

are capable of being elected Members of the House of Commons.

But these are not the only Checks which the Commons of Great Britain have upon the Conduct of those whom they elect to represent them in Parliament. The Interest of the Representatives is the same with that of their Constituents. Every Measure that is prejudicial to the Nation, must be prejudicial to them, and their Posterity. They cannot betray their Electors, without at the same Time injuring themselves. They must join in bearing the Burthen of every oppressive Act; and participate in the happy Effects of every wise and good Law. Influenced by these Considerations, they will seriously and with Attention examine every Measure proposed to them; they will behold it in every Light, and extend their Views to its most distant Consequences. If, after the most mature Deliberations, they find it will be conducive to the Welfare of their Country, they will support it with Ardour; on the contrary, it appears to be of a dangerous and destructive Nature, they oppose it with Firmness.

Every social and generous Man concurs with their Interest in animating the Representatives of the Commons of Great Britain to an honest and faithful Discharge of their important Trust. In each particular, the Heart is satisfied with satisfaction of having acted a worthy Part vibrates in delightful Union with the Applause of their Countrymen, who never fail to express their warmest Acknowledgments to the Friends and Benefactors of their Country. How pleasing are these Rewards! How much to be preferred to that paltry Wealth which is sometimes procured by Meanness and Treachery! I lay sometimes; for Meanness and Treachery do not always obtain even that pitiful Reward. The most useful Ministers to the Crown, and therefore the most likely to be employed, especially in great Emergencies, are those who are best beloved by the People; and those only are beloved by the People, who act steadily and uniformly in Support of their Liberties. Patriots, therefore, have frequently, and especially upon important Occasions, the best Chance of being advanced to Offices of Profit and Power. An abject Compliance with the Will of an imperious Prince, and a ready Disposition to sacrifice every Duty to his Pleasure, are sometimes, I confess, the Steps, by which only Men can expect to raise to Wealth and Titles. Let us suppose, that in this Manner, they are successful in attaining them. Is the despicable Prize a sufficient Recompense for submitting to the infamous Means, by which it was procured; and for the torturing Remorse, with which the Possession of it must be accompanied? Will it compensate for the merited Curse of Posterity?

These must be very strong Checks upon the Conduct of every Man who is not utterly lost to all Sense of Shame and Honour. Few will expose themselves to the Contempt of those among whom they live; and still fewer will expose themselves to such Abhorrence and public

But lest all these Motives, powerful as they are, should be insufficient to animate the Representatives of the Nation to a vigorous and upright Discharge of their Duty, an Oath is administered to them, obliging to any Temptation that would induce them to betray their Country, or their Constituents. This is a further Check upon their Liberties in the frequent Election of Parliaments.

At the Election of Parliaments, the People can make a distinction between those who have served them well, and those who have neglected or betrayed their Interest: They can bestow, unasked, their suffrages upon the former in the next Election, and can mark the latter with disgrace, by a morose Refusal. The Constitution is thus frequently renewed and drawn back, as it were, to its first Principles; which is the most effectual Method of perpetuating the Liberties of a State. The People have numerous Opportunities of displaying their just Importance, and of exercising, in Person, these natural Rights. The Representatives are reminded, whose Creatures they are; and to whom they are accountable for the Use of that Power, which is delegated unto them. The first Maxims of Jurisprudence are ever kept in View.—THAT A LITTLE POWER IS DERIVED FROM THE PEOPLE.—THAT THEIR HAPPINESS IS THE END OF GOVERNMENT.

Frequent new Parliaments are a Part of the British Constitution: By them only the King can know the immediate Sense of the Nation. Every Supply, which they grant, is justly to be considered as a Testimony of the Loyalty and Affection, which the Nation bear to their Sovereign; and by this Means a mutual Confidence is created between the King and his Subjects. How pleasing must such an Intercourse of Benefits be? How must a Father of his People rejoice in such dutiful Returns for his paternal Care? With what Ardour must his People embrace every Opportunity of giving such convincing Proofs, that they are not insensible of his wise and indulgent Rule?

Long Parliaments have always been prejudicial to the Prince, who summoned them, or to the People, who elected them. In that called by King Charles I. in the Year 1640, the Commons proceeded at first, with Vigour and a true patriotic Spirit, to rescue the Kingdom from the Oppression

under which it groaned—to retrieve the Liberties of the People, and establish them on the firm Foundation; and to remove or prevent the pernicious Consequences, which had arisen, or which, they dreaded, might arise from the tyrannical Exercise of Prerogative. They abolished the Court of Star-Chamber and high Commission: They reduced the Forests to their ancient Bounds: They repealed the oppressive Statutes concerning Knight-hood: They declared the Tax of Ship-Money to be illegal: They presented the Petition of Rights, and obtained a Ratification of it from the Crown. But when the King, unadvisedly passed an Act to continue them till such Time as they should please to dissolve them, how soon, how fatally did their Conduct change! In what Misery did the Country lie! Those very Men, who, while they had only a constitutional Power, seemed to have no other Aim, but to secure and improve the Liberty and Felicity of their Constituents, and to render their Sovereign a glorious Ruler of a free and happy People, those very Men, after they became independent of the King and of their Electors, sacrificed that inordinate Power, which had been given them. A Regard for the People was now no longer the Spring of their Action; their only View was to aggrandize themselves, and to establish their Grandeur on the Ruins of their Country. Their Views unhappily were accomplished. They overturned the Constitution from its very Foundation; and converted into Rods of Oppression the Instruments of Power, which had been put into their Hands for the Welfare of the State; but which those, who had formerly given them, could not now restrain. What an instructive Example is this! How alarming to those who have no Influence over their Legislators—no Security but that Power, which was originally derived from the People, and was delegated for their Preservation—may be abused for their Destruction! Kings are the only Tyrants: The Conduct of the long Parliaments will justify me in adding, that Kings are not the severest Tyrants.

At the Restoration, Care was taken to reduce the House of Commons to a proper Dependence on the King; but immediately after their Election they lost all Dependence upon their Constituents, because they continued during the Pleasure of the Crown. They seemed disposed ingloriously to surrender those Liberties, for which their Ancestors had planned, and fought and bled: And it was owing to the Wisdom and Integrity of two virtuous Ministers of the Crown, that the Commons of England were not reduced to a State of Slavery and Wretchedness by the Treachery of their own Representatives, whom they had indeed elected, but whom they could not remove. Secure of their Seats, while they gratified the Passions of the Men, they bartered the Liberties of their Places and Pensions; and threw the Scales of Prerogative all that Weight, which was derived from the People, in Order to overturn the Constitution, that the People could rely on the Fidelity of their Representatives, or punish their Perfidy. By the Statute 6 W. and M. c. 2. it was enacted, that Parliaments should not continue longer than three Years. This insecure Situation of the first Prince of the Hanoverian Line, surrounded with Rivals and Enemies, induced the Parliament, soon after his Accession to the Throne, to prolong the Term to that of seven Years. Attempts have since that Time been frequently made to reduce the Continuance of Parliaments to the former Term; and such Attempts have always been well received by the Nation. Undoubtedly they deserve such Reception; for long Parliaments will naturally forget their Dependence on the People: When this Dependence is forgotten, they will become corrupt: "Whenever they become corrupt, the Constitution of England will lose its Liberty—it will perish."

Such is the Provision made by the Laws of Great Britain, that the Commons should be faithfully represented. Provisions is also made, that faithful Representatives should not labour for their Constituents in vain. The Constitution is formed in such a Manner, that the House of Commons are able, as well as willing, to protect and defend the Liberties entrusted to their Care.

The Constitution of Great Britain is that of a limited Monarchy; and in all limited Monarchies, the Power of preserving the Limitations must be placed somewhere. During the Reigns of the first Norman Princes, this Power seems to have resided in the Clergy and in the Barons by Turns. But it

\* The Earl of Clarendon and Southampton.  
† MONTESQ. b. 11. c. 6.  
If the legislative Body were perpetual, or might last for the Life of the Prince who convened them, as formerly, and were so to be supplied by occasionally filling up the Vacancies with new Representatives; in these Cases, if it was once corrupted, the Evil would be past Remedy: But when different Bodies succeed each other, if the People see Cause to disapprove of the present, they may rectify its Faults in the next. A legislative Assembly also, which is sure to be separated again, will think themselves bound in Interest, as well as Duty, to make only such Laws as are good.

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was used very improperly, only for the Dignity and Pre-eminence of the Church, neglected and despised the People with the Soil they tilled, they would be considered as the Patrimony of St. Peter, to a foreign Jurisdiction, and giving Independence of the civil Powers, the Prerogatives of the Crown to a

in the Way of their favourite Scheme of papal ecclesiastical Dominion; and therefore seized Eaverne's every Occasion of sacrificing the Interests of their Sovereign (those of the Pope) alike to their King and to their Country, their unwearied Aim was to reduce both to the most abject State of Submission and Slavery. The Means employed by them to accomplish their pernicious Purposes were, sometimes to work upon the Superstition of the People, and direct it against the Power of the Prince; and, at other Times, to work upon the Superstition of the Prince, and direct it against the Liberties of the People.

[To be continued.]

## DANTZICK, AUGUST 10.

A BOARD of Commissioners is just instituted here, consisting of four of the principal Magistrates chosen by the People, and two of the Delegates of the Polish Diet, who have just arrived here on that Account from Warsaw. This Board is to consult with M. Benoit, Agent for his Prussian Majesty, Count Golowchin, the Empress of Russia's Minister, and Baron Derone, Agent for his Imperial Majesty, on settling the Differences between the King of Prussia and this City, arising from the well known Claims of the former, and are restrictive to conclude their Negotiations in the Course of three Months. The most languid Hopes are formed that this Negotiation will prove conclusive, and at least release this City from the Calamities she has so long laboured under.

PETERSBURGH, August 14. When the Intelligence first arrived here of the important Victory which Marshal Romanzow gained over the Turks in Bulgaria, a very powerful Party in the Imperial Council was for a Continuation of the War, and following the Advantage gained by marching the grand Army up to the Walls of Constantinople. This Opinion was strongly supported by the Grand Duke; and her Imperial Majesty seemed tacitly to adopt it, but was first resolved to take the Opinion of Count Panin, and some others, before she positively assented to, or dissented from, the Continuance of the War. Count Panin was in Consequence informed of the Victory, and required to give his Opinion in explicit Terms. That old Minister, thus situated, gave his Answer in an open, forcible, and perspicuous Manner, he first laid the distressed State of the Imperial Finances and Commerce; the natural Evils resulting from so long a Continuance of such an expensive and bloody War; he expatiated largely on the Deluge of human Blood that had been poured forth since the Beginning of the War, and what more would be shed in the Continuation of it; from whence he took Occasion to expose the Cruelty and wanton Barbarity of such a Measure.

He protested strongly against any Intention of injuring the Honour, or hurting the Interests of the Russian Empire, by concluding a Peace with a vanquished Enemy, but clearly evinced that it would not only reflect the highest Honour, but be of the most real, the most essential Advantage to the common Interest, as the Empress by being victorious, had not only the Power of commanding almost what Terms she pleased, to indemnify a Part of the Expenses of the War, but had a glorious Opportunity of manifesting her Self-denial and Humanity, by not imposing on the Vanquished such Terms as they were not able to bear. In fine he shewed, that it was absolutely necessary for a Retrieval of the Russian Affairs, and that it was then a Crisis which was equally fortunate and advantageous.

The Reasoning and Manner of this able Politician, this true Friend to his Country, gained the Majority of the Opponents of his Opinion, and convinced all. His Advice was followed, and Couriers were immediately dispatched to Prince Repnin and Marshal Romanzow, to conclude a Peace with the utmost Dispatch.

HAMBURG, Aug. 20. They write from Berlin, that as soon as the King of Prussia heard the News of the Peace between Russia and the Porte being concluded, he immediately sent Officers of different Regiments to the Seat of War, in Order to enroll all such disciplined Men as shall be dismissed from the Russian Service, and to purchase all the Horses they could get from the Turks and Cossacks, for the Use of his Army.

PETERSBURGH, August 16. On Sunday Morning last Peace with the Ottoman Porte was proclaimed in four different Parts of this Capital by a Major of the Guards, who officiated as Herald on that Occasion; and immediately afterwards her Imperial Majesty, accompanied by the Grand Duke and Dutchess, proceeded to the Church of Casan, where, after the Celebration of the Mass, Te Deum was sung, at which all the Nobility and foreign Ministers were present. In the Evening there was a brilliant Court at the Summer Palace. Advice was received from Nisne Novogorod on Sunday last, that Pugatichoff had been again defeated.