

A
 SOLEMN APPEAL
 TO THE
 CITIZENS
 OF
 GREAT BRITAIN
 AND
 IRELAND,
 UPON THE
 PRESENT EMERGENCY.

Per deos immortales, vos ego appello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras, pluris quam rempublicam fecistis; si ista cujuscunque modi sint, quæ amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris ocium præbere vultis; expergiscimini aliquando, et capeffite rempublicam.

BELL. CATILIN.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, OPPOSITE
 BURLINGTON HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

M.DCC.LXXXVIII.

[PRICE TWO SHILLINGS.]

Houses of the Oireachtas

A

SOLEMN APPEAL,

ſc. ſc.

IN a time of public affliction and public danger, when the diffolution of good government is threatened, and the ſucceſs of unprincipled faction ſeems but too near; there needs little apology for an addreſs, which, dictated by the pureſt motives, is meant as an inſtrument (whatever may be its fortune) of advantage, caution, and information, to the citizens who compoſe this lately happy kingdom.

That its happineſs has received a ſhock which it requires great fortitude and

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great

great wisdom to sustain, it is perhaps needless to urge ; not only from the mischievous calamity which has befallen the King, considering him as a private man, and as one whom we all of us loved and respected ; but from the opportunity which now offers for the advancement of men, whom the voice of the moderate, the wise, and the honest, has declared to be obnoxious. Independent of this, the failure of the true executive power of a state, and the substitution of a deputed one, is almost always productive of a time of weakness and danger. In a crisis, therefore, like the present, it behoves every member of the community, let his fortune or his station be ever so mean (since, his rights being the same with those of the greatest, his interest is equally concerned)—more particularly it behoves every one who has any degree of rank or character, any importance in the State, or any influence among his equals, to turn his thoughts to the serious investigation of public affairs.

fairs. Setting aside the natural rights of men, philosophically considered ; not modified by civil institutions, and not clogged by municipal law ; it is a happiness for us to consider, that legally and constitutionally (a privilege bought with the best blood of our ancestors, and acquired by the noblest struggles that dignify the annals of any nation) we may without restraint examine and judge of every measure of our government, legislative or executive. To us the appointment of the lowest officer of justice, or the adoption of the most trifling resolution of a Minister, is not a matter of unconcern : what then must be our care, and what our feelings, when a moment presents itself that is big with consequences on which our peace, our prosperity, and our happiness may ultimately depend ? Nor let it have any weight with us, that just at this time a profound peace prevails among all orders of men ; that no indications of a conspiracy against the public tranquillity have

have yet appeared ; or that, softened as we are by refinement and civilization, no minds are now thought so daring as to bring into danger that constitution which it has cost us ages to establish. There is the more to be apprehended from the prevalency of this opinion. Too often have men been ruined by an over security ; and if mischief happens to this recovering country, it will fall with a violence proportionably greater, as her present expectation and foresight are less. The most wicked of men, unless they are at the same time the most foolish, do not, at once, discover their intentions ; and oftentimes do not themselves know whither their ambition, their passions, or their necessities may drive them.

Si paullum summo decessit, vergit ad imum,
 is, perhaps, as well founded a maxim in politics as it is in poetry. Cæsar, firm as he was, debated a little with himself, whether or no he should pass the Rubi-
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con—his adopted heir was the servant of the senate, a few moments before he joined the rebel * to their authority—and in our own annals those violent spirits which first opposed themselves, and very properly, to the arbitrary power of the elder Charles, did not foresee the miseries and desolation to which the madness of their patriotism, or rather their insolent licentiousness, afterwards most unfortunately gave birth. I would wish to remind you of this truth: That, where the spirit of unbridled freedom prevails, and the people are accustomed to hear the nature of their liberties discussed before them (and God forbid that this should ever cease to be the case in this country), this inconvenience will almost always ensue: That it will be within the ability of a set of desperate men, aspiring after power which their principles do not deserve, or hungry after bread from which their debts have almost precluded them, to blow up

* Marc Antony.

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the flame of discord when it is least expected, and embroil in civil confusions and animosities, a community which a moment before had been peaceable and happy. The possibility of this should never be out of our minds : and it will be remarkable if a nation, whose very laws even in the calmest times, and under the most virtuous governors, are most peculiarly jealous of innovations which may only by possibility arise ; shall not be equally watchful, and equally jealous, when a time occurs which presents opportunities for the advancement of ambition at the expence of good order, and of emolument at the expence of frugality ; and men are by no means wanting who will eagerly grasp at those opportunities. Those who have lived long in the world and know things from experience, and those who have read much and know things by relation, must upon recollection be convinced, that there is no complexion of times, however apparently peaceable, which may not be easily

easily changed, by hypocrisy and artful management from soberness and tranquillity to paroxysms of fury.—In Athens there were no great public wars, no instances of encroachment or oppression, in any of the officers or orders of the state, when Pisistratus seized the government; and yet though Solon was alive—though he had modelled the commonwealth, and all submitted to his laws—this artful leader, by the means of the parties that prevailed, added to his great abilities and a successful artifice, contrived to acquire the supreme power of the commonwealth, at the expence of the fortunes and freedom of her citizens*.—In Rome a seditious tribune, in times of peace both foreign and domestic, has often contrived to disturb that rest, which the spirit of

* Pisistratus was at the head of the democratic party: and, wounding himself and his mules, he one day complained to the people that he had been waylaid for their sakes. Though Solon opposed it, they immediately voted him a guard, with which he seized the citadel, drove his adversaries into exile, and accomplished his scheme.

HERODOT.

the tribunitial office seems to have prompted him to have been continually invading.

In France, the most disgraceful day with which her history is acquainted, a day of horror and a day of blood, arose immediately after an evening of serenity: for in the midst of rejoicings for a peace after intestine commotions, when every thing bore the appearance of reconciliation, and men allowed themselves to look forward to happier times, the massacre of Saint Bartholomew was most vilely and devilishly perpetrated. But to call our thoughts home from other nations to the history of that nation which is the most interesting to us, and the most replete with lessons of wisdom and fortitude, but at the same time with examples of turbulence and ambition, let us examine a little into our own. When a Duke of Lancaster, exiled and poor, without friends, and far removed from a throne, landed with a few adherents, at an obscure port, with a view to claim merely his inheri-

inheritance ; and when the true heir wore the crown, in the full vigour of his age, and the complete possession of his faculties ; and not only this, but at the head of a sufficient army, and with a title for ages undisturbed ; was it possible for any one to conceive that the minds of men should in an instant be so inflamed, and their reason so blinded, that this Duke should not only regain his inheritance, but usurp the kingdom ?—But let us come a little nearer to our own times ; and leaving those when anarchy, and confused notions of right and wrong, were too apt to prevail, let us cast an eye on those, in which, like the present, a regard to justice, and more settled ideas, were supposed to reign. The beginning of the seventeenth century may be marked as an æra when the most profound peace prevailed in these kingdoms, and in the minds of their inhabitants. The ability of the first Tudor had beat down all opposition that could be made to his power, after

the utter extinction of the civil wars, and the destruction of the ancient nobility and princes of the blood; his Son was as despotic as his heart could wish; and the glorious Elizabeth was not only without a shadow of resistance to her power, but possessed in the most eminent degree the affections of her subjects. The most profound peace abroad prevailed during twenty years of her successor, and happily it fostered no appearance of disorder at home. The first years of Charles were remarkable for the internal quiet, which, barring a few jealousies towards a favourite, was universally established. Lord Clarendon, in speaking of these times, comments upon their happiness; and pathetically applies the address of the Poet,

“ O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint!”

Even the Petition of Right, and its violation, did not produce much change; and though Hampden, who perhaps was the best of his party, called forth the

the attention of the nation by his stand against ship money; yet every thing went on with an order and quietness at least equal to the present. Even when that Parliament met, which opposed with success the encroachments of the Crown, and supported with success their own innovations; which at one time was at the pinnacle of glory when it murdered its Sovereign, and at another was debased and insulted by the dregs of mankind whom it had raised; no one in the nation but the leaders of the faction (and perhaps not even they themselves at the time) could by any human foresight perceive that injustice, rebellion, and destruction waited upon their deliberations. They did however wait upon them; and in a time of tranquillity, a time of happiness, there arose a dæmon who stalked through the land, carrying along with it murders, and ruin, and desolation. It was then (so inflammable are the minds of men, and so easy is it to work upon them) that

that such desperate and dark enthusiasts as Cromwell, or Vane, or Ludlow, and such wretches as Pride or Harrifon, were enabled to trample upon the necks of the noblest men in this island—upon Falkland, Capel, and Cavendish; characters which seemed to have been born for the ornament of human nature. The Stuart reigns are full of instruction to a statesman, or a philosopher; and are peculiarly replete with proofs of the assertion I have made. The first years of Charles the Second are marked with unanimity and joy: and, circumscribed as we are in our faculties, no one would have imagined that, by the artifices of a faction, the nation could in a moment have been wrought up to a pitch of phrenzy; and that, to the peaceable and unbiaſſed course of justice, should have immediately succeeded the most shocking scene of prejudice and cruelty, that ever disgraced the annals of a country. Men in power have been tyrannical and remorseless; they have delighted

delighted in the tortures of mankind ; for their hearts have been hardened, or their intellects weak : but very few instances have occurred like those which present themselves in the persons of my Lord Shaftsbury, and the contrivers of the Popish plot. To set on foot a crime which never had existence ; to accuse men of being accessory to what they never knew ; to hold out rewards to a perjury that was murderous ; and to load the gibbets and scaffolds with the bodies of innocent sufferers, condemned for a crime which they knew they could not possibly have perpetrated ; is perhaps without parallel in the History of Cruelty. What was it that impelled these wretches, these disgracers of the human species, these—I will not call them bigots (for they, at least, know not what they do) but traitors—lost to all sense of shame, or honour, or compassion—to do what they did ? They will tell you that ambition and abilities gilded their crimes ; and that virtue and principle being only
a name,

a name, the lives and fortunes of a thousand individuals were of no consequence; if the loss of them could tend to the gratification of their passions!—and, if they tell you this, they will only talk to you in the true language of party spirit, a language which is common to the villains of all ranks in the world. We see, then, if such are the principles of violent men, who are at the same time ambitious—if they stretch them to such lengths (and that they do so has been pretty well shewn)—how very easy it is for them, even in times of domestic quiet, to work upon the prejudices and passions of the multitude, if the least favourable opportunity offer; and in a moment, for the gratification of their pride, their lust of power, or their lust of gain, to change the whole order of things. I have been the longer in this deduction, because the consequences of an over security have often been dangerous; and I think we may perceive that it has almost become a fashion among us to think, that, because
such

such enormities are not now committed as formerly, the age of violence is no more. We may every where observe a spirit, I could almost say of indifference, in the ranks of men not immediately concerned in public affairs, with regard to what passes among the leaders of the parties. When they are told of the outrages and distractions that have happened, they content themselves with saying that such times are over; and proceed to the enjoyment of their pleasures and their luxuries, and leave the battle to be fought without a reflection on the consequences. It was not by such indifference that the Roman people resisted the despotism of the senate; it was not by such indifference that the United Provinces became a commonwealth; it was not thus that our ancestors supported their rights against the crown; that the privileges of Englishmen, so glorious to human nature in this universal slavery of Europe, have been so firmly established! But we may perhaps arrive at the cause

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of

of this. The jealousy of the people has for ages been constantly and uniformly directed against the executive government; that has been considered as the only enemy they have had to fear; and from the resolution they have always exerted, added to the milder notions of the late sovereigns, the fear of encroachment from that quarter being almost dispelled; they imagine they have done their work, and may now go to play. But it may not be improper to remind them, that encroachment may come from more quarters than one; it may come from those who have hitherto been our very defenders. There may happen in the civil politics of this country, what has already happened in the politics of Europe. The House of Austria at one time attained to such a degree of power and dominion, that the other nations were astonished and trembled. For above a century their efforts were all directed against this power alone; and France, as the next in importance, naturally became
their

their leader. Their efforts were successful, but they knew not where to stop : and bred up in hereditary jealousy and hatred, they were for a long time, without perceiving it, contributing to the elevation and tyranny of their great ally ; to oppose which it cost them a still greater expence than the other, of blood and treasure. Thus may it be with the people of this country, for the analogy is obvious : thus indeed it has already been.—The reign of Charles I. is a mine of political information. The people at large continued, and from the best principles, to support their representatives in their opposition to the court ; but they did so till a consequence arose which they little foresaw : they were ruined by those whom they considered as their protectors ; and like a weak nation that calls in a stronger to its assistance, they were enslaved by their very defenders. Let us not therefore be so blind, so very much a slave to our prejudices, as to suppose that ruin, or at least distraction, may not ensue from men

of an unrestrained ambition, because they call themselves the men and the friends of the people. Could jest or ridicule be admitted on a subject of the solemnity and importance of the present, we might apply to such friends as these, the translation which the favourite son of wit * once made of the motto of a rapacious judge,

“ They swear you are so very good,

“ You hug them till you squeeze their blood.”

But if we must needs be blinded, let it be through an ignorant indifference, not through a criminal one. And yet it is much to be feared that there are many among us so contaminated by example, and so immersed in luxury ; so devoid of principle, and so vitiated in their tastes ; that nothing moderate will have any respect from them. To many it is to be feared may be applied, what was applied by the Historian to the manners of the great republic at the time he wrote—

“ Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœperunt, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia

* Dr. Swift,

“ seque-

“ sequebatur: *hebescere* virtus, paupertas
 “ probro haberi, innocentia pro male-
 “ volentia cœpit.”—It would be easy to
 continue the parallel thus begun, and in
 the very words of Sallust; nor perhaps
 would there be wanting characters (not
 yet it is to be hoped so shockingly de-
 praved, but) which might pretty well an-
 swer to those of Cataline, Lentulus, Piso,
 and the rest of the conspirators.

The great leader of the faction which
 is now attempting to disturb the peace of
 the present government, will not be very
 unlike the nervous description of the Ro-
 man incendiary—“ L. Catalina nobili
 “ genere natus fuit, magna vi et animi
 “ et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravo-
 “ que; alieni appetens, sui profusus; ar-
 “ dens in cupiditatibus, fatis eloquentiæ.
 “ Hunc libido maxuma invaserat rei-
 “ pub. capiundæ; neque id, quibus mo-
 “ dis assequeretur, dum sibi regnum pa-
 “ raret, quidquam pensi habebat.”

In the description of one of his se-
 conds, there are traits perhaps to be found
 of

of a character which has lately started up in opposition, and astonished the world—

“ Erat eodem tempore C. Piso, adolescens nobilis, *summæ audaciæ, egens, factiosus*, quem ad peturbandam rempublicam *inopia* atque *mali mores* stimulabant.”

If we erase the word *nobilis*, which in no signification can apply to him, elevated as he is in the scale of wit and Belle lettres, we shall not be long in hesitating to pronounce it to be the man, who with all the fire of Ciceronic eloquence, upon a late great national trial, has nearly blasted the cause he undertook to support, by uttering things impossible to be believed!

The complexion therefore of the times, the factions that have long reigned, and the characters of their leaders, demand our most serious and jealous attention. There are sometimes men who are never so much gratified as by a period of distraction; men of overbearing dispositions,
and

and hot tempers, most dangerously supported by astonishing abilities ; men who will dare any thing, and who, unfortunately for the world, have such talents as will support them in what they dare. These have always been the Catalines, the Clodios, the Guises and the De Retz's, the Cromwells and the Shaftsburys, that are born for the destruction of the public happiness. It is the curse of mankind that they are supported in general by all the splendor of wit and knowledge, that they can dazzle and fascinate at the moment that they stab : and it is a curse, not merely on account of the power which it gives them of conducting their designs, but from the attractions which it enables them to hold out to others ; to young minds especially, who, blinded by specious manners and things so brilliant and agreeable, never allow themselves to consider the general consequences, nor the mischiefs to which they may be an introduction. They do not consider the useful

ful lesson which in a few words may be taught them,

“Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile.”

It is to such arts and qualities as these, one may imagine, that the great chiefs of the present opposition owe a large part of their consequence; and that they are enabled to hold in their chains many young persons of high birth and naturally good dispositions, but who, just starting in their political career, choose the most dazzling side, without experience and without reflection. Some of them have smarted for it in their reputations, many in their fortunes. Instead of acquiring the respect and good word of all honest men, for acting properly upon the principles, whatever they may be, in which they have been educated; instead of consulting their own judgments, and not being swayed by the influence of a chieftain; instead of becoming by their conduct and habits

“Th’ expectancy and rose of the fair state,”
the glass into which all men who love
their

their country shall look for future wisdom and virtues—they lose sight of the duties which their births and their families require of them, and are content to become the tools of a leader, because he may be surrounded by the glare of uncommon talents, or the allurements of polite wit. And they are happy if a total surrender of their judgment, and a blind deference of opinion, are the only consequences. Oftentimes they fall a sacrifice, in the receptacles of gaming, to the superiority of the same leader; which prevails there also, as well as in the haunts of public business*.

The partizans of this wonderful but dangerous man will affirm, that it is not fair to let his private occupations interfere with our judgment upon his public capacity; that, as long as he has been

* There is not a shadow of an intention to insinuate here any thing more than that kind of superiority derived from long experience, extraordinary judgment, and wonderful natural memory. Mr. — plays with extreme fairness; and those who encounter him, do so with their eyes open.

uniform and steady in his political principles, and true to his political connections, it is not our part to push ourselves into his penetralia, and, from his conduct there, to assume what his conduct may be in the management of the affairs of state; that he has shewn, by his frequent resignations of power when in his hands, that to enrich or to aggrandize himself are not his objects. But it is as impossible for us to abstract our thoughts from a man's private habits and principles, in our judgment of his public character, as it is for a man to have two natures. He whose life has been a life of dissipation, as well as of ambitious struggles; who at this moment lives by the horse course and the gaming table, and who has a paternal example of the impunity with which a man may grow rich at the expence of the nation; will not easily induce the nation to love, or to trust him. Grant that he has been steady in his political principles; grant that he has been true to his political

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connections; grant that he has resigned his power when he found that he could not be absolute!—we are talking of no common personage. His dissipation may be unbounded, and his avarice for its supply immense; and yet these may not be the ruling passions of his mind. Ambition may greatly overbalance them; power may be his object, and yet a small portion of it by no means satisfy him; which may easily account for resignations of what was not equal to his desires. Before the world began, or Great Britain and its factions were thought of, there is an instance of a character which, though exalted as much as it could be above its rivals, yet, because it was not greater, could forfeit the station it really held:

“Lifted up so high,
 “I’dain’d subjection, and thought one step higher
 “Would set me highest.”——

It was in an attempt of the same kind, I apprehend, that this disinterested and unambitious minister lost that rank above

others which he actually possessed.—But to withdraw ourselves from examples which archangels afford us, to contemplate those which are to be found among our own species; there is one which has before been mentioned, which will shew that the resignation of power is perfectly compatible with the principles of the most ambitious mind. Lord Shaftsbury once held the highest legal office in the State, and at the same time he was one of the leading members of the Cabal which advised the Sovereign. Here was enough, one might imagine, to satisfy even an insatiable lust of power, or of money; yet he could forfeit, or rather resign these advantages, because the king's conduct did not please him, to put himself at the head of an opposition which he could rule with a sway that was uncontrolled. The horrid consequences of this man's madness are too well known to relate here: and yet, though he was the cause of all the civil commotions of that reign, and though innumerable
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legal murders might be traced to his machinations; yet such were his talents and his speciousness, that many of the first families in the kingdom acknowledged him their leader. The virtuous Lord Russell and the gloomy Lord Essex had reason to repent it.

That there is ground to expect the same mischiefs from the present head of opposition, it is by no means my intention to insinuate: the ideas of men, upon all the grand questions of Religion and Constitution, are now, it is to be hoped, so settled, that no such consequences are to be apprehended. But did we live in times whose aspect was different from the present—did some modern Shaftsbury, as formerly, madden and propel the mischievous multitude—there is nothing in the tenour of his life to make us suppose, that in him would be found a strenuous opponent.—We see then that it is not his thirst of gain, so much as his love of power; nor his love of power merely, so much as the nature of it, which we
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are to dread. Could he content himself simply with that ambition which naturally leads men of public talents to look to an office in the State—even though it were the first, provided he pursued it peaceably and constitutionally, the minds of men would have an excuse for being indifferent whether or not he succeeded. But when we see that, while in office, and possess of authority enough to satisfy any reasonable citizen, he aspires still higher, and endeavours to make the crown itself ‘too contemptible for a gentleman to wear;’ and when properly expelled, that he observes no measures, but opposing the government and the voice of the people, he flies at the same time in the face of the Majesty he has insulted; and the more effectually to do this, when we see that he had coalesced with the man and the party whom for years he had threatened with axes and impeachment; it is then time for us to open our eyes, and watch him as a desperado, who will have no remorse in tearing up
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the Constitution by the roots, to gratify the cravings of his monstrous passions.— It is no small misfortune for the country, that such a character as this has in all his enterprizes been too ably seconded. Men who have not much power and less fortune themselves—too ambitious to rest quietly in their stations, but too dissipated and idle to apply themselves to professions which might raise them by proper degrees—finding their minds endowed with a weight and splendor of abilities, and their bosoms swelling with the most daring boldness, eagerly grasp at any occasion which presents itself, and unite closely with almost any party that needs them. It was thus that the great but unprincipled Julius, panting with ambition and oppressed with a load of debt, threw himself into the arms of Crassus and Pompey, in order to gain that importance which afterwards destroyed the senate; it was thus that Cromwell seconded the efforts of Hampden, that, after his death, he might destroy the parliament;

liament; and it was thus that Burke and Sheridan have attached themselves to a respectable but dangerous aristocracy, in order through them to struggle into notice.—A man of contemplative habits, who lives in the world and loves his country, cannot but reflect with concern upon the misapplication of talents and a vigour of mind, which hitherto have only astonished, but which might have been useful. Had these men contented themselves with a serious application to professions, which, after they had risen to the first ranks in them (and of this who can doubt?), might properly, regularly, and constitutionally have introduced them to a high rank in the State—the community would have been served, and felt grateful for their services; and would not, as it now does, regard them as men who, at the expence of good order, will dare any thing for their own advancement. As it is, they have succeeded in making themselves conspicuous; they have, in the senate, astonished and
delighted

delighted their hearers, though seldom convinced; but the great object and scope of their views has been hitherto disappointed. And indeed were such a man as the last-mentioned, favoured as he is with the gifts of nature, with every thing that can amuse or please, fascinate or instruct, to be appointed to a great office; how would the nation feel when it saw its business entrusted to a man, whose habits have been the contrary to those of business. Did he aspire to a situation merely political, or even where a knowledge of the foreign interests of the State was required (as this forms part of the matters which influence every man's curiosity, and may in some measure be understood by all those whose taste or disposition have led them to historical research), we might not be much alarmed, *on the point of abilities* only, to see him even in a very high public employment. But when we have already seen how his disposition lies; when we have seen him, though for a short time, in an employ-

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ment which absolutely requires a thorough knowledge of official business*, and long habits of the most unremitting attention; when we are told (with what truth I will not pretend to say) that he looks to the most important offices that concern our welfare, the direction of the Board of Control, and the Treasurership of the Navy—if we were ever so well convinced of the purity of his heart, we cannot be without our fears for the abilities of his head.—But topics like these it is not so much my wish to impress; it is not the capacity of the opposition which we have reason to dread: we have only to lament that their dangerous principles, their total disregard to our interests when they come in competition with their own, have led them to become the instruments of a knot of the greatest families in the kingdom; who would undermine this glorious and well-balanced constitution; and draw the power,

* Secretary to the Treasury.

which

which is now so happily distributed, into the hands of an aspiring aristocracy. It is a happiness, however, for which we ought not to be a little thankful, that those leaders of this party, from whom, after all, is derived its most considerable weight and lustre, have lately, by a kind of providence, been unfit either in disposition, or in those soaring abilities so necessary for such enterprizes, to carry things to the extremity which might be dreaded.

The Marquis of Rockingham was a man virtuous and honest, loved by his friends, and respected by the people; but however he might be influenced by others who spurred him into activity, however he might suffer certain principles and views to sink into his mind, he was happily averse in temper (and, had he not been so, deficient in ability) to push things to that extremity, to which there wanted not men, capable in all these points, to direct and drive him. As it was, they availed themselves of what they could;

of his rank, countenance, and fortune.—
Mutato nomine, this applies exactly to the present Head of the Whigs. The Duke of Portland is equally virtuous and honest; equally loved by his friends, and equally respected by the people; and, most fortunately for us, equally disinclined to those distractions and disorders, which are the pride, the element, and the glory of the men we have described. The house of Cavendish lend much;—a great and un sullied name, interest, and credit; the house of Bedford, a princely fortune and possessions, which, could they add to it the abilities, the heat, and the daring of those who dupe them, would indeed be dangerous to the Crown and to the Commons. But small as is the portion either of talents or temerity which distinguishes these, and other dignified leaders of the party: the constant tenour of their conduct and measures will easily conduct us to the great aim of their wishes; which have been openly to controul the King, and, under the appearance
of

of protecting the people, to set themselves above them. It is this which animates the union of the greatest fortunes in the island, which prompts this dangerous body to draw the ties of that union still closer by personal friendships and alliances; it is this which perhaps induced the first nobleman among the peers to quit a faith, that, however mistaken, his ancestors had made it their glory to profess; and it is this which could goad and awaken the sluggish avarice of the young heir of Bedford, to a degree of life that astonished even his friends. When, therefore, such power and such wealth are united for such purposes, and have the fortune to be under the influence of such characters as we have already delineated—men whose prodigality is only to be exceeded by their ambition, and whose ambition is most unbounded—what may not be expected from the junction? Part of the consequences we have already seen. When by their majorities in parliament, which such influence

fluence, added to the monstrous Coalition, could hardly fail to give them, they had forced themselves upon the King, they resolved to keep no measures; but with a high hand endeavoured to govern the power which gave them consequence, and to entrench themselves behind a Bill, which at the expence of justice, of faith, and the constitution, would have rendered them inexpugnable. It was here that the genius of Britain interposed; it was here that his Majesty, calling up the spirit of his illustrious line, disdained to stoop to the indignity; and, seconded by the voice of an applauding people, drove them with disgrace from that station, to which it was hoped they never would again rise.

Common minds, minds open to conviction, or capable of remorse, would have submitted to the correction; but it was unworthy of the son of Lord Holland, accustomed as he was to foster the most daring projects, and towering so high above the opinion of an honest nation,

tion, to be at all humbled by a circumstance so trifling. Supported therefore by the whole weight of the faction, then at its height, he hurled defiance to the throne, the people, and the constitution.

The historians of future times, when, in recording the events of this reign, they come to the period we are speaking of, will pause to contemplate the lengths to which the passions, when unrestrained by reason or principle, will carry human nature; and with grief will reflect upon the facility with which the best forms of human government, the work of ages, the darling object for which men have parted with their dearest blood, may be made to totter to their foundations! It was not the fault of the expelled Secretary, that we were not involved in the horrors of a civil war; that a much injured monarch had not been forced, like many of his ancestors, to fly from a capital which was dangerous to him; and that the standard of the

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Constitution, like that of his martyred predecessor, had not been set up against that of the Commons. And yet this man continues, with his two able seconds, to retain his influence in the country; and, backed by the weight of his dangerous party, to watch, with an attention worthy of a better cause, for the smallest opening that may arise for the exertion of his unlicensed ambition. At the time, however, to which we allude, there was, as there now is, a man who equalled him in firmness and talents, and excelled him in character and principle; a man over whom he derived no advantage from the superiority of age, since age had only given the people opportunities of discovering his faults: and so promising was the youth of his opponent, that they with one voice cried out,

“Nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente Latinos

“In tantum spe tollet avos; nec Romula

“quondam

“Ullo se tantum tellus jactabit alumno.”

Had

Had Mr. Pitt never profited so ably as he has done, by the power which a profound peace gave him to revive the drooping spirits of Great Britain! had he never annihilated the smugglers; had he never projected and executed the hardy undertaking of diminishing the national debt! had he never lent his fostering hand to the commercial treaty! had the exchanges of every country in Europe, under his management, never been, as they are, in favour of our own! had the credit and the power of the kingdom, under his direction, never again gone forth as it had been wont to do, to all the nations of the world—interfered with a strong arm in a neighbouring republic, in defiance, and to the terror, of that hereditary enemy, who had so lately trampled upon her laurels! had it never, with a spirit truly Roman, commanded and forced the Dane to sheath the sword he had drawn!—still would his character shine out with a dazzling lustre, from the one circumstance

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stance alone of having boldly opposed himself to this demagogue of the Commons, and stood forth the vindicator of the rights of the crown and of the people. For a firmness like this, worthy perhaps of Cato (for that virtuous Roman often offered himself to stem the torrent of a dangerous faction), in the republics of antiquity, his statue would have been decreed: as it is, his monument will probably rank with his father's, and his memory will be engraven on the hearts of the honest and the peaceable.

It is not at all my intention to enter into the comparative merits of these two great persons, with respect to their talents for internal regulation, or foreign politics—to descant upon the wisdom of the measures of either of them, while they have been in office; neither is it my plan to trace their tenets, or principles, or connections derived from a long line of parties, which for many years have been struggling for the direction of this country.

country. Such a task would be contrary to my inclination, as I am sure it is above my ability: for, strange to tell! after the decided opinions that have appeared in these pages, I am a man of no party; as unknown at the Treasury, as unacquainted with the hustings of a riotous election: nor has even my curiosity yet led me to join in the fashion of declaring my principles, by eating with the whig or the constitutional clubs: so unimportant and so independent is the man, who presumes to call your attention. But though young and inexperienced; not an indifferent observer of what passes before the eyes of men; warmly attached to the community to which I belong; bred up to a knowledge of its laws and government, and not totally ignorant of its history—I cannot think myself to blame in endeavouring to do service. A very small attention to political philosophy, and the principles of general government, added to moderately speculative habits, has con-

vinced me that peace and good order are the bases of the happiness of nations; and a very small acquaintance with what has passed in the societies of the world, assures me as strongly that there have always been men, in free countries especially, the bent of whose genius, and restlessness of disposition, has always led them to disturb that happiness. When, therefore, I observe a party of this description, whose whole lives have passed in a state of cabal and intrigue, often subversive of the good order of this community, approaching once more, in the general suspicions and the general fears, to a power which they have before misused; and in the places of men, who it needs but to walk abroad to see, have the confidence of the people—I think I may, without being very violently influenced by the spirit of party, come forth to my fellow citizens, and warn them of their danger.—Ever since the last overthrow of Mr. Fox, the inhabitants of this kingdom have concurred

cured almost universally in the opinion, that he is no longer worthy of power; and they have as universally joined in declaring, that his rival is the man of their confidence. It is a new case in the political history of Britain, that we can judge of this by the most accurate standard. When a man has grown old in the arts of corruption; when his life has been spent in the packing of parties, and in working upon the confidence of his sovereign; if he happens to retain the helm of state for some time, though in the very teeth of an opposition the most eminent for activity and industry of intrigue, and the most splendid by the decorations of brilliant talents, as well as the most powerfully supported by an uncommon weight of rank and opulence—we may yet be doubtful whether he may not in a great measure owe this to the opportunities which a long retention of power, given perhaps before that opposition was formed, has afforded him of acquiring friends. But
when

when a youth, not yet arrived at the maturity of his age, nor the full vigour of his mind, with hardly a support not derived from his own stores, backed by very few powerful families, and new to the ways of business—is enabled to entrench himself firmly against such an opposition as I have described; and, what is more, to enter upon his station even in defiance of a majority of them—surely there must be something peculiarly great in his character, or something peculiarly atrocious in the character of his antagonist, or a union of both, in the eyes of the people, which could give birth to so uncommon and wonderful a phænomenon!—He is now entering on the sixth year of his power; and many things concur to shew, that he would be still the people's minister. The shocks he has sustained, and the storms he has been enabled to weather—his defeats upon the Irish Propositions, and the Fortifications; his dear-bought victories upon the Declaratory Bill, and the Promotion of Admirals,

Admirals; and the ill-judged measure of the Shop Tax, had not yet been able to shake him: so firmly was he supported by the independent interest; so convinced were the people of his integrity, and so much did they dread the dark genius of his rival. Common sense will tell us, that this could be only owing to his character: and while he preserves that character—while the nation under his wings, in addition to their own firmness, enjoy themselves in the possession of the great object of all communities, Peace and Security; I confess that, as a citizen and a philanthropist, I cannot feel happy at the prospect of a change. The inhabitants of this capital have of late met one another with the good humour which prosperity and cordiality inspire; they have all felt the blessings of a steady and honest administration; and every man has congratulated his fellow upon the permanency of the government, the restoration of the credit of the country, and the thriving condition

tion of commerce. Money, it is observed by moneyed men, was never in such plenty; and had not our kind Sovereign fallen under this affliction, he might have fulfilled, with such an administration, the compassionate wishes of the French Henry the IVth towards his people. In this general serenity, therefore, what must be the feelings, what must be the anguish of all true lovers of civil harmony, to observe the prospect blacken, "and cloud instead, and "ever during dark, surround us." I am far from saying, should the aristocratic party, in the present conjuncture of affairs, make their way to the honours and power they have long coveted, that we shall be immediately plunged into dangers and commotions; for, should they attempt measures of any turbulent complexion, we have the sense to know our danger, and the spirit to resist it. But it must be obvious that, with an administration such as we are at present blest with, we cannot but be alarmed at the
idea

idea of a change: the conduct of any other, at best, must be uncertain; the conduct of the present we know to be good. And when, in addition to this consideration, we recollect the characters of those who will come into office, and the hot measures they have shewn themselves equal to, in order to force themselves into office; when we recollect their rapacity, their wants, their ambition, and, what is of no less consequence, the views of their titled and opulent supporters, to wrest the government from the Sovereign's hands, and to reduce it under the controll of a powerful oligarchy; above all, when we recollect that the present unhappy conjuncture must render the third estate less mindful of its interests, and less able to preserve its rights; who can refrain from bewailing the situation of his country, and the prospect of losing that stability and unanimity among all ranks of men, the preservation of which is so absolutely necessary to its welfare!

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That

That there is a prospect of losing it; that, even should the wishes of the people be crowned with success, there will be the most strenuous and desperate efforts to remove these faithful stewards of the country; and that the public concord will be interrupted; no one, however sanguine in his hopes, can refuse to acknowledge.

The present unhappy situation; the opportunity which it gives, and the efforts that have long been making; can hardly fail of overturning, or at least of deranging, the harmony which has hitherto prevailed. The intentions and enterprizes of opposition would have been foreseen in this emergency, without any indications from themselves, by any one who had at all given his mind to the characters and conduct of some of its leaders, and the absolute dominion in which they hold their mistaken supporters. But lest this by possibility should not be the case; in a time which calls for the utmost caution and forbearance, and in
a case

a case so entirely new in the law and in the history of the country, that it requires the strictest search into the annals for precedents that may be analagous to it for elucidation—most certainly requires the absolute suspension of all decided opinion—they do not blush to come forth and declare, what every moderate man must see can only be meant to assist and promote their own designs. Had this been done after some little investigation, some little honest discussion, we should not have quite so much reason to tremble; as it would be scarcely possible for them, as men who had run a long course of political ambition, not to adopt what they thought would bring them again into power: this tho' we might fear, we might also forgive: but the marked determination and precipitancy of their conduct, in a question that cannot, upon the face of it, be so quickly disposed of, is what now fills every honest mind with alarm. Who can doubt, when he hears a man in the very first stage of what is only a pre-

liminary to a question of the greatest magnitude, and which is also entirely new, giving his clear and decided opinion upon it; and doubting whether the assembly in which he rose, which is our only resource in cases of emergency, which has often shewn that it is so, and the superintending power of which, in such cases, he has too much knowledge not to know; had any right or title to proceed to its discussion—when in addition to this they recollect the course of this man's life, the distractions in which he has so often floated, his daring capacity, and the power which supports him—who can doubt that if he is not allowed to disturb the peaceful order of things, some dangerous storm will burst! some dreadful thunder crash over the heads of this deeply wounded, though recovering country?

“ Quousque tandem abutêre, Catalina,
 “ patientia nostra? Quamdiu etiam furor
 “ iste tuus nos eludet? Quem ad finem
 “ sese effrenata jactabit audacia?”——

That

That we may all of us be aware of this; that we may be prepared for any violence on which, under his direction, the party may resolve; is the purpose of these pages. What we have surmised will perhaps never happen, we trust it never will; but too much caution cannot be entertained. The power of the great families who despise the voice of the people, and are above popularity, except among the dregs of mankind, and the mobs they have occasion for; but who will rule in their own way, independent and paramount; has arisen to a pre-eminence truly alarming. The personal influence of the man whose talents might make us bless him, but whose character makes us fear him, is too well known to mention; in every province of England he has a supporter; he revels in all the pride of dominion in Westminster—"Serviat ultima Thule." It was such a combination of great families and talents, which in another kingdom, and under a despotic government, controlled
and

and insulted the last prince of the house of Valois. It was such a combination, which, in the anarchies of the Roman republic (when, in the nervous period of Livy, “*Jam pridem prevalentis populi vires seipsæ conficiunt*”), overcame the efforts of all good men, of Cicero and of Cato; and after tearing the very bowels of the state, ended in tyranny and a perpetual dictatorship. Who that has seen this man—who, like the conspirator Shaftsbury, has ten thousand brisk boys ready to start at a motion of his finger—making his progress through his kingdom of Westminster, and supported by the Pompeii and the Craffi of Britain; will be able not to liken the present times and factions to that period of antiquity, when the Roman liberty, and the mild power of the senate, perished together? Were our constitution different from what it is; were there no third estate, one of the great uses of which is to curb and overbear such spirits as these; the consequence would be inevitable. As it
is,

is, we may not be surpris'd if some new Agrarian law should be promulgated, some new Campania given away*. Nor, did the forms of our government admit of it, if any one should be hardy enough to oppose the torrent of this power, should we wonder if, like Clodius, nobly born, he sued for an adoption into a plebeian family, in order to the expulsion of a virtuous adversary †. It has been a fashion of late among the admirers of this man (I do not mean his more intimate associates, for they are too like him in all points of his conduct not to suppose him perfection; but those admirers which he has among citizens who are even honest and well disposed, but subject to the frailties and

* In his first consulate Cæsar propos'd and carried an Agrarian law, by which the lands of Campania were to be distributed to 20,000 poor citizens who had three children.

† Cæsar finding a strong opposer to his ambition in Cicero, encouraged Clodius, who was of the best blood of Rome, to be adopted amongst the plebeians, in order to sue for the tribunate; by which he propos'd the law which banish'd his antagonist.

mistakes

mistakes common to human nature) to admit his profligacy and total disregard of all regularity, but to dwell upon those shining abilities, and that profundity of political knowledge, which mark him as the most accomplished minister of the age. It may be so; those who have the fortune to be in the complete possession of his mind, may tell them so: but we, who compose the mass and body of the citizens, are so far removed from this intimate acquaintance with his superiority, that we can only judge of his abilities in this point by the proofs he has given of them; and, whether well or ill for the country, he has not had much opportunity for displaying these proofs. Where, I would ask, was this astonishing knowledge, which is to penetrate into the views of all the courts of the world, overshadow all other ministers, and tower above the genius of all the enemies of Britain? where was it acquired? in those temples of the destruction of all that is good or generous,
where

can suffer his passions to make him her disgrace.

But we should be too happy, if the only question which agitated us were his abilities for office: no one doubts of their magnitude, though they may be raised too high. But though they soared, with the strong wings of eagles, to a point that would dazzle and confound other mortals; still would the opinion of his character defeat their effects; and the people of this Island would have to lament, that the most vigorous mind among them was too dangerous to be trusted. And it may not be improper here to remind you of the perfect compatibility of great talents, and a disposition to abuse them. Pericles and Cæsar were the ablest men in their states; the Dukes of Guise were the most accomplished princes of their time; and the firmest mind that ever guided the strength of this country, raised itself to its pre-eminence by the murder of its Sovereign, by the waste and desolation of every thing

thing that was good, great, or noble. Let not those therefore, who are friends to good order, exalt their idol for his talents, till they grow blind to the danger which his character threatens. I speak not rashly, I write not with petulance; I ground my assertions upon the indication of his views and principles, which is derived from the complexion of all his measures, from the tenour of his whole life!

And now let the warmest of his admirers—among those I mean who, not being actuated with the same views as himself, are not, as his more immediate companions are, become part of himself—let them come forward and declare, that he has not departed from all that open firmness and manliness which were the only virtues left him—whether he has not been guilty of a base dereliction of a principle which he finds he had too rashly laid down, and been reduced to the despicable meanness of retracting what he had explicitly and publicly avowed? the

ridiculous sophistry which he used, the gloss and explanations which the House were forced to hear from him, are too degrading for an honest man to delight in reiterating. I will not therefore insist, that every one who heard him, understood him to mean, that, in emergencies like the present, an inherent and independent right to *assume* the Regency attached to the eldest son of the King; I will not insist, that nobody supposed him not to mean, that it was subject to no revision or *adjudication* of the two Houses! or that he was not at that time without an idea of his nice distinction between a right and a possession! Could we think him less dangerous, or that the feelings of his party were at all wounded by this trifle, we might view him with a degree of compassion. As it is, let us imitate the calm dignity of his rival, and let us with him *be sorry to fix on any gentleman a meaning, though ever so obvious, which he afterwards declares not to have been his meaning.*—Perhaps this grave personage,

sonage, so shielded by the rectitude of his intentions, so intrenched within the cool majesty of independence, so strongly armed in honesty, that "words pass by him like the idle wind which he respects not;" who is indifferent to newspaper reports and representations, and thinks them beneath his notice; will despise the virtuous mischief which a mere pamphlet can do him. But let him have a care. In this glorious country, where every individual member thinks himself, and is, interested in whatever is doing by his governors; pamphlets and newspapers are the best, and indeed the only channels of intelligence to the different ranks of men not immediate spectators of the actions and views of parties; and often have awakened them from their blameable ignorance, or their criminal indifference. Let him recollect, that when the nation refounded, through its most distant provinces, with clamours against an oppressive and feeble government, the spirit which roused them appeared in a newspaper:

newspaper: it was by such a vehicle, despised and spurned as it now is, that the bold and imposing soul of Junius condescended to convey to his country whatever he thought would conduce to its service. But this is known too well by a man who has been nursed in the arts of party, for him to have been serious when he made the declaration which affected so much dignity. It would have more properly become the mouth of the Son of Chatham, who disdains perhaps too much the arrows which, though blunted, are often directed against him, and loves popularity which follows, not which is to be followed.

Were I disposed to pursue the line of thought which this creates, it might be spun out to a length which would tire you. I will only therefore observe, that with a disposition cold and averse to popular humiliations, the character alone of the one has placed him on a summit of public favour, to which his adversary, with all his arts of attaching to his person

son the noblest together with the vilest of mankind, has never yet been able to reach : and that he owes his present seat in the senate to the free choice of the respectable sons of liberality and science ; while the other is placed there chiefly by the efforts of a multitude whom he cajoles, and who, with tribunes at their head, fill the whole forum with riots and disorders. Yet even there, absolute as he is, did the election proceed by centuries instead of tribes * : could independence or property have weight against beggary and numbers, he might tremble on that throne, on which he seems so firmly to have set his foot. However, we shall not have much reason to grieve, if the only permanent promotion he has met with, in the course of his ambition, is from the representation of a peaceable to that of a riotous multitude, from a venal borough to a prouder city.

* Alluding to the original way of voting among the people at Rome, according to the division or Censur made by Servius Tullius.

I feel

I feel that I ought to beg pardon for calling your attention for so long a time to one character; but it is because of the feeble hand which is displayed in its delineation, not because the necessity for such a sketch is not very strong. Did the spirit of Junius now live as formerly, he would have dwelt upon it much longer, and with all that energy and coercion with which he terrified and degraded the dangerous power of a minister: he would have attacked, with equal success, the danger when it had changed sides. Penetrating and virtuous as he was, he would see where the balance now lay; the unrestrained license with which it was supported, and the necessity of curbing it with a strong hand! But his genius perhaps no longer lives; and the furious spirits which are now raging within the peaceful bosom of the country, will gain strength till they burst forth like a torrent of fire, and overwhelm the happy villages and vineyards which are unconscious of their danger. Who is there but must
dread

dread this, when they see the Sovereign, who had the firmness to bridle them, is incapable, by a most afflicting malady, any longer to assert his own rights, or the wishes of the people? when they behold them, with a most indecent elevation of joy, marshalling their power, and positing their strength, in all the wildness of ambition, and the madness of approaching success? This it was that prompted their leader to commit himself so imprudently; this it was that could induce Sheridan to threaten, with a matchless audacity, what however drew upon him the indignation and the lash of that great man, who seems born for the restoration of our credit, and the defence of our rights! But, though the insolence of these men who have always been so daring, would teach us to suspect, that they are convinced the time is now come for the indulgence of their ambition upon their own terms; what are we to expect when two men, highly dignified with the laticlave of Pa-

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tricians,

tricians, arise gravely in their senate, and endeavour to terrify us into compliance !

Are we then indeed fallen so very low ! are we really so humbled ! so lost to all the spirit which animated our ancestors ! so inconceivably stupid and blunted in our sensibilities ! that we are judged capable of being thus impressed ? Or are the Irish themselves (now grown a well regulated and loyal nation, through the sense and the virtues of their leaders) still judged so inflammable, that we shall fear they may fly to arms upon any impulse, or the loosest hint ? What opinion of us could have been entertained by the noble lord, when he suffered this threat to creep into his speech ? the speech itself, and the mistaken principles it contains, are more excusable to a generous people than such an intimidation : for to mistakes the wisest of men are often liable. That he is mistaken, that he will find it difficult to fulfil the promise which he pledged himself to the peers to perform ; the superior

perior knowledge of his opponent, and
 the renunciation of his party, both unite
 in confessing. What though his life has
 been called to the study of the laws!
 what though he be dignified with the er-
 mine of magistracy! it happens that the
 question which he so boldly decides, is,
 from its never having occurred, taken out
 of the law; and the gentleman, the his-
 torian, and the senator, are equally en-
 titled to investigate and determine. But
 he is too sensible of this, too well en-
 dowed with natural and acquired talents,
 and his sentiments and words were too
 nearly alike to others that had been ut-
 tered, for us not to suppose that he was
 in concert with his party. It is there-
 fore that we watch him, it is therefore
 that we fear for the effects of that deter-
 mined ambition, which can make a man
 so high in his profession expose himself
 to censure. Retract, my good lord! the
 nation expect it of you; there can be
 no disgrace in a candid confession; and
 what perhaps is of equal weight, the party

have for once repented their precipitation. The first prince of the blood, next to the heir apparent, declares in his place, that the illustrious person whom they wished to excite, is an enemy to the violence which they would not have been ashamed to have hazarded. We owe them no thanks that they did not hazard it; that this violence for an independent right, subject to no revision, subject to no adjudication, did not break forth with a destructive rage: but finding that, with a madness even with them unusual, they had determined upon what would not have been supported; they quit, though with reluctance, a ground that is not tenable, and are reduced to retractions which a gentleman would disdain.—The errors in judgment however, of any man, though ever so high in office, we may be induced to pass over; they may be really errors, and as such human nature must forgive them: for the mind may be so warped by the spirit of party, that the clearest understanding may not perceive them. But
when

when a man whose station, habits, and abilities have ever given him a weight and authority above others that are not supported by the dignity of office; most daringly declares a *fact*, calculated to distress, intimidate, and confuse; if that fact should not be as he represents it to be, what excuse can we make for him, or how can any error in judgment be assigned on that, which was not the object of the understanding but of the senses? Yet such a fact has been stated; we have been threatened with the dissolution of the union, and the indignation of the Scotch nobility, if we do not depart from a right which may belong to us, and suffer the same personage to assume as his birthright, what every one perceives will belong to him by election.—Come forth, thou rash man! and tell us, who have a right to know, by what authority you have endeavoured to influence a question, which from the nature of justice and truth should be determined by nothing but themselves? How have you arrived
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at the knowledge of the intentions of your order? Have they waited upon you in a body? have they addressed you? or have you consulted them all collectively, and been deputed to represent them on this subject? If you have done none of these things, confess that you have exceeded your authority, and that you are forgetful of the interests of those who gave you that seat which you fill with so much gravity, and of the nation whom in part you are appointed to govern. If you have done these things, I will humble myself before you, and ask your pardon, from the same regard to justice which now induces me to reflect upon a character hitherto respectable. But there will be no necessity for this humiliation; it is impossible that the Peers of Scotland, one of whose characteristics is an extensive knowledge and acquaintance with the nature of things, as well as a spirit to assert their rights, could, in so early a stage of a business which required so much caution, have declared what this Viscount declared—

ed—Not merely that there was no occasion for a search after precedents on a subject, which, of all others, depended upon their judgment for elucidation! not merely that the rule of succession would be departed from, though the men most competent in the wisdom of the state, should upon sage deliberation decide that it was not—not merely this!—but that, if such was the decision, they would judge the cause over again, and break the bonds of that union, the very second article of which declares, “That the succession of
 “the Monarchy of Great Britain, shall
 “be the same as was before settled with
 “regard to that of England.”

If the succession of the Monarchy is the same, the succession of the Regency must be the same, whenever the voice of those competent to decide, has determined what that succession is. But I will not waste my time and your patience in useless argument; the misfortunes which we fear do not depend upon argument: if they did, notwithstanding
 such

such a constellation of shining talents as appear against us, backed by such an immense weight of title and opulence, influence and alliances, as are in close junction among the greater Nobles and Commons ; we should not have much reason to be alarmed, when such men as our present Clarendon and Falkland preside. It is that determined daring, that marked design to rule without control, that desperation of character and pressing necessity in some, and that steady view to aristocracy in others, which are the things that fill every moderate or sensible man with alarm. And before we quit this point, I must remind you, that in the commencement of those times when every thing that was good or noble, when the virtuous and the wise, the greatest lovers of the laws, the Peers, and the Sovereign himself, fell a sacrifice to the dregs and the vilest of the people—the storm first lowered in Scotland, though the native and hereditary kingdom of Charles ; and advancing south, it at last broke with
such

such violence, that the state was convulsed to its foundations, was desolated, and destroyed. I am far from saying or imagining that such consequences will now happen, or that they are expected by the party that now rages; but neither could the party who raged with all the violence of civil war, in the times I mention, foresee the extent of the consequences of exciting the Scotch to rebel, of encouraging them while in arms, and of actually paying and rewarding them when they disbanded. Yet, when they did arrive, none were so active in promoting them still farther; in arming their impious hands against a king, to whom they pretended all possible respect, and defying all law, or justice, or good order, in drawing all the power under their own tyranny. Nor will it be totally irrelevant to observe on our happiness, that the civil discords of our hereditary enemies on the opposite shores, prevent them from interfering, with a hand that blasts whatever it touches, in the emergency which

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now

now presents itself. America is a striking instance of their disposition and ability; English quarrels and English patriots have often proved their greatest friends; and, before the kingdoms were united, Scotland was, in every reign, the cause of the most powerful diversions in their favour. We see then the similarity between the spirits and dispositions of many in the present times and those of the middle of the last century. Thank God! the times themselves are different; the minds of men are become enlightened; we are not now a people struggling under the weight of feudal oppression; we have long been emancipated: if we have any fear now, it is from our own prejudices. Having for ages been taught, that nothing which comes from the side opposed to the Court, can possibly tend to our disadvantage, indeed, which can possibly not tend to our interest, we are become blind to our danger, in the quarter from which it is now most likely to come. Power, in all countries, times, and climates, is
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the same in its nature, and uniform in its operations upon the human mind. Its general tendency is to render us overbearing and haughty, often unjust, and not unfrequently cruel ; and these are its effects, whether it is enjoyed by the many or the few, as well as by a single person : it has been proved by the Ostracism of Athens, and the Ephori of Sparta ; by the Comitia of the Romans, and the Inquisitors of Venice ; by the Parliament of England, and the Major Generals of Cromwell. We are not to suppose, therefore, because the power of the Crown is what we have constantly been taught to dread, that we may not have the same reason to dread the power of a Parliament. It is in the proper balance of power that the true happiness of a nation consists, and whenever that balance is in danger of being destroyed, whether from the usurpations of the Crown, or that union among the Great which would render them almost independent, then is that happiness also in danger.

These are truths which I trust are difficult to be shaken; they must equally meet with the assent of the Representatives of the Landed and the Moneyed Interests, the dignified Noble, and the moderate Citizen. And I leave to your own judgments, from every thing that has been said, from the opulence, the shining qualities, the influence, and indefatigability of the Party, whether or not such an union is not now to be dreaded. But whatever may be the fortune of this Community, I cannot help felicitating its members, on having at least possessed, for five years, a band of stewards, from whom they had nothing of this nature to fear. Among them was no firm junction of the first families of the kingdom; among them was no overgrown wealth, no influence that was alarming; no daring spirit which dazzled; no brilliancy of talents which captivated. Their integrity, their industry, their characters, alone introduced them; the people alone supported them; their breath would have
destroyed

destroyed them. Can you then really take your leave of these faithful and constitutional servants, without the tribute of some public honours to their memory? Understanding, as you do, the nature of government, and of national happiness in general, and your own in particular, can you be indifferent to the retreat of your friends? Or, in more energetic language than it is ever possible for mine to be, “Can you on this fair mountain leave to feed, and batten on this moore?” Forgive the warmth that has appeared in these pages; it can only be meant for your service. Mine is the last heart in the world, so convinced am I of the pernicious effects of an inflammable temper, and disaffection in the people, on the happiness of a nation, to wish to excite your minds to sedition or tumult. My great and only aim is to call your attention to a part of the constitution, in which the balance seems to be verging too much on one side. It is your province and duty to see it properly trimmed, to give it
your

your most jealous attention, and by all constitutional methods, by disclosing your opinions, and a proper exertion in the approaching elections, to restore whatever you may think to be wanting to the safety or happiness of the community.

All that has hitherto been said, relates only to (what is indeed the most important) our internal welfare. But there are other points, which, upon a change of administration, must sink deep into every feeling mind : I mean the total change of our Councils and Servants. In a time not merely the most glorious on the ocean during the last war, but which is almost without parallel in the naval annals of Britain ; in a moment of victory and of triumph, when the kingdom resounded with his praises, and every man called down blessings on the name of RODNEY ; Mr. Fox did not blush to degrade him, and in his room appoint another, whose name, however privately or professionally respectable, most certainly, except in parliament, had not been heard of

of during the war.—Had Hannibal, immediately after the battle of Cannæ, when eighty thousand of the Romans perished, and their generals and great captains were cut off, been recalled by some infatuated party at Carthage (and parties raged there also with all their usual violence); had a general not much known been appointed in his room, how would the Romans have felt? They would have felt as the French did, astonished, encouraged, and invigorated. Such, however, is the man whom a race of people in this country extol as the greatest minister we have. May we not then expect a repetition of the same conduct? May we not expect, in his total neglect of every thing that interferes with the interests of his party, the recal of one on whom the nation have placed their hopes for the salvation of the Eastern Provinces of the Empire, as they did upon Lord Rodney for the defence of the Western!—the recal of Cornwallis, the firm, the brave, the virtuous, and the wise? In vain will that
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great man plead (if he condescends to plead) that the prosperity of British Asia depends upon the constancy and permanency of its government; in vain will he deprecate the folly of a change. Regardless of the high character of this Nobleman, not more dignified by title and ancestry, than by the virtues of a Man and of a Citizen; regardless of the stability both of measures and of governors, necessary for the direction of an immense power; he will no doubt confirm the world in the opinion they have long entertained of the miserable fluctuation of British councils. I am not versed in the views of foreign cabinets, I am ignorant of those of our own; I am equally unacquainted with what is doing in Illyria or Sarmatia; upon the shores of the Baltic or the banks of the Euxine; with the ravages in the Bannat, or the conventions in Finland. But I know that it is a received opinion among the kingdoms of Europe, that no nation is so little to be depended upon in politics as ours; so various

rious are our councils, so often has a party forced itself into office. This is no new opinion, taken up upon flight grounds ; it is at least as old as De Witt. That great man told Sir William Temple, that the only thing that frightened him in his negotiations with England, was the little stability of her plans ; which ever since the reign of Elizabeth had been so changeable, that it was impossible to take measures with her for two years together.—If any thing could have induced the most powerful Prince of the German continent, and the commander of the best army in the world, to make common cause with us, and so strongly second our views ; it must have been that opinion which he began to entertain of the permanency of the present administration, and the stability and weight of our alliance, when the King, the Minister, and the decided majority of the people, coalesced in its formation. Here was a Coalition indeed ! the most glorious for any country, and the most unlike that

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infamous one which we have seen ; a monster of so heterogeneous a nature, composed of so many discordant parts, of men who had for so many years been tearing one another to pieces ; that we have only to wonder at and to dread the strength of that open disposition to violate, in the face of the world, every thing that was decent, honest, or principled, which can, for so long a time, have retained them in such close conjunction. But I am wrong ; we may indeed dread, but we ought not to wonder ! Having now quitted all pretensions to the appearance even of character or public principle ; having with an insolence and audacity, which posterity will scarce believe, bearded the nation to whom they are accountable, and told them that they never had any principles but those of ambition ; that they had not the common spirit of gentlemen, who refuse to associate with those whom they have once reprobated ; I do not see what they have left for it, but to set the world
at

at defiance, and depend for support upon the closeness of their own union.

It will be impossible, in this place, not to admire that firmness of character, that honest haughtiness, with which their noble opponent disdained their overtures. Superior to an union which he felt would be contamination, he imitated Cicero in his conduct, as he does in his eloquence, and refused to owe his power to this British Triumvirate. But in what has he not shewn himself superior to his rivals? In the present contest, which, long as this dissertation has been, it will be impossible to pass by, his character and abilities shine out with an approved lustre; and whatever may be our fortunes—whether we may yet govern ourselves, in concert with the House of Chatham; or whether we are doomed to be governed despotically by the House of Holland—an useful lesson may be taught to our children, from the present conduct of our rulers. They may observe to what a transcendent height of

superiority greatness may soar, when supported by the wings of honesty; and to what a depth the same greatness must necessarily fall, when oppressed by unbridled ambition, and defalcation of principle! The precipitation, and the mean endeavour to avoid the consequences of that precipitation; the invasion of our rights, and the attempt to threaten us out of the prudent conduct we were pursuing; all unite in sinking the Opposition still lower in the minds of men than they were sunk before. They may be strong in numbers, they may strain every nerve, they may wade to power through a quicksand of meanness, turbulence, and inconsistency: but they will never reign in the hearts of the people: the Wise will never trust them; the Good will never love them!

Is it not abominable to behold these men, with a most inconsistent ingenuity, first attacking and denying our rights, afterwards accusing us for undertaking
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their defence, and lastly denying that we have a power to defend them? Is it not monstrous to observe their bold leader, not content with allowing us to guess at his views, from the daring indecency of his conduct; not content with shewing us, by his measures, that he means to obtrude himself upon the government of the country; but, in defiance of all decorum, coming forward in the house, and telling his noble adversary in substance, if not in words, that he means to tear from him the high station he holds! The behaviour of these Men of the People, on this occasion, has affronted and roused even the most moderate persons—"Populares isti jam etiam modestos homines fibilare docuerunt." But it is vain to suppose that the honest warmth, the indignation, the reproaches of their fellow citizens, can have any effect upon such characters. We can only endeavour, by mutual communication, to alleviate the grief which agitates us. We can only
lament

lament that in such times as these, when Virtue, or at least Decency, Liberality, and Science, affect to boast that they have civilized and enlightened our minds ; men shall be found capable of such a phrenzy of ambition, that having failed in endeavours to storm the closet of the Sovereign, out of very madness at their defeat, they take advantage of his affliction, and profit by his misfortunes. Have they no sense of the calamities of our natures ? no common feelings of humanity about them ? or, hardened as they are, has this opportunity so blinded them, that they cannot see the general odium it will reflect ? But what need these appeals ? Fear of the odium into which they will fall, sense of the unhappiness that will attend upon universal detestation, have no effect upon their minds. They are dead to all feeling ; reverence for their King they know not ; of gratitude they are incapable ; shame belongs not to them ! O unwise ancestors, to have
formed

formed the constitution ! O mistaken patriots, to have bled in its defence ! Unhappy country, to be unequal to its protection ! In the moment when we had overcome the Aristocratic fury ; in the moment when we had restored the balance so necessary ; when our hearts went along with the measures of our Sovereign ; when we looked with fond hope to the continuance of his measures ! when we enjoyed the warm sunshine of a permanent government, and when we dreamt not, alas ! of the interruption of our prosperity—to be suddenly dashed from the summit of our wishes ; to see our King fall under the most dreadful affliction ; and to be exposed anew to the fury of party ! what must be our anguish ! what our despair ! “ Oh fallacem hominum spem, fragilemque fortunam, et inanes nostras contentiones ! quæ in medio spatio sæpe franguntur et corruunt, et ante in ipso cursu obruuntur, quam portum conspicerere potuerunt ! ”

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By those who are not entirely lost to all feeling, by those who may think there is some little truth in what I have said, I shall be forgiven the warmth which swells in these pages. However, amidst the depravity of some, and delusion of others, as if to shew that our nation is not through all its members abandoned to the blind pursuits of faction and party, a glorious cohort remains to oppose them.

As lovers of our country, and lovers of human nature, we must rejoice to see that a powerful body has had the common spirit of honour in them, and not forsaken their beloved Sovereign, nor the interests of the people. Posterity will rejoice to observe that some virtue was left among us, when they contemplate the names of those who dared to defend themselves when attacked in their very vitals; of those who voted in the majority, on the morning of the seventeenth. But had we not had a majority; had we not even obtained the triumph that we did;
still

still would two names, by the superior excellence that attaches to them, rescue us from the disgrace which otherwise would have covered us. Throughout the present contests they have been eminently illustrious, for the firmness, the consistency, the honest integrity, the calm wisdom of their possessors. Long after the period when we shall be taken from this scene of agitation and struggle; when the factions of Britain shall be no more; when her obscurity will perhaps equal that of the present Ilium, or of Athens; will the names of THURLOW and of PITT be known to future Patriots; the virtuous Leaders of Party will be emulous to imitate them; and the generous youth, while grounding themselves in the principles of public honour, will think of them with veneration, and mention them with rapture. In this cruel affliction of the King, cut off from the family whom he loved, and the wife whom he adored, and with whom he had lived a matchless example of conjugal fidelity

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delity and happiness; the virtuous heart dwells with emotion upon those generous words, that still vibrate upon the ear of sensibility, "When I forget his favours, may God forget me!"

If there was any thing wanting to ruin and blast the credit of Opposition with the nation, violent to thrust themselves upon them, and with the most indecent eagerness to take advantage of this public misfortune; first attacking our just rights, but, discovering their folly, accusing us of seditious intentions because we defended them; it was a contrast of this kind.

Common sense can form but one judgment on the matter; and low, very low must this party fall, in the minds of the feeling and the generous.

Whatever may be the fortune of Mr. Pitt; whether he will remain to govern a willing nation, or whether he will be made to yield to the torrent; still will increased reputation await upon his name. If he retires, he will retire covered with laurels;

laurels ; the people will receive him with open arms ; they will love, cherish, and revere him : and he will resemble his father, as he does in abilities, in the respect and the gratitude which, though stripped of his power, he will obtain from an admiring and applauding country. That firm regard to the rights of the citizens, and that clear pursuit of honest ambition, which led him to oppose the invasions of Opposition—compared to the despicable meanness of Opposition themselves, who departing from the spirit of the principles they had long held, sacrificed them to prerogative, to force themselves into office—will support and increase his virtuous popularity. If to this we add, as we cannot fail to do, the broad path of honour he has pursued ; his candid acknowledgment of the expediency of measures, which he knew would inevitably deprive him of power ; his openness ; his manliness ; his gratitude to his benefactor ; and his dignified superiority to all interested concerns, and every thing that
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interfered with the people's prosperity;
 we cannot surely refuse to assert, that he
 is an illustrious example of that well-
 founded opinion,

Justum et tenacem propositi virum,
 Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
 Non vultus instantis Tyranni,
 Mente quatit solida; neque Auster
 Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriæ,
 Nec fulminantis magna manus Jovis.
 Si fractus inlabatur orbis,
 Impavidum ferient ruinæ.

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