special collections
DOUGLAS LIBRARY
queen's university
at kingston

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA
THE
FEARS
AND
SENTIMENTS
OF ALL
TRUE BRITAINS;
With respect to
National Credit,
INTEREST
AND
Religion.

LONDON:
Printed and Sold by A. Baldwin, in Warwick-
Lane. 1710. Price 2d.
THE PEA.RS
OF
SNTIIMENT.
ITALIAN
TRANSLATION
OF
J. W. C. MILL.
INTEREST
AND
RELIGION.
THE
FEARS
AND
SENTIMENTS,
OF
All True Britains, &c.

If one were to judge entirely from the Nature and Reason of things, one could not possibly believe, that a Total Change of Her Majesty's Ministry, and a Dissolution of Parliament, could at this time enter into the designs and desires of any of Her Subjects, who retain the least Spark of Affection, either for Her True Interest, or their Native Country. But Experience, and Matter of Fact, often force us to judge of the Conduct of Moral Agents, contrary to what that Reason to which they pretend, would otherwise incline us to think. It is too manifest to Observation, to be denied, that there are amongst us a Set of Persons, who are using all their endeavours to talk the World into a belief, that our Good Queen is devoted to their Counsels, and now just entering into their measures of still more great and important Alterations.
It must indeed, and it ought in Justice to be acknowledged, that, if common Report be at all to be relied upon, there is a very great difference between those Politicians, who have brought the Nation under it's present Approbitions and Disorders: Some being not so totally devoid of all Love to their Country, and all regard to Posterity, as to venture the Ruine of the whole for their own Humour, or Profit; others, pressing the Sacrifice of all to the present Lucky Opportunity of raising themselves. Both indeed, have joined in bringing us to the Brink of a Precipice, and, on this account, they have both equally merited of their Country. But the former, seem to flatter at the horrid prospect, now they are come within view of it, and to be willing to step a little back into the more moderate measures: whilst the latter, whose smaller Merits make their Attempts the more daring, think it destructive to all their hopes, to give back one Inch. They seem to be in this Train of Thought. If we do not strike whilst all things are hot, and whilst other Motives have force, it may be long before the brightness of our Personal merit will call us forth to serve in the Highest Posts. And why are we told of Consequences? Should this Government continue, we shall be in it's Posts, for our time; and should there be a Restoration, we are sure of the Thanks, and first Regards, of the Popish Line, let them come as soon they can. They will know their Benefactors, and be sensible what they owe to the Men who have disturbed that Train of Success, and that Method of Administration, which had well nigh cut off all their hopes.

But tho' this be the whole of what they are pleas'd to take into their Thoughts; yet it must not be imagined that a Matter of such Importance as this is, lies easily upon the Minds of others, whose concern for the Nation,
Nation, for Posterity, and the Interest of the Protestant Religion, is as great as they can possibly conceive for their own honour and advancement. They must not wonder if the fears of the many, whose All lies at stake, put them upon asking a few Questions. As,

1. What is to become of Credit? For by Credit it is, and not meerly by vast Quantities of ready Money, that we subsist; and by our Credit it is that our Grand Enemy hath been reduced to Extremities. Great Alterations when all things have gone on well, beyond expectation, and to the satisfaction of all concerned, cannot but affect it; especially when they are made to the disgrace, and discouragement of those, under whom it hath arrived to such a height, as was never before seen, during the course of this War. To say, what need People be concerned? and why can't others be supposed equally able to keep up this National Credit? is only to argue against Experience and Fact. There will be a suspicion, do all that is in the power of Man; there cannot but be a suspicion in Men's minds, and an ugly fear, when a happy course of things is broken into. And if it be so (whether it be founded upon a just ground or not, ) that there is an opinion both at home and abroad, that the Management of one sort of Men looks more hearty, and gives more security than that of another, it is not all the reasoning in the World that can help the sudden downfall of Credit. And when it is down, who shall raise it up again? Taking into the Account that, as the first raising our Credit to such a pitch, was the Entire ruine of the French King's Credit; so the Death of ours must necessarily give a New Life to his. For if there be apprehensions given of a Shock to our present Establishment, and His hopes have any fresh ground to go upon, it will be again thought by some, worth while to lend him a helping hand, and give Him the Credit, which shall have fled from Us. As every step
we lose in the Field is so much gain to Him: to every diminution of our Credit, is just so much added to His. It being manifest therefore even to the Sense, that the fear only of a total Alteration and Dissolution, hath already diminished, and shaken, the Publick Credit, it may well be asked, what will become of it, when the things themselves actually come to pass? If the suspicion only have had such an effect, what will the reality have? To talk of raising it again, is only presumption, and a groundless presumption. And to part with it, upon the bare promise of those to restore it again, who first take it away, is just as if a Man should take a part of his Estate out of the hands of a Tenant who had improv'd it, so as to raise the Rent to a great height, and let it to another, who, he knows at present, can't pay him half so much, and gives him no security but his own word, that He will raise it again to the usual pitch in a little time. Show me the private Gentleman who will be thus imposed upon. It is only for a Nation to be so treated. If the Answer be, that a Peace must be made; this will be a confession that Credit sinks under a new Administration, and that all the power and interest of it will be too feeble to support us, only whilst we put a happy End, to what has successfully proceeded so far already. But for God's sake, what a Peace must that be, which is forced upon us for want of our Credit? What are the Terms that we must submit to, when we enter into Negotiations, upon that necessity on our part, which a former Administration had brought upon the Enemy? A Peace upon necessity! It is more dreadful, more horrible to all Europe, and Britain in particular, than a War for another twenty Years! How much more dreadful than a War, happily proceeding into the very heart of France! Who is there that can possibly deny it to be better, to keep that Credit untouched, or unthreatened, which, we are sure must, in a short time, impose a Ne-
ceffity upon the Enemy to submit to our Terms, than
wilfully to bring it into such a condition, as to impose
a necessity upon our selves to submit to His? And of
two ways, shall not the better, and the more secure be
preferre'd, when a whole Nation, and all its Posterity,
lie at stake?

But suppose it were so, that they, who now sink it,
could in time raise it again? Publick Credit is, in this,
like Private Reputation; obtained by a Series of good
Conduct made up of a multitude of good Actions, and
when blasted by the Breath of an Enemy, tho' without
ground, often not to be retriev'd but in a long course
time. In the mean while the person injured suffers,
as if he were really guilty. Another Question there-
fore here recurs, what shall become of Affairs abroad,
in that intermediate State? Who shall satisfy all per-
sons concern'd, that those who could destroy Credit,
when it was high, will have any zeal, or any power,
to raise it again? What Events may come to pass, in
the mean time? How much more difficult must it be
to raise it, when the Enemy's shall have come to Life a-
gain? What may Jealousy and Suspicion, and Cunning
and Knavery, be working, before it can be done? In-
nite are the Forebodings, that all that can see must
have, when they think upon a Nation, thrown in a
moment from the highest prospect of Happiness, to
which they have been rising for many years; and this
with no other comfort but the assurance and promise
of raising them again, if they will but be content
with losing the View for the present. Methinks such
hazardous Experiments should strike some Terour
into the most adventurous Projector!

2. Many will ask, do what we can, what is to be-
come of those, who for the good of their Country,
and for the bringing down the common Enemy, have
trusted to Parliamentary Funds, and supported the
Cause of the Nation with their Mony? The Suspicions

A 4

of
of Men cannot be remedied: and when it is seen that there are those who care not what becomes of Publick Money-Credit at present; who are forcing an inglorious Peace upon their own Nation; who think no Measures too precipitant, to stop a General in his Career of Glory, and to place themselves in Offices of Profit and Trust; they cannot help suspecting that such persons will not be over-tender in the point of National Justice, and that the lot of those who have depended upon it, will be very hard at last. This suspicion is mightily increased by an Ugly Discourse now too frequent amongst those who are impatiently waiting for a Thorough Alteration, concerning a Political Spunge to wipe out the Debts of the Nation, and at one dath the very Memorial, if possible, of the demands of those who have been too forward to place a confidence in Parliamentary Security. I confess, I have often observed in many a great coldness, and indifference, and a great slur often put upon that sort of Security: but there is something in such a design so shocking to Humane Nature, so startling to Conscience, and natural Honesty, that I would hope it could not enter into the Heart of Man. Publick Justice dreads a disgrace. It is a tender Point: and a People seems devoted to ruin, when such a Guilt, which is equally a Scandal to the very name of Religion, and an utter condemnation of all Publick-spiritedness, shall come upon it. Where shall common Honesty, and common Humanity, show their Heads? Where shall any regard to the publick Good be expected, or look’d for? By whom shall a Remedy be applied, in any future great Extremity, if that which was thought sacred and inviolable, shall be disgrac’d and annul’d? This will be a complicated Injustice, big with a multitude of Evils; and of fatal consequence not only to Us, but to our latest Posterity, a Reproach upon the Nation, never to be wiped out; a national Guilt never to be done away. How acceptable it may be to some landed-men, I know
I know not: but they may depend upon it, they who can thus cancel the strictest obligations of justice and honesty in one instance, may with as good a grace, and as little guilt, invade their lands and estates. What can be secure? What can be a title, or a right? Or, what can become of property, if, in so public an instance, against the strongest obligations, and most solemn security, and under the highest aggravations, it shall be invaded, and destroyed? And who will ever again, after such an example before their eyes, be tempted to regard the publick, when they are sure of being themselves ruined at last? But I hope better things: tho' others will have it, that there is never more reason to expect something extravagant, and above the common pitch of boldness from some men, than when they are raising a more than ordinary noise about religion and the church. And now I have mention'd religion and the church, it puts me in mind of another question, which some very serious persons will certainly ask, upon this occasion, viz.

3. What advantage will religion, and the church reap by this new scheme, if it entirely take place? As for the state, the share that is to have in the benefit, is so evident, that there is no dispute about it. But we know, the great noise is raised about the poor church, and religion. Well then; if the advantages to these be not very evident, and very material, what reason shall be found out next; for a new system? And where is it that we shall search for these mighty advantages? Will atheism, and profaneness, sink into nothing, as fast as publick credit, and the national funds sink? Will faith, and piety, and universal virtue increase, together with the hopes of france, and of the pretender? Or, will the protestant, the reformed church of england, then at length be secure from dangers, when the papist interest shall be most formidable; when france shall have again taken courage,
rage, and our own Measures shall have damp'd both our Credit, and our Courage together? How little do those Men consult the Honour of the Establish'd Church, who, when an Administration hath been successful beyond Example against the Common Enemy, immediately cry out of Danger to the poor Church. Many comes freely. Victories are obtained. Many are taken. Credit runs high. Something must be said to disturb a Course of Affairs fortunate enough to fix any Ministry in the World, except the British: presently, the Church is in Perils from false Brethren, Designs are framed against the Church, and these so deep and so dark, that no Mortal was ever able to discover anything of them! The Characteristic of the Church, I suppose, they fear will be lost, if the Revolution be maintain'd: and every Instance of Success, and every Degree of Credit, help to fix that upon an unmoveable Foundation. On the contrary, it is manifest to sense that that Church of England which invited over the Prince of Orange, and was saved from Ruin by the late Revolution, cannot be secure but by adhering to that Revolution, and to what is built upon it: and consequently that every Advantage against France and the Popish Line is the Stability of it; and that to enter into such Measures as destroy our Credit, dispirit our Friends, and inspire Courage and Confidence into our Enemies, will be found, in the Event, as fatal a Blow to the Church, as it must be to the State.

When such Alterations, together with a Dissolution, are pressed for, and so vehemently expected, one cannot help, in one's Mind, endeavouring to find out, and imagine some colourable Pretence for it. But this one thing is enough to make any sober, and sedate Man to start at it, that it is so very hard to think of any single Reason sufficient to justify such a Zeal.

The Reasons for affronting, disgusting, or endeavouring to remove, a General, us'd to be, Want of Con-
Conduit, Want of Courage, or a continued Want of Success. But in our General we see a Consummate Conduit, united with a cool, sedate, and resolute Courage, and both made bright and glorious by a Success beyond Example. Victory and Triumph have waited upon Him; in Council, in Sieges, in the Field, equally great, equally fortunate; the Confidence of our Allies, the Terreour of our Enemies; and now contending with large Steps towards the very Palace of that Prince, whose Troops He hath reduced to the Habit of Flying before Him. How will Posterity be astonied? How shall We our selves be astonied, that such a General should be the Sacrifice aim'd at by the Malice of his Country-men whom he hath so bravely defended; and at a time, when such a Head, and such a Heart, were never more wanted to compleat the Work He hath begun. One would believe that a way of thinking took place with some, the very Reverse to what us'd to be embrac'd. The more consummately wise in Design, the more courageous, and fortunate in Execution; the more fit to be the Object of Ill-will, and Envy, and Disgust. Can any one imagine a Reason here for Change, unless it be for Variety; and that is, as if a Change should be made, meerly for fear of being always happy and successful.

The Reasons for attempting to displace a Treasurer, one would expect, at least in pretence, should be, that he had applied the Nation's Mony to enrich himself beyond measure; especially that Publick Credit had sunk under his Hands; that his Reputation was not sufficient amongst the Rich Part of the Nation, to make him capable of answering the Exigencies of the Nation; or the like. But when it cannot be so much as pretend-ed that the immense enriching himself hath been his End; when Credit is come, under His Administration to a pitch unknown to this Age before; when his chief Care hath been to enable the Army to take the Field,
and by regular Payments to inspire Courage, and Strength into it; when his Reputation is so great, that Money offers it self, as soon as he demands it: under such Circumstances to strike at a Treasurer, is something new, surprizing, and unaccountable. And yet there is no great wonder in this, that, when the Excess of Good Conduct, and Good Fortune, are Crimes in a General, then Management, and Credit, should be Crimes in a Treasurer.

The Motives, or rather Excuses, for Subjects pressing a Dissolution of Parliament, we us'd to think, should be these, either a profefs'd Dislike in the Sovereign to their Proceedings; or that the Nation's Reputation hath decay'd under their Counsels; or that necessary Supplies have been denied for the Prosecution of a Just and Successful War; or so heavily and imperfectly given, that the Army hath not been able to take the Field, either with so much Speed, or with so much Heart, as to be able to do any thing against the Common Enemy. But to press the Dissolution of a Parliament, which hath denied nothing to their Sovereign, and in which the Sovereign hath express'd her highest Satisfaction; a Parliament, whose Supplies have been as great, and as quick, as thofe of some others us'd to be cramp'd, and flow; whose Zeal for the Common Cause it is, that hath animated the Troops both of our own Nation, and of our Allies; a Parliament that sent a General into the Field so soon, as to surprize both Friends and Enemies; to press the Dissolution of such a Parliament, is, I believe, as much without a Parallel, as it is without the Colour of a Pretence. But why do I say without Pretence? There is, it seems, not only a Pretence, but a most unanswerable Reason for it: viz. This House of Commons hath been so affronted, that when the next Session comes, it must in Honour take notice of these Affronts, which may be accompanied with new Heats and Disturbances. And
And here, who can help applauding so nicely, so dextrous a Management, first to encourage and promote the offering all manner of Indignities, and Affronts, to it, and then to make this the Argument for dissolving it? And who doth not see the force of such an Argument. In the next Session, Notice must be taken of these Affronts; therefore dissolve the Parliament? That is, For fear, Abel Roper, or a few Wretches, should be punished for their unparallel'd Insolence; pleasure your Enemies; and disgust your Friends abroad; set the Nation together by the Ears at home; destroy Credit; open a way for a fresh Attempt of the Pretender; encourage all the Jacobites and Nonjurors in the Nation; retard a good Peace and the Progress of the War both; and make your selves the Contempt of all Europe. This is the Argument: and this, at a time when nothing but such Conduct, and such Designs at home, could have hindered a Successful War abroad, from ending in a glorious, and lasting Peace. However, I own this to be a better, and more modest Reason than it would be to declare plainly. We cannot be easy without a Dissolution, because there never was a Parliament yet so openly hearty for the Defence of the late Revolution, and the Parliamentary Right of the Protestant Line; to resolute to cut off all hopes from the Pretender and the Papish Line; nor ever any more hearty in giving large and quick Supplies towards putting such an End to this War, as may prevent the like for many Generations, and be our lasting, and unmoveable Security. Yet there are those who do not scruple to think that these are truly the Grounds of much more than half that Zeal which hath been shewn by some against it. To some others they allow the Glory of going upon that publick-spirited Maxim, that a new Administration seems to require a new Parliament; and consequently all must be hazarded for the Sake of a few that are to come into Offices. Now, how strangely out of Countenance would all these Persons look, if, upon the Experiment, the
fame House of Commons, or one to like it, that no material difference could be seen, should be again chosen? But God forbid that an Experiment should be tried, in the very trying of which, Britain, and all Europe, may receive such Injuries, as no Time can undo! I cannot but think the hazard of the Experiment, and at this Juncture when the Affairs of Europe are in a Crisis, enough to justify the Suspicion, that no Men in their Wits, would be for running such a hazard, were there not in view some further design, than what is profess'd. The Season, and all Circumstances consider'd, the Attempt looks so like the Shooting a Bullet to the bottom of the Ship, that there is need of a great deal of Art, to persuade any, who have their Eyes open, of the contrary.

And as the Attempt itself is startling, and full of Suspicion, so are the Methods, by which it is carried on enough to confirm that Suspicion, in all who consider them. After all the Outcries for Prerogative, the very meanest of the People, every Artificer of the lowest rank, is encouraged to interrupt Her Majesty's repose; and unask'd, and unexpected, to tell Her that the Parliament, in which she express'd so high a Satisfaction, is fit for nothing but to be dissolved, and disgraced. In the mean while, it shall be the heighth of Impudence, for the chief Merchants of Her Capital City, to go when they are sent for, and lay before Her a matter of fact, relating to Money and Credit, of which they are the proper Judges. Such Addresses are encouraged, gladly introduc'd, and highly applauded, as any Stranger could not but think, the Forerunners of the profoundest Slavery; and, exactly such in the main, as one would expect, were the Pretender now upon the Throne, receiving the Homage of his returning Subjects, and their detestation of their Twenty Years Rebellion. For what more could we then expect, than the detestation of the Principles of
of the Late Revolution; the abhorrence of those Parliaments, and of all, that have defended it; the declaring for Hereditary Right, to the disgrace of the Parliamentary, and for no reserve in Obedience? These will be the Topicks whenever that Blessed Time comes; and these are the Topicks now intitled upon: Topicks, which the French King and the Pretender would have intited, as they would now, upon their Knees, beg a Dissolution of this Parliament. And then comes the Sacred Name of Church into their design: and the danger of that is represented the more terrible, the more unperceptible it is. It is indeed a vast advantage they have over their Neighbours, that they can make bold with Holy Things; and, when every thing fails them, when they have nothing to alledge, when their Mouths are stop'd upon every Argument, that then the poor Church can be call'd in to supply the place of Reasoning. Dangers are talk'd of, but no other Danger ever produc'd, but from that Atheism and Profaneness, which have been under all Administrations: and never more, than in those Reigns, when they profess'd to think the Church most Triumphant, and most secure. And then to make all effectual, a Criminal is encouraged, (I say encouraged, for one Nod of some Persons could fix him where they please) to make Pompous Entries into many of our Great Cities; to raise Tumults; to set Neighbours into Quarrels, to put the Country in such Commotions, as in any but a Martyr, or a Confessor, would pass for little less than High Treason. O Religion, how art thou debas'd! O Sacred Name of Church, to what art thou prostituted? These are the Designs, and these are the Methods of some amongst us! And who can say that such Designs are not worthy of such Methods; and such Methods worthy of such Designs? Who can say that one might not expect such Designs to draw after them such Methods; and such Methods to follow unavoidably such Designs? Let them go on, if they see fit. If neither the Fear of God, nor the Love of Men, have any force. If neither the Miseries of their Native Country, nor the Infe-
Infelicity of all Europe can move them from their Resolution of trying the Experiment: It may please Almighty God to give it a happier Turn than either They hope for, or We deserve. But however it may, for the present, succeed; Let them take into the Account, that the time may come when a provoked People may look back upon what is past. And when a Nation finds it self fallen from the utmost Glory, into Danger, and Disgrace; how severe and terrible may be the Enquiry; when it is ask'd, How came it to pass, that We are fallen from the height of Credit, and Interest, into the Dregs of Contempt, and Infamy? How comes it that the Enemy who once for Peace, now talks big again, and keeps his distance from it? How comes it that we have either no Peace, or one worse than none? how comes it that a most successful Administration hath been made odious; a most Consummate General check'd by Contempt, and Ignominy; and a Parliament vilified for opposing Slavery at home, and supporting Liberty abroad; and every thing done that the common Enemy could have wished towards a new Revolution? Who are the persons by whose indefatigable importunities these things have been effected, at a time, when the hazard of all Europe look'd them in the Face, and the danger of their own Country was too plain not to be seen? By whose means is it that the happy effects of a Long and Fortunate War, are at once prevented? These and the like Questions may possibly, one time or other, be ask'd: and it is certainly worth while to consider what may follow.

It is a matter of little difficulty, and little glory, to pull down the best-built Edifice: but it behoves all who are concerned in such work, to think, whether themselves be not the persons that may be crush'd by the ruins of it. The happiest prospect that any Nation ever had before its Eyes, may be all destroy'd in a moment, by the Cunning, or Rashness of a Few: but what the Consequences may be, to themselves, is a Matter they should, methinks, have in their thoughts, even tho' they have no regard to a whole Nation.