, have only illustrated my own Remarks on the Posture of the *French* Affairs, which I shall now resume: For, in that  
 Nation,

Nation, it has been always found, that ingenious and publick spirited Men have been employed in the Direction of all their Affairs of Policy; and our Countryman, the famous Mr. *Law*, was with the greatest Assiduity racking his fruitful Invention to make them a rich and happy People, providing Work for the industrious indigent, who were ashamed to beg, in this resembling another *Joseph*, sent before to preserve his Fellow Creatures, raising that Kingdom to such a Degree, as no Body ever could imagine, not many Years ago; and in fine, extending his Concern for the universal of Mankind.

By these Means the *Regent* hath not only got all the Money in *France* in his Hands, but also vast and immense Sums from *Great-Britain*, the *Empire*, &c. upon which the *Mississippi Company* and *Bank* are both secured, even against Despotick Government it self, having made it so much the Interest of the most absolute Government to preserve both, that if the King should offer to seize either, by his Arbitrary Authority, it must infallibly confound and destroy both Government and Subject together.

UPON these two Foundations doth not only the Money, but all the personal and real



real Estates of the Kingdom depend, having also cautiously provided, that this Stock shall not rise higher than its real Worth, by establishing one Office for selling, and another for buying at a certain Value, wherein both Buyer and Seller finds their Advantage, to the utter Confusion of Stock-Jobbers, so pernicious to all Nations where that Trade is allowed, whereby the People's Conveniencies and Occasions are much better answered by the Company it self, who thereby reap the Benefit that our Stock-Jobbers run away withal.

WHOSOEVER cannot foresee what bad Consequences *Great-Britain* may at last suffer from these stupendous Proceedings of the *French*, must be more than blind, which one would think our present Ministers do not seem to apprehend.

AND I think it is none of the least Reasons we have to be jealous of their exorbitant Power, when such a Person, above all Temptations of Corruption, is not improperly to be said, at their Helm and Head, whom I shall not pretend to make Encomiums upon, his Actions surpassing all I can say, as much as he hath surpassed the *Richlieus*, *Mazarines*, *Colberts*, and all other bright Men that ever shone in *France*.

THIS

THIS is likewise a demonstrative Argument of the *Regent's* great Penetration above his Neighbours, to comprehend the Value of such a Person, by the Projects and Schemes he had formed to serve *Great-Britain* and other States, which they unhappily rejected, but he embraced with all Encouragement, whereby he laid the Foundation to build such a Superstructure upon, as the most ingenious Men we have are not only amazed at, but have taken the Spleen, which justly intitles him to be the Nursing Father of his Country, one of the richest and greatest Blessings any Nation can enjoy.

IF we fall out with *France*, or they with us, which is very possible, we shall find them a more powerful Match for us, than they were in the late Reigns, and even then every Child can remember they were hard enough for all *Europe*.

NAY, it is more than possible, that the very *Indians* will take Part with them at last, for Premiums are politickly given to all Subjects that marry *Indian* Women, by which Means, either the *Indians* will generate into *French*, or the *French* degenerate into *Indians*, which is much the same Thing.

WE have a late Example of the *French*-Influence with them, in the Catastrophe at *Carolina*, but a few Years ago, where our Colony was near destroyed, which may persuade any Body, that they resolve to run us out of all at last, and if they do not, we may thank God and their good Nature only, for which, I am afraid, we shall not have too much Reason to boast, whenever their own Turn is served.

TO these Assertions, I propose to meet with some Objections.

I. THAT the *Regent* is entirely in King GEORGE'S Interest, and ready to support him on all Occasions, against the *Pretender*.

I answer, He is ready enough to support him on the *British* Throne, because it will contribute to his Interest, if he takes the same Measures to succeed to that of *France*, in Case the King should die, though at present, he wisely considers the true Interest, Trade and Riches of his own Country, in Opposition to *Great-Britain*; and it were to be wished, that his glorious Example was followed, to befriend his Succession to the *French* Crown; for no other Reason, but the

the general Interest of *Europe*, and *Great-Britain* particularly, to keep the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* separate; but especially, to keep *France* from getting into its Hands any Thing that belongs to *Spain*, and to be jealous of *France's* extravagant Power: But instead of that, I think I have proved, that we are endeavouring the contrary, for when he is Master of the *Indies*, he wants nothing but the *Spanish* Dominions in *Europe*, which he hath been wise enough to suffer the *German* and *British* Nations to contend for against the *Spaniards*, in order to weaken all those; for why should not we be as suspicious now, as we were in the Reign of the late King *James*, whose Interest, we all knew, was abetted by the late *French* King, though he was *Great-Britain's* inveterate Enemy at the same Time, which alarmed the whole Nation, and at last ended in the King's Ruin.

*Obj. 2.* OUR Apprehensions and Fears will all be at an end upon the general Peace, which is expected very speedily.

*Ans.* Come when it will, it will never answer for our late Conduct, nor the great Loss we have suffered; for if the *French* or *Dutch* have improved so much upon this Conduct, as to have already got, or may get those Trades out of our Hands, pray

how shall we recover them? Especially, if *Spain* be so incensed at us, and, perhaps, deservedly enough, to lay our Trade into their Dominions, under such Disadvantages as may very probably throw it entirely into the Hands of those our Rivals, who to be sure are always ready to snatch at all Opportunities of that Nature, whereby they can either disoblige and prejudice their Neighbours, or oblige themselves; and it is certain, that no Peace can prevent *France* from being Masters of the *Spanish West-Indies*, or at least our Trade thereunto, and executing their violent Designs against our *American Colonies* whenever they please, as they have wisely managed this Affair; Whereas, had we kept neuter, we should have had all Terms and Advantages according to our Mind, and obliged *France* to be cautious how they offended us; for we have lately (through I know not what Counsels) given *Spain* such Treatment, as we have Reason to fear they will owe us a perpetual Grudge for, when *France* at the same Time carried on their Part of the War so faintly, as we have good Reason to believe it was all a Sham, because the *Regent* hath at last got it in his Power to make what Articles and Stipulations he pleases, not only for the *French*, but for all the Allies, which will, no doubt, be made appear

pear to all the World, when the Commerce is established, having secured to himself such Conditions of Trade, as every wise Prince would doubtless take care of upon the great Advantages we have given him.

*Obj. 3.* France, at present, has no Fleet; so we have nothing to fear from them.

*Ans.* THEY are preparing though very fast, both buying and building Ships, not only in all their own Ports, and in *Holland*, but even in the River *Thames*. Hath not Mr. *Law* formed a Company to the *North* for all Naval Stores, with a Capital Stock of above Fifty Millions, and joined it to the *Mississippi* Company? And their *Newfoundland* and *European* Fisheries, which they are now establishing, will be good Nurseries for Seamen, how long pray then will they want a Fleet?

*Obj. 4.* BUT we have nothing to fear from *France*, so long as we have a Check upon the *Regent*, who must depend upon our Assistance to make good his Accession to the Crown, against *Philip*, and the Hereditary Party in that Nation.

*Ans.* THIS Objection is obviated, by the King of *France's* surviving him; but if he should

should die before him, the *Regent* seems to have already taken such Measures as must infallibly render him so dear to the People, that the Hereditary-Right-Party there, must dwindle into nothing; for it cannot be supposed, that any People would desire to change a certain, for an uncertain State of Happiness; and in this Case, the *Regent* will not need our Assistance, but be at full Liberty, and have Power enough to aggrandize himself and his Kingdom, and put what other extensive Views he pleases in Execution, without any Manner of dread to offend us; and if such Measures were taken here, no doubt the same Influence would follow, as to banish all Thoughts of Hereditary Right, &c. away; and who knows where it may end.

*Obj.* 5. Our Woollen Trade, which is the Staple of *Great-Britain*, cannot be encroached upon by *France*, because it is better than theirs.

*Ans.* OUR Woollen Manufactures cannot be so well managed without a Mixture of the *Spanish* Wooll, which, when the *French* Monopolizes to themselves with the rest of their Trade, their Woollen Cloth will soon be better than ours, and by the late Measures, *Spain* will either be persuaded

ed by Treaty and private Alliances, or be forced by War, considering the *French* late great Improvements, and other Conquests in *America*, to grant what Concessions *France* pleases to demand.

FOR this end, the ingenious Mr. *Law*, is promoting, not only the Woollen-Cloth-Manufactories, but is also like to rival us in all all other Manufactories of Wooll, as Hats, Stockings, &c. nay, in all mechanick Trades too, as Watch-Makers, Jewelers, Cutlers of all Sorts, Carpenters and Smiths for all Sorts of Arms, as Founders, &c.

HE is also forming of Fishing Companies, even upon our Coasts, a Trade no true *British* Subject could ever be satisfied with abandoning it to Strangers; for by it the *Hollanders* are become, not only very powerful, but even saucy enough to dispute our Title to it more than once; but had not the Fishing on our Northern Coasts been the Means to raise them from poor mean Circumstances, to the High and Mighty Title and Power they now claim, there needed not such Pains and Industry as was made to court them into an Alliance with us, which they seemed so very much to despise.



*Obj. 6.* OUR Debts will soon be paid now by the *South-Sea Company*, as well as those of *France*.

*Ans.* THOUGH our Ministry hath endeavoured, by following Mr. *Law's* Example, and I wish they may have as good Luck, though I doubt they will not, to persuade us that they are to clear the Nation of Debt, by their late Transactions with that Company, which is now become their Favourite. I remember, upon its first Erection they reckoned it a common Nuisance, as indeed abundance of knowing People, I believe not unjustly, do reckon all publick Companies and Monopolies to be.

'TIS true, its Capital will amount to near 5000000, by throwing all the publick Debts into it as far as they can; but pray what Benefit will the Nation reap by it, for the Interest of our Debts are the same as formerly, and consequently we are no more eased by it than any Man is, who borrows from one Friend to pay another. It is very convenient sometimes to change Creditors, but it may be questioned, whether it be convenient to have several Creditors, or only one for the same Sum? I must own it is an Ease to have only one to deal with;  
but

but having many, perhaps some of them may be more easy than another; now we have got the *South-Sea Company* instead of all the rest, and I wish them Joy; but it may be likewise a Question, If this great Corporation will not at last affect all private Trade?

I will beg Leave to trouble my Reader with a merry Observation of one of our witty News Mongers, upon Stock-Jobbing of the publick Debts owing to those Companies. Says he,

THE Gamesters meet in *Exchange-Alley*, and just as if they were at Box and Dice, 180 $\frac{1}{4}$  *South-Sea* Stock is the main, which brings in all the Bites to set high, and when the Cullies that are not in the Secret, throw at All, they commonly throw out, and lose the Box, which the Bites take, and the Setters go round, laying Guineas, and most extravagant Odds upon the Success; but they cog the Dice, and nick the Main, and so sweep away all the Cash.

WHEREUPON the Losers run almost mad; one Merchant sits raving, for being Yesterday worth 40000*l.* and to Day not worth a Shilling: Another great Dealer, who, perhaps, does not value the Loss so much, swears

swears he is Party-bit above 3000 *l.* and a third swears he hath lost above 20, but will never pay a Shilling of it, let them find his Effects or Person if they can, but who pities them? What have Merchants to do to turn Gamesters? What have Linen and Woollen Men to do with Box and Dice? These are very dismal Effects!

THE *South-Sea* Company being now mounted, and become the *English Mississippi*, are to pay all Debts sometime or other if they can, though by the Bye, if all our Debts were paid, they would be paid too, and then where is your *South-Sea* Company?

WHAT Advantage is it to *Great-Britain* in general, to have Things sell for more than they are worth? *e. g.*

SUPPOSE a Company's Stock to rise to 200 *per Cent.* at this Rate, they may propose to buy the Nation's Debts well enough, suppose Annuities, Tallies, &c. if the Sellers, will take one Shilling for two, the Buyers may well give Thirty Years Purchase for what was worth but Twenty before. And if the Buyers can put off one Shilling at the Rate of Two, they may do all this, and get ten Years Purchase by the Bargain.

**BUT**

BUT where will this fall at last, if new Shares must be created to make these Purchases, which Shares are vendible in the Market, at double the intrinick Value: Pray where will it fall when the Price rabates? When what is bought for Two Hundred, may sell but at *Par*?

As to any lasting Benefit the Company proposes by this, methinks it is plain enough, that it can never compare with the *French East-India* Company, which must needs have the Ascendant of ours, for these Reasons.

I. THE *French* have at their Helm, a Man above all private Views, a perfect Judge of Mankind, whose generous, extended Thoughts, are employed on proper Means to make that Company answer the great Ends of the Nation, and therefore suffers none under him but such as are capable and fit to manage what is committed to their Charge. We hear of no Grievances or Complaints under his Administration from the *French* Colonies, as we hear every Day from our own; no screening or conniving at unjust Governors,

*Whose loud Oppressions now demand Supplies  
More from Briareus's Hands than Argus's Eyes.*

2. Even the Despotick Government of that Nation is an Advantage to him, since thereby he can contrive and execute in one Day what must Cost us Applications to Parliament, begging and praying to Ministers of State, Favourites at Court, &c. besides the proper Arguments that must be used with some leading Man or other to carry any Thing into a Law, which there is no occasion for in *France*.

3. IT will be scarce possible to unite our great Companies in *Britain*, because the leading Men and Managers of each have different Interests and Views, and so are always jealous of one another.

4. OUR publick Stocks lie at the Mercy of every Mob *News-writer*, or other Scribler, who, if they but mention the *Pretender*, or any Thing a doing for that Interest, flap, down go the Stocks, as happened but in *February* last, upon a little trifling Quarrel in *Scotland*, betwixt some Country People and the Crew of a Merchant-Ship who were carrying off some Corn, the News whereof sunk *South-Sea* Stock 13 per Cent in an Hour's time, so that *France*, by Insinuating any Thing in their *Gazette*, or otherwise

otherwise that may displease or vex us, can affect our Stocks when they will.

NAY, we are so fond of *Companies* and such Trade now, that our House of Commons are forced to interpose, in order to prevent People's subserving to Chimerical Companies, into this the whole Nation are running mad, which a wise Man would not venture a Shilling upon.

I wish we were wise enough to recover as much of our Losses as we can, by improving what God Almighty has laid to our Door, to the best Advantage, which our unkind Neighbours never thank us for, tho' they are obliged by solemn Treaty to pay us a yearly Tribute upon that Account, which, if it was improved, would doubtless in some Measure, not only alleviate our other intolerable Burdens, but likewise justly add not a little to our Power.

To illustrate this Point, I shall state a Comparison betwixt the *French* and *us*, how unequally we both carry on the War against *Spain*, and upon some Branches of our *British* Manufactures at Home, and inform the Reader, what Reason the Woollen Factors have to Complain, and what Cause ought to be assigned for the lamentable Decay of that Trade.

MOST Governments in *Europe*, but especially *France*, make their benevolent propitious Thoughts go along with the Merchant's Industry; but with us, the Government's Thoughts are seldom employed that Way, leaving it altogether to the Industry of the Merchants, who have at present to struggle with the Inconveniencies they are lately plunged into for instance, the *French* are at War with *Spain*, as well as we, the *French* seize none of their Ships at Sea, nor they of the *French*; the *Spaniards* seize none of their Effects in *Spain*, nor they of the *Spaniards* in *France*; the *French* have no Fleet against the *Spaniards*, and so are free of all that Charge.

BUT we carry on the War both by Land and Sea, and prohibit all Commerce with *Spain*, they seize all our Effects both in *Old Spain* and *New*, and prohibit Trade with us, whereas the Trade betwixt them and *France* goes on, notwithstanding, which must Convince every Body of the vast Advantages the *French* have over us in this War.

FROM this unequal Management, Expence, and Advantage betwixt *France* and us in this War, a Stranger would readily suppose

suppose that our Counsellors in this Affair had been bribed to propose such Measures as were taken, directly tending to answer all the Ends that the Ambition or Covetousness of *France* could wish for, and truly since the *Hollanders* have so much handling in our Affairs, and are so much used to receive Presents from the good natured People of *Great-Britain*, it is reasonable enough to suppose they had a fellow feeling with their Brethren-*Foreigners*, which their too good Nature could not resist, and it cannot be denied, but such good Service to *France* deserved a great deal of Gold.

FROM the whole I infer, that it is too plain, every Thing goes against our Interest, from what Means, Counsel, or Advice, if no Body will join with me, let them find it out themselves, what other Way they can, our Compassing Sea and Land to suppress a Nation, which it is so much our Interest to preserve from falling a Prey to another, whose stupendous Power we have so much Reason to dread, besides their politick Industry, which we shall find at last more pernicious than all that the dull proud *Spaniards* can Contrive, whose lazy Indolence is so much the more our Advantage, that we are thereby rendred their Manu-  
H 2.
facturers



facturers and Carriers, to the vast Increase of our Wealth and Trade, which must decay proportionably, with whatsoever Advantages and Additions the *French* make to their Power and Strength in *America*, whereby they can check the *Spaniard* when they find it convenient: And if it be true, that they have by virtue of the late Treaty privately procured a Trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*. I am afraid *Britain* will have too much Reason to dread the Consequences, which as naturally follows upon it, as that every Blow we gave *Spain*, was a Wound to our own Vitals.

I must be bold to call him a base Philosopher, that will offer to conclude from any of these Premises, that I am any Way in the Interest of *Spain*, farther than it interferes with that of *Great-Britain*; I have not the least Inclination that Way, nor do I like any Thing in the *Spaniards*, but their Indolence, their Idleness and Pride, which renders them incapable to Rival us in any Thing, and makes them more easy to be dealt with by any of their Neighbours, who are so earnest to get that Trade into their Hands.

BUT I must only add upon this Head, that it is a melancholy Reflection which all  
true

true born Subjects must have upon our late Advices from *Paris*, that *France* hath agreed to Preliminaries of Peace with *Spain*, without Consulting us: And if it be true, that we are to deliver up *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* to the *Spaniard*, our *Mediterranean Trade* will be rendred Precarious, &c.

IT is but a trifling Objection that our Trade to the *Streights* will be as secure now, as when *Spain* possessed these Forts formerly, because *Spain* for this Hundred Years were, generally speaking, in Friendship with us. And consequently it was our Interest then, to take part with them, and defend them from *France*, from whom we had most Mischief to apprehend; but now *France* and *Spain* being likely to join together, we have much more to fear than ever we had, the Preliminaries being so very much to our Prejudice, what have we to expect from the ensuing Treaty, where our chief Rivals the *French* will Carve out for us what they please, and turn the Balance into their own Hands, which all the World knows was very lately in ours; when they courted us to save them from their potent Neighbours in the late War. But at that Time we carved and did what we pleased, not only for all the Allies concerned in the late War, but even for all *Europe*, what a Pi-

nacle of Respect and Honour are we fallen from. To be rendred so cheap and contemptible in the Eye of the World? By suffering *France* to Insult and Treat us as they do? Or, how is it possible that *France*, or indeed any Nation can retain that Opinion of, or regard to us, as when we acted like our selves? When they see us thus patiently suffer Abuses and Affronts by those whom all Nations despise? They are thereby encouraged to offer such Indignities to our Honour and Trade, as this famous Treaty betwixt *France* and *Spain* will testify while the World endures, for which we may thank our own Indolence and Indulgence to those *Foreigners* at Home, whom the *French* and *Dutch* already have, and all other Nations Abroad will from thence take all Opportunities to Practise upon.

BUT to proceed as I promised, to compare our Woollen Trade with other Manufactures at Home, which are all languishing together, more especially the Woollen, as the many Petitions to the House of Commons from most of the Towns and Corporations in the Kingdom testify, representing the miserable Condition of that Manufactory, that many Hundreds and Thousands of Families are starving thro' the decay of it.

It is true, the Woollen Manufactory was always justly reputed the Life and Soul of the Kingdom, and whenever that is affected, the whole Nation must suffer proportionably, but our Manufactories have been lately affected all alike; and it may be supposed, that before they starve, they will fall upon the rich People of the Nation; and perhaps any Body that they fancy have more Money than themselves, the Weavers have already begun; and no doubt, without a Remedy, they will not want Followers.

BUT since most People have been lately employed in giving their Opinion upon this melancholy Subject of the Weavers, both in Word and Writing, some imputing the decay of their Trade to the Callicoes, &c. Some to one Thing, some to another; I hope the Reader will allow me to throw in my Mite among the rest, for, with humble Submission to their Judgments, I think they have all put it upon the wrong Foot.

IN order therefore to find out the true Cause of this Decay of Trade, which produces so many Complaints to the Parliament, and indeed every where, that a proper Remedy may be applied; I shall first

let the Reader know, why I think those cannot be the just Causes of the Weaver's Complaints, which have been lately Assigned, and then I shall endeavour to let him know what the true Reason must be, not only of the Weaver's want of Business and Decay of Trade, but of all other Manufactories whatsoever.

IT is agreed, that the Women's late universal Wear of Callicoe and stamped Linnen is the first Cause, not consulting that they have given more Reprisals to the Weavers by their assuming the old *Irish* Garb of Riding-hood and Mantle at the same Time, and quilted Petticoats, which all Ranks and Qualities have run into within this five Years, instead of Scarfs and Hives, which are not worn ten Parts in eleven so much as they used to be, and methinks they ought to be thanked for their Hoops too, as making their other Petticoats, which are generally of Wool, at least lined with it, much wider than formerly.

AND this Answer alone in behalf of the Linnen, ought to favour the Petitions from *Scotland* for that End, at least prevent all Prohibitions, or Restrictions upon it, it being the Product of *British* and even of *English* Ground more than formerly, and consequently

sequently employs as many Hands proportionably in Spining, Whitening, Printing, Stamping, and even in Weaving, &c. as the other does, so as to relieve the Wooll at the Expence of the Linnen, would be to Plunder one Subject to relieve another.

BESIDES, the Duties arising to the Government from Callicoes and stamped Linnen, amount to above 80000 *l.* and the Duties from Pot-Ashes when imported, and upon Soap when Manufactured, all which amount to a vast Sum, and being now appropriated Funds, they must in this Case be supplied by other new Taxes; but what an immense Sum this must be, every Body will soon be convinced when he looks into the Custom-house Books, and considers what a vast Consumption of Soap the Stamping and Printing of Callicoes and Linnen requires.

AND if the Importation of Callicoe from the *East-Indies* be discharged, because it is the Product of another Country, then they cannot take so much of our Manufactures, and consequently the Exportation of our Woollen Cloth will be prevented to these Parts, and the *East-India* Trade and Company must be much weakned, who have always carried vast Quantities of the Woollen Cloth there.

Now

Now what shall be assigned as the true Reason of their Decay of Trade? Which may be called universal, for the Linnen-Drapers, Printers, Stampers, Soap-boilers, &c. will have as much Reason to cry out very soon, as the Weavers, Woollen-Drapers, or any other Trade whatsoever, without a speedy and effectual Cure, if we do not reckon the Interruption of our Trade with *Muscovy* and *Spain* to be one, if not the first and chief Cause? Which no Body can deny, if it be allowed that *Spain* and its Plantations alone consumes above half the Manufactures of *Great-Britain*, which I lay down as an Hypothesis agreed to by the most knowing Merchants in the Kingdom.

PERHAPS some may think it another Cause of the Decay of our Home Manufactures, that His Majesty's foreign Affairs calls him Abroad so often, and that before his Birth-Day and returning after his Coronation; both which Days, especially the first, Occasions a prodigious Consumption of all Sorts of Cloth and every Manufacture, especially by People of Fortune and Persons of Quality, who not only take an Opportunity to travel with him, but some of them are obliged to attend him either by virtue of their Office, or by his Command.

WE have nothing for it but Patience; Weavers, Linnen-Drapers, and all of us till the general Peace: and then the real Cause of this just Lamentation will appear very plain, if the *French* or *Dutch* be not beforehand with us; and in that Case indeed our Misfortunes and Loss of that Trade will be irretrievable, till some Door or other open for our Relief, which I wish the Wisdom of the Nation may shine thro' all in good Time. Let us sit down with Ashes on our Heads and Sackcloth on our Loins, after the antient Custom till that Time come, as being fitter for our present Circumstances, than either Woollen, Linen, or such fine Manufacture at all.

BUT according to Promise and the Reader's Expectation, as we have accounted for the Reasons of the Decay of our Trade and Manufactures at Home, Why should not also the Cause of the Interruption and Decay of our Trade and Commerce Abroad be told, as the Cause of the other?

THE true Reason of this Decay of our *Foreign-Trade*, and all other our Misfortunes and Losses whatsoever, must be fixed somewhere, and as it is a Maxim in Law, that *the KING can do no wrong*, so we cannot



not Charge His Majesty with such gross Errors and Mistakes. No, God forbid, besides such, as we must reckon the Causes of these woful Effects, are not at all suited to His Majesty's Interest as King of *Great-Britain*, much less to the Interest of *Great-Britain* in General; but as the same Maxim allows all Errors and Mistakes in Government, Crimes and Misdemeanors, of every Kind to be laid upon the Backs and Shoulders of his Counsellors and Ministry: I believe we need go no farther for the true Reason and Cause, but as His Majesty must be clear even from the Suspicion of all such Mistakes, not only by virtue of his sacred Person, but also because it is neither his Interest nor his Kingdoms; so likewise, from the last of these Reasons must his *British* Ministry and Council be cleared, because, as no doubt, His Majesty hath a vast Regard to the Interest of *Great-Britain*, so to be sure they can have no less Regard to it, and His Majesty too.

BUT it is too obvious, that such Consequences and real Facts bad as they are, must be produced and proceed from another Cause, which it is as obvious, let it be what it will, was exactly Calculated to *Foreign Meridians*. And consequently if the Facts and Conclusions already mentioned,

tioned, tho' never so bad, be but true, *Foreigners* must be the only Cause and Fountain from whence they spring, and so I am afraid, the cogent Reasons we have been hunting for all this Time, will be fixed upon the Backs and Shoulders of the *German* Council and Ministry, as I shall illustrate in a few more Particulars.

BUT being afraid it might give Offence to affirm that the *Germans* have the least influence upon our *British* Councils, I shall only confine my self to a few Facts from which I shall not deviate a Point, without any other Application than what the Reader pleaseth.

R—W— Esquire had got a Patent for the Reversion of a Place in the *Customs* to his Son, which Mr. R— beforementioned being informed of, he told Mr. W— that he was in Terms of disposing it to another for 1500*l.* and would let Mr. W— have it for the same Sum if he pleased: And upon Mr. W—'s contemptibly rejecting his Proposal, he resented it so, that Mr. W— was turned out of his own publick Posts, and of all Favour at Court, even at a Time when he was about to execute a generous Publick good, to lessen the Debts of the Nation.

IF this be Fact, how formidable must the united Power of *Foreigners* be, when this Fellow who is but an Understrapper to the rest, was able to make a *British* Minister of State fall a Sacrifice to his Resentment, by resigning his Posts.

IT is very well known, that Mr. B— was a Favourite of the *Germans*, (and I believe no Body had more Occasion to be convinced of it than my self, in my *Late Process* abovementioned;) So great, that Sir *Christopher Wren* the famous Artichect, who contrived the stately Edifice of *St. Paul's Church*, and finished it in his own Time, was turned out of his Employment of being Master of the King's Works, which he had possessed with great Reputation ever since the Restoration, to make Way for this Favourite of *Foreigners*.

SOME Time afterwards, Mr. B— fell under the Displeasure of the *House of Lords*, who thereupon in the Year 1719, addressed His Majesty to remove and prosecute him; and upon His Majesty's gracious Answer to this Complaint, he not only ordered the said Mr. B— to be removed from his Employment, but prosecuted according to Law. Whereupon none doubted but this  
Gentle;

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Gentleman was to be brought to Justice accordingly. But though he was removed, instead of being prosecuted, he was presented with the Wharf of *White-Hall*, worth yearly above 1500 *l.* for Thirty Years.

I shall not trouble the Reader with more (of a great many) such ungrateful Examples of *Foreign Insolence*, and am sorry I have had so many to give, but hope he will indulge me the Liberty to make a few necessary Reflections, out of a vast Number I shall leave to himself.

FROM such Facts and Premises, some People will be apt to conclude, that our *British* Ministry may be affected so far, as to have Changes, Breaches and Alterations made in it, as there was about that Time when R—W— Esq; was upon the Head of the Treasury.

WHY do not the *Foreigners* gratify their *Favorites* privately, so as all the World should not know it, since they have so many Means to do it, even the Privy-Purse in their Hands? No, they are so arrogant, that a publick Statue or Monument must be erected upon the Ruins of what ought to be so dear to every *British* Subject, and their Authority and Credit proclaimed by Sound  
of

of Trumpet, to let all Foreign Princes and States know, that they are the only People to apply to in *British* Affairs of the greatest Consequence; that they have Power enough to trample upon and evade, even *Addresses of Parliament*, and the KING's most *gracious Answers*.

PRAY let me ask the candid Reader, What they can propose by this? It needs no Answer, for every Body knows, that thereby they have found their Accompt, and that Foreign Princes have already taken the Hint accordingly, as appears in our publick Prints, by the Abbot *Du Bois* Letter to the Marquis *Scotti*, which informs us, “ That  
 “ His Britannick Majesty's great Minister,  
 “ *Monsr. Schaub*, was to be applied to in  
 “ the Treaty of Peace with Spain, having  
 “ Credentials, and all the Trust reposed in him  
 “ for that End.

Strange! that in an Affair of such Consequence, nay, of the last Consequence to *Great-Britain*, which concerns the very Essence, the very Life and Soul of it, not a Subject of *Great-Britain* could be found to understand, or capable to treat of such Matters so well as a Foreigner, to whose Country neither the least Detriment or Advantage could redound, otherwise than by find-  
 ing,

ing some private Accompts at our Expence.

LEAVING this Matter to the Management of such a Person, was of greater Consequence to the Nation, than giving him the greatest Post of Profit and Honour in it, though it is even expressly against that very *Act* of *Parliament* which brought them among us.

AFTER this, what Opinion must Foreign Princes or States have of us, while we suffer Intruders thus to Lord it over us, and to have such Dealing in our Affairs of greatest Moment, even in our *Arcana Imperii*? For no People must expect to be treated, but according to the Value they seem to put upon themselves. And if *France* should offer to do us any Wrong, or use us disrespectfully in the present *Treaty of Peace*, (as they have certainly done) we have our dear selves only to blame for it; for why should not they have their private Dealings with *Monfr. B——ff*, *Monfr. R——m*, &c. as well as other People?

BUT I am so loaded and oppressed upon other People's Accounts as well as my own, that I must trouble the Reader with a few more of our Sufferings.

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THOSE

THOSE Foreign Gentry are not contented to amass immense Sums from the Sale of *publick Posts and Offices*, but also from the Sale of *Titles of Honour*, as their Brokers running about to make Bargains for Nobility and Knighthood, can testify; and I doubt not to prove, that they have received considerable Sums from several of our rich, vain-glorious Subjects, for *Patents of Honour*, which they have not yet procured, as the *Commissioners of Bankrupts*, who inspected Sir *Joseph Hodges's* Books, have found.

THEIR Avarice doth not rest here, but extends to our *Colonies in America*, where they appoint and continue some Governors at Pleasure, not only exacting vast Sums, but likewise receiving the Revenues ordered by the Publick to support them, and leaving the People only to the Governors, to be fleeced at Discretion, which occasions so many dreadful Complaints as are herein before-mentioned.

BUT I foresee other Consequences which some may deduce from this Covetousness, particularly from their disposing of the *Reversion of Publick Posts and Places* through the Kingdom, that it will be out of the Power of the *Successor to the Crown*, to re-  
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Part II. of John Ker, Esq; HIS  
ward such as may deserve well of him, or  
their Country.

THAT the *Act* of *Parliament* is eluded,  
which expressly provides, that *none but Na-*  
*tives of Great-Britain shall be capable to en-*  
*joy any Post of Profit or Trust, or be Mem-*  
*bers of either House of Parliament.*

THAT our Indulgence may, perhaps,  
at last, encourage them to attempt to sell  
our *Properties*, our *Liberties*, and even our  
*Estates*, for they have as good Right to do  
that, as what they have done.

IF any thoughtless, abandoned Wretch,  
who, perhaps, reaps some Gleanings of a  
G——n Harvest, should object, That they  
actually *enjoy* no *Post* contrary to the glo-  
rious *Act* of *Settlement*,

I answer, Those who have the Power to  
sell, and actually dispose of such Posts and  
Offices, and to Pocket the Money arising  
from them, may be much more properly  
said to *enjoy* them, than any *British* Sub-  
ject, who cannot possess above two or three  
Places at once, whereas too many of the  
H——r Quality have sold many Hundreds.



I refer the Reader to all other Facts, Consequences, Reflections, private Particulars, &c. of their Transactions since they came to *Great-Britain*, which shall be published in good Time.

BUT what shall I say, or what would our noble Ancestors have said, had they seen such Things then, who led Armies against their Enemies, subdued Kingdoms, conquered Provinces, over-run Countries, ruined and subjected Towns, Cities, and fortified Places, and exacted Tribute in so many Nations Abroad?

I hope it will not be unacceptable to let the Reader know, that I have observed my self, when upon my Travels, especially in *Germany*, that there was always more respect paid to a *British* Gentleman, than a *Baron* of the *Empire*, or a *French* or *Italian* Marquis; and their Reasons were, That *Great-Britain* kept the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, and that its Natives were the only free Subjects of *Christendom*, enjoying greater Privileges and Immunities than any other: But I am afraid they will have another Opinion of us now, when they hear how *Foreigners* would Lord it over us, and that few of us can have any Post, either of Honour or Profit, but what they receive

ceive Money for. Some G——n Barons  
Two or Three Ladies, a *French* Refugee,  
and their Valets and Understrappers, &c.

I find my self at the Repetition of this, so affected, that I am forced to stop and cry out, in Imitation of *David's* Lamentation for the Death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, *Tell it not at Hockstadt, nor publish it in these Parts of Europe and America, where the British Arms have carried their Terror, lest the French, Bavarians, and other Enemies of the British Glory, triumph and rejoice.*

I must confess, I should be ashamed to return to those Places where I have seen my self, and Country, so much respected; and truly, I cannot see how we can answer either to our Country or Posterity, thus to suffer tamely such Indignities from those, whose *Fathers* (our renowned and worthy Predecessors, if I may lawfully use *Job's* Expression) would not have set with the Dogs of their Flock.

NEITHER is it unworthy of Observation, That the general Sentiments and Apprehensions of one Age, differs from another, as appears from the Jealousies which the *Old Whigs* (as Mr. Secretary *Addison* justly stiled them) have in all Reigns entertained, of

the fatal Consequences to be apprehended from *Foreign-Councils*. For this may be safely said, That *Foreigners* would never hazard either their Fortunes or Lives in Defence of *Old England*; and I doubt not, but every Reader will join with me, That neither the King of *Great-Britain*, nor the Nation, will ever be happy 'till They be removed; for I thank God, I have so much *British* Blood in my Veins, and Duty to my King and Country in my Breast, as to look upon such as are Enemies to either, to be mine too.

I must request the Reader's Patience to observe farther, That our Predecessors valued, and set even their Lives and Fortunes at nought, for the Interest and Honour of their King and Country.

I hope this Spirit is not quite gone; surely we are not so degenerated to continue in this State of Indolence and shameful Indulgence to Aliens; I wish they may be satisfied of those Facts I have represented, and apply to themselves the Saying of *Joseph's* Brethren, *We are surely guilty, said they, concerning our Brother, in that we saw the Anguish of his Soul, and would not hear; Therefore is all this Evil come upon us.* And I wish they may be also satisfied, that it is still in their Power to do Justice,  
both

both to the Honour and Interest of their Country; for a *British* Parliament can make a great Man tremble at any Time; not only by calling them to Account for his Male-Administration, but also by preventing any sinistrous Designs upon our present happy *Establishment*, of which the *House of Commons* hath very lately given a Proof, to their immortal Honour, for most People know for what *End*, and by *whom*, the *Peerage-Bill* was calculated. One Thing I must here remark.

I remember, my Lord *Belhaven*, in his *Speech* to the last *Union-Parliament* of *Scotland*, foretold many Things, which to the great Grief of, at least one Part of the Nation, are actually come to pass, though he was ridiculed as a Dreamer by some, who without reflecting on them, I dare say, are now of my Mind, and to our Regret, have seen too much of that *Speech* verified; and, I am afraid, are not without dreading other fatal Consequences, perhaps not far off, but I pray God we may be deceived. As I before declared, I hope none that know me, will believe I have said any Thing with the least Design to spirit up the People against the *Government*; No, let that be as far from my Imagination as my Intention, which is only to endeavour that these Evils

may be removed, which threaten the well Being of this Nation; For my Part, I shall never think them either good Patriots or Subjects, who have it in their Power, and yet will not exert themselves to serve their King and Country, and contribute their utmost Endeavours to remove the Causes of *this growing Evil*.

I shall only add, that it would be but a poor Satisfaction to this deluded Nation (*à la mode* of the *Poitovians*) to *drive* the Enemy out of our Territories, after they have ruined and *plundered* it; for, if Things go on as they do, we must be farther *Taxed* to make up the *Funds* that are become *deficient*, from our lost Trade with *Muscovy* and *Spain*, &c.

THEREFORE to close this Topick, the only Expedient I can advise for putting an End to all factious Struggles for Power, is so to order Affairs, that the Offices, Employments, and Dignities of the State, may be the Rewards of Merit; and not the Prize of *one*, or the other Party, as it chances to get the upper Hand. For, as it hath been noticed by my old and valuable Acquaintance, Dr. *D'Avenant*, in his incomparable *Essay upon the Ballance of Power*. There is no surer Mark that a Government

vernment is near its utter Destruction, than when the People are observed to be careless and unconcerned at a Time, when they are pressed and encompassed with Dangers of the highest Nature.

MANY of the first Rank, for Birth; Parts, Title and Fortune, instead of bending their Thoughts how to serve their Country, are either meanly contriving how a Change may be made, whereby they may better themselves, or, which is as bad, they may imagine all will be well if a few of their Friends are at the Helm, as if any Good to the Publick could be expected from a little shifting of Hands, at a Season when nothing can prevent our Ruin, but an entire Change in the very Principles and Measures by which our Ministers have lately governed.

No small Proportion of our Gentry have neglected and lost their Country-Interest by hawking after Preferments at Court, so that Elections come to be made at Random, without any Regard to Virtue or Merit; at which we are not to Wonder, when the Gentlemen have taught their Neighbours to sell their *Votes* by a long Practice of exposing to Sale their own *Voices* in St. Stephen's Chapel, If any such  
get

get into Parliament, they never believe it goes ill with the Kingdom, if it goes but well with them. Their Estates in Land are not so much the Object of their Care, as by what servile Arts they may keep their Employments, or by what Treachery they may deserve better Posts; this leads them to be indifferent in what relates to the common Welfare: If their Purses feel heavy, they take little Thought of what becomes of the *Ballance of Europe*, nor to which side the Scale inclines. If we represent to them the Growth and Power of *France*, and the Dangers that threaten *England*, they are not at the least alarmed, as knowing they have got wherewithal to buy their own Peace, and to recommend them to another Master.

WE now remain under the same thoughtless Security as *Salust* tells us *Rome* was in, when *Cataline's* Conspiracy was hatched and ready to break out. *The busy Men of the Town, they, who talk and appear most about, have a different Interest from that of their Country.* They neither mind Peace nor War, but as their *Bank, New, or Old East-India* Stock may be affected; the Interest of *Europe* weighs nothing with them, in Comparison of the Interest upon their *Tallies*. They are not at all concerned when it

it is represented to them, that *France* in a very short Time may supplant us in our *Spanish* and *Turkey* Trades. And, they think it a shorter Cut, a safer Voyage, and a much more profitable Traffick, to deal between the *Exchange* and the *Exchequer*.

It is to be feared, that of late Years, by making the highest Stations of the Kingdom the Rewards of Treachery and base Compliance, by bribing Members of Parliament with Pensions and Places, and by the immense Gains which a negligent and corrupt Ministry has suffered private Men to make out of the Kingdom's Treasure, almost all Ranks of Men are come to be depraved in their Principles. And to own a sad Truth, none are ashamed of having notoriously robbed the Nation; nay, it is gone so far, that *Prefatory-Panegyrics* are granted to those who have been accused in Parliament, upon Crimes for which they may some Day be brought to Answer; the little publick Spirit that remained among us, is, in a manner quite extinguished. Every one is upon the scrape for himself, without any Regard to his Country, each cheating, raking, and plundering what he can, and in a more profligate Degree than ever yet was known. In short, this *Self-Interest* runs thro' all our Actions, and mixes

in



in all our Councils, and if truly examined, is the very Rise and Spring of all our present Mischiefs.

I will venture to say from the Time of the *Norman* Invasion, we never had a more dismal View before us: We are rent asunder by Factions, which are still maintained and fomented by those who are apprehensive, their desired Actions, and other Crimes against the Publick, would receive condign Punishment, if once honest Men could be brought to understand one another; we are every Day threatened with Attempts from Abroad, and at best there is but a suspected Peace between us and our Powerful Neighbours.

THIS *SPECULUM*, exactly represents our present Grievances, tho' made above Twenty Years ago, and at a Time when *Foreigners* too much engrossed the Immortal King *WILLIAM*, of which, that truly sagacious Prince was fully sensible when he bequeathed to these Kingdoms that *invaluable Legacy* of *eternal Successors* (it is hoped) arising out of the most Illustrious House of *Hanover*, and that the Corner Stone of which Building, his present most Gracious Majesty, may be late removed

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removed from its Place, is the hearty and  
unfeigned Prayer of,

SURREY, July 4.  
1721.

KER of Kerland.

*Reasons for Encouraging the Manu-  
factories in North-Britain, &c.*

W H O E V E R rightly Considers and du-  
ly Weighs the Reasons with which  
we lay Open these *PROPOSALS*, must  
discover, they are Calculated for no other  
Design than a Publick Good to the King-  
dom of *Great-Britain* in general; Tho'  
they will assuredly bring to every particu-  
lar Adventurer that shall come into them  
the greatest Profit.

W E have pitched upon such *Manufacto-  
ries* that are in themselves highly Improv-  
able, and in their Consumption most Sta-  
ple: They will give Employment to our  
Poor, and prevent a Foreign Importa-  
tion upon us: They will improve our  
Lands, and circulate Money amongst those  
who languish under the want of a Pub-  
lick Spirit to relieve Them.

T H A T

THAT these Manufactories may always Flourish, and that the Benefit they will afford us may extend it self beyond what we can our selves expend ; We have chose *North-Britain* to set Them up in, where all Things concur to produce Workmanship at the very Lowest Price, and where Labour is so cheap, that no Country can Under-sell us: A **Country** whose Great and Wise Patriots have always had the Business of Trade and Manufactories so much at Heart, as by a continued Series of Acts of Parliament to grant very Large and beneficial Privileges, to any Societies or Companies that shall unite Themselves to carry on any Branch of Trade, and have as wisely taken Care to preserve those Privileges, and to confirm all Acts made in their Favour, and all Laws which give any Sanction to National Undertakings, where the good of the Subjects shall be promoted as a private Right of Property to all Subjects by the Act of Union ; Which Act does further declare a Communication of all Rights, Privileges, and Advantages, which do or may belong to the Subjects of either Kingdom.

WE do not propose our Stock larger than the Nature of the Business requires, from whence we shall make appear, That our Purpose is not to draw needles and extravagant Sums from our Partners, more to support Stock-Jobbing than really to carry on a Trade; but that each Share shall be paid for gradually, and as the Business increases, which under proper Management, will certainly produce such Dividends, as will demonstrate the general Benefit that will accrue from the Undertaking.

THESE being the Conditions upon which we build our Foundations, we shall submit our selves to whatever Degrees of Encouragement our Fellow Subjects will afford us, having all our Affairs under such Management as no foul Practice can escape us, and every Adventurer has Liberty to view the Books, and upon the finding any Thing dissatisfactory, he giving reasonable Notice, shall have his Share or Shares made good to him.

WHAT we shall make our first Undertaking, is the setting up a Work of *Distilling Spirits*, in which we shall find Advantages surpassing what in any other Part of  
His

His Majesty's Dominions are to be met with ; there being great Quantities of that Sort of Grain, by which we shall be able not only to supply our own Consumption, but near at Hand to furnish all the *Northern* Parts of *Europe* with that Commodity : And it is to be hoped from the Largeness of our Stock, and a discreet Management, we may be able to make as great Gain as the *Dutch* ; who, by this Article alone, make a greater Profit than without a very nice Calculation is credible to believe : Hitherto they have been the only Gainers from our Produce, for after they have distilled the *Malt*, and gained vast Profit by *Geneva*, they sell us back the *Spirits*.

BESIDES the Trade with our Neighbours for this Commodity, we shall find other Advantages from the several other Branches ; and by this we shall not only highly encourage the Growth of the Corn-Lands in *North-Britain*, but save that Premium the Government allows to the Exporters of Corn.

BUT that we may find the Means of a Universal Employ in *North-Britain*, where the People are already fitted to our Purpose, being most excellent Spinners, and have a manner of Weaving very suitable to  
our

our Business, we shall introduce amongst them a **Cotton-Manufactory**, the Nature of which is such, That one Pound of Wooll, not worth above nine Pence, may by Workmanship be brought to be worth thirty Times the Value ; from whence it will be very easy to imagine, that as the Improvements rise, so will the Profits ; and no Undertaking whatever can be a more National and Extensive Benefit, as well to the Publick in general, as to the Parties concerned in particular ; for when it is once rightly set on Foot, and supported with such a Stock as we have provided for it, it will employ an infinite Number of People, and will hereby improve the Rents and Revenues of the Country, and universally circulate Money through all Degrees of People ; and who would not rejoice to see *British* Hands earn those vast Sums that heretofore we have sent away in Bullion, to purchase the Labour of remote *Indians*, who take nothing but Silver from us ; and while we wear their Manufactories, we starve and discourage our own People, and give away the Improvements of our Lands and Estates : For the Treasure with which we purchase their Manufactories never more returns, but remains a dead Loss to us : But this Undertaking will save all that, and not carry away our Money, but only make it circulate

late in our own Kingdoms: It will employ our own People, and improve our Estates; so that every Hand will be a Gainer, and *England* certainly ever will be the Center of the Wealth of *Great-Britain*, for the *North* Part cannot thrive without the mutual Benefit to the *South*.

THE Cheapness of Labour, together with what has already been said, will carry on this Manufactory to greater Advantage than can be proposed in any other Part of *Great-Britain*: And *England* will still flourish and enjoy its Woollen and other Manufactories, without the least Interruption from any Proceeding of this Kind.

WE have likewise before us the Improvement of poor and waste Lands in *North-Britain*, by a Vegetable not yet made use of, which excellently well suits the Soil of that Country, and at an inconsiderable Cost, will not only render those Lands more valuable, but will produce the Commodities of Oil and Pot-Ashes, from which may be made Soap, and the Linen and Woollen Manufactories become extremely assisted; which Articles tend to the Improvement of the Country, and the saving a Foreign Consumption.

THERE are likewise secured divers Mines of rich and valuable Metals ; such as Silver, Copper, Lead, &c. which will be all worked and undertaken, as well for the Improvement of the Country, as for enriching the several Shares in this Company proposed.

IT would swell too far the Bulk of these Proposals, should we enlarge upon all the several Heads of Business that will of Necessity occur. Wherefore in a few Words I shall only say, *North-Britain* is a Part capable of vast Improvements, both as to its Produce and Manufactures, it is full of People who want only an *English* Genius and Stock to lead them to all the Improvements that Nature and their own Industry can prompt them to ; and as these are the only Views of erecting this Undertaking, under an honest and reputable Management, it is hoped, That both *South* and *North* will join Hands to help forward so good a Design.

KER of *Kerland*.

I caused great Numbers of the foregoing just *Reasons*, to be handed, not only to the *British* Parliament in the Winter-Session of 1721, but to all Persons I could think of



competent Sense and Fortune to put such beneficial Proposals in Execution for the good of my Country.

I next sat my self down to consider some other material Grievances sustained by the *Scottish* Nation, more especially, concerning the slavish Dependencies which a great Part of that Kingdom is still kept under by *Superiorities, Wards, Reliefs*, and other Remains of the *Feudal Law*, and by *Clanships* and *Tythes*.

THESE Grievances I shall impartially represent in the following Historical Narration, which I procured, by an Intimate Friend, to be Printed at *Edinburgh*, viz.

THE Wisdom of the *English* Nation thought fit long ago to relieve their Subjects from the Hardships under which the *Scots* still Groan: I shall not therefore go so far back as the Reign of HENRY VII. of *England*, who freed their *Commons*, in a great Measure, from the Dependence they had, till then, been under to their *Peers*. I shall therefore content my self, with mentioning the *Act* of *Parliament* obtained in the 12th Year of King CHARLES II. for taking away the *Court* of *Wards* and *Liveries*; and *Tenures in Capite*; and by *Knight-Service*

*Service* and *Surveyance*; and for settling a Revenue upon His Majesty in Lieu thereof.

THE Preamble of that *Act* is so much to my Purpose, that I take Leave to repeat it, as follows.

**W H E R E A S**, It hath been found by former Experience, That the Courts of Wards and Liveries, and Tenures by Knight Service, either of the King or others, or by Knight Service in Capite, or Soccage in Capite, of the King, and Consequents upon the same, have been much more burdensome, grievous, and prejudicial to the Kingdom, than they have been beneficial to the King: Be it therefore Enacted, &c. That the Court of Wards, Liveries, and all Wardships, Liveries, Primes-Salines, and Onsterlemain, Values and Forfeitures of Marriages, by Reason of any Tenure of the Kings Majesty, or any other by Knight-Service, &c. be taken away.

I dare leave it to any Man's Judgment, whether, since we are now United into one Nation, the *Scots* have not Reason to plead for the like Freedoms: And since we have the above-mentioned Declaration of an

*English King and Parliament*, That these *Services and Tenures* were found, by *Experience*, to be much more *burdensome, grievous, and prejudicial* to the *Kingdom*, than they have been *beneficial* to the *King*; the *Scots* cannot but hope, that a *Prince* so renowned for *Clemency and Benignity* to his *Subjects* as King *GEORGE*, and that so wise a *Senate* as now exists, will readily concur to make *them* share in the same *Liberties*: And deliver *them* from these *Hardships*, which the Reader will find, from what follows, are as *burdensome, grievous, and prejudicial* to *them*, as ever they were to the *English*. And it is evident by the *Two Rebellions* in *Scotland* since His *Majesty's* *Reign*, That instead of being *beneficial* to His *Majesty*, it will be very dangerous for himself and his *Royal Family*, to have them continued.

By the Fourth Article of the *Union*, it is Enacted, “ That there be a *Communication* of all *Rights, Privileges and Advantages*, which do, or may belong to the *Subjects* of either *Kingdom*.

THIS at first looked with a very favourable Aspect towards the *Scottish Nation*: But alas! we were only shewed the *Freedom and Privileges* of our *English Neighbours*,

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hours, from these Badges of Slavery, without any Prospect of enjoying them: For the Yoke complained of was continued upon us by the twentieth Article, which enacts,  
“ *That all heritable Offices, Superiorities, heritable Jurisdictions, Offices for Life, and Jurisdictions for Life, be reserved to the Owners thereof, as Rights of Property, in the same Manner as they were now enjoyed by the Laws of Scotland, notwithstanding this Treaty.*

IT is very well known, that the *Union* was made in Haste, and pushed on by the Court; and I dare say, that the then Courtiers had other Views by it than were at that Time pretended: All have heard of the famous Speech made by one of Queen ANNE'S Scots Ministers, to the Parliament of *Scotland* 1703, wherein he mentioned her *Secret* and *revealed Will*: And I can assure the Reader from my own certain Knowledge, that some of our chief *Jacobites* had *secret* Views in pushing on the *Union*, quite contrary to those they thought fit to *reveal*. It is true that most Part of the common *Jacobites*, and even others who were not let into the *Secrets*, opposed the *Union*, because by the second Article, the *Protestant Succession* was established; and it may be depended upon, that the Zeal for that *Succession*, which the Court had, till

that Time, hindred to be settled, brought many worthy and honest People into the *Union*, who would otherwise have opposed it with their Lives and Fortunes, upon the Terms it was carried on. I know it was given out, by some who pushed it on by Order from the Court, that the general Opposition made to it in the Kingdom upon the Plan proposed, proceeded from *Jacobite Principles*: But we know the contrary; and that the general Aversion to that Plan proceeded from a Sense that we should thereby lose our *Independency*, which our Ancestors had so bravely maintained for many Ages; and I will be bold to say, that this was the chief Cause of our People's Dislike to the *Union*. But, next to this, the just Apprehensions of the Danger that threatned our *Church* from the different Constitution of the *English*, was the second Cause, and the Ratification of these *servile Tenures* above-mentioned claimed the third Place.

It was really amazing to us, that a People so sensible of the Benefits of *Liberty*, and so tenacious of it as the *English* have always been, should have come into this second *Article*, which wreathed those *Yokes* about our Necks, which they have broke off from their own. The *English* have always been afraid of a *Standing Army*, and opposed

opposed it from Time to Time with Vi-  
gour; we were therefore astonished at  
their not foreseeing that the Confirmati-  
on of these *Superiorities* laid the Founda-  
tion of a constant *Standing Army*, even in  
Time of Peace. It is also very well  
known, how numerous our *Superiors* and  
*Chiefs of Clans* are, and what great Follow-  
ings they have in the *North* and the *High-*  
*lands*. It is easy to remember, that in King  
CHARLES II's Time, when *Popery* and *Slav-*  
*very* were intended for us, an Army of Ten  
or Twelve Thousand of these *Higblanders*  
was brought down upon the West of *Scot-*  
*land*, which was most averse to the above-  
mentioned Design, and therefore was ra-  
vaged with as much Barbarity as if it had  
been an Enemy's Country.

WE may remember likewise, what Trou-  
ble these *Highland Superiors* and *Chiefs* gave  
to King WILLIAM after the Revolution,  
and what an Effort they made against his  
brave disciplined Troops at *Killicrankie*,  
where General M'Kay was beat off the  
Field; and, as I was told by a Person of  
Quality, who had a Command of Horse in  
the King's Army, would certainly have  
been taken Prisoner, had not the Rebels  
been intent upon Plunder, and left with-  
out a proper Commander, by the Death  
of

of their General, the Lord *Dundee*, who fell in the Battle.

It was long e're the Loss of the King's Troops was retrieved; nor were the Rebellious *Clans* brought to submit at last without a *Brieve*.

WE know likewise what Danger the *Protestant Succession* was in, from these *Clans*, towards the Close of the last Reign: And we can recollect some of their bold and treasonable Addresses in Behalf of the *Pretender*, for which they were well encouraged; and that Annual Pensions were given by the late *Queen's* Ministry to the Heads of these *Parties*, as well as *Protestant Clans*, that they might be ready for his Service when Occasion offered.

THE Rebellions under the late Earls of *Mar*, *Marischal*, *Seaforth*, &c. are fresh in every one's Memory. People in *London* were very much surprized at the Earl of *Mar's* being able to raise so great an Army in so small a Time; but it was no Surprize to us who knew the *Superiorities* possess'd by himself, and those that joined him. They who look into our History, will find that the Heads of *Clans* have rebelled frequently against our *Princes*; and often made War  
upon

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upon one another, to the great Disturbance of the Peace of the Nation : Beside the Incursions they often made upon their peaceable Neighbours in the *Lowlands*, from whence they carried their Cattle, &c. This occasioned many Laws, in several Reigns, and particularly in that of King JAMES VI. when divers Acts were made for Suppressing these Disorders ; and, among other Things, the *Chiefs* of all the *Clans* were obliged to give Hostages, for securing the Peace of the Country.

I know it will be objected, “ That in  
“ the West of *Scotland*, and other Places  
“ where there are such *Superiorities*, the  
“ People are not so much inclined to *Re-*  
“ *bellion* ; and therefore the *Superiorities*  
“ alone ought not to be charged with the  
“ *Rebellions* mentioned since the *Revolu-*  
“ *tion*.”

I answer, That I do not charge them, intirely, upon these *Superiorities*, tho' certainly that has been the chief Cause of them. I own it is partly owing to the Ignorance of the People in the *Highlands* and *North*, where the spreading of the *Reformed Religion* has been industriously hindred, not only by the *Popish* Heads of *Clans*, but even by all our *Kings*, from the *Reformation* to  
the



the *Revolution*; because they depended upon these Men, as a constant Army to support them, in their Designs of reducing us to *Popery* and *Slavery*.

THE Exception made as to the *Superiorities* in the West and South, is owing to this, That the People there, are better instructed in the Principles of *Religion* and *Liberty*, which their *Superiors* have for most part countenanced; so that it is owing to their honest Principles, that they would not follow any of their *Superiors*, who might be inclined to *Popery* and *Slavery*. Thus the Earls of *Nithsdale*, *Carnwath*, and Lord *Kennure's* Dependents and Tenants, instead of joining their Lords in the Rebellion, did most of them take Part with the Government.

THIS, I hope, is enough to let every one see, that, should we ever have the Misfortune to fall again under an *arbitrary Prince*, he may, by gaining these *Superiors*, (and *Princes* never want Means to do that) raise a numerous Army, without being obliged to a *Parliament*: And as these Men are now capable of entering *England*, without its being looked upon as a National Quarrel, the *English* are more in  
Danger

Danger of having their Constitution overturned that Way, than before the *Union*.

THAT small Number of *Highlanders* detached by the Earl of *Mar*, under Brigadier *M'Intosh*, who joined the Northern Rebels in 1715, may serve as a *Specimen* of the Danger they incur, if these *Superiorities* continue: For, if these Men were so audacious against an established Government, and the King's Army, what are they not capable of doing, when countenanced by any future Prince, who has a Mind to make himself absolute? This brings to my Mind a Project that was put into the Hands of King JAMES II. by a *Highland Gentleman*, who was a considerable Branch of one of these *Clans*: He gave his Majesty a List of all the *Clans*, and proposed that the King should form a *Corps de Garde* of their eldest Sons or presumptive Heirs, to be always about his Person: This was to be done under a Pretence of keeping them as *Pledges*, for the *Loyalty* and good Behaviour of their respective *Clans*; but in Reality, that they might have the more Authority, and keep their *Clans* in Readiness to support him in his Designs of reducing us to *Popery* and *Slavery*. I doubt not, but it will be allowed that this was a cunning, as well as a dangerous Project; and had King JAMES's short Reign allowed him

Time

Time to bring it to Maturity, we might have all smarted under it.

WHAT *has* been, *may* be; and if any future Prince should, by bestowing Posts or Money, be able to gain these Great Men in *Scotland*, and others who are possessors of these *Superiorities*, he could not fail of having a great Army in a little Time, without much Noise or Money.

THESE I take to be Arguments, strong enough to induce great Members in *both* Houses, to use their utmost Endeavours, that these *Superiorities* may be taken away; and that the *Scots* Nation may be freed, as well as the *English*, from such *servile Dependencies*, either on the King or Subjects; and especially on such as have, from Time to Time, made too ill an Use of them. For as those *Superiorities* in the Hands of Subjects have been almost constant Nurseries of Rebellion, so these *Ward-Holdings*, if continued in the *Crown*, will be always a powerful Incentive, to make those who hold that *Tenure* to comply with the *arbitrary Designs* of any future Prince. The *Clans* above-mentioned, were so very troublesome to their Neighbours in the Reign of King JAMES VI. that a List was given to the Parliament of 105 Landlords, in  
 whose

whose Estates they dwelt, who were obliged to give Security for their Behaviour; beside a List of 34 *Clans*, that had *Chieftains* on whom they depended, and frequently against the Will of their Landlords; as appears by the Rolls annexed to the End of the 7th Parliament of King JAMES VI.

BY an Account of the Battle near *Dumblain*, printed by the Rebels, it appeared that they had 10000 effective Men in the Field; beside two Regiments that had not joined them from *Dumferling*, and two other left about *Perth* and elsewhere: And that there were with them, at least, 12 or 14 Heads of *Clans*; besides the Marquess of *Huntley* and Earl of *Seaforth*, whose Families are known to have great Followings in the *North*; and the Marquess of *Tullibardine*, who had a great Influence among the *Athol* Men. The other Nobility among them who had considerable Followings, were the Earl of *Marshall*, Earl of *Southesk*, Earl of *Pannure*, Earl of *Strathmore*, Earl of *Kintore*, and the Lord *Drunmond*; besides several Gentlemen, who are also possessors of *Superiorities*: And that was the true Reason of the Earl of *Mar*'s being able to form so considerable an Army in so little a Time. The *Clans* that were in the Battle, were Sir *Donald M'Donalds*, *Lochyells*,

*chyells, Broadalbins, Glengaries, M'Cleans, Appins, Clan Ronalds, Glencoes, Keppochs, Strowans, and M'Pherfons*; besides others that were elsewhere in Arms; and particularly the *M'Intoshes*, with the Brigadier of that Name; and the *M'Gregors* under *Rob Roy*, who went about plundering the Country, and *M'Dougal of Lorn* did the like.

THESE are Instances sufficient to shew the Necessity of taking away the *Superiorities*, and the Safety both of the Government and Country calls for it, whatever many of our *Lords* and other *Superiors* may do to oppose the same.

IT may be objected; That this will be a Breach of the 20th *Article* of the *Union* above-mentioned; but the Answer is easy, That it does not seem to be an *unalterable Article*, such as that which relates to our *Church*; since it is provided by the last Clause of the 18th *Article*, That an Alteration may be made in Laws which concern private Rights, for the evident Utility of the Subjects within *Scotland*. And that such a Law would be so, is too demonstrable to be controverted; and will still appear to be more necessary, because of the great Oppressions which *Vassals* labour under

der by these *Tenures*, as shall be mentioned anon.

WE know well enough, That these *Tenures* are the Remains of the old *Gothick* Constitution, which prevailed so long in *Europe*; and were indeed necessary in these Days, when there was no other Way for defending the Country: And the *Barons* and other *Vassals*, who held by *Knight-Service*, were then instead of a *Standing Army*; and obliged to be ready for Defence of the *Government*, against Foreign Invasions and Intestine Rebellions. But the Case is now quite altered: There are standing regular Troops kept up for a constant Defence of the Kingdom, by Guards and Garisons in Time of Peace, and more are levied in Time of War. All these are maintained by Money raised on the Subjects in general; so that there seems not to be the least Reason for continuing these *Tenures*, which are now become useless, and do no Way answer the original End of their Institution. And considering we are now united in one Kingdom, they are less necessary than ever: And it cannot but be provoking to the *Scots*, to be continued still under *Servile Tenures*, when the *English* are freed from them. And I make not the least Doubt, but even some of our Great Men will be

so generous as willingly to part with their *Superiorities*, upon a reasonable Compensation for what they can call their *just Right*, such as their *Feu Duties* in *Feu Tenures*.

As a farther Argument for taking away these *Superiorities*, I must acquaint the Reader, That our *Superiors* and *Chiefs* of *Clans*, especially in the North and North-west *Highlands* and *Isles*, assume a despotical Power over the *Lives* and *Fortunes* of their *Vassals* and *Tenants*: By this Means, the Influence and Regal Power of our *Kings* are interrupted and eclipsed; for the poor People scarce know any other *Sovereign* but their *Superior*, or Head of their *Clan*: And therefore are forced to obey their Commands even against the *King* himself. The Reason is, because their *Superiors* can exercise their *Tirannical Power* upon them, before they can possibly have any Relief from the King; and they are in danger of being Hanged up, before their own Doors, under Pretence of *Law* and *Jurisdiction* of their *Superiors*; and of having their Substance taken away, and their Families reduced to Beggary, if they do not follow them.

I doubt not but the Instance of the late Earl of *Mar* is remembred, who, when he  
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began his *Rebellion*, in the Close of the Year 1715, sent a threatenng Letter to his *Baillie* and *Vassals* of the Lordship of *Kil-drummy*; ordering them to come out with their best Arms, on Pain of having their Houses burnt, their Effects carried off, and being prosecuted as Enemies: And this was at a Time, when he had no Force to back his Orders, but the Authority of a *Superior*. By this it may be seen, that *Vassals* and *Tenants* have no other Way to escape in such a Case but to flee; which many Times is not practicable: And if they do, their Families and all that they leave is exposed to Ruin.

IT is but a poor Relief, in such a Case, for *Vassals* and *Tenants*, who continue faithful, and happen to escape, to hope for Redress from the Government. Experience hath too frequently taught us, that when the Turn of a Ministry is served, and they have secured themselves, they take very little Care of those who have suffered for the Government. Nor is it always in their Power to give an adequate Relief to the great Number of Sufferers: Besides, no sufficient Compensation can be made to a Wife for the Loss of her Husband, to Parents for the Loss of their Children, and to the Children for the Loss of their Father.



And when the Estates of *Rebels* of Quality and Wealth are forfeited, there is seldom any Care taken to apply any Part of them for the Relief of those that *suffer* by the *Rebellion*.

MANY poor People were burnt out of their Houses in the Shire of *Perth*, and elsewhere, by the *Pretender's* Orders; and others had their Houses plundered: And many *Loyal Gentlemen* who served against the *Rebels* upon their own Charges, and some who had their Estates wasted, and their Tenants ruined by the *Rebels*, are to this Day without any Compensation from the *Forfeited Estates*, or being otherwise considered, by the Government for their Service and Sufferings. And had not some of them furnished their Tenants with Money to buy Corn and Cattle, and to rebuild their Houses, their Estates must have continued a Wilderness, and their Tenants gone a begging.

ON this Occasion I cannot but observe, with Regret, the Non-execution of the *Act* of *Parliament*, which was so well designed for *discouraging* the *Rebellion*, by ordering, That such *Vassals* as continued faithful, should be freed from the *Vassalage* of their *Rebellious Superiors*, and hold of the *Crown*; and,

and, That every faithful Tenant, who held a Farm, or Farms, of a *Rebellious Landlord*, should have two Years Rent: As to the latter Part, especially, I am told, the honest Tenants have received little Benefit by it.

THESE, I think are Arguments strong enough, from the Dangers to which the *Government*, as well as *Vassals*, *poor Tenants*, and the whole *Country* are exposed to, by these *Superiorities*, to plead for annulling of them.

BUT there is another Argument, which more immediately relates to the Constitution of *Parliament*; and therefore I hope, will sway with *both Houses* for annulling these *Superiorities*. The Argument is this, that all who are *Vassals* to these *Superiors*, tho' they have considerable Land Estates, are deprived of *Votes* in electing *Parliament Men*: And even such as these *Vassals* as hold other Parts of their Estates of the *Crown*, are so much over-awed by these *Superiors* of whom they hold the rest, that they generally Vote their Way. I doubt not, but it plainly appears, that this is an Invasion upon a Fundamental Part of our Constitution, and therefore ought to be removed. I perceive the *English House of*

*Commons* have been always so jealous of the Freedom of Elections, that they commonly begin the Parliament with vigorous *Resolves* against the Lords concerning themselves in the Election of *Commoners*. The Case with us is much more dangerous here; for *Vassalage* being abolished in *England*, none of your *Lords* can have such Influence in Elections, as our *Superiors*.

THIS Evil has in part been removed by the Parliament of *Scotland*, in the Shire of *Sutherland*; where the whole Gentry being *Vassals* to the Earl of that Name, the Parliament notwithstanding allowed them to elect a Member of Parliament, as other *Shires*: Yet this is but a lame Remedy, since the *Electors* do intirely depend on the *Earl*.

I must also acquaint you, that some of our *Superiorities* are so unjust, absurd and barbarous, in their own Nature, that they are a Shame and Reproach to any *Christian Nation*, where they are continued. The first I shall mention is that of *Ward-holdings*. It is very well known, that *England* could not bear the holding of Lands by such a *Tenure*, even with your *King*; that the Complaints against the Proceedings of their Court of *Wards* ran so high in the Time  
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of King CHARLES I. as contributed not a little to the general Dissatisfaction with that Prince's Administration; insomuch that even that loyal Parliament which was called after the *Restoration* of his Son CHARLES II. found it necessary to abolish these *Ward-holdings*, by the Law above-mentioned. It may therefore easily be conceived, that we can never be easie to have such a Yoke continued about our Necks, when our Brethren of *England* are free from it.

THESE *Ward-holdings* are ruinous to many Families; for when the *Vassal* dies, and leaves his Heir a Minor, the *Superior* may, during his Minority, break in upon the poor Widow and her Children; and take all the Rent of the *Ward-lands*, except a small Part for the Maintenance of the eldest Son. By this Means the Widow and younger Children are deprived of their Bread, and the Children also of their Education; and the Debts owing by the Family continuing unpaid, the *Interest* eats up the *Estate*: But this is not all; for when the Heir comes to Age, the *Superior* may demand a Year's Rent of him, under the Name of *Relief*, and two or three Years more in pretence of the *Marriage-Right*; so that the *Superior* not only swallows up

the Estate of his *Vassal*, but defrauds his Creditors. And if the poor Heir, as it frequently happens, sells or mortgages any Part of his Estate, to pay off the just Debts of his Predecessors, or to put himself in a Way to live; and happen but to sell or mortgage a Foot more than the half of the Estate, the *Superior* takes the whole under the Name of *Recognition*.

ON the other Hand, if the *Heir* either neglect, or be not able to pay his Creditors, they will distress him with a Process of *Horning* or *Outlawry*; and in that Case the *Superiors* that have *Regalities*, seize and possess the whole Estate moveable and heritable, under the Name of *single* and *Liferent-Escheat*; and possess the moveable Estate in *Property*: As all the *Superiors*, whether having or not having *Regalities*, seize and possess the *heritable* Estate during the Heir's Life; and still the Debt runs on, to the Ruin of the Estate. And this barbarous Oppression, from *Liferent-Escheats* at least, is common to all our Holdings in *Scotland*, whether *Ward*, *Blench* or *Feu*, and sadly afflicts all our *Vassals*, (tho' standing infest by the *Superiors*) when distressed by any Creditor with a Process of *Outlawry*, as well as the Heirs *unentred*, or not *infest* by the *Superiors*;

ON this Occasion I must inform the Reader of the Absurdities, as well as the Tyranny of these *Escheats*, as follows. When a Creditor obtains an *Outlawry* against the Debtor, if the latter be not able to pay him in six Days, or such Time as is mentioned in the Obligation, which may frequently happen, even to a rich Man, the *Debtor* is immediately ruined: For by our Law, all his *moveable Goods*, and *Debts* owing to him, fall to the *King* or other *Superior*, having a *Regality*; who is not obliged to allow a Sixpence to any of the Creditors, except to him that obtained the *Outlawry*. When a Man's Credit is thus broke, he cannot be released from the *Outlawry*, and is esteemed by our Law a *Rebel*: And the *Superior* takes the Rents of the Estate during the poor Man's Life, under the Name of *Liferent-Escheat*; without paying a Farthing to the Creditors, unless they be previously infest in the Estate. It is true indeed, that the Crown, out of the Sense of the manifest Injustice of this Way of proceeding, does, when the *Escheat* falls into the Hands of the *King*, charge the *Escheat* with the Payment of Debts to the Creditors; according as these intrusted by the Crown think fit to rank them. But that is merely an Act of *Grace*; and, as it is usually managed,

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ed, attended with Injustice, because the Managers rank the Creditors as they please. So that frequently these Creditors who ought to be preferred, have nothing at all: And others, whose Claims are neither so considerable, nor so well founded, are paid. Besides, if the Debtor grant *Infeftments*, or agree to *Adjudications* upon his Estate, in favour of those whose Claims he thinks best, the *Superior*, if he find that these *Infeftments* and *Adjudications* are posterior to the *Outlawry*, seizes the whole Estate, and makes these *Infeftments* and *Adjudications* of no Value.

CERTAINLY, if these Things were fairly represented to a *British Parliament*, they would readily come into Measures for delivering us from such Oppressions; the very Recital of which is enough to make a *Christian Ear* to tingle: For they are of such a Nature, that the Barbarity of them would be abhorred even among Heathen Nations. I dare refer it to every one's Judgment, whether the *Vassalage* spoken of, with all these *Casualties*, as we call them, which are claimed by the *Superiors*, ought not to be abolished.

ANOTHER Handle of Oppression against the *Vassal* is this, That upon any  
Call

Call from their *Superiors*, they must produce all the Writings relating to their Estates, and lodge them in a *Clerk's* Hand; otherwise Certification goes out against them, to deprive them of their Property: And, even, when the *Writings* are produced, *Superiors* have many Ways to prolong *Suits* upon frivolous Pretexts, and put their *Vassals* to intolerable Trouble and Charges; and many Times the Writings are lost, while tossed from Hand to Hand among Lawyers, Clerks and Agents, and other Servants belonging to the Court; by which Gentlemen lose their Estates. And if at last the *Superiors* agree with their *Vassals*, they exact such exorbitant Sums for pretended *Non-entries*, *Irritancies*, or for receiving the Heir or singular Successor of the *Vassal*, as swallow up a great Part of the Estate. It is truly lamentable, to see so many *Processes* of *Reductions*, *Improbations*, *Declarations* of *Non-entry*, *Disclamations*, *Irritancies*, and of *single* and *Liferent-Escheats*, in the Records of our *Court of Session*, as are enough to weary poor People out of their Lives, as well as to deprive them of their Estates.

THE *Crown* has already agreed to take moderate Rates for these *Casualties*, which belong to the *King*; but private *Superiors* do



do for the most part demand exorbitant Rates for them, tho' some have been so generous as to use their *Vassals* kindly, when they fell into such unhappy Circumstances. Upon the whole, I doubt not but all will agree with me, that it were good, both for the *Crown* and other *Superiors*, that such *servile* and *oppressive Tenures* were abolished, and the Estates of these who are now *Vassals* dis-incumbred, and many Gentlemen's Families saved from being ruined by the barbarous *Casualties* of these *Tenures*, and honest *Creditors* paid off their just Debts; and so our whole Nation should find themselves obliged to bless the *King* and *Parliament*, for rescuing us from such intolerable Oppressions.

THE *Superiors* may contend, That their *Superiorities* are their own private Rights, and that therefore they cannot be deprived of them.

To this I answer, That as for the yearly *Feu-duties* in *Feu-Tenures*, I own that they ought to have Compensation for them: But as to *Ward-holdings*, and the *Casualties* thereof, acclaimed by the *Superiors*, they are so barbarous, absurd and unjust in their own Nature, that it is a Shame and Reproach they should be continued in a *Christian*

*stian Nation*, as I have already said: And as they are Handles for cruel and barbarous Oppression upon the *Vassals*, and have been so used to the Ruin of many Gentlemens Families in *Scotland*; so it would be very dangerous for the King and his *Royal Family* to have them continued, as giving Occasion for Rebellion. Beside that the *Ward-holdings* were altogether temporary; introduced, and to have been continued in *Scotland* only for temporary Ends and Uses, when the *Barons* and their *Vassals* by their *Knight-Service*, were the only Defence of the Nation in all Wars. But now, and long ago, the Case is wholly altered. There are standing regular Troops levied, and kept up for the Defence of the Nation; and these paid by publick Taxes collected from the whole People. And these regular Troops are all that the *King* and *Parliament* make Use of for *military Service*: And so these *Ward-holdings* ought consequentially to fall, and no Price can be demanded justly for them. And the *King* and *Parliament* have fully shewed their Inclination and good Will for abolishing all these abominable *Ward-holdings* in *Scotland*, of the Crown, from the late Act of the *British Parliament*, vesting the forfeited Estates in Trustees, to be sold for the Use of the Publick, in appointing such of the said Estates

Estates as lie in *Scotland*, to be holden all, after the Sale, of the King, by the *Tenure* there called *Blench-holding*: Whereby it is clear, that the *King and Parliament* part with the *Ward-holdings* of the *Crown*, in *Forfeited Estates*, without any Value for them; and so ought other *Superiors* to do. For why should our *Lords and Barons* be allowed to keep up these *Ward-holdings* of themselves, over their *Vassals*, which are barbarous in their own Nature, and were only temporary in their first Institution; when the *King* remits to these *Lords and Barons*, their own *Ward-holdings* of the *Crown*: And when the original Occasion and End of both of them were one and the same, and wholly Temporary, and are now altogether ceased, as aforesaid. And as for the *Escheats* claimed by the *Superiors*, they give, and have given so much Occasion for cruel Oppression and Fraud upon the *Vassals*, and their just *Creditors*, that it were a Shame for any just Person to claim any Value for them.

WE are also liable to another pressing *Grievance*, which proceeded from the same Fountain; and that is, *Hereditary Jurisdiction* belonging to several Families, such as *Iresships, Stewartries, Regalities, Bailliaries*. This is another Manner of interposing be-  
twixt

twixt the *Sovereign* and the *Subject*; and as it is oppressive to the *People*, so it deprives the *Crown* of as much Power as is given to such Families. This has frequently been the Occasion of very great Oppressions, and particularly by the *single* and *Liferent Escheats*, falling to them in manner above-mentioned: And these of them that have *Regalities*, are vested with no less than a *Royal Power*, diminishing exceedingly the *Sovereignty* and *Prerogative* of the *King*. And to what Purpose could these interposed *Hereditary Jurisdictions* in *Scotland* be continued? But to give Occasion to harass and oppress the poor *People* under them, with *Fines* and other *arbitrary Impositions*; applied by the *Judges* themselves for their own private *Uses*, and so ready to blind their *Eyes* in the *Distribution* of *Justice*: Or to enslave and expose the *King's Free Lieges* to Attendance upon so many *Head Courts* every Year, and *Amerciaments* for Absence. And many of these *Jurisdictions* claim a *Justiciary Power* of *Beheading* and *Hanging* within their *Territories* at *Pleasure*: And all of them impose and exact *pecunial Mulcts* for their own proper *Uses*, and some for little or no *Faults*; the *Benefit* of the *Fines* redounding to themselves, as in the *Case* of what we call *Bloods* and *Batteries*. If one be attacked by another, and have used only innocent

nocent *Self-defence*, though for saving his Life, when both the Aggressor and Defendant are called before these our Judges, they Fine the *innocent Defendant* as well as the *Aggressor*, unless the Defendant depose upon *Oath*, that he gave not a Stroke, though for his own necessary Defence, and even to save his Life. And when there are real Crimes committed, such as *Theft*, our Judges ordinarily seizes the Goods of the *Criminal*, without convicting him; or compounds the Matter privately with him, and gives him personal Freedom thereafter; that he may Thieve more, or beg with his Wife and Children, and be a Burden on the Country where he lived, when our Judge has taken all his Goods from him. From all which it is evident, what *Thralldom* our poor Nation is in by these *Hereditary Jurisdictions*, as exercised *arbitrarily*. And I can call them no less than *Imperia in Imperio*, which the King and his Royal Family, ought not to dispense with, as vastly diminishing his *Sovereignty* and *Kingly Power*, and as being inconsistent with the same. Nay, by the Oppressions used within these Jurisdictions, many People are frightened from coming into their Bounds, and so the Lands therein are lowed, and of lower Estimate; publick Fairs and Markets in Towns within the same are less frequented, and no Improvements

provements are made, by Inclosing and Planting of Ground, and otherwise; and all Trade discouraged, to *Scotland's* great and general Loss. Whereas, there is no such oppressive Jurisdictions in *England*, interposed betwixt the *King* and his *Subjects*. But these Matters are determined in *England* by *Jesses*, *Justices of Peace*, and others nominated and appointed by the *King*, from Time to Time, who have no Temptation from *Escheats* and *Amerciaments* of Court falling to them *proprio Jure*. But the Fines put upon, and exacted from Delinquents, are applied for *publick Uses*, for the Use of the *Poor*, and relieving the *English* of the Burden of them. And therefore, seeing we are now Incorporated with that Nation, by the *Union*, I hope, it will be thought just and reasonable, that we in *Scotland* should enjoy the same *Liberties*, and breathe in the same free Air as the *English*.

ON this Occasion I cannot but take Notice, That the *King* and *Parliament* takes Care, that the *Hereditary Jurisdictions*, such as *Regalities*, &c. that formerly belonged to our *Forfeit Lords*, and others, be not conveyed to the Purchasers of the *Forfeited Estates*; but sunk in the Power of the *Sovereign*: Which is a clear Evidence, that the *King* and *Parliament* see the Evil of in-

*terposed Superiorities, and Hereditary Jurisdictions betwixt the King and the People; as derogating from the Sovereign's Power, and as being Handles for oppressing the People, and even rebelling against the King himself and his Government.*

UPON the whole, I make bold to say; That had the *English Parliament* been duly apprised of the ill Consequences of these *Superiorities and Jurisdictions*, instead of confirming them, by the *Union*, they would have found, that it had been more for the Interest of *England*, to have advanced Money for buying what these *Superiors* can call their *just Right*: Which I humbly take to be no more than their *Yearly Feu Duties in Feu Tenures*; all the rest of the *Casualties* claimed by the *Superiors* being unjust and barbarous, and which no *Christian Nation* should allow of.

THIS, I think, will be denied by none; who consider, that the late *Rebellions* in *Scotland*, which were chiefly occasioned by such *Superiorities*, have cost *England* a great deal more in *Taxes* for suppressing them, and maintaining standing *Troops*, than that would have amounted to.

IT may easily be conceived, That *Vassals* who held so long by these *Tenures*, and considered the frequent Changes of *Government* that have happened in this *Island*, must be always under a Dread of their *Superiors*; as we have seen it but too plain, even in the Case of those who were *Forfeited* for the Rebellion: But if once the *Vassals* are set at Liberty, by such a Law, and come to hold of the *Crown*, as other Gentlemen do, they will quickly feel the happy Effect of it, and be no more under the Dread of such *arbitrary Superiors*, but become engaged by Affection, as well as Interest, to continue *Loyal* to their *Sovereign*; since it would be more honourable as well as profitable, to depend only on the *Crown* and the *Law*. Whereas, now, they are so much under the Awe and Power of these *Superiors*, that they do not almost look upon the *King* as their *Sovereign*, especially in the *Highlands* and *Isles*, but so far as their *Superiors* will give them Leave.

I must also think, That the *Scots* may be encouraged to expect a Relief from the Slavery and Oppression of *Superiorities* and *Hereditary Jurisdictions*, under which they labour and groan; and that not only from the *Union* that now is betwixt *England* and



*Scotland*, entitling *Scotland* to the same Privileges, that the whole united Body may be uniform in *Liberty* and *Property*, and the Deformity by a Part of *Oppression* and *Slavery*, may not dishonour the whole: But also from the great Purchases that the *English* Nation have now made, and may yet make in *Scotland*; whereby these Grievances will certainly come to touch them in the purchased Estates, and will discourage exceedingly from improving their Lands purchased in *Scotland*, by Inclosing, Planting, and otherwise; and taking *Leases* for that Effect, and from Trading within your Purchased Estates. And truly, Discouragements of that Nature have been a sad Affliction hitherto generally through *Scotland*, and have occasioned the Neglect of all such Improvements, to *Scotland's* great Loss: And therefore a Remedy ought to be speedily provided.

THERE is another Grievance which affects us very much, and gives our great Men and others an Opportunity to oppress the People, I mean, *Tithes*. We are sensible, that in Time of *Popery*, the *Secular* and *Regular* Clergy were so Numerous, that they enhanced a great Part of the Nation's Wealth for their *Maintenance*: So that they possess most of its Revenues, either under the Notion

tion of *Church Lands* or *Tithes*, which were then collected with great *Tyranny* and *Rigour*. And the Clergy then pretending a *Divine Right* to them, scarce any one durst oppose their *Tyranny* in that respect, without *Danger* of being treated as *Hereticks*, or *sacrilegious Persons*.

AT the Time of the *Reformation*, People were glad to be rid of their *Spiritual Tyranny*, and so were not so attentive as they ought to have been, to be freed from the Burden of *Tithes*: This gave many of our Nobility and others, an Opportunity to possess themselves of these *Church Lands* and *Tithes*, under the Names of *Superiors*, *Lords of Erektion*, *Titulars of Tithes*, and *Patrons*. By which they kept up their *Tithes* to the full Extent, as in Time of *Popery*, and allowed only a small *Salary* to the *Protestant Clergy*, which in most Places did not exceed a Third or Fourth of the Value of the *Tithes*. I will not call this *Sacrilege*; but certainly it is a Thing very unreasonable in it self, that these *Lords* and others should enjoy the *Tithes* which were set aside for the Maintenance of Ministers, and other pious Uses; since they do no manner of Service in the *Church*. And certainly there cannot be the least Shadow of Reason that they should have from the *Tithes*

*Tithes* by our Great Men, is, that such of them as are disaffected, have thereby found Means to force lesser *Free-holders*, and others who pay them *Tithes*, to follow them in the *Rebellion*.

IT is computed, that near half of the *Tithes* of the Nation is not united with the *Property*, so that it would certainly be a great Relief to the Country, if the above-mentioned Law for redeeming them were retrieved and reinforced, and all the *Tithes* were consolidated with the *Property*; with this Proviso, That reasonable Provision should be allowed out of them for *Ministers* and *Schools*, where it is wanting.

ON this Occasion, I cannot but mention our *Society* erected in *Scotland*, by Letters Patent from the late *Queen*, for propagating *Christian Knowledge* in the *Highlands* and *Isles*: They have made such a Progress already with their small Fund, in settling *Schools*, and reforming the People, that, were the same allowed by *King* and *Parliament*, out of the *forfeited Estates* in *Scotland*, put under such Managers as that *Society* consists of, we might soon, by the Blessing of *God*, hope to see the People of those Parts reformed from the gross *Papist* Way, I may say, *Heathenish Ignorance* and

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and *Superstition*, that reigns amongst them: Which has all along made them obsequious *Slaves* to their *Popish*, and otherwise *disaffected Chieftains*, and ready to concur with them in promoting *Popery*, *Slavery*, and raising *Rebellions* against the Government since the *Revolution*.

Some Papers relating to the *Ostend Company*, viz.

To His Excellency Count Starhemberg, &c. at Hanover.

May it please your Excellency,

HAVING had the Honour to address my self to your Excellency, in a Letter very lately, I had no Thoughts of troubling your Excellency any farther, until I was honoured with your Commands. But being informed by my Friend Mr. D— that your Excellency was of Opinion, That proper Application should be made to Her most Serene Highness the Arch Dutchess Elizabeth, at her Court at Bruxels, and that it was advisable to lay the whole Affair before Her, as Governess of the Imperial Netherlands. I therefore intreat your Excellency would be

be pleased to transmit all my Papers to her Most Serene Highness, in such Manner as you shall think proper, and to recommend the same to some Person at Her Court, whom you shall judge most Convenient; and when your Excellency has so done, you will please to honour me with Advice thereof, that I may immediately embark for *Flanders*, in order more fully to explain my *SCHEMES*, and give undeniable Proofs that they are founded on most Substantial Reasons, and the Means to effect them, perfectly fitted to those great Ends I Propose, without bringing any Expence on his *Imperial* Majesty.

I have now finished the *Scheme* of that *LOTTERY*, &c. I mentioned in my last Letter; and am perfectly well satisfied, your Excellency's Friends at *Bruxels* will please to approve, as soon as I have the Honour to communicate it in Person to them, at that Court.

I flatter my self, your Excellency will be agreeably surpris'd, when I fully discover and open those *Views*, which, I hope, may be attended with prodigious Increase of *Power* and *Riches* to his *Imperial* Majesty's Dominions; especially when assisted by

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so great a Patronage as yours. I beg Pardon for the Trouble I give your Excellency; and am, with the most profound Respect and Sincerity, your Excellency's most Obedient, and Devoted Servant,

KER, of *Kerland*.

P. S. I beg the Honour of an Answer, as soon as Possible.

*London, 26th October, 1725. O. S.*

*PROPOSAL to his Imperial Majesty.*

**T**HAT His Imperial Majesty Grant a License to for raising two Millions seven Hundred Thousand *Flemmish* Guilders, by a *Lottery*, to be Drawn at the City of *Bruges*, in the *Austrian Netherlands*; which two Millions seven Hundred Thousand Guilders, shall be Lent to his *Imperial* Majesty, to pay off so much of the Money due upon Mortgages upon high Interest, from his *Imperial* Majesty to the *Dutch*, on Security of a good Fund, to be granted by the Emperor, in *Flanders*;

*Flanders*; for paying five *per Cent* for Interest for the said Capital of two Millions, seven Hundred Thousand Guilders; amounting to one Hundred Thirty five Thousand Guilders *per Annum*. By which will be saved to the Emperor, the Difference between five *per Cent*, and the exorbitant Interest he now pays to the *Dutch*.

IN order to which, Seventy five Thousand Tickets, of Thirty six *Flemmish* Guilders each, shall be issued out, extending in the whole, to two Millions seven Hundred Thousand Guilders.

THE Prizes being in Number twelve Thousand five Hundred, extends, in the whole, to two Millions seven Hundred Thousand and Eighty Guilders.

THE Prizes to suffer a Deduction of ten *per Cent*, out of the abovesaid five *per Cent* for Interest, as shall be due to each Ticket; to be applied to the Use of the Patentee, as a Reward for his Pains and Trouble, and defraying the Charges of Drawing the *Lottery*, and other incident Charges relating thereto.

A Particular of the Tickets.

	Gilders.	Gilders.
1 at	100,000	100,000
2 at	50,000	100,000
2 at	20,000	40,000
4 at	10,000	40,000
16 at	5,000	80,000
40 at	2,000	80,000
80 at	1,000	80,000
500 at	500	250,000
4106 at	240	985,440
7747 at	120	929,640
1 first Drawn	5000	5,000
1 last Drawn	20000	10,000

---

Prizes Total, 2,700,080:

75000 Tickets, at 36 *Flemmish* Gilders  
each, amounts to 2,700,000.

PROPO:



*PROPOSAL, for raising a Joint-Stock of 5000l. in Partnership, for furnishing the Imperial Company of the Austrian Netherlands with Beer, and other English Malt Liquors, viz.*

I. **T**HAT ten Pounds *per Cent* be paid by each Partner hereunto Signing, at the Time of his Signature, into the Hands of the present Treasurer agreed on. No such Partner signing for more than nor less than Pounds.

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III. **T**HAT out of the said Money, there shall be paid by the same Treasurer, or any subsequent Treasurer, into the Hands of 150l. for procuring a Contract

Contract with the said Company for the Purpose aforesaid, for such Term or Continuance, and at such several Rates and Prices as shall be contained in an Instrument of Instructions from the said Partners, or such Majority of them, as aforesaid; and after such Contract compleated and executed by the said Company, and delivered to the said Treasurer for the said Partners, he shall Pay into the Hands of the said

the farther Sum of 200 l. And when there shall be obtained from his *Imperial* Majesty, or the Government of the *Austrian Netherlands*, an Effectual *Grant*, or *Edict*, prohibiting the Importation into the said *Netherlands*, of all *Beer*, or other *English* Malt Liquors, by any other Person or Persons, Bodies Politick or Corporate, then the said Partners so contracting with the said Company, during the Continuance of the said Contract, there shall be paid into the Hands of the said the farther Sum of 150 l. to make up 500 l. *Premium*, for obtaining such *Contract* and *Grant*, or *Edict*, as aforesaid.

P. S. *May it please your Excellency, Dispatch in this Affair is of the last Importance; and both my Promise and Duty to the Emperor engages me to prove to his Imperial Majesty, that not one Step has been delayed by me, but all along prosecuted with such indefatigable Diligence as so great a Concern requires; and therefore I am impatient 'till I know your Excellency's Pleasure, being now, blessed be GOD, restored to my Health, and in a Condition to undertake any Journey.*

BUT if your Excellency shall think fit to decline the Patronizing this great and good Undertaking, I must take the proper Measures to discharge my Conscience and Duty to his Imperial Majesty, without losing any more Time.

KER, of *Kerstrand.*

To JOHN KER, of Kerland, Esq;

11th of November, 1725.

SIR,  
I Think the Bearer, Captain *W*—— may be of incredible Service in the Affair of Trade, &c.

I refer you to himself, and pray let me know your Sentiments thereon.

THIS Gentleman by Sea, and You by Land, may, in Time, accomplish the greatest Project in the World, to the eternal Honour and Profit of all Parties concerned, especially his Imperial Majesty, and the August House of *Austria*.

*Adieu*, dear Friend,

R. D.

---

LETTER to a FRIEND.

SIR,  
AS to my poor Thoughts, relating to the Motives of the Duke *de Ripperda's* Disgrace, you have them here without the least Ceremony.

N

W H E N

WHEN I consider the Shortness of the Time of this great Minister, which was not above two Months, and no superior Minister to inspect his Accompts, nor no Order from the King of *Spain* to do it, it appears to me a quite out of the way Thought, without solid Foundation, that an *Embezzlement* was his Crime. But I am of the Opinion, that his Disgrace rather proceeded from his Corresponding with the *British* Court; and this Opinion seems too strongly supported by two Facts: 1. His taking Refuge in the *British* Minister's House, most Obnoxious to that Court of all others, and not in the House of any other Minister. 2. I observe next our Foreign Papers, for several successive Posts, gave us Accounts from a great many Places, that the *Pretender* was preparing to leave *Italy*, in order to some Foreign Expedition; and at last confirmed by two or three successive Ones, that he was set out, with some Post Chaises and Calathes, attended by a great many Lords and Gentlemen: But this co-inciding exactly with *Ripperda's* Disgrace, and the *Pretender's* unexpected Return to his former Abode, confirms me in the Opinion that the Secret was out, which could, all Things consider'd, be by no other Means than the  
Discovery

Discovery the *Spanish* Court had made, tending to crush that Undertaking.

RIPPERDA is a *Hollander*, a Man of Parts and Subtilty; he was sent by the *States*, as their Envoy, to the Court of *Spain*, where he quitted their Service, and changed his Religion, which ingratiated him with the *Spaniards*: He had Cunning enough to strike in with the QUEEN of *Spain*, upon her dreadful Resentment of the great Affront of sending back to *Spain* her Daughter, the INFANTA Queen, from *France*; and knowing the great Power the Queen of *Spain* had over the KING, and that she, being an *Italian*, was incapable of forgiving an Injury; he, by her Means, brought about the *King* of *Spain*'s consenting to a firm Treaty of *Peace* and *Commerce* with the House of *Austria*, and himself to be privately sent to *Vienna*, and impowered to conclude it with the Emperor, which being so much to his Benefit, he readily agreed to it.

I shall in the last Place observe; that *Ripperda* might be intimidated into this Snare; he knew he was a Foreigner, and that the *Spanish* Grandees are never easy while a Stranger is at the

Helm; and that it would not be long in the KING or QUEEN'S Power to protect him in the Possession of his High Posts, of which a much greater Man than he, ALBERONI, was a late Instance; and therefore he might be willing to make his Fortune and be gone, when he found it Convenient for him.

*I am Sir, &c.*

KER, of *Kerstrand*.

## CONCLUSION.

I shall here shut up, this Part of, my Papers; with recommending to all Persons in Places of the highest Trust, the noble and *disinterested* Example of the late Mr. Secretary *Addison*, whom it behoves all his Successors to imitate; for, as it is skilfully observed by the Writer of his *Life*, \* *pag. 9.*

\* I do not mean that poultry Account of him written by Mr. *Tickell*, but the *Memoirs* of his *Life* and *Writings*, to which is annexed his *Will*. Printed for Mr. *Curl* in the *Strand*.

IN all his publick Stations and Trusts he gained a wonderful Applause. His great Vivacity, Penetration, Learning, and Observations, rendered him perfectly Master of the most important Business of the State; neither was he wanting in Dispatch, which in him was so easy, that in many Cases, what was a Pleasure to Mr. ADDISON, was almost insuperable to others.

AND what is a peculiar Commendation of Persons in such advantageous Stations, his Assiduity to serve his Friends, and great Dis-interestedness in so doing, was very remarkable. I have Authority to communicate to the World an Instance of this Nature, in the Case of the Honourable Major *David Dunbar*, to whom Mr. ADDISON had done a very signal piece of Service in the Year 1715. when he was Secretary to the Earl of *Sunderland*, then Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. This Favour, in the Major's Estimation of it, deserved a very Handsome return, and accordingly he sent the Secretary a *Bank-Bill* for 300 Guineas, which he would not by any means accept. I am farther to inform the Reader, that upon Mr. ADDISON's refusal of the *Bill*, the Major purchased a *Diamond-Ring* of the same Value,



lue, and upon his tender of that Present, it was rejected with some Warmth.

How heartily he espoused the Major's Interest, will appear to his Honour, from the Two following Letters; as well as the *honest Reason* he gives for *not accepting*, what the Major thought only, an *Equitable Gratuity*.

## L E T T E R I.

*To the Honourable Major DUNBAR.*

SIR,

**I** This Morning urged to my Lord Lieutenant every Thing you suggest in your Letter, and what else came into my Thoughts. He told me it stopped with the Secretary, and that he would still see what could be done in it. I spoke to Sir *William St. Quintin* to remove all Difficulties with the Secretary, and will again plead your Cause with His Excellency to morrow Morning. If you send me word where I may wait on you about Eleven a Clock, in some *Bye-Coffee-House*, I will inform you of the Issue of this Matter if I find my Lord

*Sunder*

Part II. of John Ker, Esq; 183

*Sunderland* at Home, and will convince you that I was in Earnest when I wrote to you before, by shewing my self,

Sir,

*Your most Dis-interested*

*Humble Servant*

J. ADDISON.

---

L E T T E R II.

*To the Honourable Major DUNBAR.*

SIR,

I Find there is a very strong Opposition formed against you, but I shall wait on my Lord Lieutenant this Morning, and lay your Case before him as advantageously as I can, if he is not engaged in other Company. I am afraid what you say of his Grace \* does not portend you any Good.

AND now Sir believe me, when I assure you, I never did, nor ever will, on any

---

\* Duke of Marlborough.

pretence whatsoever take more than the stated and customary Fees of my Office. I might keep the contrary Practice concealed from the World, were I capable of it, but I could not from my Self. And I hope I shall always fear the Reproaches of my own Heart more than those of all Mankind. In the mean Time, if I can serve a Gentleman of Merit, and such a Character as you bear in the World, the Satisfaction I meet with on such an Occasion, is always a Sufficient, and the only Reward to,

*Sir,*

*Your most Obedient*

*Humble Servant,*

J. ADDISON.

THUS it plainly appears, Mr. *Addison* gave a Lustre to the Places he enjoyed and the great Personages he had the Honour to serve: He managed his greatest Charge with known Ability; and resigned it only on Account of his Health, which it was a publick Misfortune he was ever without. If any Objection has been made to his Character, it has proceeded from over-much Modesty, a Fault easily to be forgiven.

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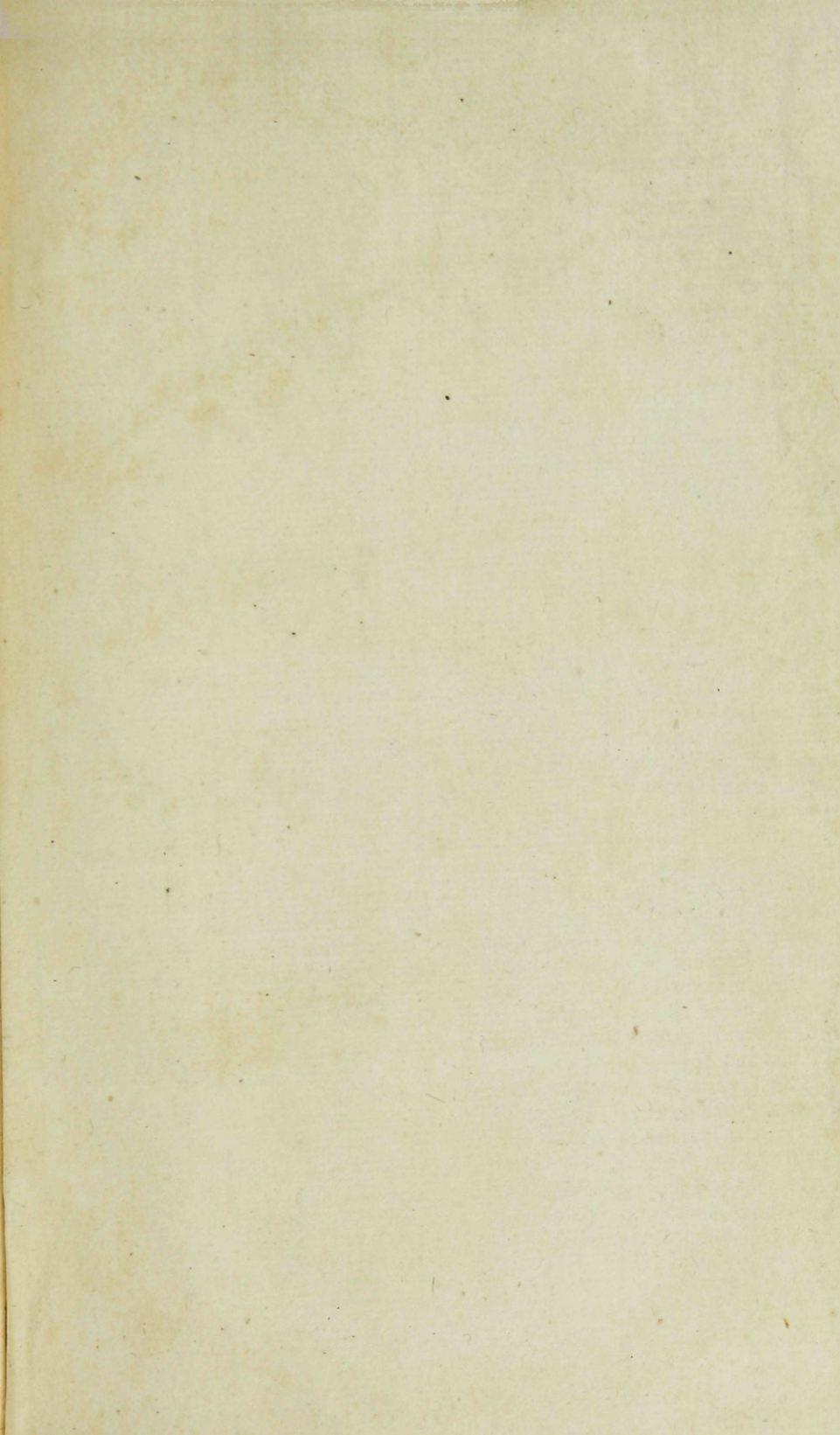
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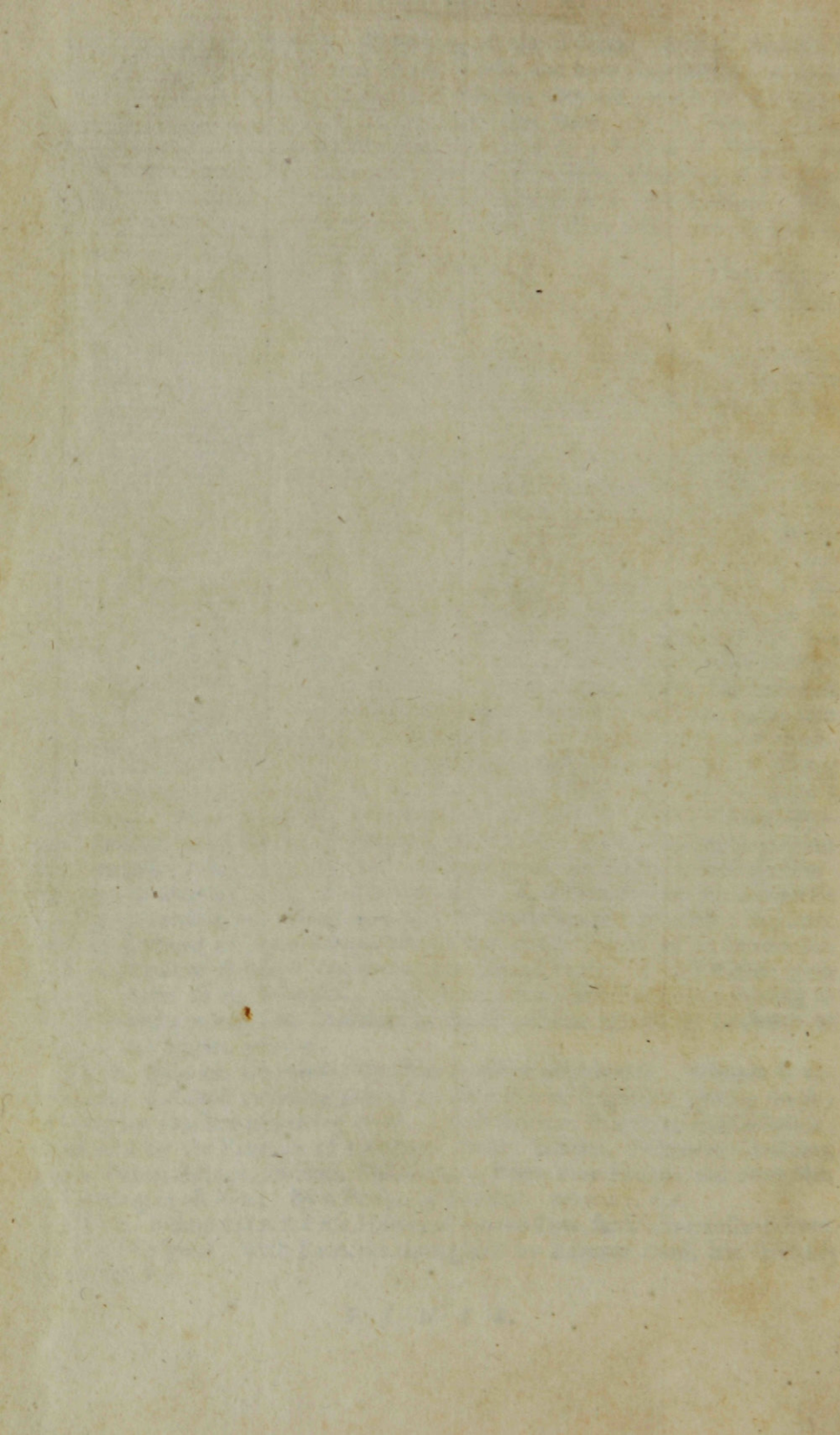
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