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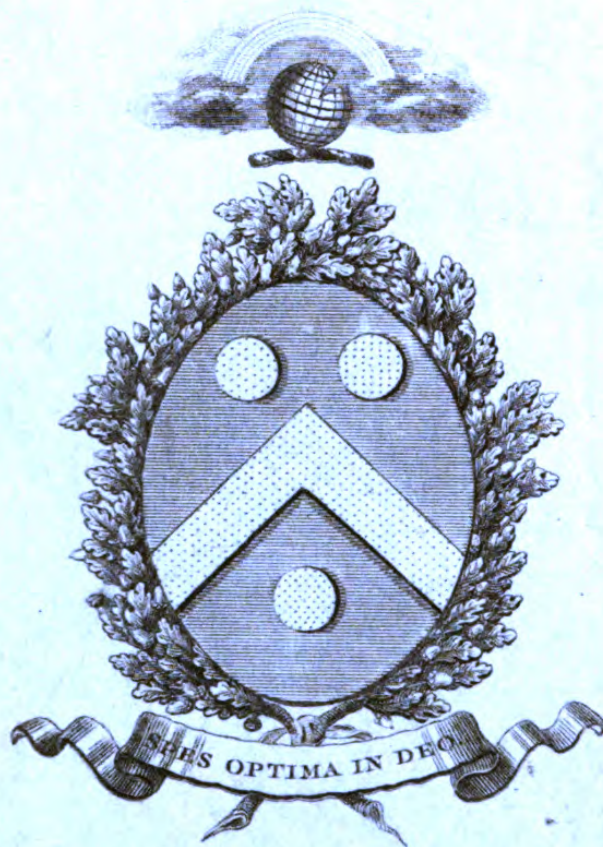
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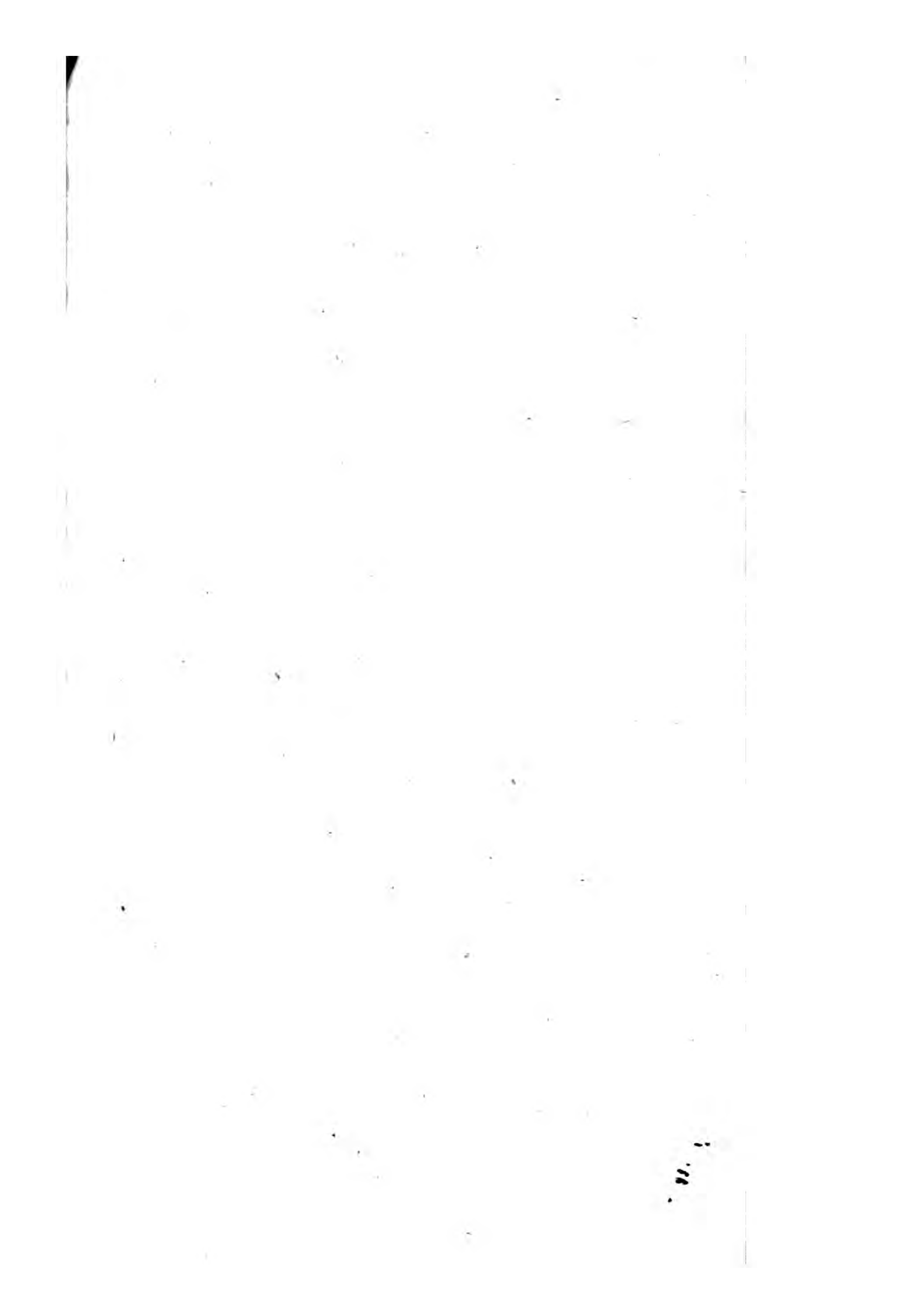
Hopeless 719.



John Thomas Hope.







THE  
NORTH BRITON.

*Revised and Corrected* by the AUTHOR.

ILLUSTRATED WITH  
EXPLANATORY NOTES,

AND

A Copious INDEX of  
NAMES and CHARACTERS.



In TWO VOLUMES.

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VOLUME the FIRST.

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*Quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hostis?*  
VIRGIL.

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LONDON:

Printed in the YEAR, MDCCLXVI.

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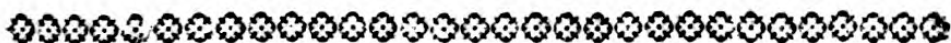
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ENGLISHMEN.



T H E  
N O R T H B R I T O N .



N<sup>o</sup> I. Saturday, JUNE 5, 1762.

SEJANUS, WOLSEY, hurt not honest FLEURY,  
But well may put some Statesmen in a fury.

POPE.

**T**HE *liberty of the press* is the birth-right of a BRITON, and is justly esteemed the firmest bulwark of the liberties of this country. It has been the terror of all bad ministers; for their dark and dangerous designs, or their weakness, inability and duplicity, have thus been detected and shewn to the public, generally in too strong and just colours for them long to bear up against the odium of mankind. Can we then be surpriz'd that so various and infinite arts have been employed at one time entirely to set aside, at another to take off the force, and blunt the edge, of this most sacred weapon, given for the defence of truth and liberty? A wicked and corrupt administration must naturally dread this appeal to the world; and will be for keeping all the means of information equally from the prince, parliament, and people. Every method will then be try'd, and all arts put in practice to check the spirit of knowledge and enquiry. Even the courts of justice have in the most dangerous way, because under the sanction of law, been drawn in to second the dark views of an arbitrary ministry, and to stifle in the birth all infant virtue. From this motive, in



*former times*, the King's-Bench has inflicted the most grievous punishments of fine, pillory, or imprisonment, or perhaps all three, on some who have stood forth the champions of their country, and whose writings have been the honour of their age and nation.

Under the government of a STUART, which has been so fatal to ENGLAND, the most daring encroachments have been made on the favourite liberties of the people, and the freedom of the press has been openly violated. Even a *Licensor* of the press has been appointed. Nothing but the vilest ministerial trash, and falsehoods fabricated by a wicked party, had then the sanction of this tool of power ; nor of consequence could any production, breathing the spirit of liberty, have a chance of being ushered to light. The *imprimatur* of the minister was scarcely ever given but to compositions equally disgraceful to letters and humanity. I do not however recollect that any of these hirelings have ventured, as the BRITON of last Saturday has done, magnificently to display the *royal arms* at the head of their papers. Does this author mean to *intimidate* ? or is it to insinuate that this new paper comes forth, like the GAZETTE, *by authority*, and that he is fighting under the ministerial banner ? All opposition therefore to him according to this idea, is to be considered as an indignity offered to the administration, and an affront to the higher powers, who may be supposed to protect, perhaps to pay him. This is surely too stale a trick now to pass. I rather think the *royal arms* are prostituted by a mercenary scribler, as much as the *royal name* was in a certain great assembly, when *minute guns were fired* \* over the late minister.

This BRITON steps forth, like the other court champion DYMOCKE, to a dreadful fight without an adversary ; to receive, like him, I suppose the reward of a well fought day. Safe, and of consequence bold, as DYMOCKE, he has no enemy but himself to combat. No attack has been made on the crown ; none but himself has dared to aim any *fire-arrows* at the bosom of a

\* This alludes to the *rapid* eloquence of the *Scottish* minister, who, as *Donne* says, *Between each word he gives, gives a full minute*, and by attention to words, endeavours to make amends for want of sense.

*sovereign that never knew disgrace.* He and only He, has mentioned a resemblance between the reigning prince and *Tiberius*, which I believe has never occurred to any one else. To him belongs the ignominy of having *broach'd this calumny with his hand to which his heart must have given the lie.* The MONITOR has indeed charged the cannon, but the BRITON has pointed it against his sovereign. He pretends to have discovered the source of his calumny in the MONITOR of Saturday May the 22d. I have read the MONITOR very carefully, and I affirm that there is no mention of *TIBERIUS* through the whole of that paper, excepting in the motto from *TACITUS*, nor is any such character drawn. Count *BRUHL*'s indeed is, and by the hand of a master. He is compared, but by the motto only, to *SEJANUS*. The comparison need not extend farther. A minister may in all points resemble *SEJANUS*, or Count *BRUHL*, and yet his royal master need not be a *TIBERIUS*, or *AUGUSTUS III.* The sovereign may be a *TRAJAN*, or a *TITUS*, the delight of mankind; and his only fault in his people's eyes may be an unbounded confidence in an insolent, weak, and treacherous minister.

This foolish BRITON proceeds to produce himself amidst the parade of pompous professions, and vile alliterations. He calls upon the MONITOR to produce one instance of insolence, cruelty, profligacy, or oppression, chargeable on the King of Great Britain; or to exhibit one specimen of his weakness and tyranny. These are things which never occur'd to any man's mind, because they never existed. Something like this has happened under every king since the conquest, to every profligate minister who wants to involve his master with him. The valiant *DYMOCKE*, like this writer, has in all ages sounded forth,

*If any person, of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny or gainsay, &c.*

and then the champion throws down his gauntlet, which I never heard of any person's being fool-hardy enough to take up. But is not this a clever plot to hang the poor MONITOR, or at least to get him into the cruel hands of a revengeful and unforgiving crew? Let me beg of you,

Mr. MONITOR, do, commit treason: pray be taken up by CARRINGTON, and try'd by MANSFIELD: his regard to the liberty of the subject is known, and his tender mercies will not be cruelty. I trust the MONITOR has more wit, and that he has not *lost sight of all regard to his own safety*; but will proceed in the way he has hitherto walked, and continue to administer wholesome satire where it is merited, instead of that nauseous and fulsome panegyrick, with which the BRITON makes us sick. The BRITON next calls upon him to discover *one circumstance even*; then insults him with *he cannot, he DARE NOT, descend to particulars, which would answer his purpose but restrains himself to a general charge*. Now I will maintain that no charge at all has been brought by the MONITOR against his sovereign; and that the most gross satire has come from the venal pen of this wretched BRITON, who throughout his paper has himself *first* insinuated the vilest falsehood, *a similitude between the characters of TIBERIUS and his own Sovereign*.

The BRITON says, that "in any court of judicature a general charge unsupported by evidence, is answered and refuted by a general negation!" His assertions are every where much more general than the MONITOR's; nor does he ever dare to descend to particulars. *He affirms, the administration is conducted with such integrity as defies reproach*. The King of Prussia, *still our ally*, tells the world the contrary. *He proceeds to say, with such vigour and success as, one would think might silence the most inveterate malice*: name what *success*, the time when, the place where. Sure you dare not allude to the unfair and *underband* offers to the court of Vienna for an immediate accommodation in consequence of cessions to be made to them in Italy, *or elsewhere*; because it is now known those offers have been treated with the contempt they deserved. As to *vigour*, the spirit of the war has for some months infamously languished, nor is it yet revived. I own indeed that *the whole kingdom echoes with the sound of triumph and festivity*, but it is from the glorious conquests of the late administration, to which no addition whatever has been made by the present. Where are their trophies? In what part  
of

of the world have they gathered their laurels? Surely, in defiance of decency and justice, they have not endeavoured with their rude hands to tear from any sacred brow those fairly won, in order to place them on their own.

This author only gives himself out for a *Briton*. I have heard of a paper called a *Free Briton*; why has he dropt the title of *Free*? I am sure it never could be more properly applied, according to that famous verse,

*Nunquam libertas gratior exstat  
Quam sub rege pio.*

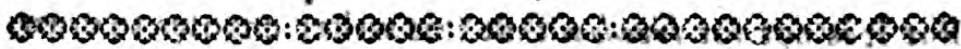
But it is not for *freedom* that this writer chooses to draw his gray goose-quill. As little pretensions has he to the title of *True Briton*. Conscious of this, he only gives himself out as a *Briton*; a circumstance equally common to him and *Buckhorse*. I wish the *BRITON* had given us any clue to unravel what his real views, besides pay or a pension, could be. He only declares his design to be to detect the *falshood of malice*: mine shall be to detect the *malice of falshood*—of his in particular; and he shall find that I will exert the undoubted privilege of every *NORTH BRITON*, that of speaking my opinion freely on every subject that concerns the community, of which I am a member. Though I am a *NORTH BRITON*, I will endeavour to write *plain English*, and to avoid the numerous *Scotticisms* the *BRITON* abounds with; and then, as the world is apt to mistake, he may be taken for a *Scotsman*, and I will pass for an *Englishman*.

What I have to say of myself, shall be soon dispatched. I thank my stars, I am a *North Briton*; with this almost singular circumstance belonging to me, that I am *unplaced and un pensioned*: but I hope this reproach will soon be wiped away, and that I shall no longer be pointed at by my sneering countrymen.

I shall now till next Saturday, take leave of this writer with an excellent observation, which I lately read in Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE:

“ Thus much is certain, that whatever means will  
 “ restore or raise the credit of his Majesty’s government  
 “ at home, will do it abroad too; for a king of England,  
 “ at the head of his parliament and people, and in their  
 “ hearts and interests,” (as our sovereign now is, and

from his virtues ever must be,) " can never fail of making what figure he pleases in the world, nor of being safe and easy at home; and may despise all the designs of factious men, who can only make themselves considered by seeming to be in the interest of the nation, when the Court seems to be out of it. But in running on counsels contrary to the general humour and spirit of the people, the king indeed may make his *ministers* great *subjects*, but they can never make him a great prince."\*



N<sup>o</sup> II. Saturday, JUNE 12, 1762.

Malè se res habet, cùm, quod VIRTUTE effici debet, intentatur PECUNIA.

CICERO.

I Cannot conceal the joy I feel as a *North Briton*, and I heartily congratulate my dear countrymen on our having at length accomplished the great, long sought and universally national object of all our wishes, the planting a *Scotsman* at the head of the *English Treasury*. I was indeed before very well pleased with the conduct of the two other gentlemen at that board, who are likewise natives of our country; but then they were obliged to serve under a noble † Duke of a peculiar cast, whose views were most evidently neither to enrich himself, nor to aggrandize us. My joy and exultation are now complete, for I have lived to see my countryman, the Earl of BURE, adorned with the most noble order of the *Garter* (which hath been given to us with so sparing a hand, and only for the most brilliant national services) and presiding over the finances of this kingdom. This is the post which the prime minister hath generally kept for himself, and is of the first importance in this country. It must ever be so in times of war, and above all in this wide-extended but

\* The first *Briton*, was published May 29, 1762. The *North Briton* began on the Saturday following.

† Gilbert Elliot, and James Oswald, Esquires.

‡ Duke of Newcastle.

glorious

glorious war, when nearly the sum of twenty millions will be this year raised on the subject; though, I thank heaven, but a *fortieth* part of it will be paid by us. This, I must confess, is matter of still greater triumph to me; for the poor pittance we pay to the support of the Public, does not give us even the most distant claim to the disposition of the whole, much less to the direction of the most important department of the state, our share of the legislature being much to our advantage settled at about a *thirteenth*, not a *fortieth*. It is clearly then merit, superior to all the *English* nobility, which has raised the Earl of BUTE to the first dignities, and to the power of disposing of so great public treasure.

Another circumstance must make this event peculiarly grateful to us. The Earl of BUTE has no *hereditary* right to a seat in parliament, nor is he elected by the free voice of the people: no; he is chosen by the *opulent* and *independent* nobility of Scotland; and when the commons have such various marks of favour and affection shewn to them, it must be a satisfaction to so many *free* and *loyal* nobles to see the object of their choice thus honoured, trusted, and rewarded for all his public toils and *private services*. Our *ancient kingdom* therefore cannot but be satisfied, and by every tie of gratitude, as well as duty, must *now* be sincerely attached to the government. The most suspicious can have no doubts concerning us for the future, in case of a rebellion's springing up in any other country; which to me seems *highly improbable*.

The wisdom of this measure hath been decried by shallow politicians, because two great rebellions from *Scotland* have within a few years disturbed the tranquillity of this island, and shook the throne of two of the mildest and best sovereigns who ever governed a happy people. Nothing can be more weak or frivolous than this objection. Let us only consider what has before happened there; and I choose to instance in the latter end of *Queen ANNE's* reign, because so many of our modern writers are drawing our attention to that period. Upon what grounds they proceed I know not, for I find no similitude, as it is impossible we can now be suing for peace in the most *abject* and *humiliating* manner after such amazing successes. In May 1712 each of the heads of the Highland  
clans

clans received 360*l.* sterling as a compleat year's payment of the bounty money her Majesty was pleased to bestow upon them: these were the words of the receipt. Soon after they signed an address to the Queen, which was carried to London by *Allan Cameron*, brother to *Lochiel*, and presented to her Majesty, *Allan* being introduced by the Lord Treasurer *Oxford*, who was then at the head of the TORY faction. In the address are these words: "Happy! if, after your Majesty's late demise, to put a period to our intestine divisions, the hereditary right and parliamentary sanction could possibly meet in the person of a *lineal* successor." At the accession of the present illustrious family, the same Highland chiefs wrote a letter to the Earl of MAR, *intreating him to assure the government in their names, and in that of the rest of the clans, of their loyalty to his sacred majesty King GEORGE; and that as they were always ready to follow his directions in serving Queen ANNE, so they will now be equally forward to concur with his lordship in faithfully serving King GEORGE.* The Earl of MAR too had wrote the warmest letter of loyalty to his Majesty's great grandfather, and had taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration; yet in a few months, even before there could be the pretence of a single grievance, all these infamous wretches went into open rebellion. Had the 360*l.* a year bounty money, been continued to them, and had the Earl of MAR remained secretary of state for Scotland, as he was at the death of Queen ANNE, some millions, which it cost to extinguish that rebellion, had probably been saved to this country. I therefore most sincerely hope, that as we have now a *Scottish* nobleman at the head of the treasury, his lordship will consider it as the truest *economy* to give some proper pensions to his countrymen the Highland chiefs, which may save England the severe and expensive operation of quelling another insurrection, and bleeding again a country, which I lament, is so much exhausted by former rebellions and the present general desertion of her sons and daughters. If this is done, I make no doubt but they will as implicitly follow the Earl of BUTE as they did the Earl of MAR. I never shall be brought to believe that *rebellion* is natural to any part of *Scotland*, as the plague is said to be to *Egypt*;  
but

but certainly in some parts this wicked spirit has been kept up with much art ; and the late most unnatural rebellion was carefully nursed by Scotsmen, till it became the most accursed fiend we ever saw, which all the united plagues of Egypt could never equal. I cannot but say, the peculiar baseness and perfidy of my countrymen at that time struck me: for while the *English* were so gallantly fighting for the liberties of Europe, and indeed of mankind, they were called back to deal out halters and gibbets to their fellow subjects of *Scotland*, who were forging chains for both nations ; and, worse than the infamous *Capadocians* of old, not only refused the liberty they might enjoy themselves, but endeavoured to entail their vassalage and slavery on the whole island.

To quit so disagreeable a subject : while I am taking the liberty of pointing out to the noble Lord now at the head of the Treasury, the proper method of bestowing a part of the public treasure, I by no means intend to limit his bounties to my own countrymen. His lordship has been overflowing in goodness to several of the *English*, and besides the *Scots* I have already named, I would beg to recommend the patriots at the *Cocoa-tree*, if there are any left, who are still unprovided for by him. The just and constitutional claim they have on *this* royal family is uncontroversible. I am glad it is at length admitted, and their merit rewarded. Most of their estates have suffered by their zeal in the cause of liberty. Their support of government has been steady and uniform ; and as they at first exerted themselves in the expulsion of *Tarquin*, they have never repented it, nor have they ever been caught in any plots for his restoration. I really think this will make a more natural union with the countrymen of the new Minister than any other he can find here, and the illustrious house of Hanover will derive the truest strength from these *old* and *firm* friends.

I hope to be forgiven, if I add one hint to his lordship, who is new in money business. Whatever is of the greatest convenience or use ought to be first attended to. I think therefore the first money issued by his lordship should be the four thousand pounds very lately given for building a new bridge over the *Tweed*. I trust it will be finished this summer, as my family are very impatient



to pay me a visit, and I have not seen any of them since I took a walk up hither. Besides, this grant is of so new a nature, that it ought particularly to be considered. Westminster bridge was chiefly built by lotteries, and the city of London gave up very great tolls in consideration of the sums granted to them for the repairing their bridge. The four thousand pounds for this bridge over the *Tweed* are taken out of the supplies of the year. Though this is so new a thing, much more than a sufficient and adequate compensation will be made the Public by the number of my countrymen, who are hastening here with all their *wealth* and *manufactures*.

I am happy to find that the *English* are not so sparing and penurious to us both of money and praise, as they used to be. We are certainly grown into fashion. The most rude of our bards are admired; and I know some choice wits here, who have thrown aside *Shakespeare*, and taken up *Fingal*, charmed with the variety of character, and richness of imagery. Mr. Horace Walpole, in that deep book called *Royal and Noble Authors*, says, we are *the most accomplished nation in Europe; the nation to which, if any one country is endowed with a superior partition of sense* (and he ought to have added of *humour* and *taste*, in both which we excel) *I should be inclined to give the preference in that particular.* How faithful is this masterly pen of Mr. Walpole! How unlike the odious, sharp, and strong incision pen of *Swift*! He has called us only *a poor fierce northern people*, and has asserted, *that the pensions and employments possessed by the natives of Scotland in England amounted to more than the whole body of their nobility ever spent at home; and that all the money they raised upon the Public was hardly sufficient to defray their civil and military lists.* This was at the latter end of Queen Anne's reign. How very different is the case now! I beg to recommend Mr. Walpole too, for so very particular a compliment, (which I hope flowed from his *heart*, still more than from his *head*) and I intreat his lordship to put him on the list; immediately after my countrymen and the cocoa.

There are only two other persons I have to recommend to his lordship. I must say a word of the poor BRITON: he deserves something—I will not name what  
———for

—for sacrificing, at the shrine of BUTE, grammar, conscience, and common sense, for his lordship's *glorification*: I will borrow only one word from the BRITON. Do not I too deserve something for reading every week the flimsy productions from so weak a head?



N<sup>o</sup> III. Saturday, JUNE 19, 1762.

Nos patriam fugimus.

VIRG.

I Have already received a variety of letters from my correspondents. I must confess that they are for the most part written in as peevish and angry a stile as the BRITON; and, after his manner, many foul and opprobrious epithets are bestowed on me. Some brand me with the name of a Trimmer, and charge me with having taken up the Pen only to be paid for laying it down again. Others assert, that I stand, like most of the *High and Mighty GERMAN PRINCES*, ready to lett out both my *Pen* and my *Conscience* to the best bidder. Some of my own country men with much bitterness call me a *false Scot*; while on the other hand the English with more bitterness call me a *true Scot*. I am upbraided with having said, that *Scotland is exhausted by former rebellions, and the present general desertion of her sons and daughters*: the assertion is, alas! too true; and the fact too glaring to be denied. Like the Jews we are spread over the face of every country, (except *our own*) and of this in particular. I regret it exceedingly, and the more, as I am afraid the evil is without a remedy; for I have never heard of any one of my countrymen being attacked with the *patrialgia*, the *maladie du Suisse*, (the *home-ach*, it has been happily called) and in consequence languishing till he returned to *Scotland*. This is an old reproach on us; perhaps as ancient as our kingdom itself. The English have never ceased to upbraid us with it. The great poet Dryden (so confessedly superior to all the Moderns, except Mr. John Home) in his *Abfalom and Achitophel* says,

For never *Hebronite*, tho' *kick'd* and *scorn'd*,  
To his own country willingly return'd.

*Hebron*

*Hebron*, in the key, is *Scotland*. Whence can this peculiarity arise? Does not the *natale solum* inspire the same pleasing sentiments, tho' not longings, to us, as to the rest of mankind? All other nations speak of this sensation in the highest strains of rapture. I believe the true and fair reason is this: though our civil and military lists are filled by ourselves, and we have so carefully excluded almost every Englishman and other foreigners, yet, as they are by no means adequate to all our necessities, a very considerable number of my countrymen are always sent out (like the Goths and Vandals of old) to fill the civil and military posts in other nations. How successful we have been in the pursuit, not only in this kingdom, but in France too, our eternal ally, is visible to all the world. I have an idea of publishing the names of my countrymen, who with so much honour have filled so many considerable posts at Paris, Rome, Avignon, St. Germans, &c. As to those here, a publication of that kind would be unnecessary, as it would be transcribing almost the whole *red book*, or the *Court and City Register*, which is already in every body's hands.

If the observation be true, that the riches of every country consist in the number of its inhabitants, (not the proud and idle, but the industrious inhabitants) how poor, alas! are we even in this respect? An expedient however might perhaps be found, which would bid fair to re-people my dear country. The experiment might indeed go rather too far, but it was the advice given to a former king, who suffered greatly for neglecting it, by a singular disinterested *Scotchman* and *Churchman*, Archbishop SPOTSWOOD. When his Grace went to take leave of King CHARLES the First, who was setting out for Scotland in 1639, he advised his Majesty to *make a catalogue of all his counsellors, household officers, and domestic servants, and then with his pen expunge all the Scots, beginning first with himself, the Archbishop, who had given the counsel; conceiving that no man would accuse his Majesty of partiality, when he found the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who so many years had served his father and himself, expunged among the rest; that he must not hope to win upon the Scots by the condescensions, sweetnesses, or acts of grace, &c.* The reason of which counsel

*sel was, because he had found by sixty years experience, that they were generally a people so stubborn, that they were gained by punishment and lost by favours.* Archdeacon Echard's History, 2d vol. folio, p. 151, 152.

I have some little business this week to settle with the BRITON. I desired him to name any instance of *vigour or success*, which had attended the present administration; and he tells me of the important conquest of Martinique, Granada, and the neutral islands in the West Indies. He might have mentioned Louisbourg, or Pondicherry, with as much propriety; and the present administration are surely rather too knowing (though this writer is ignorant) to lay any serious claim to the merit of either. Could the BRITON read men, and had he seen his patron, when the news of the reduction of Martinique first arrived, he must have marked, in the most dejected and distressed countenance I ever beheld, very clear proofs how unwelcome that event then was. I remember it was a general observation, that the common congratulations on so great and national an occasion were received with coldness. It was not difficult to find the reason. The late minister closed all his glories with this great and important success. He had the happiness of covering with laurels a beloved prince, whom, I suspect, many false friends would rather see covered with a crown of thorns and *thistles*. Notwithstanding all the calumnies of the BRITON, this gentleman's honour is still unfulled, and his glory unclouded. *Ea autem est gloria, laus recte factorum, magnorumque in Rempublicam meritorum: quæ cum OPTIMI CUJUSQUE tum etiam MULTITUDINIS testimonio comprobator.*

With regard to the present expedition, the full merit of it cannot yet be ascertained to the Public. Mr. PITT's legacy to this ministry, of a collected and powerful mass of force in the West Indies, (*not the bitter dregs of an exhausted cup*,\* but part of a solid plan for great success) now remaining at their disposal in consequence of the reduction of Martinique, may cause the new expedition to be adequate in force to the important

\* This was the invidious phrase of Mr. George Grenville.

object.

object. If therefore the conquerors of that island have not in consequences of *delay*, the season to combat with, (the only enemy they cannot vanquish) a decisive blow may still be struck to the heart of Spain, and a glorious conclusion made to this most successful war. In the mean time, let every true lover of his country cease to adopt that unmanly despair, which has been so industriously inculcated in order to justify the procuring an accommodation *on any terms*. That *despair* counteracts the purpose, and serves only, by encouraging the enemy, to place the blessings of peace at a still greater distance.

The BRITON in his first paper broached a shameful calumny against his sovereign, of a similitude to *Tiberius*. In that of last Saturday, he attacks the memory of our late most excellent prince with equal virulence. He talks of his *prejudices* and *predilections*, and calls him a *weak sovereign*. Is this the return which a Briton makes for an unclouded æra of above thirty years of the truest liberty this nation ever enjoyed? Are the sacred ashes of a king, who made the laws of this country the only rule of his government, and founded his own happiness in that of his people, thus to be trampled upon? Surely this is the height of baseness and ingratitude; but it is the despicable, though fashionable cant of a party, who are daily making their court to an illiberal patron by the most indecent outrages offered to their late sovereign and benefactor: a liberty, not to say licentiousness, very unfit to recommend those who are guilty of it to the favour of a prince, one of whose amiable qualities is a filial regard to the memory of his predecessor.

The BRITON says, "that the MONITOR has found a co-adjutor, who appears under the name of NORTH BRITON, though he shrewdly suspects, however, that these seemingly distinct personages are one and the same individual." His suspicions are neither *shrewd* nor *true*; and I can assure him, that both the MONITOR and NORTH BRITON (for there is a *duality* belonging to us) have laughed heartily at the BRITON's total ignorance of stile as well as politics. From what I have *read* of the BRITON, I do not desire to *converse* with him; but I wish to know more of the MONITOR.

The

The BRITON tells me, that the *King's Arms* make the sign of his publisher. I believe this is the only instance of veracity in his whole paper : still my objection recurs. It is indifferent to me where else the *royal arms* may be displayed ; but it is equally *indecent* and *insolent* to blazon them forth with such pomp at the head of a political paper : *indecent* with respect to the crown, *insolent* with respect to the subject. Had any other *arms* been there, I had made no objection ; no, not if the *BURE arms* had been at the head of the paper, as they might with the strictest propriety ; provided however that they were not above the *royal arms*.

#### A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

Whereas a certain great personage, who was lately inoculated for a *reigning* disorder, had very near miscarried through the unskilfulness of the operator, this is to inform the Public, that there is lately arrived from the *Highlands* one DUN SCOTUS, who can prove, from the *best Scottish historians*, that the malady hath continued in his family without intermission above *twelve thousand years*. He communicates the disorder with a single touch, and is to be met with between the hours of Ten and one, at the sign of the *Highlander in Scotland-yard*, near the Treasury.

N. B. *No infection no pay.*

Any person who can make out an *hereditary* right to the disorder, though the entail hath since been cut off through his absence from his own country, shall be touched *gratis*.

The utmost honour and secrecy may be depended on, the operator being a man of *quality* in his own country, and possessing an *easy* and *independent* fortune of *forty Shillings per Annum*.

N<sup>o</sup> IV. Saturday, JUNE 26, 1762.

Θαυμάζειν μοι ἐπεισιν ὅπως ΒΥΤΟΣ ἐστὶ σοφιστής.

Μητε λόγον κεινον μητε λογισμον εχων.

Anthologia, Ed. Brodæi, fol. Franc. 1600. l. ii. p. 250.

To the NORTH BRITON.

*My dear Countryman,*

**A**T a time when the popular clamour is industriously raised, and the strongest prejudices are conceived against us by the whole *English* nation, I am glad to find a man who dares to stand forth to the Public, and glory in the name of a North Briton. I have not yet read your papers, but I will not doubt of their being founded on that great and governing principle of every *true Scotchman*, the good of the common cause, and the advancement of our *national* interest: a point which to a man we all have in view, and to obtain which there are no measures we have ever boggled at, no risque we have ever scrupled to run.

The English (and losers must have leave to speak) may upbraid us, if they will, with our strict regard and attachment to each other, and our thorough contempt of them, and all the rest of the world. We confess the charge and glory in it; nor shall we be easily persuaded to dissolve or relax that connection, whilst the advantages arising from it are so many and great. To this *national spirit* we have been indebted for many material benefits in former reigns, and to the same spirit we in some measure owe our present greatness, and that visible superiority which we have happily gained over divided, weak, dispirited nobles.

The EARL of BUTE (with triumph be it spoken) is now at the head of affairs, and there is nothing which we may not, which we ought not to hope for from the favour and patronage of our worthy Countryman. The *Union* indeed placed the preferments in *England* within our view, but the partiality of their statesmen, and their utter detestation of *Jacobitism*, a crime regularly charg'd

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on us, prevented our obtaining them in such proportions as our consequence to the state, and our known loyalty gave us reason to expect. These obstacles are now removed, our principles are no longer enquired into, the management of affairs is placed where every Scotsman, both for the glory of the nation and his own interest, would wish to have it; and the time is at length arrived, when the being born in *Scotland* shall be found to be the best and most effectual recommendation to preferment in *England*. In this I speak not only my own private opinion, but the sense of our whole nation.

It is on this occasion become fashionable to ask what pretence can the *Scots* have, who bear no proportion in wealth and power to the *English* nation, who by no means bear an equal share of the public expence, who reserve to themselves all their own places, to grasp at all places of the greatest honour and profit in *England*, and to aim at getting every valuable employment into their own hands? Our answer to this is ready. We found our right to sharing every thing in common with the *English* on the *Union*, and we justify our endeavouring to engross every thing to our own use, on the common principle of prudence, which teaches every man to do as well for himself as he can. Whatever inequality there might have been before the *Union* was completed, it afterwards intirely ceased, and we were all upon a level. Our national weakness and poverty might perhaps have been well and properly argued to prevent that treaty from taking place; but after the conclusion of it they can never be given as reasons for our not turning it as much as possible to our own advantage. The *Union* indeed was not of our seeking; we opposed it with our whole force, for we considered it as contrary to the dignity and *interest* of our nation. Notwithstanding the specious pretences on which that treaty was grounded, and the seeming equity and impartiality with which it was planned and conducted, we could not persuade ourselves but the weaker nation would in the common course of things be swallowed up in the stronger, and our *most antient* kingdom by degrees become a province of *England*. These were our apprehensions, and on these we ground-

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ed our opposition. If time has proved our error, if things have taken a quite different turn, if through the great parts of our glorious countryman, and our own supple behaviour, dissimulation, and temporising, we have turned the Union to our own advantage; if we see ourselves arrived at the height of our wishes, and consider England as a country intended for our use and refreshment, where we may revel at large, and scorn to ask the lordly owners leave; if this is the case, the English must thank themselves for it. They made the Union, and can have no right to complain of the consequences of it; they laid these advantages open to us, and as we have had the address to obtain, I trust we shall have the resolution to preserve them.

If we turn our eyes to the year forty six, and compare our situation then with what it is now, how happy a reverse shall we find in our affairs! A great part of our nation was at that time in open rebellion against the *grandfather* of his present Majesty. They threatened no less than the destruction of his whole family, and to place on the throne one of the same name and family with our present loyal patron. The principles of those amongst us, whom *fear* or *prudence* kept quiet, were strongly suspected; and the very name of a Scot was grown into hatred and contempt. How happy, as well as wonderful, is the change; for now, *without having given any proof of a change of sentiments on our parts*, we find ourselves caressed, respected, and preferred! The Earl of Bute, JOHN STUART, a name ever dear to us, whose abilities we think are no more to be doubted than his affection to us, possesses the first post in the state; another of our worthy countrymen, \* remarkable for his impartial and intrepid administration of Justice, holds a conspicuous station in the law; and a † third, whose conduct and success in America does honour to his country, and endears him even to the English, is to our great joy appointed to a command of the first importance in Portugal. These are circumstances, which altho' glorious in themselves, yet seem to promise something more, and to be the forerunners of that national grandeur to

\* Lord *Mansfield*, Chief Justice of England.

† Earl of *Louden*.

which

which we have always aspired, though, till this juncture, there was little likelihood of our obtaining it.

In the prosecution of this grand design we must naturally expect to meet with difficulties. The jealousy of the English will undoubtedly take the alarm, and endeavour to prevent our progress. But, alas, how weak and contemptible must that opposition be! *How shall they be able to resist us, when they cannot agree among themselves!* They may indeed vent their fury in words, and satisfy their anger with reproaches; they may tell us of our perpetual enmity to them before the Union, and our supercilious contempt of them since; they may charge us with repeated perfidies and rebellions, with hypocrisy and disaffection; but we shall surely know our own interests better than to pay any regard to the frantic passion of losing gamesters. This very storm of words will in time subside; their natural indolence will resume its place; they will not only be contented, but even thankful to us for taking the trouble of state affairs off their hands, and gratefully deem the profits and honours we receive inadequate to the fatigue we undergo.

In our disputes with the English there hath always been one subject, our *poverty*, with which they have *illiberally* and *falsely* reproached us. If truth and reason can be attended to amidst clamour and prejudice, we might produce numberless instances how improperly we are charged in this respect. I shall only mention two. When LORD DARNLEY was married to MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, he applied to the *City of Edinburgh* for a loan, and we can make it appear by unquestionable authority, however incredible it may seem to our English readers, that the *City of Edinburgh* alone agreed to advance, and did actually raise for his use, even at that time, the intire sum of *twenty pounds*: and at this day it is a known truth, that the *kingdom of SCOTLAND* alone pays *near half as much as the whole* county of YORK. If these instances are not thought sufficient to remove the objection, we will at least promise our good friends the English to remove it at their cost; and we hope in a short time to give them more reason to complain of our being rich, than ever they had to reproach us with our being poor.

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One thing there is yet wanting to complete the happiness of our present situation, that the money which our countrymen receive in *England* may be expended in *Scotland*. This indeed is in some measure, but not fully, answered by the strict caution they use to deal with none but *Scots*. The only means I can think of to bring this to bear would be (if that is not flattering ourselves too much) the residence of our most gracious Sovereign amongst us, if not intirely, at least by way of refreshment, for the winter months. I know but one objection to this, which is, that the last king but one, who committed himself to our care, we sold, though our countryman, into the hands of his rebel subjects : but in the present humour of the times this objection might not occur, or might be obviated, for the same consideration of interest which then made us false, would now make us true.

If you think this feasible, and likely to take place soon, I will stay here contented in expectation of so desirable an event ; if not, I desire you will procure me a sum sufficient to bring myself and family to town, in such a way as may not discredit our cause. I shall depend on you likewise to prepare such accommodations as may be proper, and some little snug place for the present, till a better can be had. As to titles, that is a matter which requires some consideration, they being of late years grown so cheap, that I do not know whether it will be for my credit to accept of any.

I am,

My dear NORTH BRITON,  
Your loving Countryman.



N<sup>o</sup> V. Saturday, JULY 3, 1762.

Dabitur mora parvula, dum res,  
Nota urbi et populo, contingat PRINCIPIS aures.  
Dedecus ILLE domus faciet ultimus. JUVENAL.

To the NORTH BRITON.

SIR,  
THE fatal consequences which must necessarily arise from a prince's resigning himself to the absolute directions of a *favourite*, were strongly described in  
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the MONITORS of the 22d of May and the 12th of June, and fully illustrated in the kings of France and Poland, who have lately fallen victims to a confidence misplaced in an enterprising minister by the latter, and in an intriguing mistress by the former. The intent of those papers was undoubtedly patriotic, and like a mirror, they may serve to exhibit to future princes the unhappy effects of placing implicit trust in any one *favourite*, in contempt of the salutary advice of such faithful subjects, as have in the days of difficulty proved themselves friends to their country, and steadily attached to *their* Royal Family.

Instances of this kind may produce very proper effects in the minds of those who are not so self-sufficient as to believe, that in similar situations their abilities would enable them to convert those very incidents, which have been the ruin of others into solid foundations, on which they could erect a superstructure of happiness for themselves.

Examples however of successful virtue prove generally stronger incentives of glorious actions. It may therefore perhaps be more expedient, instead of painting the miseries which a country must be involved in, if governed by an insolent *favourite*, to shew the peculiar felicity of a prince and people rescued from the tyrannous slavery of a *court minion*, exemplified in the deliverance of this country by the noble and manly conduct of EDWARD the THIRD. The reign of his Father and predecessor, EDWARD the SECOND, is distinguished in history as the reign of *favourites*: to his unbounded affection for them, may be ascribed the various misfortunes that afflicted this country at that time; and by those attachments, the affections of the OLD Nobility were so alienated from him, that he became involved in disputes which terminated with the loss of his crown and life.

The deposing of this prince was not productive of all that happiness, which the nation was taught to expect from it. The people, it is true, saw themselves delivered from the troubles which had disturbed the late reign; but they were not freed from the fears of falling into a more dreadful situation. They knew what the government of a weak and imprudent king could do, but they  
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were unexperienced as to the effects of a minority under the direction of a *Mother*, actuated by strong passions, and influenced by an insolent minister.—By the laws of the realm it was necessary that a Regency, consisting of twelve of the Nobility, should be appointed for the government of the state; but though the form of this was complied with, and the *Earl of Lancaster*, a near relation to the king, was nominated president, yet *Mortimer* afterwards Earl of March, was through the ascendancy he had obtained over the *Queen Mother*, in fact the sole Regent. At his pleasure the great officers of state were appointed or removed; he assumed the authority of the king, and solely possessed his ear: the king's uncles, the president of the regency, and the whole of the nobility, were not suffered to approach their sovereign, unless their opinions coincided with *Mortimer's*; and in their intercourse, only permitted in this manner, care was taken to have his Majesty so surrounded by spies, that the Minister could not fail to receive information of every measure intended to injure him in the opinion of the king. Thus educated under the guidance of his *Mother*, thus secured by the custody of *Mortimer*, he was easily persuaded to believe that *Mortimer* was a faithful friend and a consummate Minister.

*Mortimer*, now in the zenith of his power, soon gave proofs of the weakness of his head and the wickedness of his heart; for *Robert Bruce*, king of Scotland, taking advantage of the minority of the king, and the want of stability in his councils, sent a powerful army to invade *England*. EDWARD opposed them in person: but the inferiority of the Scottish army was so great, that they declined an engagement, and fled before the arms of EDWARD, laying waste the country in their retreat: at length EDWARD came up with them at Stanhope Park; but they, during his making the necessary dispositions for an attack, and under the covert of a dark night, silently decamped, and before EDWARD was informed of their flight, had got to such a distance, that it was impossible for his army to overtake them. This escape was generally imputed to *Mortimer*, and the consequences of it confirmed the suspicion; for instead of EDWARD's pursuing

suing the Scots into their own country at the head of a formidable army, and compelling them to accept of such terms as he might think fit to grant them, a shameful peace was concluded for him by the influence of *Mortimer*; such a peace as, historians say, was profitable to the *Queen Mother* and *Mortimer*, but inconsistent with the honour of the king, and the profit of the realm and people.

“ Being therefore so great in authority and possessions,  
 “ he now drew after him more attendants than the king  
 “ himself; nay, he was so sottishly blinded by false am-  
 “ bition, that he would expect his lord and master to rise  
 “ first to him, and, if offered, would permit it. Nor  
 “ would he in the least scruple to walk fast by the king  
 “ as his fellow, nay sometimes walk on in state before  
 “ him as his lord looking back, and more than familiarly  
 “ laughing upon his sovereign,” This is Joshua Barnes’s  
 account. *History of Edward the Third*, printed at  
 Cambridge, 1688, folio. Dedicated to king James the  
 Second; licensed by authority, p. 46.

When we survey *Mortimer*, thus established in the plenitude of power, filling all the offices of state with his creatures, banishing the friends and relations of the young king from court, and suffering none to approach him, but such as were continually employed in trumpeting the praise of *Mortimer* and the uprightness of his administration, it would have been impossible for us to account for the sudden revolution that followed, had not the historians left us a clue to lead us through this labyrinth; for they scruple not to affirm, that as *Mortimer* was indebted for the enormity of his power to a criminal correspondence with the *Queen Mother*, so to honest insinuations of this given to the king must be ascribed his amazing downfall. And although *Barnes* seems to discredit the report, by saying, “ Surely whoever considers the inequa-  
 “ lity of the *Queen’s* age with that of *Mortimer’s*, she be-  
 “ ing little more than thirty, and he at least more than  
 “ fifty, will rather believe that by his subtle and crafty  
 “ insinuations he made himself necessary to the *Queen’s*  
 “ councils, than that his person could ever render him  
 “ acceptable to her bed; she herself being accounted  
 “ one of the most delicate ladies of that age; whereas  
 VOL. I. B “ he

“ he was not only a married man, but a father of eleven  
 “ children.” Barnes’s History, p. 54.—Yet *Rapin* makes  
 no doubt of this assertion, and says, “ The article of  
 “ his impeachment concerning his commerce with the  
 “ *Queen* is a clear evidence how much the whole king-  
 “ dom was offended at their familiarity. If it had not  
 “ been notorious, there is no likelihood that the Parlia-  
 “ ment would have wounded that Princess’s honour so  
 “ deeply, which could not but reflect on the king her son.  
 “ They who have endeavoured to vindicate her, by  
 “ the little probability that a princess of so high a rank  
 “ should so far forget herself, did not consider, that a  
 “ few years before the three daughters in-law of *Philip*  
 “ *the Fair* were as regardless of their reputations, by  
 “ the confession of all the historians.” *Rapin’s History*,  
 translated by Tindal, 8vo. 3d vol. p. 421. Printed at  
 London.

Leaving this fact however unascertained by the histo-  
 rians, it is clear that at length some insinuations were  
 thrown out before the king concerning the immensity of  
*Mortimer’s* power and mal-administration: these engaged  
 EDWARD to examine into affairs, and he was made to ob-  
 serve that the Earl of March affected to outshine his sove-  
 reign by a magnificence too splendid for any subject; that  
 he disposed of all the great offices of the kingdom to his  
 creatures; that he was absolute master of the fate of the  
*English*, advancing or displacing them in proportion as  
 they were calculated to serve the base purposes of his  
 own interest, without regard to that of his country; that  
 the shameful peace concluded with the Scots was  
 of his making; that by his private orders Edward the  
 Second was murdered; that by his secret practices the  
 Earl of Kent, the king’s uncle, lost his life; that it ap-  
 peared very probable the Queen and her Minister had  
 formed the design of securing in their hands the royal  
 authority, by keeping him always a minor; and lastly,  
 that his influence over the Queen arose from a corre-  
 spondence with her dishonourable to his Majesty, as it  
 was affirmed she had lately been impregnated by him.—  
 This is Barnes’s account, p. 47.

These informations coinciding with the suspicions of  
 EDWARD, he, with a resolution and judgment unequal-  
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led in history, in person seized *Mortimer* in the presence of the *Queen Mother*, and sent him to the Tower; then calling a Parliament, told them, "That though not yet arrived at the age prescribed by law, yet, with the consent of his subjects, he designed for the future holding the reins of government in his own hands." To this the Parliament cheerfully assented, the members being equally ready to second his designs; and, as a proof of it, *Mortimer* was condemned to be executed at Tyburn; which was done without shewing him any favour.—These are the plain facts, as related by the best English historians.

Thus did EDWARD wipe off the blemishes which had sullied his minority; thus, taking the reins of government into his own hands, did he give a happy presage of the glory and prosperity of his future reign, the brightest perhaps in the annals of England. O may Britain never see such a day again! when power acquired by profligacy may lord it over this realm; when the feeble pretensions of a *court minion* may require the prostitution of royalty for their support; or if, which heaven avert! such a day should come, may a Prince truly jealous of the honour of his House, and armed with the intrepidity of EDWARD THE THIRD, crush the aspiring wretch who mounts to power by such ignoble means.

I am, SIR,  
Your humble Servant.



N<sup>o</sup>. VI. Saturday, JULY 10, 1762.

Utinam Respublica stetisset, quo erat, statu, nec in homines non tam COMMUTANDARUM, quam EVERTENDARUM cupidos incidisset.  
CICERO.

I Now sit down to endeavour not only to quiet the minds of my countrymen under their present fear of impending evils, but to give them the best-grounded hopes of the halcyon days which are to succeed, and to crown all our fondest wishes. From this auspicious æra *incipient magni procedere menses*. No month, nor scarcely day, but shall be marked with white, and graced



with some acts of bounty and favour to my countrymen, either openly here, or secretly in the English colonies, and in the late numerous conquests. I think indeed, that the more glaring marks of honour, profit, or confidence, should, in good policy, be at present withheld from us, or very sparingly given, for they are too invidious; but it is surely right to proceed in dealing out to us, and to us alone, all those essential benefits and *good things*, which are so various in all parts, and are held almost unknown, and consequently unenvied.

I find that it is absolutely necessary more fully to explain myself, because many of my friends are exceedingly alarmed from the fear of our standing alone in the present political fray, and are continually lamenting, that almost all those who were esteemed good, great, or amiable among the *English*, have either refused to serve under our *Chief*, or have given open proofs of their dissatisfaction with a *Scottish* administration, and of their resolution soon to leave us *North Britons* to ourselves. The great danger many apprehend from this does not strike me. I rather think such an event would be advantageous to us. We should then attain the completion of all our views, the entire possession of the revenues of this whole country, and should be saved the trouble of making a general sweep of our rivals, the *English*, which our friends strenuously advise us to do. This advice is far from being new, or unprecedented. The *Tories* at the latter end of Queen Anne's reign were believed to have failed from this very omission, the not removing all of the *Whig* leaven from the employments they possessed. Our services would even then be inadequately rewarded, if it is considered how long we have been kept under by *English* and *Whiggish* administrations, which have ever declared they never could trust us.

We have besides a superior claim of merit to the *English*. Our countryman the *BRITON* has enumerated the many conquests the *Scots* have made, and the many victories they have gained, at *Cape Breton*, *Ticonderoga*, *Fort Du Quesne*, and *Quebec*, in *Guadalupe*, and *Martinique*, before the walls of *Pondicherry*, and in the plains of *Westphalia*, &c. &c. with little assistance from the *English*. I believe he has omitted but two of our late glories;

glories; the victories of *Preston Pans* and *Falkirk*, gained, I own, without the least assistance from the *English*; who, undoubtedly from a principle of envy, cannot bear the mention of either, but are for ever rejoicing over *Culloden*, as a victory of truer national importance than even *Hockstet*. How many insolent songs of triumph have they made for that single victory of *Culloden*! With what noble strains of rapture has that whole nation celebrated their second great deliverer, as they call him, the *Duke of Cumberland*! But surely *our* bards have at least equalled theirs, though in a different strain. How pathetic have been *our* lamentations! How has *our* admired elegy of *Mourn, hapless Caledonia! mourn*, echoed from hill to hill! With what tearful eyes is it still sung by every true *Scot*! In what moving strains did our bards celebrate their dear country's *sons lying slaughtered on the ground*, on that fatal day! fatal I mean to such numbers of my friends and countrymen.

Besides this general claim of merit, we desire to put in another, the strongest possible, arising from the merit of our great patron. What amazing proofs has he given the world of the most consummate abilities, and the truest wisdom! I do not mean that sinister and crooked wisdom, called *cunning*, which alone, our enemies say, we possess to any great degree; but I speak of that great and comprehensive knowledge, which takes in the general plan of the whole, and yet is able to adapt itself to all the parts. Has he not a great *and indeed national*, system? None but Englishmen can suppose he has not, and they most injuriously and enviously pretend, that he has been found to fluctuate daily from a total want of all precision of ideas, and knowledge of the connection of things.

Let us however examine the fact, and then we shall see, if our fears of being left to ourselves are well grounded, or not. The *Duke of Newcastle*, it is said, (whose signal services to the house of *Hanover* are almost sufficient to outweigh all the demerits and traitorous attempts of the many noble families, whose letters to the *PRETENDER* make almost the whole volume of *Colonel Hooke's negotiations*) has quitted the service of that illustrious family we are all now crowding to support. Mr. *PITT*, whose administration heaven blessed

with such distinguished success, has likewise retired. Mr. LEGGE, who is so confessedly superior, I believe unrivalled, in the important knowledge of the finances of this kingdom, and of its late powerful rival, is at present only a most amiable private gentleman, happy in his family, and in the circle of his select friends, who now enjoy, free from interruption, an inexhaustible fund of refined sense and classical wit. There are likewise some others, in whom the nation has the justest confidence, who are preparing to take their flight from us.

But can it be said, that all the *English* ministers either have, or intend to leave us? Is not the virtuous Mr. Fox, the darling of the people, still very high in office, and in one of the most lucrative employments the government has to bestow? Does he not privately assist our *Chief* with the most *salutary* counsels? Has he not proposed the most *healing* measures? We know that he is ready publicly to stand forth our champion, and that he has most explicitly offered us some time ago *to speak or not to speak*, in the senate. Can *this* part of that great man's conduct be deemed equivocal? It has indeed hitherto been thought advisable for him to remain silent, and for some few years his lips have been locked in adamant silence, *from a full conviction of the rectitude of the public measures*. His regard to us however we have the strongest reason to believe, and we are secure (unless indeed a new change happens) of his effectual support of us, against all his own countrymen, with his amazing powers of eloquence. What then may we not expect from the violence and impetuosity of such a torrent, which, like a stream from our Highlands, after having stopt for some years, on a sudden bursts forth again—but I hope not to ruin the country. I am sure this gentleman will never concur in, much less advise, any measures but such as shall appear *soothing and conciliating*. His tenderness for the Constitution, and his affection for the House of Commons in particular, have been fully experienced; nor will he ever *desire to have the whip in his hands, to lash into obedience the refractory members*. \*

\* This expression, and the former, *to speak or not to speak*, were the particular phrases us'd by Mr. Fox, in a private treaty, or rather bargain for ministerial power.

The people of England too will be made happy with the idea of power being lodged in his hands; and we *North Britons* shall see with joy and gratitude his unwearied endeavours to perfect the noble plan of liberty, delivered down to us from our Scottish ancestors. The happiest consequences will in every way be derived to the public; and I hope soon to hear of the recovery of *Minorca*, which, as I remember was most ignominiously, though I believe not treacherously, lost, when he was secretary of state.

THERE is likewise \* another gentleman, whom by the most amiable arts, which would do us honour, were they known to the world, we have entirely secured, and detached from his friends (and *dî boni!* what friends?) and family, to whom he has such infinite obligations: but *omnes omnium caritates patria nostra una complexa est.* This is not in itself a wonderful acquisition; but I consider it as the first-fruits of our labours among the great families of the English nobility; and I hope soon to see among them many other glorious effects (both in public and private) of our fixed maxim, *divide et impera.* This gentleman has already spurned at all obligations, and has broke through whatever would have engaged every other man, for he has sacrificed every social and friendly tie to cement the union with us. His intense zeal (a symptom frequent among apostates and renegadoes) has been demonstrated on many late occasions; and in a great assembly, if he has failed to persuade, he has never failed to weary out the adversary, and to sink him into a deadly lassitude, perhaps a lethargy. How most fervently have all parties concurred in wishing him in a certain chair? We have the more obligations to this gentleman for taking the Seals, because he is not the child of *ambition*, nor is his great soul tainted with sordid *avarice*: † that is only the vice of reptile and groveling minds. Though he has left the naval department, he has not, I trust, left behind him all attention to that most important business. I hope he will think of some other regulations to prevent the late almost incre-

\* Mr. *George Grenville.*

† It is reported, that in a great assembly, Mr. *Grenville* said, *I am not the child of ambition, nor of avarice, &c.*

dible desertion of seamen from the royal navy, which his new regulations (so applauded by Boscawen and our other great sea officers, and so grateful to all our commanders) were intended to prevent. When the public is favoured with the next pleasing print of this gentleman, I hope the artist will have reason to adorn the other hand with *An Act to prevent desertion from the royal navy*, which, till it is accomplished, I shall believe the other boasted *Act for the encouragement of seamen*, &c. is of as much use in the print as any where else.

These are the two illustrious personages on the part of *England*, who support our *Scottish Chief*. How nobly conspicuous in both is the amiable frankness and openness of heart of the *English* nation! I only name these two, for the fidelity of others to *us* is dubious and suspected. Some have already begun to calumniate *our* patron, and even talk of retaliating our own arts on *us*.

I will only add, how greatly must this island, and above all *our dear country*, now figure to the whole continent? The most real union among all the parts of government, and the whole body of the *English* nation, no less joined with *us* in *hearts* than in *interests*, rising up, like one man, to support the new *Scottish* pillar of the state! What satisfaction has the *Czar* expressed in our *firm* and *united* councils! What unbounded confidence has the *King of Prussia* in this new *North British* administration! and with what unfeigned rapture will, *France* receive the news, that there is no longer a first minister in this island from their *ancient enemy* *England*; but from their firm and unshaken ally, *SCOTLAND*.

N<sup>o</sup>. VII. Saturday, JULY 17, 1762.

Quod optanti divum promittere nemo  
Auderit, volvenda dies en attulit ultro. VIRG.

To the NORTH BRITON.

*My dear Countryman,*

SUFFER me to intermingle tears of joy with you on our present happy situation, and to heighten your satisfaction, give me leave to exhibit to you a glimpse of futurity. The English (Mr. *Horace Walpole* only excepted) pretend to an equal *partition of good sense* with us; but there is one most noble intellectual gift they have never pretended to share with us. We have monopolized it from them and from all the world unenvied. It is a particular mark of the favour of heaven, as all our divines say to the chosen *Scots*. I mean the gift of *second sight*, which, though laughed at by every sensible man of every other nation, we all believe to be possessed in an eminent degree by many of our countrymen, and to be found among us in the highest perfection, where there are no traces of common sense, not the first principles of any science. By this happy gift I have approximated many objects in the *camera obscura* of futurity, and I trust you with the most pleasing view. Whether you will choose to make the whole discovery, or any part of it, public, I shall submit to your discretion, concluding, with repeated congratulations,

Yours,

B. MAC STUART.

THE  
FUTURE CHRONICLE:  
OR, THE  
NOVA SCOTIA INTELLIGENCER.

YESTERDAY morning the two new raised regiments of Highland guards were reviewed in Hyde

Hyde Park by his grace the Duke of *Inverness*, who was pleased to say, "They kenn'd their business right weel, and went through their exercise very connily."

We hear that the Earl of *Loudon* will have the command of the forces destined against *Louisbourg*. His lordship is descended from the great earl of *Loudon*, who, by his gallant achievements in that quarter of the globe, acquired the surname of *Americanus*.—It is said that his lordship will certainly appoint Capt. *Abecrombie* one of his aids du camps.

Last night the Marquis of *Kirkcudbright* arrived at *Holyrood*, late *Buckingham* house, from his government of Ireland, where his prudent and frugal administration has gained him the hearts of all ranks of people. His excellency was attended to the water-side by the lord mayor and aldermen of Dublin, with pipers before them, playing the tune of Highland Laddy, in compliment to his excellency, with which (if we may judge from the various contortions of his features and writhings of his shoulders) his excellency was highly delighted.

Several disorderly persons were yesterday taken into custody, being charged with drinking the glorious memory of *King William*, confusion to the *Stuarts*, and divers other treasonable toasts.

The managers of both theatres have received orders to lay aside the custom of representing the tragedy of *Tamerlane* on *King William's* birth day, and instead thereof to entertain the public on that occasion with *Home's Douglas* and the *Gentle Shepherd*.

Great rejoicings have been made by all loyal subjects on hearing that the heirs of the illustrious houses of *Kilmarnock* and *Balmerino* were restored to the honours of their ancestors.

Lord *Lowat*, being appointed lord high commissioner, is preparing to set out for Edinburgh to preside at the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland.

Yesterday the Duke of *Inverary*, Lord High Admiral of England, gave a grand entertainment at Portsmouth on occasion of putting into commission the two new men of war of eighty guns each. They were named the *Falkirk* and *Preston Pans*. The *Cumberland* and *Culloden* were ordered to be laid up.

Strict orders are issued forth to prohibit the use of calves or cods heads from the 29th to the 31st of January both inclusive.

At the last sessions held at the Old Bailey, *John Hampden* and *William Orange* were tried and convicted on the Whig act before Lord Chief Justice *Womansmeadow*, who, after a very learned and elegant oration in favour of the liberties of the Press and people, sentenced both the delinquents to the punishment due to their demerits.

Last night, to the unspeakable loss of the public, died the most high, most puissant, and most noble Prince, *John Duke of Peebles*, knight of the most noble order of the garter, &c. &c. &c. His grace had for many years presided at the board of treasury with equal ability and integrity. He was so severe in collecting the public revenue, that the window tax of the ISLE OF BUTE in one year, produced the clear sum of *thirteen Shillings and Sixpence*. To him we are indebted for the improvement of our knowledge, the refinement of our taste, and the elegance of our manners. Such was his grace's early affection for this country, that even in the infancy of his administration he prevailed on numbers of his accomplished countrymen to leave their native land, and dedicate their talents to the emolument of England: many of them he even persuaded to accept of places at court, by which means the language became polished to the highest degree of *Caledonian* purity. To enumerate his grace's virtues would require the pen of a *Macpherson*, or a *Lauder*: however we have the pleasure to assure the public, that a beautiful elegy on the melancholy occasion is promised, as soon as the paroxysm of grief shall have subsided, by the ingenious gentleman who chooses to distinguish himself by the title of the BRITON.

Some time since died Mr. *John Bull*, a very worthy, plain, honest, old gentleman, of Saxon descent; he was choaked by inadvertently swallowing a *thistle*, which he had placed by way of ornament on the top of his salad. For many years before he had enjoyed a remarkably good state of health.

Worthy



Worthy Englishmen!

Heaven and earth call upon you with one voice to reinstate me in your favour. While you placed your confidence in me, I was the defender of your liberties, and am desirous of discharging that glorious duty to the end of time. To my auspicious schemes you owe the illustrious house of Hanover, equally famed for mildness and valour; to my resolution and conduct you owe the expulsion of a family equally infamous for tyranny and cowardice. Vindicate your honour ere it be too late, and beware of cherishing vipers in your bosoms.

WHIG REVOLUTION.

Born anno 1688, confirmed 1715, married April 16, 1746.

This Day is published, a new Edition,  
Adorned with an elegant Head of that glorious Monarch,  
The Works of King JAMES the First,  
Of learned, pious, and peaceful Memory.

To which is now added, His art of *Hocus Pocus*.  
From an original MS. lately dug out of the ruins of  
Stirling Castle.

*Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.* VIRG.

Printed for A. Macdonald, at the Dunciad in Scotland-yard.

Proposals for printing by Subscription,  
*Bower* Triumphant; or *Scottish* Innocence  
vindicated.

An ESSAY by WILLIAM LAUDER.

*Nequicquam patrias tentasti lubricus artes.* VIRG.

With a PREFACE by Lord LITTLEWIT.

And a *full Length* of his Lordship; done from an original caricatura of Nature.

Printed at Glasgow, and sold by all the Scots booksellers.

To-

To-morrow will be published,  
**O! the ROAST BEEF ! or, The Case is alter'd.**

A PROSE POEM in the modern Taste.

By *Lazarus Mac Barebones of Scotstarvit, Esq;*

*Peace and Plenty tell a Stuart reigns. POPE.*

DOCTOR TICKLEWRIST thinks it more his duty than his interest to acquaint the public, that his Titillatory Elixer is a sovereign remedy for the present epidemical distemper. It is safe, cheap, and pleasant in its operation, and never fails to give immediate ease in the most violent paroxysms. Nay, the doctor may with truth affirm, that most of his patients have found the medicine so extremely agreeable, that they wish for a continuance of the disorder merely to have the pleasure of using it; for to persons unafflicted it is totally insipid.—The doctor may be spoken with at the Crown and Thistle in Little Britain.—He also teaches on very moderate terms, to play upon the Fiddle.

MR. MAC PHERSON'S fifteenth Course of Lectures on Oratory began yesternight, and will be continued *timeously* every evening, the Sabbath only excepted. Select passages out of *Allan Ramsay*, and other celebrated writers, will be read for the better illustration of the Precepts. At the conclusion of the course, Mr. Mac Pherson purposes a general exercitation of all his pupils, as formerly; but as many of them have on foregoing occasions, through want of a proper command of voice, run into discordant notes, to the great annoyance of the delicate ears of the North British nobility, who have attended to mark the progress of the young gentlemen, it is expected that for the future they will submit to have their voices properly pitched by the drone of a bagpipe.—The Professor, if required, wears gloves.

LONDON: Printed for BLUESTRING MAC STUART, at the Star and Garter in the Minories.

N<sup>o</sup> VIII. Saturday, JULY 24, 1762.*Placuisse nocet.*

WHEN we consider how fashionable the word *favourite* is grown, how common in every mouth, what a remarkable stress is laid upon it, and with what marks of discontent it is generally accompanied, we are naturally induced to think that there is at present some one person, signified under the name of *favourite*, who is raised to an extraordinary degree of power and credit, without any title to that preference from superior integrity and abilities, and from whose influence the rights and liberties of the people seem to be in danger. This idle notion is greatly strengthened by the weekly retailers of politics. The MONITOR talks of COUNT BRUHL, and the BRITON, with his usual honesty and penetration, seems willing to acquire a property in that paper by bringing it home to the present times, and drawing such comparisons as no man of sense could, and no true Briton ought to draw. The AUDITOR, with that caution which always implies a consciousness of guilt, deals out his laboured notions of *favouritism*, wantonly asperses the most amiable characters, and exalts the most despicable, but with such peculiar symptoms, such strong marks of falsehood, and such plain fear of detection, that his praises and his censures equally speak a heart arguing against its own conviction. The NORTH BRITON, following the example of his brethren, gave the public an account *from history, and chiefly in the words of history*, of ROGER MORTIMER, who in the reign of EDWARD the Third was the notorious favourite and supposed minion of the Queen Mother, and the BRITON in his excellent observations on that paper calls it, with a clearness of expression peculiar to himself, AN ATALANTIS. If I do not understand that word properly, I should be glad that my worthy friend the BRITON would set me right; but if I do understand it properly, I shall be much obliged to him if he will shew me with what propriety it is applied to that paper.

It

It is something strange how this subject of *favourites* could at this time insinuate itself into common conversation, and demand the consideration of the Public. I will venture to say, and undertake to prove, that since the glorious, successful, and upright administration under which MINORCA fell into the hands of the FRENCH, there hath not appeared in a public capacity any one man on whom the name of *favourite*, in the odious acceptance of the word, can possibly be fixed. Had we seen a man, during that time, raised to the highest honours and most important places, without any merit to justify his glorification, without any one recommendation but the blind affection of his Sovereign; had we found him solely attached to his own interests, taking advantage of the confidence reposed in him by his master, in order to abuse that sacred trust, tampering with his pliant disposition, making himself necessary to his foibles and passions, separating the interests of king and subject, advising such measures as must naturally estrange the affections of his people, and drawing him into trifling amusements, merely to take off his attention from things of consequence, so that the management and disposition of places might remain intirely in himself and his creatures, *such a man* would be the first that ought to be branded with the name of *favourite*; a name always attended with odium, and oftentimes with danger. The NORTH BRITON ought publicly to stand forth against such a man, and endeavour to point against him the resentment of a people equally jealous of the honour of their Sovereign and their own. On the contrary, when we see men, actuated with a real regard for their country, acting on the best of principles, uniting, what indeed ought never to be separated, the good of the prince and people, and pursuing the most noble ends by those means which seem most likely to produce them; when we see such men honoured with the confidence of their Sovereign, possessed of the first offices of state, holding the reins of government, and *guiding* our most important affairs, we congratulate ourselves on having such ministers, we detest those incendiaries who would represent them to us in the disagreeable light of *favourites*, and are  
 happy

happy in acknowledging, that the esteem which a Sovereign entertains for such ministers is real judgment, and the rewards he bestows on them is justice, and not favour. Cheap as we hold the ENGLISH in politics, we cannot suppose them so far gone in absurdity, as to brand any man with a name which hath ever carried along with it an idea of detestation, merely because he stands high in the esteem of his prince. We must in justice suppose that they consider him as unworthy of that esteem, as a disgrace to the person who countenances, and a load to the country who suffers him, and that their resentments are founded, and the name of favourite affixed to him, on these considerations. If this be the real case, (and no Englishman for his own credit will venture to contradict it) I shall then shew the impropriety of the present bustle about *favourites*, by instancing particularly in the three great men on whom prejudice, envy, or interest have fixed this name, and proving that, as a term of reproach, it cannot be applicable to any of them.

The DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, whose integrity was never yet called in question, whose heart was justified even by his enemies under a long and sometimes unsuccessful administration, can never be charged with this odious appellation. His services to the present royal family ran before his reward, and his strict attachment to his Sovereign, his known and steady loyalty, his uniform and unshaken zeal, justly entitled him to those marks of preference which he afterwards received, and which can never be deemed the wanton vouchsafements of royal favour, but must be regarded, by every impartial considerer, as the just reward of his deserts, as the noble retributions of a grateful and generous prince to a subject truly affectionate and disinterested; disinterested in so eminent a degree, that to his enemies it is matter of triumph, though to his friends it shall never be the cause of shame. As his services before he had any share in the administration of affairs gave him a just claim to the places which he afterwards held, so his behaviour, whilst he continued in them, intitled him to that honourable retirement in which he is now indulged.

Mr.

Mr. PITT stands yet less liable to the charge of being a *favourite*; merit alone kept him into the ministry; merit alone kept him there, till, happily for us, he had the superior merit of our countryman to combat with, which was not to be withstood. If we consider rightly, it is impossible that Mr. PITT should ever have been a favourite, though his abilities were of such a nature as to make his assistance necessary. He came in upon an opposition; he had formed himself on a plan directly contrary to the humour of our late Sovereign; he was determined to come into no ministerial jobs; he spoke his mind freely on every occasion; when convinced, he was always ready to change his opinion and alter his measures, but had the impudence to expect conviction before he did it; he never was afraid to bring the voice of the people to the ear of the Sovereign; he was always ready and forward to lay his own measures before the public; he was of such unshaken secrecy, that during the whole course of his ministry he gave no opportunity to the most willing of discovering our designs to the enemy; he was of such unpardonable attention to business, that the most minute occurrences in his department passed not without examination; he was such a bigot to the interests of the public, that no private connexions whatever could induce him to prefer an undeserving person; he was of such unbounded ambition, that he raised the honour of the English name to a much greater height than any of his predecessors; he was so extravagantly opposite to the measures usually adopted on such occasions, that he was foolishly resolved not to give up in treaty what we had gained in war; he was so immoderate in his demands, that our enemies saw through them with a just indignation, and were convinced he would make *a good peace, or none at all*; he was so jealous of his ministerial reputation, and so envious to those who should succeed him, that in order to prevent their doing of any thing, he left little or nothing for them to do. With these bars against him, and nothing, but some small share of success to back his own merit, it would be needless to observe, that he certainly never could justly be suspected of being a *favourite*.

As to the third person, his services are of such a nature, that—but lest I should be suspected of partiality I shall drop this point, and in compliance with the humour of the times, however contrary to my own, give some account of WILLIAM DE LA POLE, *Earl of Suffolk*, and for a time, *favourite of Queen MARGARET and HENRY the Sixth.*

That prince, now nineteen years old, had a very mean genius, and but little like his father's. He easily suffered himself to be governed by those about him. Instead of having the presumption common to young princes, he was distrustful of himself, and chose rather to follow the counsels of others than his own. With this weakness he had principles of honour, virtue, and religion, which indeed made him with he could always act justly, but often served for a foundation and pretence to his counsellors to draw him into many acts of injustice. As he wanted penetration, he was deceived with appearances. Of this his ministers knew how to take advantage, for they were convinced of his incapacity to discern their self-interested counsels.

Such being the disposition of the prince, it is natural to suppose that every intriguing statesman would endeavour to avail himself of it. Amongst these the *Earl of Suffolk* was not the least active; and in order to establish his authority on the most lasting grounds, he hit upon a scheme which for a time answered his purpose, *though in the end it proved his ruin.* He knew HENRY was himself incapable of governing, and consequently his ministers must necessarily be liable to envy, and bear the blame of whatever was not agreeable to the people. In this belief, he fancied that the best way to support himself was to give the king a *wife*, and a wife of such a kind, who having no ground naturally to aspire to such a marriage, and being intirely indebted for it to the managers, might be always ready to support her benefactors. Such a person he found in *Margaret*, daughter of a beggarly duke and titular king. Under her protection he for a time lorded it in the court, disposed of every thing at pleasure, maintained greater state, and was more observed than the king himself. The queen-mother, more mindful of her passions than dignity, and forgetful she had

had been the wife of the greatest prince in Europe, had lost her authority by matching herself to a private gentleman; and the old nobles, disgusted with the power of *Suffolk*, had either left the court, or waited in silence for an opportunity to shew their hatred with effect against the reigning favourite. This occasion at last offered; and however dear *Suffolk* was to the king, however dear he was on several accounts to the queen, however determined they might seem, and had often declared themselves, to maintain him at all events, let the consequences be what they would, they were at last obliged to give him up to the resentment of an exasperated people, and found by experience how weak such resolutions are, when they are opposed by the people with equal resolution.



N<sup>o</sup>. IX. Saturday, JULY 31, 1762.

Destroy his fib, or sophistry, in vain,  
The creature's at his dirty work again.                      POPE.

I Have a considerable arrear to settle with the BRITON. My first view was to administer a *weekly antidote to the weekly poison of this writer*; but I found him so low in the opinion of the public, that little was to be feared even from the most daring falsehoods of such a man. He seems impregnable to the force of argument. I shall therefore try what impression facts may be capable of making on him. Stupidity may not apprehend, or sophistry may sometimes seem to elude the strongest reasonings, but the evidence of facts is irresistible.

The *plan of attacking the French in America*, he asserts, was ADOPTED as a national maxim, self-evident, before Mr. PITT, or any one of his emissaries was born. How comes it then that this plan was intirely overlooked by the ministry here during the course of the late war, and at the commencement of the present was pursued with a faintness almost equal to a total disregard, till Mr. PITT was in power and gave it a life and vigour? Why has Mr. PITT, for his attention to the *American system*,



system, been so often ridiculed as *America mad*? To retort an expression of his own, *What a genius is this at cross purposes!*

The BRITON is not satisfied with this, but in the fullness of his folly, thinks to glorify his idol by ascribing to him the honour resulting from the conquest of *Martinique*. This (to adopt another of his phrases) is *begging*, or rather stealing, *honour for his patron with a witness*. In proof of my assertion, I need only observe, that his majesty's ship the *Alcide*, with the transports designed to take on board the troops in America, under the command of General MONCKTON, sailed from Portsmouth on the 4th of August, and arrived at New-York on the 15th of October 1761; and that Admiral RODNEY, who was to co-operate with General MONCKTON in the enterprise against *Martinique*, set sail from St. Helen's on the 18th of October, only twelve days after Mr. PITT's resignation, and but eight days after the appointment of his successor in office. Hence it irrefragably appears, that not only *the honour of inventing the plan, but of proportioning the means to the desired success, of equipping the armament with vigour and expedition, and of sending it out at a proper season under the conduct of officers of approved abilities*, is intirely due to Mr. PITT; and that all which can be fairly ascribed to the new managers is the mere *secondary* merit of not countermanding an expedition of the highest national importance. Will the BRITON dare to deny these facts? If he cannot, but is forced to admit them, then, he stands at the bar of the public convicted of the most shameful falsehood. Blush, BRITON, blush, but let your patrons too share the infamy of prompting and abetting to the world such known prostitution of truth and justice. Perhaps on this occasion it might not be too much to assert, that all the honour the new ministry are likely to acquire, will be greater or less, in proportion as they shall either pursue or depart from the written reasons of the 18th of September.

How inconsistent is this weak BRITON! To what mean shifts and gross contradictions has he been driven! In his fifth number he claims for the present ministry the greatest honour from the conquest of *Martinique*; and in his  
sixth

sixth he says, among the other evil consequences of the war, I might reckon our extraordinary success. I believe this is the first time that *extraordinary success* has been reckoned among the *evil consequences* of a war. By a parity of reason, I suppose he reckons the infamous loss of *Newfoundland*, and the late disgrace on the coast of *France*, among the *good consequences* of our affairs being trusted in such hands. What a total subversion of all just ideas must there be in this writer's head! These are absurdities reserved for the goose-quills of the modern ministerial hirelings: this is the ridiculous cant which the poorest of all the weekly writers is taught by his patrons. If *success* however be indeed so *evil a consequence*, the want of it is surely to be esteemed a *good* once; and if we are to lament our *successes*, because they are *evil consequences*, we must rejoice over our *losses* as *good consequences*. I suppose therefore, he and his friends must be pleased with what has given every true Briton the deepest concern, the loss of *Newfoundland*, whose infinite importance every merchant, every seaman, almost every Englishman knows.—Our *conquests*, he says, were *obstacles to a peace*; so particularly was the affair of *Newfoundland*: and the late negotiation with the court of *France*, as well as the disputes with the court of *Spain* on this great point, during the *six years negotiation*, are well remembered. I hope there has been no *collusion*! *Spain* only demanded a *part*: *France* has now seized the *whole*. But why were no ships stationed to protect an object of such national importance? Is all our intelligence of the motions of the French at an end? Are their fleets no longer watched? Where is that great and good genius to *England* that superintended the British state; and while he gave security to our old possessions, made such noble additions to our empire? I hope that *Newfoundland* too is not considered as an *obstacle*, as well as our *conquests*, which must be removed to smooth the way to a peace: if it is, I know what kind of peace we are to expect. God forbid that the *uti possidetis* should now ever be mentioned as the terms of peace, while *Newfoundland* is in the hands of our enemies. Surely the loss of the whole is not *connived at*, that the part which has been claimed may with  
more

more decency be given up hereafter. It is clear to a demonstration there has been no attention given to an object which demanded the utmost a ministry could give. Ought such an administration to be trusted by either prince or people? The noblest fleet England ever had is found in the hands of a weak ministry, insufficient for the protection of our most important settlements. How is all security gone from us! How do our enemies, who so lately desponded, now exult from such successes, almost immediate on our change of councils! How are their spirits revived! Let us examine the ideas of the late ministry on this head. In an extract of the only letter of Mr. Pitt's which the public was trusted with, among the *Papers relative to the rupture with Spain*, published by authority, are the following words, which I wish were wrote in letters of gold under Lord Bute's picture in the royal apartments at St. James's: *You will again on this occasion let Mr. Wall clearly understand that this is a matter held sacred, and that no concession on the part of his majesty, so destructive to this true and capital interest of Great Britain, will be yielded to Spain, however abetted and supported.* And it was in relation to this great object Mr. Pitt made use of that remarkable expression to the proud Spaniard, *that he would not relax any thing till the Tower of London was taken sword in hand.* Mr. Pitt would neither suffer it to be yielded to Spain, nor taken by France. Is this the *vigour* and *success* of the new *North British* administration? These are the bitter first-fruits from the *North*. What is to follow? Will the question be now asked, *what have the new ministry, or rather what has the new minister done?* He has already lost *Newfoundland*; and is inexcusable in that loss, for every thing asked from parliament to strengthen his hands was granted with cheerfulness and unanimity. Now indeed he is well paired with his colleagues, the few wretched *English* who have joined him. These lost us *Minorca*: the *Scot* lost *Newfoundland*. What dreadful events are to succeed! Is the British empire to moulder away? But I hope a most gracious prince, in compliance with the wishes of a whole people, will, before it is too late, deprive a set of men (unfavour-  
ed

ed by heaven and despised on earth) of the power they have thus infamously abused.

The BRITON proceeds in his usual absurd way. In one page he tells us of the *injudicious manner in which the war has been carried on*; and in the next he says, *our motive to engage in this war was to defend and secure our colonies in North America. This end is fully, at least in a great measure, accomplished by the entire conquest of Canada, Acadia, and Cape Breton.* Who made these conquests? Has the war then been carried on in so *injudicious a manner*, when the end is so fully or at least in a great measure accomplished? Again, he says, *This is the more dangerous, as it is unlimited: one conquest will suggest another; and we shall dance after this ignis fatuus of glory, until we are weakened, exhausted, and unable to proceed.* Are not the new ministry proceeding? Are they not at this hour attempting to add another conquest to all the former? Does not every friend to his country burn with impatience for the glorious news of the blow we all hope is already struck to the heart of Spain? If we have already conquered too much, as he says, why go on in the same mistaken course? why add more *obstacles, to a peace?* for such he calls our *conquests*. But will even he say the taking of the *Havannah* will be an *obstacle* to a peace with Spain? How would a sensible foreigner despise the wretched cant of these advocates of the present minister?

Such is the letter of the *Briton* to the Earl of Bute: a letter, fit to be addressed only to, and to be read only by, his lordship. One remarkable particular I had forgot: The *Briton* gives himself out as a martyr to the *good* (he will not now say *glorious*) cause; but he expects his full reward here. He begins his letter, *As I have suffered in your cause* (I wish to know how, except in reputation) *I think myself in some measure intitled to*—and these first words of his letter are well explained by the last—the *darling hope and ESTABLISHED expectation of the Briton*, which are plainly a pension, and an *establishment* on this side the *Tweed*.

One word I must remark on the stile of this writer. In his last number but one, speaking of the late rebellion, he says, *the insurgents—had defeated a body of regular*

*regular forces.* How tenderly a true Scotsman speaks of rebellion! Is he afraid of wounding a father, uncle, or brother? An Englishman would have wrote, *the rebels had defeated a body of the king's forces*; but *rebels are only insurgents* in Scotland, and the *king's troops* are only *regular forces*! The other phrase had acknowledged a right in our sovereign, not quite so willingly owned by all the subjects in the north of this island.

In the Gazetteer of last Saturday are the following lines, which are a noble specimen of *North British logic.*

To the P R I N T E R.

S I R,

I am *authorised* to send you the following article to be printed in your paper as soon as possible.

“ That the public may not be imposed upon, and  
 “ imagine the *taking* of Newfoundland was done by the  
 “ consent of our m——y, we are assured that four  
 “ men of war of the line and some frigates are going  
 “ to sail immediately from Portsmouth to *retake* the said  
 “ place”—A most conclusive argument that *Newfound-*  
*land* was not *taken* by the consent of our ministry, be-  
 cause from the just clamour of an enraged people, four  
 men of war and some frigates *are to be sent to retake*  
 it! I suspect that my friend the BRITON is this *au-*  
*thorised state* writer, from the reasoning, and the  
 phrase of the *taking being done*, which is such rea-  
 soning and English as he usually deals out to us on  
 Saturdays.

*How intirely will this article wipe away all the ill-*  
*grounded suspicion of mankind!*

N<sup>o</sup>. X. Saturday, AUGUST 7. 1762.

PRO ARIS et focis.

To the NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

**A**MONGST the many great and daring steps lately taken to raise us from obscurity, and invest us with that power and affluence which we have long aspired to, but never could obtain till this happy period, when merit carries every thing before it, I am amazed that one, which in itself would be glorious, and would also give a lustre to, and ensure the continuance of, all our other acquisitions, hath so long escaped the active and discerning spirit of our *countryman*; I mean the *interests of Presbyters*. In vain do we promise ourselves a continuance of power in the *state*, unless we can find means to establish a superiority in the *church*. The clergy of *England* will naturally be jealous of our growing greatness; and the influence which they have over the minds of the populace, when considerations of interest get the better of their indolence, and demand the exertion of their strength, is too evident, and well deserves our most serious attention. From their intrigues, as soon as they enter into the real spirit of our designs, we must expect much trouble, and an opposition not to be despised. As resolute men we ought not to be discouraged by this approaching storm, but as prudent men we ought, if possible, to prevent or break the force of it; nor doth any other method of doing this occur to me, but the levelling one great stroke immediately at the root of all their influence and power. Could we once see, what we have often wished for in vain, *Presbytery* established on the ruins of *Episcopacy*, what good things might we not promise to ourselves! What evil things might we not have it in our power to denounce against our enemies! Then should they feel the weight of our resentment, and find to their cost *what spirit we are of*; then might we lord it with security, and, the terrors of the church co-operating with the secular arm, our power would be *universal, absolute,*

and *perpetual*. The precise method of bringing about this great event I cannot take upon me to determine. I leave it to those who have already accomplished things of greater difficulty ; but the necessity of its being effected, in order to establish us for ever in *England*, I must positively assert. When once it is happily brought to pass, I would humbly hope, in order to give *the spirit of our profession its true and full force*, that the *act of toleration* might be immediately repealed.

I am, SIR, yours sincerely,  
PRESBYTER.

**T**HO' I cannot but commend the zeal and approve the sentiments of my correspondent, yet I must think his vehemence gets the better of his judgment, and hurries him on at such a rate, as would retard, if not overthrow, the design he is so forward to promote. Every *true Scot* is undoubtedly of his opinion ; he must see the very great importance of this point, and in justice both to himself and country must burn for the accomplishment of it ; but discretion steps in, and teaches us to consider this event as placed at a great distance, surrounded with difficulties, and to be brought to pass by slow degrees. Our great patron himself, *whose thoughts are always at work for our good*, hath, I will not doubt, had this important object often in his view, tho' prudence, and not inattention, as my correspondent imagines, hath as yet restrained him from taking any open steps towards the obtaining it. Much greater caution is requisite to bring about changes in a church than in a state. The *ecclesiastics* are an artful, subtle, and powerful body in all countries : their eyes, however dim to other things, are remarkably quick to every thing which concerns their own interests : they are generally proud, revengeful, and implacable ; and yet most of them have the art to throw a veil over their evil qualities, and establish an interest in the opinions of the people. History will supply us with numberless instances of their capacity for mischief, and their success in it. Most of the revolutions in *Europe* have been chiefly owing to the intrigues of churchmen ; and from the unaccountable accounts of a late unaccountable

resolution \* in the *North*, we may at least gather thus much, that it is safer to take off the head of a layman, than to wag a finger against the beard of a priest. Great caution therefore is requisite on our side, and I hope my countrymen will always observe it, and never let this grand point be out of our thoughts, but let discretion mark the several steps by which we make our way towards it.

It has been asserted, that as religion in *England* is at so low an ebb, and the difference between the *English* and *Scottish* church consists only in mere form, this alteration might be effected with much ease. Those who maintain this will do well to consider, that where religion prevails in its true and genuine spirit, forms are looked on with an eye of indifference; but in a nation where the true spirit of religion is lost, and nothing but forms remain, there they are considered with the greatest respect, and assume an essentiality which in themselves they have not. Besides, will they tell us that the dignities and lucrative preferments of the church are mere forms? These surely are not substantial phantoms; these certainly have an essence. Nor can we suppose that what hath been obtained at the expence of every *free* and *manly* sentiment, shall afterwards be given up by the professors tamely, and without opposition. *Talk against religion, decry morality, openly attack Scripture, corrupt the practice, unsettle the faith of mankind, naturalize Jews, confound marriages*—still every thing is well, all is safe and quiet—But if you would destroy or lessen the rights of *churchmen*, if you would controvert their claims, supplant them in their preferments, and make encroachments on their power, then must you expect a general cry, the whole spiritual body will be up in arms, the thunders of the church will be levelled against you, and the populace must be taught that religion is struck at, and the church in danger. Safer indeed will our nation always find it to attack a *Saviour* than a *surplice*, to rase out the *four evangelists*, than to shew an inclination for plucking *one spiritual ear of English corn*.

Notwithstanding these obstacles which we may expect to meet with from the English clergy, I would not have

\* The dethroning of the late *Czar, Peter III.*



the design relinquished. Let difficulties do their proper work—add a spur to our resolution and diligence, and confirm our prudence; for by that, and that only, can we hope to succeed. Moderation is our present business, the best answer to the objections of our enemies, and the only way of getting them into our power, and of making them feel the weight of our resentment, when it is our interest to shew it. In order to pave our way to this desirable event, and to lessen the clamour, when it shall happen, I would recommend it to my countrymen, who have the *Presbyterian* interest at heart, to enter immediately into the church of *England*, and take orders—*They will be sure of all the best preferments*; and when the change we so much desire is effected, they may be good and true *Presbyterians* again. Their being in the church will lessen the weight of the *English clergy*, and their return to us will give a fresh addition of strength to our party. As to the charge of *disimulation* and *hypocrisy*, which may maliciously be brought against them, they will stand excused by the cause for which they acted. If this was not the case, and if the good of our country and countrymen was not a sufficient excuse for *flattery, lying, perjury, perfidy, treason* and *rebellion*, what must become of every true *Scot*?

As to the repeal of the *act of toleration* proposed by my correspondent, it must certainly take place, but not at the time he mentions. Should we defer it till after the completion of this great event, we shall lay ourselves open to the reproaches of our adversaries, and be asked how we can deny that indulgence to others, which we have so strongly pleaded for, and happily enjoyed ourselves? A question this not to be answered, and therefore we take care that it shall not be asked. Let the *act of toleration* then for this reason be repealed some little time before the abolishment of *episcopacy*, and we may with a *good grace* afterwards lay before the good people of *England* the terrors of the *Lord*.

The whole of what I have here said, may perhaps be deemed chimerical—Think so still—May security be your ruin—The event will shew who was right. Something relative to this point our *arch-enemy* SWIFT has observed, and I hope in the spirit of prophecy; it  
was

was feared in his time, and may be accomplished in ours.—Take his own words,

“ We observe the *Scots* in our northern parts to be a  
 “ brave, industrious people, extremely devoted to their  
 “ religion, and full of an *undisturbed* affection towards  
 “ each other. Numbers of that noble nation, invited  
 “ by the fertilities of soil, are glad to exchange their  
 “ barren hills of *Loquabar*, by a voyage of three hours,  
 “ for our fruitful vales of *Down* and *Antrim*, so pro-  
 “ ductive of *that grain*, which at little trouble and less  
 “ expence finds diet and lodging for themselves and  
 “ their cattle. These people by their extreme parsimony,  
 “ wonderful *dexterity in dealing*, and firm adherence to  
 “ one another, soon grow into wealth from the *smallest*  
 “ *beginnings*, never are rooted out where they once  
 “ fix, and increase daily by new supplies. Besides when  
 “ they are the superior number in any tract of ground,  
 “ they are not *over patient of mixture*; but such whom  
 “ they cannot *assimilate*, soon find it their interest to  
 “ remove. I have done all in my power on some land  
 “ of my own to preserve two or three *English* fellows  
 “ in their neighbourhood, but found it impossible, tho’  
 “ one of them thought he had sufficiently made his  
 “ court by turning *Presbyterian*. Add to all this,  
 “ that they bring along with them from *Scotland* a most  
 “ formidable notion of our church, which they look  
 “ upon at least three degrees worse than popery; and  
 “ it is natural it should be so, since they come over full  
 “ fraught with that spirit which taught them to abolish  
 “ *episcopacy* at home.”

After some very impertinent observations relative to the repeal of the Test, the Dean says, “ I do not see  
 “ how it can be otherwise, considering their ignorance  
 “ and our supineness, but that they may in a very few  
 “ years grow to a majority in the House of Commons,  
 “ and consequently make themselves the national reli-  
 “ gion, and have a fair pretence to demand the revenues  
 “ of the church for their teachers. I know it will be  
 “ objected, that if all this should happen as I describe,  
 “ yet the *Presbyterian* religion could never be made  
 “ the national by act of Parliament, because our Bi-  
 “ shops, are so great a number in the House of Lords,

“ and without a majority there the church could not  
 “ be abolished. But I have *two very good expedients*,  
 “ for that which I leave you to guess, and I dare swear  
 “ our Sp-k-r here has often thought on, especially hav-  
 “ ing endeavoured at *one of them* so lately. That this  
 “ design is not so foreign from *some people's* thoughts, I  
 “ must let you know that honest *bell-weather* of our  
 “ house (you have him now in *England*, I wish you  
 “ could keep him there) had the impudence some years  
 “ ago in Parliament-time, to shake my Lord Bishop of  
 “ *KillaJoo* by his lawn sleeve, and tell him in a threaten-  
 “ ing manner—*That he hoped to live to see the day when*  
 “ *there should not be one of his order in the kingdom.*”  
 Letter concerning the Sacramental Test.



No. XI. Saturday, AUGUST 14, 1762.

Neque solum quid istum audire, verum etiam quid me deceat  
 dicere, considerabo.

CICERO.

I HAVE found it by far the most disagreeable circum-  
 stance attending this political warfare, that I am ob-  
 liged weekly to wade through all the dirt and filth of  
 some cotemporary writers, whose natural propensity  
 seems now, only to have gained its true bias. Every  
 thing appears to flow in its proper foul channel with  
 them. *Fiction* and *falsehood* are the two main pillars of  
 their political state: One of them even glories in his *in-*  
*vention*. I hoped to have been excused from reading  
 any of my fellow labourers, except the BRITON, who  
 has proved to me a fine drowsy opiate after my Satur-  
 day's vespers. For my sins I undertook the penance of  
*his* company, and I fear have too often been benumb'd  
 by the touch of this torpedo; but the AUDITOR has of  
 late taken so much obliging notice of me, that I must,  
 from literary politeness, make him too some returns. I  
 will however (according to the sage advice of Tully in  
 my motto) *consider not only what is fit for him to bear,*  
*but for me to say.*

I am rather hardly dealt with by him. He accuses me  
 of *poverty of invention*. Surely this is unreasonable, to  
 expect

expect that *invention* in my *prose*, which is not to be found in his *verse*, He says, “ he threw out a hint that “ I might copy the plan of *news for one hundred years hence*, which the reader may remember was published “ some years since against the Jew Bill.” The reader may likewise remember that there was published, at the beginning of this century, Swift’s *prediction for the year 1708*, of which the other (notwithstanding his impudent pretensions to originality) is but a tame imitation. The truth is: *Swift* is the *father* of all political *humour*; the AUDITOR and I follow *non æquis passibus*. I thank him however for giving me the true key to the knowledge of the author of that paper, by his doating on the child, and his still remembering, what every body else had forgot, an old paper of *news for one hundred years hence*; a paper, I own, of a little easy humour; but he is proud of it because it is in the highest manner of such a *Flemish* painter, finished *con amore*. I am sorry that sprightly running is over, and that he is now drawn down to the foulest dregs of political controversy. In the same page he talks of *plagiarism*, and borrows almost every line from *Pope* and *Swift*. I am not hurt by this. I wish most heartily that he would steal more largely from both. It will be more of them, it will be less of him: more of them, and less of himself, will be as agreeable to the public, as to me. I beg he would tell me, whence I stole the idea of a *second-fighted Scotsman*, that I may justify myself against my own countrymen, who abuse me for having, as they say, hit the true point of ridicule against our nation, because here is no other which makes so silly a pretension.

But is indeed *invention* the great talent of a political writer? I have always thought otherwise, and knowing where my strength lay, have stated *facts* and *dates* in all historical occurrences, and have constantly left the glory of *invention* to the AUDITOR and the BRITON. Such great things were atchieved during the late administration, that *invention* would lag behind; and were the AUDITOR a poet of the noblest imagination, instead of only *measuring out a mungrel kind of thinking prose*, without fire or fancy, he would not have dared to have *feigned* half the heroic acts of the English, for the last six years, under Mr. PITT’s auspices. But let him keep his *inven-*

tion for his next panegyric on Lord BUTE. There will be the fullest scope; there will be the most real necessity for it. But I fear even in that his genius will fail him; for he has not been able to *invent* one decent excuse for the shameful neglect of the important object of *Newfoundland*. He says, *perhaps no blame ought with propriety to be charged on any man: he has precisely the same ideas of the loss of Minorca; but the nation has not, and does charge the highest blame on his patrons.* He adds, *were Lord ANSON alive to answer for himself, some reasons would perhaps be assigned, &c.* and so because *Lord Anson* is not *alive* to answer for himself, he is to be called from the *dead* to answer for himself and *Lord BUTE* too. But who has accused *Lord Anson*, or *libelled his memory*? I honour the AUDITOR for this happy *invention* (which I believe is his own) of appealing to the *dead*: there he is safe from detection, and may make the appeal as strong, and as circumstantial as he pleases. But he has no *living witnesses*? Does not this give the strongest suspicion, that were *Lord Anson alive*, he would not then venture to make the appeal?

He says, *during the whole war, Newfoundland never had any particular appointment for its protection, except the two men of war to convoy the trade.* I affirm, that every care possible was taken of *Newfoundland*, and the utmost attention given to its preservation through the whole war, and that it was never lost sight of during all the late negotiations; of which there is the fullest written evidence. The French knew this so well, that no attempt was ever made during the vigilance of the late administration. Their fleets were too narrowly watched; their destination too well known. A superior force was ever ready for the safety of this country, and all her colonies. Had the first minister given half the attention to this truly British concern, which he did to encrease domestic feuds and contentions among the English; had he sent himself (as he ought to have done) to acquire intelligence of what our restless enemies, the French, were meditating, with half the industry he did (as he ought not to have done) to what was transacting at the Treasury before he had any right to command there, he might, beyond all doubt, have frustrated the attempt on *Newfoundland*.

I be-

I believe too that knowledge might have been acquired to the full *in as fair and honourable a way as the other was*. He might surely have prevented the French seizing with the wretched remains of their marine (almost annihilated in the course of the last six years) what they could not succeed in under the late ministry, while their navy was so formidable. But we find that *weak and feeble* efforts command success against a *weak and feeble* ministry; and our ancient enemy, when *expiring*, can do more, matched with a pitiful opponent, than when *in full vigour*, with one wise and spirited.

The AUDITOR goes on; *how unlucky is it — that Thurot landed in Ireland during Mr. PITT's ministry, and that he is not actually at Carrickfergus this day!* It is true, *Thurot* did land in Ireland during Mr. Pitt's ministry; but it is no less true, that Mr. Pitt gave us the most compendious and complete Gazette I ever read, of the consequences of that attempt, the destruction of every single vessel belonging to that squadron. The squadron which attempted and seized *Newfoundland* during Lord BUTE's ministry, is still in being, triumphant, and perhaps ready to attack *Carrickfergus*. Let us have just such a *Gazette* from Lord BUTE. But we are told the ships *are to sail* to attack the French, and to recover *Newfoundland*. The mischiefs which may ensue long before ships from Portsmouth may reach the new world, are scarcely to be imagined, and too shocking to dwell upon even in idea. What a dreadful interval! how big with horror and death! Before, all was security and ease; now, an universal dejection and dread of futurity prevail.

The AUDITOR proceeds very pertily; *Now tell me, Faction, were there any ships stationed at Newfoundland at that time?* The answer is full, clear, and ready; there were ships stationed there, and in all parts, to watch the whole French fleet; and no sooner did any escape from their harbours, but the most immediate intelligence was given, and all their hopes blatted. *M. de la Clue* in an important business, *Thurot* in a less, are the demonstrative proofs. The consequence was, the effectual ruin of the enterprize, perhaps a total destruction,

as in the affair of *Tburot*; the mention of which is no instance of the AUDITOR's sagacity.

The AUDITOR says, that I have cited *a malignant paragraph from the Gazetteer, and a writer for his King and country is declared to be the author of it. Now if this hireling can prevail upon the noble Lord his patron, to advance the money and give security that it shall not be recovered under any of the gaming statutes, I will venture a wager that he forged that very paragraph himself.* In answer to this, I will do the NORTH BRITON the justice to say, that he is untainted with the vice of *gaming*, the lust of which possesses the AUDITOR so strongly, that by another happy *invention* of his own, he endeavours to introduce it even among poor authors. This *infectious vice*, I suspect, remains to him from his *old patron*. The NORTH BRITON can declare he never received an obligation from any *great man*, but what flowed, in the common occurrences of life, from the mutual tie of a reciprocal private friendship. He is happy with what he has a right to enjoy. He is superior to all gain, and despises the sharing with a hackneyed hireling, the weekly *wages of the prostitution of his pen*. The AUDITOR earns them dearly: *ill-got* as they are, he shall every Saturday night receive them intire for me; and if they are *brought to waste*, it will be by their being spent in as profligate a manner as they are earned. To annihilate suspicion, I appeal to Mr. *Say*, the printer of the *Gazetteer*. I could wish he would tell the world (and I call upon him to do it) from whom he received that absurd paragraph, which the writer declared in the letter he was *authorised* to send him.

As to the AUDITOR's miserable conceit of *person* and *parson*, I must tell him that it is too poor, and only fit for the BRITON. I will whisper him too, that he is totally mistaken, and that the gentleman he means to abuse does not merit that abuse, tho' he despises it. The AUDITOR (for he has some taste) is, I am sure, conscious, how much the literary world is indebted to that *manly genius* \* for some of the most noble productions of our age and language, which will live and  
be

\* Mr. Charles Churchill.

be admired by posterity, after all our short-lived political offspring have perished; and this perhaps may be with the same sun which saw them rise.

I have only *two* words to settle with the BRITON this week. They are *glorification* and *vouchsafement*. He says that *I have twice twitted him in the teeth* (a most elegant phrase) *with the word GLORIFICATION printed in Italics*. He affirms that it is an *English* word, to be found in all the common *dictionaries*, and *to be met with more than once in Scripture*. I never denied that it was an *English* word, but I ridiculed it as a *cant* word of the illiberal and illiterate *presbyterians*; and it found favour among their long-winded divines, only because it was so long, and mouthed so well. I will say however that I have not met with it in Scripture, and I am satisfied that he cannot name one text where it is to be found.

Now for *vouchsafement*. He says, *I could wish he would settle the authenticity of the word VOUCHSAFE-MENTS, used as a substantive, a word which I do not remember to have seen in any Dictionary or writer of reputation*. What so ignorant a fellow *has* seen I do not know; but I know he *may* see the word *vouchsafement*, as a substantive too, in *Johnson's English Dictionary*, and the great *Boyle* quoted as the authority for it. I hope *Johnson* is a *writer of reputation*, because as a writer he has just got a pension of 300 *l. per ann.* I hope too that he is become a friend to this constitution and the family on the throne, now he is thus nobly provided for: but I know he has much to *unwrite*, more to *unsay*, before he will be forgiven by the true friends of the present illustrious family, for what he has been *writing* and *saying* for many years. As to the *Briton*, he is so ignorant and foolish, I shall for the future *vouchsafe* him a very small share of my attention; for as every body has left off *reading*, it is high time that I should leave off *answering* him.



N<sup>o</sup>. XII. Saturday, AUGUST 22, 1762.

Pensions, which reason to the worthy gave,  
Add fresh dishonour to the fool and knave.

POPE.

## To the NORTH BRITON.

Sir,

I Do not know in any controversy so sure a method of coming at truth, which is always the pretence, though so seldom the real object of modern enquiries, as a just and strict definition of all the words and phrases of any importance, which are afterwards to be in use. This practice is universal, excepting only in *theological* and *political* controversy. If I take up a book of mathematics, the writer defines in the very first page, what a *triangle*, a *circle*, or a *trapezium* is; and then argues closely from the precise and accurate ideas of each, which the author and reader have previously settled. A book of fortification as regularly sets out with explaining to me what a *bastion*, a *demi-lune*, or a *horn-work* is. I have read much religious controversy; for unhappily there is as little agreement between the ministers of the gospel, as between the ministers of state. I do not however remember to have found in any of our divines a satisfactory definition of *faith*, *free-will*, or *predestination*. We are not yet arrived at the same accuracy, with respect to the meaning of these words, as of a *circle* or a *square*. The same remark will hold through in *political* controversy. Who has with any precision defined the words *faction* or *patriot*? The word *favourite* alone we have of late pretty fully understood the force of, both from the definitions of the MONITOR and of the NORTH BRITON: yet give me leave to say, Sir, that neither of you have reached the force and closeness of expression in the great lexicographer, Mr. JOHNSON, who defines a *favourite* to be a *mean wretch, whose whole business is by any means to please*. But whether the word has been well defined or not,

not, in former periods of the English history, the effect of it has been very fully felt, and even at this hour it is never uttered without the most unjust passion and ill-founded resentment, as if the nation was now smarting from the sad consequences of its reality, and exertion in pride and intolence.

The word *pension* likewise has of late much puzzled our politicians. I do not recollect that any one of them has ventured at a definition of it. Mr. *Johnson*, as he is now a *pensioner*, one should naturally have recourse to, for the truest literary information on this subject. His definition then of a *pension* is, *an allowance made to any one without an equivalent. In England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country.* And under the word *pensioner* we read, 1. *one who is supported by an allowance paid at the will of another; a dependant.* 2. *a slave of state, hired by a stipend to obey his master.* But with submission to this great prodigy of learning, I should think both definitions very erroneous. Is the said Mr. *Johnson* a *dependant*? or is he a *slave of state, hired by a stipend to obey his master*? There is according to him no alternative. Is his *pension* understood to be pay given him as a state hireling for treason to his country? Whoever gave it him, must then have read *London*, a Poem, &c. &c. and must have mistaken his distant hints and dark allusions. As Mr. *Johnson* therefore has, I think, failed in this account, may I, after so great an authority, venture at a short definition of so intricate a word? A *pension* then I would call a *gratuity during the pleasure of the Prince for services performed, or expected to be performed, to himself or to the state.* Let us consider the celebrated Mr. *Johnson*, and a few other late pensioners, in this light.

Mr. *Johnson's* many writings in the cause of liberty, his steady attachment to the present Royal Family, his gentleman like compliments to his majesty's grandfather, and his decent treatment of the parliament, intitle him to a share of the royal bounty. It is a matter of astonishment that no notice has till now been taken of him by government for some of the most extraordinary productions, which appeared with the name of *Samuel Johnson*;

*Johnson*; a name sacred to *George and Liberty*. No man, who has read only one poem of his, *London*, but must congratulate the good sense and discerning spirit of the minister, who bestows such a part of the public treasure on this distinguished friend of the public, of his master's family, and of the constitution of this country. These rewards are *now* most judiciously given to those who have supported, not to those who have all their lives written with bitterness, and harangued with virulence against the government. With all due deference to the first minister's discernment, I rather think that Mr. *Johnson* (as merit of *this kind* must now be rewarded) might have been better provided for in another way: I mean at the board of *Excise*. I am desirous of seeing him one of the *commissioners*, if not at the head of that board, that the gentlemen there may cease to be *wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid*. His definition of *excise* is, that it is *a hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid?* Is the *excise* still on the same footing? I wish to know who hires these *wretches*, the *commissioners of excise*. Mr. *Johnson* says, *those to whom the excise is paid?* If that is indeed the case, I am not at a loss to find out *to whom excise is paid*, nor who of consequence, in Mr. *Johnson's* idea, *hires these wretches*.

These are fair extracts from the celebrated *English Dictionary*, which was presented by a noble lord in such pomp to the academy *della Crusca*. It will give the country of the old Romans the justest idea of English liberty, and of the present patrons of it among us, who have so liberally rewarded the author. The *literati of Italy* will not only find the work an excellent *literary dictionary*, but a complete system of English politics and history, worthy of this renowned nation, for every thing is recorded in the manly stile of old *Rome*. As we have had our tyrants as well as they, a Roman spirit has risen against them here, and, as it ever will, has borne down all before it. The expulsion of the *Tarquins* is not told by any old Roman historian in more animated language, and more glowing words, than the expulsion of the inveterate enemies of liberty, the whole race of the *Stuarts*.

Mr.

Mr. Johnson says, the *Revolution* is the change produced by the admission of King William and Queen Mary. What noble words! what a bold, glowing expression! I should not have dwelt so long upon Mr. Johnson's literary merit, if I did not believe that his writings had done more real service to the family on the throne, than any man's—excepting only Mr. Secretary Murray's; another name sacred to *George and Liberty*.

I most heartily beg lord LITCHFIELD's pardon, I have been so used to find him at the head of the country party, and the Oxfordshire Old Interest, that I did not expect under a prince of the house of *Brunswic*, to have seen him at *the head of the pensioners*. I ought to have paid my first compliments to his lordship. He is at the head of the *pensioners*, and at length basks in the sunshine of court favour, from having in the most critical times distinguished himself as a warm friend of the house of *Hanover*. When the whole nation rose up, like one man, in defence of their sovereign and their liberties, lord LITCHFIELD stood forth among the most zealous, and put himself at the head of *amazing* numbers of true freemen of the old interest in Oxfordshire. I hope that ever memorable year 1746 will never be forgot. In that perilous year the family on the throne saw who were their real friends, and undoubtedly have profited by an experience so happily made. Read over the list of those generous *associators*, who formed a *sacred band* for the defence of all that ought to be dear to an Englishman; there you will find the name of the earl of LITCHFIELD. Every man in Oxfordshire will tell you, how nobly he exerted himself, when Hannibal was at our gates; what real strength the nation derived from his great and spirited efforts; what *sums he subscribed*; what immense expences he bore with cheerfulness, to encourage *his* friends to the straining of every nerve against *his* and our common enemy. I do not indeed recollect that he raised any regiment, though many others of the nobility did; but I readily comprehend why he did not. The administration were at that time so over run with gross-prejudices, that they thought his lordship and those friends of his, could not be trusted. The present ministry think more justly; and should such another day come, I am satis-

satisfied they will be found as zealous in the cause of their country as before. It is plain then, that Lord LITCHFIELD is at the head of the pensioners on account of real services performed in times of real danger.

I think that I am right in declaring that a *pension* may not only be given for *services actually performed*, but likewise for *services expected to be performed*. This I take to be the case of the *pensions* generally given to the *sixteen Peers*, who represent the whole nobility of *Scotland*. I am far from meaning that they are the only *sixteen Scottish* peers who enjoy *pensions*. I speak of them now, as having votes in the house of Lords, from their being representatives of all the rest. *Pensions* have commonly been given to them for the services they *are to perform* to their country there, and to give them the true bias, which they might otherwise mistake. When Lord BUTE was in a former parliament one of the *sixteen Scottish* peers, he actually enjoyed a *pension* on this truly honourable footing, and therefore *he* has the fairest right to the title of *Grand Pensionary*.

In this more liberal construction of the word *pension*, I should imagine the *Lords of the Bed-chamber* in general were included. I take this to be the true reason of the increase of their number in the present reign from *twelve to eighteen*; which is still kept filled up. This is by no means want of *economy*, that darling attribute of modern statesmen! It is done that so many noble persons may be ready to perform in parliament any services which their *country* calls for, and is thus in reality only a *more honourable pension*.

I beg to be understood. Not only real services in parliament, but every species of elegance and refinement in the polite arts may, I think without censure, be rewarded with a *pension*. A politeness equal to that of lord TALBOT'S—*horse* ought not to pass unnoticed. At the coronation he paid a new, and, for a *horse*, singular respect to his sovereign. I appeal to applauding multitudes, who were so charmed, as to forget every rule of decency, and to *clap* even in the *Royal* presence, whether *his*, or his *lord's* dexterity on that day did not surpass any courtier's. Caligula's *horse* had not half the merit. We remember how nobly *he* was provided for. What the exact

exact proportion of merit was between his *lordship* and his *horse*, and how far the pension should be divided between them, I will not take upon me to determine. I leave this knotty point to be decided by the earl of *Eglington*, because Mr. *John Hume*, alias *Home* (for so it is printed in the new sweet nosegay of *Scottish thistles*) tells the world, vol. ii. p. 230. that he is

*A friend of princes, poets, wits,  
A judge infallible of TITS.*

In my private opinion however the merit of *both*, was very great, and neither ought to pass unnoticed. The impartial, and inimitable pen of *Cervantes* has made *Rozinante* immortal as well as *Don Quixote*. Lord TALBOT's horse, like the great Planet in *Milton*, *danc'd about in various rounds his wand'ring course*. At different times he was *progressive, retrograde, or standing still*. The *progressive* motion I should rather incline to think the merit of the *horse*, the *retrograde* motion, the merit of the *Lord*. Some of the regulations of the courtiers themselves for that day had long been settled by former lord stewards. It was referred for lord *Talbot* to settle an *etiquette* for their *horses*.

I much admire many of his Lordship's new regulations, especially those for the royal kitchen. I approve the discharging of so many *turnspits*, and *cooks*, who were grown of very little use. I do not however quite like the precedent of giving them *pensions* for doing nothing. It was high time to put an end to that too great indulgence in eating and drinking, which went by the name of *Old English hospitality*, when the house of commons had granted a poor, niggardly *civil list* of only 800,000 *l.* I sincerely venerate his lordship's great abilities, and deeply regret that they are not employed by government in a way more *confidential*, more suited to his manly character.

There is one *Scottish pension* I have been told of, which afforded me real pleasure. It is Mr. *Hume's*; for I am satisfied that it must be given to Mr. *David Hume*, whose writings have been justly admired both abroad and at home, and not to Mr. *John Hume*, who has endeavoured to bring the name into contempt, by  
putting

putting it to two insipid tragedies, and other trash in the *Scottish Miscellanies*.

I must in compliance with a few vulgar writers, call the *inadequate* reward given to Mr. Pitt, for as great services as ever were performed by any subject, a *pension*, although the *grant is not during pleasure*, and therefore cannot create any undue, unconstitutional influence. In the same light we are to consider the duke of *Cumberland's* and *Marlborough's*, *Prince Ferdinand's* and *Admiral Hawke's*, *Mr. Onslow's*, &c. I was going to call it the *King's gold box*; for Mr. Pitt having before received the most obliging marks of regard from the public, the testimony of his sovereign only remained wanting. The circumstances however attending it convince me, that *at that moment* it was artfully contrived by courtiers to be given to Mr. Pitt, neither for *Louisbourg*, *Quebec*, nor *Pondicherry*, but to ruin him in the opinion of mankind, and with the hope of putting an end to that popularity, which he has through life courted with such painful zeal, prostituted to such flagitious purposes, and made use of above all to raise the flame of discord, which raged for the last six years, but is now, under the auspices of lord BUTE, happily extinguished.

I am, &c.



N<sup>o</sup>. XIII. Saturday, AUGUST, 28, 1762.

Mancipiis locuples, egit æris Cappadocum rex.

HOR.

To the NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

I ENCLOSE a very great curiosity, which I desire you to reprint *verbatim*. It will shew the present age how unjust the last was in their sentiments of the people and country of *Scotland*, and that the prejudices against the inhabitants of the northern part of this island were not conceived by the *English* yesterday. I  
beg

beg to give you a motto from Horace, which I think conveys no bad idea of a *Highland Chief*.

I am, &c.

\* A PERFECT DESCRIPTION of the  
PEOPLE and COUNTRY of SCOTLAND.

By JAMES HOWELL, Gent.

L O N D O N: Printed for J. S. 1649.

FIRST, for the country, I must confess, it is too good for those that possess it, and too bad for others to be at the charge to conquer it. The ayr might be wholesome, but for the stinking people that inhabit it; the ground might be fruitful had they wit to manure it.

Their beasts be generally small, women only excepted; of which sort there are none greater in the whole world. There is great store of fowl too, as fowl houses, fowl sheets, fowl linen, fowl dishes and pots, fowl trenchers, and napkins, with which sort we have been forced to say, as the children did with their fowl in the wilderness. They have good store of fish too, and good for those that can eat it raw; but if it come once into their hands, it is worse than if it were three days old; for their butter and cheese I will not meddle withal at this time, nor no man else at any time, that loves his life.

They have great store of deer, but they are so far from the place where I have been, that I had rather believe than go to disprove it: I confess, all the deer I met withal was dear lodgings, dear horse-meat, and dear tobacco, and *English* beer.

As for fruit, for their grandfire *Adam's* sake, they never planted any; and for other trees, had *Christ* been betrayed in this country (as doubtless he should, had he come as a stranger) *Judas* had sooner found the grace of repentance than a tree to hang himself on.

They have many hills, wherein they say is much treasure, but they shew none of it: nature hath onely discovered

\* The original is left with the Publisher.



covered to them some mines of coals, to shew to what end he created them.

I see little grass but in their pottage: the thistle is not given them of nought, for it is the fairest flower in the garden. The word Hay is heathen Greek unto them; neither man or beast knows what it means.

Corn is reasonable plenty at this time; for since they heard of the king's coming, it hath been as unlawful for the common people to eat wheat, as it was in the old time for any but the priests to eat shew-bread. They prayed much for his coming, and long fasted for his welfare; but in the more plain sense, that he might fare the better, all his followers were welcome, but his guard; for those they say, are like *Pharaoh's* lane Kine, and threaten death wheresoever they come: they could persuade the footmen, that oaten cakes would make them long-winded; and the children of the chapel they have brought to eat of them for the maintenance of their voyces.

They say our cooks are too sawcy; and for grooms and coachmen, they wish them to give to their horses no worse than they eat themselves; they commend the brave mindes of the pensioners, and the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, which choose rather to go to taverns than to be always eating the king's provision; they likewise do commend the yeomen of the buttery and fellar, for their readines and silence, in that they will hear twenty knocks, before they will answer one. They persuade the trumpeters, that fasting is good for men of that quality; for emptiness, they say, causes wind, and wind causes a trumpet to sound well.

The bringing of heralds, they say, was a needless charge; they all know their pedigree well enough; and the harbingers might have been spared, sithence they brought so many beds with them; and of two evils, since the least should be chosen, they wish the beds might remain with them, and poor harbingers keep their places, and do their office, as they return: his hangings, they desire might likewise be left as reliques, to put them in mind of his majesty; and they promise to dispense with the wooden images; but for those graven images in his new beautiful chappel, they threaten to pull down  
soon

soon after his departure, and to make of them a burnt-offering to appease the indignation they imagined conceived against them in the breast of the Almighty, for suffering such idolatry to enter into their kingdom: the organ, I think, will find mercy, because, as they say, there is some affinity between them and the bagpipes.

The shipper that brought the singing-men, with their papistical vestments, complains that he hath been much troubled with a strange singing in his head ever since they came aboard his ship; for remedy whereof the parson of the parish hath persuaded him to sell that prophane vessel, and to distribute the money among the faithful brethren.

For his majesty's entertainment, I must needs ingenuously confess, he was received into the parish of *Edenburg* (for a city I cannot call it) with great shouts of joy, but no shews of charge for pageants: they hold them idolatrous things, and not fit to be used in so reformed a place. From the castle they gave him some pieces of ordnance, which surely he gave them since he was king of *England*; and at the entrance of the town they presented him with a golden bason, which was carried before him on mens shoulder to his palace, I think, from whence it came: his majesty was conveyed by the youngers of the town, which were some hundred halberds (dearly shall they rue it in regard to the charge) to the *Cross*, and so to the high church, where the onely bell they had stood on tip-toe to behold his sweet face; where I must entreat you to spare him, for an hour I lost him.

In the mean time to report the speeches of the people, concerning his never exampled entertainment, were to make this discourse too tedious unto you, as the sermon was to those that were constrained to endure it. After the preachment he was conducted by the same halberds unto his palace, of which I forbear to speak, because it was a place sanctified by his divine majesty, only I wish it had been better walled, for my friends sake that waited on him.

Now I will begin briefly to speak of the people, according to their degrees and qualities; for the lords spiritual, they may well be termed so indeed, for they are neither fish nor flesh, but what it shall please their earthly god, the king, to make them. Obedience is better than  
facri-

sacrifice; and therefore they make a mock at martyrdom, saying, that Christ was to dye for them, and not they for him. They will rather subscribe than surrender, and rather dispense with small things than trouble themselves with great disputation: they will rather acknowledge the king to be their head, than want wherewith to pamper their bodies.

They have taken great pains and trouble to compass their bishopricks, and they will not leave them for a trifle; for the deacons, whose defects will not lift them up to dignities, all their study is to disgrace them that have gotten the least degree above them; and because they cannot bishop they proclaim they never heard of any. The scriptures, say they, speak of deacons and elders, but not a word of bishops. Their discourses are full of detraction, their sermons nothing but railing, and their conclusions nothing but heresies and treasons. For their religion, they have, I confess they have it above reach, and, God willing, I will never reach for it.

They christen without the cross, marry without the ring, receive the sacrament without reverence, die without repentance, and bury without divine service: they keep no holidays, nor acknowledge any Saint but Saint *Andrew*, who they say got that honour by presenting Christ with an oaten cake after his forty days fast. They say likewise that he that translated the bible was the son of a malster, because it speaks of a miracle done by barley loaves; whereas they swear they were oaten cakes, and that no other bread of that quantity could have sufficed so many thousands.

They use no prayer at all, for they say it is needless; God knows their minds without prating, and what he doth he loves to do it freely. Their sabbaths exercise is a preaching in the forenoon, and a persecuting in the afternoon; they go to church in the forenoon to hear the law, to the crags and mountains in the afternoon to l—— themselves.

They hold their noses if you talk of bear-baiting, and stop their ears if you speak of a play: fornication they hold but a pastime; wherein man's ability is approved and a woman's fertility discovered; at adultery they shake their heads, theft they rail at, murder they wink  
at,

at, and blasphemy. they laugh at: they think it impossible to lose the way to heaven, if they can but leave *Rome* behind them.

To be opposite to the pope is to be presently with God. To conclude: I am persuaded that if God and his angels at the last day should come down in their whitest garments, they would run away, and cry, The children of the chappel are come again to torment us, let us flie from the abomination of these boys, and hide ourselves in the mountains.

For the Lords. Spiritual and Temporal, temporizing gentlemen, if I were apt to speak of any I could not speak much of them, only I must let you know they are not Scottishmen; for as soon as they fall from the breast of the beast their mother, their careful sire posts them away for *France*, where, as they pass, the sea sucks from them that which they have suckt from their rude dains; there they gather new flesh, new blood, new manners; and there they learn to put on their cloaths, and then return into their countries to wear them out; there they learn to stand, to speak, and to discourse and to congee, to court women, and to complement with men.

They spare of no cost to honour the king, nor for no complemental courtesie to welcome their countrymen; their followers are their fellows, their wives their slaves, their horses their masters, and their swords their judges; by reason whereof they have but few laborers, and those not very rich: their parliaments hold but three days, their statutes three lines, and their suits are determined in a manner in three words or very few more, &c.

The wonders of their kingdom are these; the lord chancellor, he is believed; the master of the rolls, well spoken of; and the whole counsel, who are the judges for all causes, are free from suspicion of corruption. The country, altho' it be mountainous, affords no monsters but women, of which the greatest sort, as countesses, and ladies, are kept like lyons in iron gates. The merchants wives are also prisoners, but not in so strong a hold: they have wooden cages, like our boar franks, thro' which, sometimes peeping to catch the air, we are almost choaked with the sight of them; the greatest madness amongst the men is jealousy, in that they fear  
what

what no man that hath but two of his senses will take from them.

The ladies are of opinion that *Sufanna* could not be chaste, because she bathed so often. Pride is a thing bred in their bones, and their flesh naturally abhors cleanliness: their breath commonly stinks of pottage, their linen of p—s, their hands of pigs t—ds, their body of sweat, and their splay-feet never offend in socks. To be chained in marriage with one of them were to be tied to a dead carcass, and cast into a stinking ditch; formosity and a dainty face they dream not of.

The oyntments they most frequently use among them are brimstone and butter for the scab, and oyl of bays and stavesacre. I protest I had rather be the meanest servant of the two to my pupil's chamber-maid, than to be master minion to the fairest countess I have yet discovered. The sin of curiosity of oyntments is but newly crept into the kingdom, and I do think will not long continue.

To draw you down by degrees from the citizens wives to the country gentlewomen, and convey you to common dames in *Sea-coal-lane*, that converse with rags and marrow-bones, are things of mineral race. Every w—in *Houndsditch* is an *Helena*; and the greasy b—in *Turnball-Street* are *Greekish* dames in comparison of these. And therefore to conclude: the men of old did no more wonder that the great *Messias* should be born, in so poor a town as *Bethlem* in *Judea*, than I do wonder that so brave a prince as king *James* should be born in so stinking a town as *Edenburgh*; in l--sy *Scotland*.



No XIV. Saturday, SEPTEMBER 4, 1762.

Nihil tam *Populare*, quam *Pacem*, quam concordiam, quam otium, reperiemus. CICERO.

**A**Mong the various *popular* artifices, which have been in vain employed by a most *unpopular* set of men to amuse and dupe the multitude, not one has been  
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so frequent for many months as the industrious propagation of the report of the happy dawning of *Peace*, which is the great object of every honest man's wishes. It will indeed at this time be doubly welcome; for it will relieve us from the just terrors which the continuance of a war, now so ill conducted, and the enemy's possession of *Newfoundland*, have given every good subject. I will not dwell upon the probability of future ignominious losses which must follow, while our affairs are in such weak hands: nor will I mention all my apprehensions for the infant colony of *Halifax*, because I hope that a *peace* will put a period to all our fears.

At one time emissaries of the minister have told us that *a peace was as good as concluded, then only little formalities remained to be adjusted*; now in the fulness of time, it is become the first article of their political creed, that it is *actually signed*, and in *Lord Bute's* pocket. These reports have been circulated with the utmost care and industry from various motives. Those of a *private* nature, which were calculated for *private* ends to raise or fall our political barometer, the stocks, I shall not now dwell upon. I will mention one of a public concern, and of no small importance. The world has seen the total incapacity of the *new minister* to carry on a war, and the neglect of *Newfoundland* has filled every thoughtful mind with the most uneasy forebodings of futurity. The voice of the people has said that the existence of *his* power depended on the making *peace* with France; and almost every express he has read from abroad has demonstrated the necessity of it, and has given lord BUTE the mortification of finding how ill the war went on, and how little confidence our allies have in the present minister. He has likewise experienced the additional chagrin of finding how ardently they wish for his predecessor. I believe that, next to the consciousness of having merited the reproaches he meets with, it must be the most real anguish to his mind, (though it is neither noble, nor has great refinements) to know the generous, and free applause given to his great adversary. How often of late have envy and malice sickened at the glorious testimony foreigners have borne to the superior merit of Mr. PITT, and to his unrivalled ability in the conduct of a war!

A Minister of mean and narrow genius, who finds himself embarrassed in the management of an important war, is from necessity driven to ask *peace* for the preservation of his own power, and the concealment of his incapacity from his master. But the mischief lies here, that such a minister must take any *peace* the enemy will give: who knowing that it must be had, will only grant it on the most hard and dishonourable conditions. This was exactly the state of England at the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, after the change of that glorious ministry, which had preserved Europe from the universal monarchy of the house of *Bourbon*. Our arms had then too (*but only in one quarter of the world*) been crowned with astonishing success. The greatest *harmony* prevailed among all the parts of the grand alliance: but GREAT-BRITAIN was the *soul* of the whole. She did not then withhold her treasure, because she knew that it would be applied to the support of the common cause, which I take to be the ruin, or at least the humbling of France. The victory of *Hochstet* in that war, as of *Rosbach* in this, broke that formidable power. France was reduced so low, as to feel the necessity of a *peace*, and to make repeated overtures. Lord *Walpole* reminds me of a modern statesman, when he talks of the *Duke of Marlborough's indefatigable activity and desire to fall upon the French in all places, and on all occasions* p. 55. Yet I never heard that the views even of that amazing genius extended beyond *Europe*. How is every good man's indignation raised, to find that *his most glorious designs were likewise defeated by a contemptible faction* of artful men, who had undermined him at court, and ruined him, in the opinion of his *sovereign*, tho' they could not rob him of the hearts of the people! On the alteration of the ministry, how was the scene changed! A peace became necessary for the private views of the new managers, and was to be had on any terms. They, after the splendor of such victories, *humbled* themselves before the proudest monarch in *Europe*, and *begged* peace of him. An Englishman can scarcely read without tears the history of our infamy during that whole negotiation of a Tory ministry. All the glories of that war were tarnished by the shameful peace of *Utrecht*; which the two ministerial scriblers of these

these times are every week applauding, and, I fear most ominously, giving out as a precedent to this age. The French at last recovered from their panic; their spirit revived on the change of the ministry, and the Abbot POLIGNAC said carelessly, *Ce que nous perdrons en Flandres, nous gagnerons en Angleterre.* There are many things remarkably striking in this period, which I think, come home to the present times. I shall mention a few, and shall give the most unexceptionable testimony, that of Lord Walpole of Woolterton, who was in 1709 at the Hague, Secretary to the British embassy for negotiating a peace.

“ The ministry and measures were changed; the reverse of that honest and useful principle, for preserving union and harmony among the confederates, soon took place, and was productive of those fatal consequences that were obvious and natural. A shameful and unprovoked separation from our allies put it into the power of *reduced France* to dictate the terms of peace to her *victorious* enemies: terms not only ignominious and unjust to our *friends*, but even those granted to ourselves, instead of securing any particular advantages as a recompence for the sacrifice we made of our allies and of our honour, if any thing could be a recompence for so base a behaviour, were detrimental to the interest, trade, and safety of this nation.” p. 128.

“ This digression serves to point out the true and original cause of that scene of iniquity and treachery, which followed the alteration of the ministry.” p. 129.  
 “ By a plausible appearance of a disposition for *peace*, he, the French king, not only quieted the minds of his people, whose clamours, from their miserable condition, had been loud, but he wrought them up to a zeal to support him.” p. 151.

“ They, the French, had got into a *negociation* with our *ministry*: they did not doubt but the advantages they should reap from thence, would more than recompense the losses they had suffered by the Duke of Marlborough’s arms.” p. 199.

“ All these hopeful expectations of *reaping the fruit of so much blood and treasure*, were blasted and confounded on a sudden, by the prevailing intrigues of a faction,



“ composed of some few ambitious and designing men.--  
 “ These new projectors, impatient to succeed and sup-  
 “ port themselves in their places, broke through the  
 “ barriers of honour, honesty, and good faith ; and giv-  
 “ ing up all concern, not only for the interest of our  
 “ friends, but of their own country, without any other  
 “ motive or provocation than that of satisfying their  
 “ wicked and aspiring views at any rate, and in order  
 “ to bring in the Pretender, flung themselves into the  
 “ arms of France.” p. 8.

“ That far from steadily insisting upon, as before this  
 “ *unaccountable change* it was practicable, and in their  
 “ power to have done, terms of peace agreeable to trea-  
 “ ties, and to the principles upon which those treaties  
 “ were founded, they were forced to receive the law  
 “ from her, and accept of such conditions as she would  
 “ condescend to give to us and to our allies; and while  
 “ we shamefully abandoned them, far from obtaining, as  
 “ we pretend, particular advantages to this nation, as  
 “ a satisfaction for our having borne the chief burden of  
 “ the war ; what was peculiarly granted to us was cal-  
 “ culated to dazzle the eyes of the unthinking multitude,  
 “ being of no benefit to us, but productive, as they af-  
 “ terwards proved, of new troubles in Europe. . . p. 9.

“ France, in this distracted condition of her affairs,  
 “ both at home and abroad, to appease the clamour of  
 “ her miserable subjects, to make the allies more slack  
 “ and remiss in their warlike preparations, and to cre-  
 “ ate, if possible, jealousies and divisions among them,  
 “ had recourse to all imaginable arts and intrigues to  
 “ make the belief of an approaching *peace* generally  
 “ prevail.” p. 122.

These passages are faithfully extracted from *An answer to the latter part of Lord Bolingbroke's letters on the study of history, by the late Lord Walpole of Woolterton*, which has been printed by the present Lord Walpole, and given only to his friends : But I hope that so useful a work will not long be kept from the public.\*

Much art has been used to prepare the minds of men for this long expected *peace*, and many curious doctrines

\* The impatience of the Public for this valuable work has since been obligingly gratified.

have been promulgated to quiet our scruples with regard to some articles said to be contained in it, which strike equally at the interest and honour of the nation. The BRITON tells us, that *no state can be bound by any treaty, which shall turn out manifestly prejudicial to its interest, because it is always supposed that every engagement of this nature is contracted with a view to self-preservation or public advantage.* Is this the good faith for which England has ever been celebrated? I will venture to say that there is no doctrine more wicked, more calculated to destroy the most sacred ties, than this now laid down by this advocate of the present ministry. This is beyond *Machiavelian* politics. Nothing in the famous *Morale des Jesuites* come up to it. He applies this doctrine to the king of Prussia whom his *sovereign* calls our ally, and he stiles a royal freebooter; but he ought to have known that the king of Prussia himself has nobly refuted the poor sophisms of the *antimoralists* he admires, and in his writings, as well as by his practice, has proved that good faith and a religious observation of treaties is equally the clear duty and interest of all princes. No man but the BRITON ever held such infamous doctrine in a civilized nation. It would disgrace the most barbarous savages in America. Lewis the XIVth acting thro' a long wicked life by this maxim of the BRITON's, that *he was no longer bound by any treaty, than he found it for his own interest to be so,* was of consequence detested as infamous in his own age, and is branded by posterity as the most perjured prince on record. The BRITON says, *it is a maxim adopted by civilians.* It is then only by *Scottish civilians*, or perhaps by a few unprincipled advocates of our own at *Doctors Commons*, who cook'd up the artful affidavits, which some infamous *Monte Christi* traders (for they deserve not the honourable name of *merchants*) persuaded their agents, &c. to make in this war. Has it indeed been the regular practice of the Scottish nation, and is it therefore mistaken for a part of their law? Or is it to be a part of the new *Scots law*, which the AUDITOR mentions? I should like to see this very moral *Codex Buteanus*, illustrated with the *German* commentaries of *Count Mansfeldt*, that *accomplished civilian*, and justly renowned, not so much indeed for ner-

vous, manly sense, as for spinning the most curious webs of artful sophistry, finer and lighter than the very *Gossamer*. I dare say that by one of his *beautiful reasonings* on the chapter of *wills*, we shall find it deduced, that, if an immense property should be wickedly left by a father in his dotage, from an only *English* son into a *Scotsman's* family, the *Scotsman* may, consistent with honour and conscience, keep the whole, yet endeavour to pervert and entirely change the clear will and intention of his great benefactor, divert the golden stream of *Pactolus* into another channel, for his own selfish purposes, and make use of every art, and kind of influence, to attain so *righteous* an end.

I have heard of a *quaint* declaration of the minister to his friends, that *he thinks he sees thro' a peace*. What is to be understood by so strange a phrase I shall scarcely take upon me to determine. Is the *peace* of so slight and flimsy a contexture, that the artifice of it is easily *seen through*? Or does it mean that a peace, so patched up, is *seen through*, because it can have no permanency? I will consider this phrase more at large, when it is, as translators always say, *made or done into English*; for I am not obliged to understand the language of a *foreign minister*, nor will I learn it, when it is barbarous and uncouth.

As the negotiation is soon to be opened in form, I rejoice to hear that the administration is so fortunate in the choice of a noble personage, who has *condescended* to go on the part of England, not *to sign* but *to treat of a peace*. His Grace's happy temper, his winning manners, and obliging deportment, will soon secure him the hearts of the *French* as entirely as they did the hearts of the *Irish*, who lived so blessed under his government. I hope for this purpose that his old secretary, the *learned* master of the rolls, is to attend the embassy. I am satisfied that the *French* will approve of our choice, and that there will be the truest harmony between them. His Grace has been pleased to declare that he *wept over our victories*, so have the *French*: there may therefore be a full chorus of *sighs* and *groans* between them: and when their tears are dried up, I suppose they will *laugh* together at our loss of *Newfoundland*. I will venture to prophesy, that on the noble *duke's wish'd for* return to his  
native

native country, he will be attended to the *Gallic* shore by at least as great crowds of *Frenchmen*, shrugging their shoulders, as he was to the *Irish* shore, by the men, women, and children of that country, all dissolved in tears.

One particular I beg leave to suggest. In common policy the *nakedness* of our land should rather be concealed by his Grace abroad; for tho' it is very encouraging to the nation, and highly proper in a house of parliament, and in all companies here, to represent this country as totally exhausted, and unable to proceed at all with the war, yet in France this same language, held by a minister sent to *treat of a peace*, might be no small argument against the glorious terms of it, which the unparalleled successes of the war give the nation the justest right to expect.



N<sup>o</sup>. XV. Saturday, SEPTEMBER 11, 1762.

Ostentabant Pisoni nutantes Gallias, paratam Germaniam, pericula ipsius, et *pace suspecta tutius bellum.*

TACITUS.

THERE is scarcely any circumstance in life more provoking than to be broken in upon when a man is deeply engaged in an affair of real moment and of a serious nature, by some stupid fellow, and interrupted with his insipid raillery on a trifling subject. Such an impertinent companion have we all found the AUDITOR last week. When the most general alarm prevailed every where, of *preliminaries* being actually signed, so injurious to the honour of the nation, so inadequate to the successes of this glorious war, he mal-a-propos stepped forth, and instead of endeavouring to quiet our fears, and to pour balm into our bleeding wounds, gave us a long tedious paper on *toasting healths*. Amidst the universal murmurings and discontents of the people, from the suspicion that so many of our glorious conquests, purchased with so much blood and treasure, were to be given up to our ancient enemy, at length so weakened and reduced, this *mauvais plaisant* endeavoured in vain to raise a laugh

by his low buffoonery and jests, equally *stale* and *ill-timed*, on *fox-hunters* and *country squires*. Is this ribaldry to serve instead of observations on the great business, to which the \* *under* secretary of state's letter to the city of *London* called our particular regard, and on which indeed every eye was before fixed with so much attention?

This ministerial advocate must in vain expect to turn our thoughts from what we all feel to be of the truest national importance. The alarm is universal, and can only be calmed, if indeed it can be calmed, by authentic information of what is concealed so mysteriously from the world. For tho' Mr. *Wood's* letter only says that the duke of *Bedford* is sent to *treat of a peace*, the public report, as yet uncontradicted, has given the most important articles of it, which have raised the indignation of the people. I hope in due time we shall be favoured by Lord *Egremont's first* as well as *some few* subsequent letters on this great occasion.

I cannot but remark the wonderful difference between the sentiments of mankind now, during the present negotiation, and what they were while we were treating with France a few months ago. The *war* against the common enemy was then carried on in all parts with amazing vigour and success, during that whole negotiation, so *suspicious* on the part of France; no conquests were made on us, but the French empire was *mouldering* away; a most entire harmony prevailed thro' the nation; the utmost confidence was placed in the minister; and no man was alarmed at a treaty's going on with France, because the nation, and its allies, thought their interests safe in those hands. We ourselves entertained no fears, nor had our allies any suspicion of the want of *good faith* for which the crown of *England* has in all ages been celebrated. The infamous doctrine of the wretch, who scribbles under the *royal arms*, had not then been broached in this country. The nation was unanimous in opinion, that an *open* and *spirited war* was a state of greater security, than an *insidious*, *inglorious*, and *uncertain peace*.

\* Neither of the secretaries of state condescended on this occasion to write to the city of London.

*New*

*Newfoundland* was not then in the hands of our enemy, a plea with monsieur *Buffy* for any concessions inconsistent with our honour, or our most important interests, our *fishery* and *navy*. The present time of our negotiating, when we have just received so fatal, so stunning a blow, I am afraid forebodes no good. Had we recovered so important an object first, with what higher dignity should we have entered into a negotiation, which now rather betrays our fears, than portends our obtaining those great terms which all Europe demands for us, as the just price of peace to be paid to England by a *vanquished* and late *dispirited* enemy. I fear a negotiation at this crisis will rather seem to be calculated to save what remains of our old empire than to preserve what the late ministry conquered from the proud rivals of our trade and commerce. The Duke of Bedford will now have the *retort courteous* of *Newfoundland, fishery, navy*, in return for what his Grace may say of *Quebec, Pondicherry, &c.*

What pains has the poor AUDITOR taken to divert our attention, and how has he laboured to relieve us from these melancholy objects, which he sees prey on our spirits? Not a syllable of *Newfoundland*, or the new *treaty of peace*, but a most tedious dissertation on the *Romans, Germans, Thracians, &c. &c.* and their convivial entertainments! I believe he is no great *Greek*, or it would be strange he could omit all mention of the most *polite* and *elegant* nation the world ever saw, who were so given to indulge in all the sprightly sallies which wine inspires, that *pergræcari* is the very phrase even the Roman authors use; and Plautus very fully explains it, *dies noctesque bibite, PERGRÆCAMINI*. Even the word *symposium*, which the AUDITOR always uses, is the *Greek* term; for *Tully* remarks, in honour of his countrymen, that the *Roman* word was *convivium*, which better expressed the *accubatio epularis amicorum, quod vitæ conjunctionem haberet*. He is not, however, very accurate even as to the *Romans*, tho' he gives us such long insipid passages from the dull commentators, who for ever disgrace the bottom of the *white Classick page*. He would persuade us that no *party*, *divisions* were in their drinking clubs, and no *political toasts* drank; but

I am satisfied of the contrary from *Horace*, who in his fine ode to *Augustus* concludes the politics of the time, *Quis Parthum paveat? Quis gelidum Scythæ,* *Quis Germania,* &c. with

————— *dicimus integro*  
*Sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi,*  
*Cum sol oceano subest.*

Even old *Cato's* virtue, I am satisfied, was frequently known *mero incaluisse* to good patriot toasts; and had a citizen the merit of conquering the capitals of the *Gauls* in two quarters of the globe, would not *that great Roman's* heart have been thirsty for the noble pledge of his health? and would he not have filled till the wine o'er-swelled the cup, as *Shakespear* says? Were the name of the patriot or hero unluckily so short as to admit but of four *cyathi*, according to their rule, a *Roman wit* would have tacked an *Asiaticus* or *Africanus* to it, and have try'd in such a cause, on a *festus dies*, to have burnt out *night's tapers*, and have sat up till morning to behold the noble *Claude Lorraine* of nature, the most glorious sight of the whole creation, *jocund day standing tiptoe on the misty mountain's top* I am persuaded however, that no *arbiter bibendi* could have made a true *Roman* crown the bowl to a *Consul*, who had lost an important *Roman* colony, or to an oppressive and insolent governor of *Sicily*.

As to myself I declare I have so much of the *Greek* and *Roman* spirit in me, that I should not hesitate a moment to prefer *pledging PATRIOT toasts* with a set of sensible and spirited friends of their country, in *Surry*, *Sussex*, or *Buckinghamshire*, to the drinking *chocolate* with a weak, passionate, and insolent secretary of state, on the very expensive terms that it was given, together with wonderful good advice, last week, by lord *Egremont*, to Mr. *Charles Say*, the printer of the *Gazetteer*. I will only tell his Lordship, that if he means to give *chocolate* to every *Englishman*, who declares his suspicions of what the ministry are doing, all the sugar islands together, if we are suffered to retain them, will not hold out a single month in furnishing that commodity.

If the *French* take *Placentia*, or *Halifax*, the *Auditor* has so much studied the antiquities of that *amiable* nation, that I suppose he will divert us with another paper on his favourites, the *Jews*, and will, from such *reading as was never read* by any man of spirit and sense, inform us whether they began the custom of *toasting* before or after the *Babylonish captivity*, and what toasts, which are now drank in *CHRISTENDOM*, they adopt, or are likely to adopt, *one hundred years hence*, varying only the mode of expression. Or shall we rather, in his *quaint* phrase, have something more *muse like* to divert us? I hope it will be something more *muse like*, more like some one of the *nine*, than the barren muse of the *Desart Isle*, or the wretched *Orphan of China*? Or will this *profligate player* give us a *pantomime*, or a *past vamp'd, future, old, reviv'd, new* tragedy, and most ingeniously contrive, like *Tantalus*, to murder even his miserable offspring. Will he be *Counsellor, Author, Manager, Pimp, Poet, or Player*?

But this *Proteus* shall at present give place to a worthy correspondent, who I find has no more inclination than myself to drink *chocolate* with lord *Egremont*, even on the most pressing compliments of *Mr. Carrington*, who is not apt to take a denial, when he finds a gentleman at home.

TO THE AUTHOR OF THE NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

I lately gave information by a letter to the *Gazetteer*, under the name of *Piscator*, of some circumstances relative to the capture of *St. John*, which I found on my arrival were not known in *England*. These were published *Wednesday, August the 25*, but the next day were contradicted, it was said on good authority, as being without foundation. I wrote two other letters, and yesterday was published the following extraordinary article.—“Whilst our correspondent, *Piscator*, who wrote about *Newfoundland*, chuses to conceal himself under that character, it would be highly improper for us, in this public manner, to say more than that it is impossible for us to insert his third letter.” This seems plainly to intimate that the authority on which he contradicted



tradicted my information was from the ministry, who obliged him to apologize for what he had already said, as being too true for the public knowledge.

Now I have suffered too much already in my private fortune, by the capture of *St. John's*, to be willing to expose myself to be hampered by those in power, merely for telling truth; I therefore sit down to relate the above circumstances to you, for you to make such use of them, as your better prudence and experience shall suggest, for the information of the public. As to the truth of them, I have already and do again desire no better testimony, than to appeal to the many witnesses who are now in England, who were at *St. John's* at its surrender, and are arrived some in private ships, and others in the *cartel* ship. If I have said any thing untrue, it would be very easy for them in a public manner to demonstrate my falsehoods; but however willing they may be to press their fingers on their lips, thro' prudence, I am much mistaken if any of them would publicly set their names to the falsity of things known for truth by all the inhabitants of *St. John's*. I am not unacquainted with the French commandant, a man well known in those parts, and deservedly esteemed as well for his worthy qualities, as especially for his humanity to our countrymen after our defeat before Quebec. At *St. John's* he gave another instance of the same, by desiring some of the inhabitants to come to his camp, to see the thousand *genadiers* he had landed, and thereby preserve the town from plunder and the consequences of a storm. On his arrival in town, he publicly declared that he knew the small number of the garrison, which remained there; which according to the report of those I met at *New-York*, did not exceed *forty*. This is in some measure confirmed by the *Paris Gazette*, which makes it but *sixty three*, exclusive of the crew of the *Gramont*; and, we imagine for the honour of their conquest they have eked out the list as much as possible. I make little doubt that our next advices from *Newfoundland* will confirm another part of my information, namely that *Placentia* is still in our possession, which if it had no better garrison originally than *St. John's*, must needs as well have fallen too, as the *French* have there full 1500 men, besides the crews of their ships,

ships, and well knew that we had no naval force at *Halifax*, nor could any arrive to annoy them sooner than from *England*. If *Placentia* should fall too, we shall then judge, whether what I have further said be without foundation or nor, by the number of prisoners which the French account shall report to have been made there.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

Sept. 2.

P I S C A T O R.

I have read the celebrated letter from *Wandsworth*, which has been circulated with so much industry for the two last days. It is a mixture of absurdity and inconsistency. The author says that he *writes without any particular information*, yet soon after *takes for granted*, that the Peace now offered by France and Spain united, is in many respects better, and in no respect worse, than the peace, which was so near being concluded the last year. How comes he to take this for granted, for by his own account, the declaration of the administration is very general, and therefore I think highly suspicious? He declares that the terms now offered are much more favourable to Britain, than those that were the foundation of the treaty last year. Was the peace offered to us, or was it not humbly asked by us? He very dexterously passes over the important change in the courts of *Russia* and *Sweden*, no longer hostile to us, or our allies; the conquest of *Martinique*, perhaps the *Havanna*, &c. which have happened, since the negotiation begun last year; and speaks with great tenderness of the cruel taxation in France. He then calls on the enemies of peace to contradict him, that there is no likelihood of compelling France to submit to terms better for us than those now offered, by another campaign. I really believe not, if his blundering friends are to continue our managers. But who are these enemies of peace? Does he mean the city of London, because he affirms the capital derives peculiar advantages from the war? I have not heard of any man such an enemy to his country, as not to wish for peace; but it is not any peace; it must be a safe and honourable peace, adequate to the successes of the war; and whoever dares to make any other peace, I hope

hope every good Englishman will stand forth, and drag him, even from behind the throne, should he take shelter there, to receive the just punishment of so great treachery to his injured country.



N<sup>o</sup>. XVI. Saturday, SEPTEMBER 18, 1762.

Still nod the plumage o'er the brainless head ;  
Still o'er the faithless heart the riband spread.

WHITEHEAD'S Manners.

To the NORTH BRITON.

SIR,

I Beg pardon for the use of so unfashionable a word, but I must say that I am an *Englishman*. I now prefer that word to *Briton*, because there is lately established in my neighbourhood a club, consisting intirely of *Scottish* gentlemen and the *Scottish* tradesmen they deal with, who affect always to call themselves *Britons*. There is besides a very mean writer, who is every week endeavouring, with much success, to make the word *Briton* as universally ridiculous, as *Cibber*, and his simple Successor, have the word *Ode*, which no man of taste at this hour hears pronounced without laughing.

I do not mean, Sir, to dwell on words. I call myself an *Englishman*, because it is the term the natives of my country generally use ; and I am proud that from their innate valour and intrepidity, it has been as much honoured and dreaded as ever that of *Roman* was. I might add that whole empires where the *Roman Eagle* never flew, have revered the name of *England* and crouched to our lion. My heart too is intirely *English*, and like that of a good citizen, has rejoiced over every victory my brave countrymen have gained. With what triumph did I read the Spanish minister's declaration, that the court of London was in the most flourishing and most exalted situation

tion it had ever known, occasioned by the greatest series of prosperities that any single nation had ever met with! This was, I think, in August last, under the late spirited and successful administration. But ever since the loss of *Newfoundland*, I am afraid to enquire, because I am certain I should blush to hear the sentiments of foreigners concerning us.

But, Sir, our greatest glory is, that we have an *English king* on the throne, with the best dispositions, and the warmest desires of making us happy under his mild government. He is truly the delight of his people, and we justly pride ourselves in being governed by a prince, who makes the laws the rule of his actions. His throne is founded in justice and mercy, he has not waded through blood to it, nor has he since stained it with the foulest murder.\* I hope therefore that his reign will be long and prosperous, and that he will continue enthroned in the hearts of his subjects. May he never lose the smallest share of our regard and affections by an ill-placed confidence in a weak or wicked minister, whose interest it may become in future time to alienate his sovereign from all his *old and faithful* servants, in order to recommend his own creatures, however suspected they may be even in affection and fidelity to his master's family, and despicable in the eyes of their country!

I am, Sir, so much an *Englishman*, that I most ardently love my country, and mean to spend all my days in it. I must own too that I warmly enter into all the honest prejudices of my countrymen. I despise the *ordon bleu* of France, and think the most noble order of the garter is the only order in Europe really to be valued. I have been out of humour for a week, that I cannot have the happiness of seeing my sovereign, in all the pomp and dignity the august ceremonies of the installation at Windsor are so soon to call for, to the admiration of my countrymen. I should be highly gratified also to see another prince of the house of *Brunswick*, enrolled with the greatest names of this and of almost every other civilized nation; with our *Henries* and *Edwards*, with *Francis the first*, and *Henry the fourth* of France, *Gustavus Adolphus* of Sweden, &c. I really think this most

\* Vide No. 10.

*nobler order* will itself derive the truest lustre from every additional name of the *Brunswick* family, because they have ever been the patrons of liberty in so conspicuous a manner, as to *be beyond all Greek, beyond all Roman fame*; and have so nobly answered those great ends for which they were called to the imperial crown of these realms, the preservation of the sacred rights of this people. I wish therefore that the heir to the crown, and, I hope, to the patriot virtues of his family, even thus early, had the *blue riband*; or that at least *one had been reversed for him*. I cannot but look upon that given to the *Scot*, as fitter for a *Prince of Wales*; and I should have had true satisfaction in seeing the youngest prince of a family, to whom we owe our invaluable liberties, adorned with the ensigns of this *English* order. I own my indignation rises on this occasion, and is only equalled by my grief, at another *Stuart's* being installed in *St. George's-Chapel*. We have suffered enough by the whole race: but I find we are for ever at least to be reminded of them. I have heard of a vain inscription at the family seat of *Mount-Stuart*, *Not they from kings, but kings from them*. Is this the subject of panegyrick? Are these the benefactors of mankind, the guardians of the liberties of their country and of Europe, which the *Nassau* and *Brunswick* race have cemented with their blood? If we are to judge of the stem, by what has proceeded from it, a series of cowardly and merciless tyrants, then it is indeed most accursed; and I will affirm, because the English history proves it, that it had been happier for this country, if every *Male Stuart had been strangled in the birth*. Each reign of that family was one continued attack on our laws and constitution. Since the accession of the most illustrious house of *Brunswick*, our liberties and the excellent constitution of this country have been revered by the sovereign, equally with the most favourite branch of his prerogative. No one instance can be alledged of an Englishman's suffering, but from the just sentence of his country, since the auspicious dawn of the first of August 1714. I will therefore, as an *Englishman* reverence the name of *Brunswick*, and hold in eternal contempt and infamy that of *Stuart*.

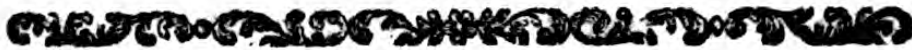
I observe

I observe that the *garter* has been the gift of virtue to her sons, for noble actions against the enemy, *the Gaul subdued*, or for the blessings of concord and harmony restored among the citizens at home, or for manly worth, superior gifts of understanding, and unspotted virtue. I will not now invidiously point out under which class I would rank the *Scottish Knight elect*; because I think he has an *equal* right to *all*; only I will observe, that the statutes of the *order* expressly require him to be *without reproach*. But I regret exceedingly that the *Knight elect*, did not keep to the northern *order* of his own *countrymen*, which he might have done without the least envy; and really there would be at present a peculiar propriety in it from two very strong reasons, which I shall leave my reader to find out from *Elias Ashmole*, that important but rather tedious *Windsor herald and historian*. The *order of St. Andrew, or the Thistle in Scotland*, is reported by *John Lesly, bishop of Ross*, to take beginning from a bright cross in heaven, in fashion of that whereon *St. Andrew* suffered martyrdom, which appeared to *Hunstus king of the Picts* (and to the Scots, whom *Achaisus king of Scotland* sent to his assistance) the night preceding the battle with *Athelstan king of England*, OVER WHOM PREVAILING, they went in solemn procession to the *Kirk of St. Andrew*, to thank God and his apostle for their victory, promising that they and their posterity would ever bear the figure of that cross in their ensigns and banners. Or if the reader chuses to ascribe it to the old allies of the Scots, the perfidious *French*, rather than to their ancient enemies the *English*, *Ashmole* is still my authority, He says, from *Menenius*, there are some that refer the institution of the *Thistle* to the reign of *Charles the seventh, king of France*, WHEN THE AMITY WAS RENEWED BETWEEN BOTH KINGDOMS; that is, between France and Scotland.

At the election of a Knight into our most noble order, I think the investiture is made with the *Garter* and *George*, but the *Star* is not worn till the day of *installation*. All the trivial, fond records of the *garter* are filled with pompous accounts of the brightness of the *Star*, and the irradiated virtues portrayed by it. I shall not tire myself with transcribing any of them; nor will I mention  
th:

the miseries which the new *aurora borealis* is thought to portend to this country, and which we already begin to feel. That *ignis fatuus of glory* (for such is the base phrase of the BRITON) I should hope, is almost burnt out. I will, only for a little while advise the *little stars to hide their diminish'd rays*. I shall conclude with four very good lines, written by a very mean author, the last of which would be a most excellent motto for the *order*.

Yet if beneath no real virtue reign,  
On the gay coat the *star* is but a stain :  
For could I whisper in his Lordship's ear,  
*Worth only beams true radiance on the STAR.*



N<sup>o</sup>. XVII. Saturday, M A Y 21, 1762.

Its proper power to hurt each creature feels,  
Bulls aim their horns, and asses lift their heels. POPE.

THE humorous Mr. *Hogarth* the *supposed* author of the *Analysis of beauty*, has at last entered the list of politicians, and given us a print of THE TIMES. *Words are man's province*, says *Pope*, but they are not Mr. *Hogarth's* province. He somewhere mentions his being indebted to a friend for a third part of the *wording*: that is his phrase. We all titter the instant he takes up a *pen*, but we tremble when we see the *pencil* in his hand. I will do him the justice to say, that he possesses the rare talent of gibbeting in colours, and that in most of his works he has been a very good moral satirist. His fort is there, and he should have kept to it. When he has at any time deviated from *his own peculiar walk*, he has never failed to make himself perfectly ridiculous. I need only make my appeal to any one of his *historical* or *portrait* pieces, which are now considered as almost beneath all criticism. The favourite *Sigismunda*, the labour of so many years, the boasted effort of his art, was not *human*. If the figure had a resemblance of any thing ever on earth, or had the least pretence to meaning or expression,

tion, it was what he had seen, or perhaps made, in real life, his own wife in an agony of passion; but of what passion no connoisseur could guess. All his friends remember what tiresome discourses were held by him day after day about the transcendent merit of it, and how the great names of *Raphael*, *Vandyke*, and others, were made to yield the palm of beauty, grace, expression, &c. to him, for this long-laboured, yet still *uninteresting*, single figure. The value he himself set on this, as well as on some other of his works, almost exceeds belief; yet from politeness, or fear, or some other motives, he has actually been paid the most astonishing sums, as the price, not of his merit, but of his unbounded vanity.

The darling passion of Mr. *Hogarth* is to shew the *faulty* and *dark* side of every object. He never gives us in perfection the *fair face of nature*, but admirably well holds out her deformities to ridicule. The reason is plain. All objects are painted on his *retina* in a grotesque manner, and he has never felt the force of what the French call *la belle nature*. He never caught a single idea of beauty, grace or elegance; but on the other hand he never missed the least flaw in almost any production of nature or of art. This is his true character. He has succeeded very happily in the way of humour, and has miscarried in every other attempt. This has arisen in some measure from his head, but much more from his heart. After *marriage à la-mode* the public wished for a series of prints of a *happy* marriage. *Hogarth* made the attempt, but the rancour and malevolence of his mind made him very soon turn with envy and disgust from objects of so pleasing contemplation, to dwell and feast a bad heart on others of a hateful cast, which he pursued, for he found them congenial, with the most unabating zeal, and unrelenting gall.

I have observed for some time his *setting sun*. He has long been very *dim*, and almost *shorn of his beams*. He seems so conscious of this, that he now glimmers with *borrowed light*. *John Bull's house in flames* has been hackney'd in fifty different prints; and if there is any merit in the figure on stilts, and the mob prancing around, it is not to be ascribed to *Hogarth* but to *Callot*. That  
spirited



spirited *Italian*, whom the *English* painter has so carefully studied, has given us in the *Balli di Sfeffana di Jacomo Callot*, the very same ideas, but infinitely more ludicrous in the execution. The piece is *Smaruolo cornuto, Ratfa di Boio*. THE TIMES must be confessed destitute of every kind of *original* merit. The print at the first view appears too much crouded with figures, and is in every part confus'd, perplexed, and embarrass'd. The *story is not well told to the eye*, nor can we any where discover the faintest ray of that genius, which with a few strokes of the pencil enabled us to penetrate into the deepest recesses of thought and even caprice, in a *rake*, a *barlot*, and a *profligate young man of quality*.

I own too that I am grieved to see the genius of *Hogarth*, which should take in all ages and countries, sunk to a level with the miserable tribe of party etchers, and now, in his rapid decline, entering into the poor politics of the faction of the day and descending to low personal abuse, instead of instructing the world, as he could once, by manly moral satire. Whence can proceed so surprising a change? Is it the frowardness of old age? or is it that envy and impatience of resplendent merit in every way, at which he has always sickened? How often has he been remarked to droop at the fair and honest applause given even to a friend, tho' he had particular obligations to the very same gentleman? What wonder then that some of the most respectable characters of the age become the objects of his ridicule? It is sufficient that the rest of mankind applaud; from that moment he begins the attack, and you never can be well with him, till he hears an universal outcry against you, and till all your friends have given you up. There is besides a silly affectation of singularity, joined to a strong desire of leading the rest of the world: when that is once found impracticable, the spleen engendered on such an occasion is discharged at a particular object, or ends in a general misanthropy. The public never had the least share of *Hogarth's* regard, or even good-will. *Gain* and *vainity* have steered his little light bark quite thro' life. He has never been consistent but with respect to those two principles. What a despicable part has he acted with regard to the society of *arts* and *sciences*! How shuffling  
has

has his conduct been to the whole body of *Artists*! Both these useful societies have experienced the most ungentle and offensive behaviour from him. There is at this hour scarcely a single man of any degree of merit in his own profession, with whom he does not hold a professed enmity. It is impossible the least degree of friendship could ever subsist in this intercourse of the arts with him; for his insufferable vanity will never allow the least merit in another, and no man of a liberal turn of mind will ever condescend to feed his to pride with the gross and fulsome praise he expects, or burn the incense he claims, and indeed snuffs like a most gracious God. To this he joins no small share of jealousy; in consequence of which he has all his life endeavoured to suppress rising merit, and has been very expert in every mean underhand endeavour to extinguish the least spark of genuine fire. But all *genius* was not born, nor will die, with Mr. *Hogarth*: and notwithstanding all his ungenerous efforts to damp or chill it in another, I will trust to a discerning and liberal spirit in the English nation, to patronize and reward all real merit. It will in the end rise superior to the idle laugh of the hour, which these triflers think it the highest praise to be able to raise. For my part, I scarcely know a more profligate principle, than the indiscriminately sacrificing every thing, however great or good to the dangerous talent of ridicule; and a man, whose sole object is *dummodo risum excutiat*, ought to be avoided as the worst pest of society, as the *enemy* most to be feared, I mean a treacherous *friend*. Such a man will go all lengths to raise a laugh at your expence, and your whole life will be made miserable from his ambition of diverting the company for half an hour.

I love to trace the ideas of a genius, and to mark the progress of every art. Mr. *Hogarth* had heard much of the *cobwebs*, of the law, and the *spinning fine spiderwebs*, &c. This is thrown on paper, and the idea carefully treasured. Lord *Hardwick* being at the head of the law, and deservedly in as high esteem with his countrymen as any man who ever held the Seals, unspotted in life, and equally revered by prince and people, becomes an excellent subject for the satirical pencil of a malevolent painter. He is accordingly emblematically repre-

represented by Mr. *Hogarth* as a great spider in a large, thick web, with myriads of the carcases of *flies, clients* I suppose, sucked to death by the gloomy tyrant. Mr. *Hogarth* had heard of Mr. *Pitt's* being *above* all his fellow-citizens, and of his superior virtue having raised him to an envied and dangerous *height* of grandeur. Now this he has taken literally, and, with the kind aid of *Cal- lot*, has put Mr. *Pitt* on stilts, and made the people *look up* to him; which after all this insipid ridicule, they will continue to do, as a kind of tutelar deity, from whom they expect that security and those blessings they despair of from others. As to the conceit of the *bellows*, to signify, I suppose, Mr. *Pitt's* endeavours to blow up the flames of war and discord, it is at once very poor and very false. His whole conduct the last session in parliament, and out of the house ever since, has demonstrated the contrary: *neque vero hoc oratione solum, sed multo magis vitâ et moribus comprobavit.* Cic. de Fin.

Lord *Temple* is a nobleman of fine parts and unfulfilled honour, who has shewn a thorough dis-interestedness, a great love of liberty, and a steady attachment to the public, in every part of his conduct through life. It was impossible such a character could be missed by the poisoned shafts of envy, which we see pointed at all superior virtue. He has besides the merit of joining in the *written reasons* of the 18th of September. This too can never be forgiven; for the nation is now convinced, that had they been followed, the *British* standard had long before this been flying on the walls of the *Havannah*, and the solid mass of strength in *North America* collected by Mr. *Pitt*, had not melted away in the hospitals at *Cuba*. We should not then have had the elements to fight with, or to frustrate those great attempts which our enemies despaired of baffling, had they been made with prudence and a most necessary regard to the season and climate. What a scandalous sacrifice has there been of our brave countrymen from our ill-timing of this important expedition! A minister must not only possess a very *narrow*, but a very *wicked* genius, who can consider this as an event that *saves expence*, and frees us from so *many mouths that were to be fed*, and *bodies that were to be clothed*. This is another humane instance of ministerial

rial *æconomy*. No envy will attend such ministers. Contempt and horror will. I must here observe, that there is one merit ascribed to Lord *Temple* by the *Briton*, to which he has no kind of pretence. I mean the *having delivered such fine orations among the independent electors of Westminster, when he inveighed with such force of energy and argument against the Brothers, who directed the helm of government*. Now I will venture to say, that Lord *Temple* never once set his foot among the *independent electors of Westminster*, although I must confess that Mr. *George Grenville* FREQUENTLY did, after his *first* introduction to that worthy body, by the mirror of patriots and placemen, *Paul Whitehead, Esq;* who has since had the grace to take shame to himself for it. Mr. *Hogarth's* wit on this noble Lord is confined to the wretched conceits of the *Temple Coffee-house*, and a *squirt* to signify the *playing on* the ministry. I really believe this wit is all Mr. *Hogarth's* own.

When a man of parts dedicates his talents to the service of his country, he deserves the highest rewards: when he makes them subservient to base purposes, he merits execration and punishment. Among the *Spartans*, music and poetry were made to serve the noblest ends of the *Lacedæmonian* state. A manly courage and great contempt of death were inspired by them, and the poet, musician, soldier, and patriot were often the same good citizen, who despised the low *mechanic lucre* of the profession, and was zealous only for the glory of his country. In the year 1746, when the *Guards* were ordered to march to *Finchley*, on the most important service they could be employed in, the extinguishing a *Scottish* rebellion, which threatened the intire ruin of the illustrious family on the throne, and, in consequence, of our liberties, Mr. *Hogarth* came out with a print to make them ridiculous to their countrymen and to all *Europe*; or perhaps it rather was to tell the *Scots*, in his way, how little the *Guards* were to be feared, and that they might safely advance. That the ridicule might not stop here, and that it might be as offensive as possible to his own *Sovereign*, he dedicated the print to the king of *Pru[s]ia*,\*

as

\* This is the orthography of Mr *Hogarth*. Vide the print.

*as an encourager of arts.* Is this patriotism? In old Rome, or in any of the Grecian states, he would have been punished as a profligate citizen, totally devoid of all principle. In England he is rewarded, and made *serjeant* painter to that very king's grandson. I think the term means the same as what is vulgarly called *house-painter*; and indeed he has not been suffered to *caricature* the royal family. The post of portrait painter is given to a Scotsman, one *Ramsay*. Mr. *Hogarth* is only to paint the wainscot of the rooms, or, in the phrase of the art, may be called their *pannel-painter*. But how have the *Guards* offended Mr. *Hogarth*, for he is again attacking them in THE TIMES? Lord *Harrington's* second troop of grenadier guards is allowed to be very perfect in every part of military discipline; and *Hogarth's* friend, the king of Prussia, could have shewn him the real importance of it. He had heard them much applauded, and therefore must abuse them. The ridicule ends however in *airs composed by Harrington*, and in a piece of *clock-work*; but he ought to have known that tho' *l'homme machine* is not sound philosophy, it is the true doctrine of tactics.

The *Militia* has received so many just testimonies of applause, both from their king and country, that the attack of envy and malevolence was long expected. But I dare say this poor jester will have Mr. *George Townsbend's* free consent to vent his spleen upon him and the gentlemen of *Norfolk*. I believe he may ever go on in this way almost unnoticed; at one time ridiculing the *Guards* for a *disorderly*, and at another the *Militia* for an *exact* and *orderly* march. Mr. *Townsbend* will still have the warm applause of his country, and the truest satisfaction, that of an honest heart, for his patriot labours in establishing this great plan of internal defence, a *Militia*, which has delivered us from the ignominy of *foreign hirelings*, and the ridiculous fears of invasion, by a brave and well disciplined body of *Englishmen*, at all times ready and zealous for the defence of their country, and its laws and constitution.

No. XVIII. Saturday, OCTOBER 2, 1762.

Because, even because they have seduced my people, saying, Peace, and there was no Peace; and one built up a wall, and lo, others daubed it with untempered mortar. Say unto them, which daub it with untempered mortar, that it shall fall.

B I B L E.

**I**N the present situation of affairs, when *Peace* is the great object of every man's attention, it is extremely natural that it should be the general subject of conversation. It is no less surprising to hear how differently men think and speak of it now, from what they did during the late popular administration. *Peace* was then considered by our *Enemies*, the ENGLISH, as the most desirable of all blessings, but is now spoken of as the greatest of all misfortunes, and to make *peace* and to ruin the nation are esteemed by them terms of the same import. This difference can arise only from their apprehensions that the terms of *peace* now will not be so advantageous to this nation, as those on which Mr. PITT had formed himself. But what foundation have they for these apprehensions, what shadow of reason for these fears? Is it that the situation of our affairs is altered, and therefore they fear an alteration in the terms of peace, or that they have a bad opinion of my worthy countryman, and distrust his integrity, or his abilities, or both? One of these must be the cause of the present clamour, though neither of them should in reason be so. As to the situation of our affairs, they never were in a more flourishing condition; and as to my Lord BUTE, it is not sufficient to say that he has done no good, unless they can prove that he has done no harm. Happy would it often have been for this kingdom, if her ministers had been of such a complexion, as to do neither the one nor the other! But if we seriously and impartially examine things, we shall find both from the manner in which the war has been carried on during the present administration, the unusual and amazing success we have met with, the caution with which we have entered into the negotiation, and the person who is appointed to conduct it, that as we have a clear right to demand, so have we the greatest

reason in the world to expect, such terms as may prove of solid and lasting advantage to these kingdoms.

It is agreed on all hands, that England in her wars with France should never sheath the sword till *Peace* is absolutely concluded. The wicked policy of that nation, their superior address in negotiation, their total disregard of faith, and their known arts of spinning out treaties merely to gain time to recover strength, without any real intention of bringing them to a conclusion, have taught us this lesson, altho' we have seldom been prudent enough to put it in practice. In justice to the present administration however it must be allowed, that they have profited by the mistakes of their predecessors. Willing to make peace, yet they shew themselves ready to make war, and prudently consider a suspension of arms as advantageous only to the weaker party. It must be confessed indeed that they have not sheathed the sword in the bowels of the enemy, but they have gloriously kept it hanging over their heads: moved by christian charity, they have not done the French any actual harm; but then they have plainly enough shewn the power of doing it, if they will; a power which they will no doubt exert, if, contrary to good faith, France, having recovered her spirits and strengthened herself with new alliances during the course of a long and fruitless negotiation, should think proper to renew the war. To fit out great and mighty fleets, to block up the French and Spanish fleets in their ports, or to defeat them if they came out, unless they were going to *Newfoundland*, was what every sanguine Englishman would have promised to himself beyond all doubt—But to let our fleets lie rotting in port, to suffer our men to be enervated with sloth, and to dissolve in inactivity, to squander away our treasures, and to send out, merely by way of amusement and to take the air, our bravest admirals and our strongest fleets, at a time when we are engaged in a war with France and Spain, these are instances of such a confident and well-grounded superiority, as must strike terror into our enemies, and reflect the highest credit on that administration for whom alone such glorious proofs of power were reserved.

It must not however be dissembled, that we have met with some petty mortifications during this glorious period.

riod. *Newfoundland* is lost ; but what is *Newfoundland*? Apply for information to the BRITON, apply to the AUDITOR, and they shall tell you that it is a place of little or no consequence either to the FRENCH or ENGLISH. Those nations indeed have almost from the time of its first settlement been contending for it as a place of the utmost importance ; but they greatly over rated it ; the BRITON and AUDITOR have fixed its true value ; they assert it, and their assertions are proofs. As to the disappointment which we met with on the coast of *France*, in the late secret expedition, that rather reflects honour than discredit on those ministers, who took such prudent steps as prevented it from transpiring, and becoming matter of complaint to a turbulent and discontented people, a people of such a disposition, that *they ought to be ruled with a rod of iron*. As to the great expedition under *Admiral Hawke*, which hath occasioned such murmurs, the odium ought to fall on *Mr. Pitt* and the ADMIRAL : on *Mr. Pitt*, for not accustoming fleets to go out *merely to come back again*, and on the Admiral for preferring honour to safety, and the daring but dangerous directions of the former minister to the good-humoured and safe commands of the present. But however malecontents may endeavour to aggravate these trifles, yet one action more than balances them ; I mean that *great, that glorious event*, the taking of the HERMIONE ; an event of such *national* consequence, and so *unequaled* in history, that our *new ally Mr. Hogarth* ingeniously insinuates, that it more than counterpoises all our losses, and is alone sufficient to establish the credit of the present ministry.

Our success therefore gives us a right to demand, and the spirit with which the ministry have carried on the war, a probability of obtaining a good peace ; and notwithstanding the popular cry which has industriously been raised against them, I am apt to think that under the auspices of our great patron, we shall see a happy end of this war. In this opinion I am the rather confirmed, because in our present situation I do not see how he can make a bad *peace* without the most imminent danger to himself. A nation elated with such successes, promising to herself the advantages of a secure and ex-



tended commerce in peace, to reimburse the charges of a long and burdensome war, can never tamely suffer the fruits of their labours to be lost: nor indeed is there any one inducement to precipitate us into a *peace*. Was the minister distrustful, and did he find any difficulty in raising supplies to carry on the war, this might prompt an ambitious man to patch up a *peace* on any terms, and to sacrifice the interest of a whole nation to his thirst of power; but blessed be St. Andrew, this is so far from being the case, that I trust never was minister more respected or beloved. His private life bears witness to his integrity: the course of his administration, short as it hath been, loudly speaks his amazing capacity: and both together have purchased that intire confidence throughout the nation, and especially in the city of LONDON, that their purses are as much at his command as their hearts. Thus situated, he can have no inducement to make a bad peace; and the appointment of that great Duke \* to the embassy is a proof that he hath no such intentions. His truly patriot spirit, his known love of his country, his clearness of head, equal to the clearness of his heart, sufficiently secure us from any reasonable apprehensions on this point. Had a person been sent who on all occasions had lamented our successes, whose avarice was known to wish an end to the war on any terms, merely on account of the land-tax; whose pride was equalled by nothing but his ignorance; whose spirit was too great to think before he adopted an opinion, and his understanding too weak to suffer any change after he had adopted it; from the management of such a man, I own we should have every thing to fear, whereas now we have every thing to hope.

To the NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

Sept. 30.

THE news of the reduction of the *Havannah*, which arrived last night, gives me the sincerest pleasure, but I must say, suggests to me at the same time,  
some

\* The Duke of Bedford.

some painful apprehensions with relation to the manner in which it is to be disposed of in case of a *peace*. Surely we can never think of immediately giving up what hath cost us the precious blood of so many brave *Englishmen*, and of gratifying the insolent Spaniard with a sacrifice of such numbers of our fellow subjects. If it is to be surrendered, which the people seem to take for granted, we certainly have a right to expect those articles, on which they grounded the present war, to be determined in our favour. The consequence of the Havannah to the Spaniards we all know; and I hope we shall not be so wantonly generous, as not to make an advantage of it. I am anxious to hear the particulars of the siege, and shall with the heart of an Englishman read an account of my countrymen; the return of one of whom, the gallant Capt. *Hervey*, whose behaviour on this occasion renders him dear to every Englishman, gives me the truest satisfaction.

I am, &c.



N<sup>o</sup>. XIX. Saturday, OCTOBER, 9, 1762.

Superior virtue, wisdom, might,  
 Create and mark the ruler's right,  
 So reason must conclude;  
 Then thine it is, to whom belong  
 The wise, the virtuous, and the strong,  
 Thrice sacred multitude!

ODE TO MANKIND.

THE following letter, which I have received from *Trowbridge* in *Wiltshire*, I offer to the public intire, because it glows throughout with the true spirit of liberty, and carries with it that strength of argument, and force of conviction, which must captivate every candid mind, beyond all the subtleties and sophisms of the *Wandsworth* epistle.

## To the NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

Sept. 22.

AS the BRITON, of Saturday the 11th instant, is an impudent libel on all the good people of *England* in general, as well as on the city of LONDON in particular, representing all the *nobility, gentry, merchants, tradesmen, yeomen* and all the *commonalty*, as a seditious rabble, which despises all government, because they express a dislike to some measures relative to a *peace*; and as our constitution is reproached with being an *ochlocracy*, or mob common-wealth, because it permits our people to murmur with impunity at the conduct they cannot approve, which by-the-bye is inculcating the vilest tyranny ever practised by the worst monsters of all the *Roman* emperors, pray indulge me in communicating to the public a few remarks upon so extraordinary a performance.

I must first observe, that this advocate of tyranny and despiser of the people sets out with some foolish remarks upon modern philosophers, which being trifling and insignificant, I shall pass them over without any farther notice. He then informs us “*that there are a set of speculative philosophical reformers who have espoused the plebeian interest, from an innate aversion to all order and restraint.*” This is, we must confess, a very extraordinary position. *Philosophers espousing the interests of mankind from an innate aversion to all order and restraint!*—Wonderful, truly! But pray where are those philosophers? what are their names? where were they born? I believe they received their first existence in this fellow’s brains; for no one ever heard of such monsters before. *Moses, Minos, Zaleucus, Plato, Aristotle, Tully, Tacitus, Machiavel, Harrington, Nevil, Sidney, Locke, and Gordon*, have all written upon government; but I never heard, that any of them were accused of being philosophers, who *bated all order*. This extraordinary species of philosophers was reserved for the discovery of that *extraordinary genius*, the author of the BRITON. Well; *philosophical politicians espousing the interests of mankind, from an aversion to order.* Could any

any poor creature write such stuff, unless one lately eloped from *Bedlam*?

He proceeds, and observes, that it is *to be hoped some of these politicians, who have an aversion to order, are instigated to it by motives of humanity and benevolence*; and then concludes, *that such a disposition is mistaken philanthropy*. What a profound discovery! what admirable sentiment! O reader, if that thou canst read, read this paragraph of our author's again and again, for thy instruction in politics. But now for the root of this political evil, this philosophical aversion to order, arising from a regard to the interests of the people. This, our author tells us, proceeds from (remark him!) *the opinion that every individual is equally free by nature, and hence has an equal right to intermeddle in the administration of public affairs: a principle, he says, subversive of all government*.

Government is a just execution of the laws, which were instituted by the people for their preservation: but if the people's implements, to whom they have trusted the execution of those laws, or any power for their preservation, should convert such execution to their destruction, have they not a right to intermeddle? nay, have they not a right to resume the power they have delegated, and to punish their servants who have abused it? If *our king can do no harm*, his ministers may, and are accountable to the people for their conduct. This is the voice of *Locke*, the voice of our laws, the voice of reason; but we own, not the voice of tyrants and their abettors, nor the voice of the *Briton*. On the contrary, this wretch preaches up the doctrine, that some part of mankind, nay, the mass, are born slaves, who ought implicitly to be submissive to the caprices of a few, who by accident, knavery, or cunning, shall wriggle themselves into power. One would think this doctrine came into *England*, or was transplanted into this country from the *heritable jurisdictions* in the *Highlands* of *Scotland*. We are plainly told, that tho' we are passengers in the state-vessel, and see the pilot going to run her on the rocks, and make a wreck of her, and a boat provided for his own escape, yet we must blindly submit, and, without a murmur, suffer the villain to execute his hellish purpose;

nor dare to intermeddle with the helm, tho' we know we shall go to the bottom, unless we tip him overboard, tack, and steer another way.

This is admirable doctrine truly! the four last years of Queen *Anne* did not produce finer flowers from the garden of tyranny than this. Observe, *Britons*, what this despicable wretch, and tool of some in power, would reduce you to. Are these the sentiments of his paymasters? Is this the cue given him in his instructions, to boldly assert, that *Englishmen* are all born to be slaves to a few persons, who happen either by accident to possess a larger fortune, or by their own lewdness or debauchery, or by the wicked mean arts of a father or a grandfather, to worm themselves into an estate, and thence wriggle into power, though originally the dregs of the mob? O thou most excellent philanthropist! thy politics qualify thee to be *Reis Effendi*, or secretary of state to the *Grand Seignor*, the *Great Mogul*, the *inquisition*, or the Emperor of *Morocco*. How would the *Dionysii*, *Agathocles*, *Pbalaris*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, and *Commodus*, have hugged such a counsellor of state, such an abettor, such an excellent politician! Well; it being granted that the bulk of mankind being born slaves to a few, who have by base arts wriggled themselves into the administration of the government of a country, it hence follows, that if any of those slaves dare to censure their conduct, they are guilty of high treason; such behaviour "being subversive of all government, and a principle destructive of all national industry and quiet, as well as repugnant to every fundamental maxim of society." Here he has mistaken the proper word, he should have said, *maxim of TYRANNY*.

We hope this advocate for despotic power and slavery, who seems rather to have been born, adapted, and formed for the instruction of the court of *Nero*, than for the modelling the court of so gracious a prince as *George III.* is not countenanced in his invectives against liberty, and in reviling the free constitutions and laws of his country, nor in publishing panegyrics on slavery and tyranny, by many in power: if he should, the Lord have mercy on us!

In

In the reigns of the *Roman* tyrants there sprung up often wretches, the very stamp of the author of the BRITON, who were the busy implements and flatterers of those monsters of oppression, and the bane of innocence and all virtue. But I do not remember, that any such appeared in the reigns of *Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Antonius, or Marcus Aurelius*; or in case they did, if I mistake not, *Tacitus* informs us, all such wretches were driven from the court and the city, under those good emperors, as the most pernicious vermin, and the pests of the human race. We hope therefore that this traitor to his country, this traducer and slanderer of its laws, this reviler of its constitution, this advocate of tyranny and absolute power; will be soon taken into custody by *Mr. Carrington*, for abusing the form of our government, and disgracing the reign of our gracious sovereign, by publishing a plea for tyranny, and asserting it to be a part of our constitution. Such a wretch ought to be punished as an incendiary, that must create fears, jealousies, and heart-burnings among his majesty's good subjects, and make them suspicious that some attempt is going to be made upon their liberties. What do not the demerits of such a wretch deserve from his injured fellow-citizens?

As if this scribbler had not sufficiently displayed his ignorance and love of tyranny? he proceeds and tells us, "That to give a just idea of a mob ruled commonwealth, we need only peruse the historians of *Athens* and *Rome* during those periods at which their governments were republican: there (says he) we shall meet with nothing but faction, animosity, persecution, ingratitude, and disquiet." We would ask him, whether this republican form of government introduced so many miseries among the people, or brought so many distresses upon human nature, as the despotic and arbitrary forms have done? In case he should assert they had, he must be a most impudent or a most ignorant fellow. I would ask him if he had not rather live in the canton of *Bern, England, or in Holland*, than in *Russia, Turkey, Persia, or Indostan*?

But the author of the BRITON must be a very ignorant fellow, as well as impudent one: for what he says of the Athenians, and their government is the grossest

falsehood or misrepresentation: the *Democritus* had no share of the magistracy; they could only assent to, or dissent from, what was proposed to them. However, when *Aristides* for a short time rendered them capable of office, they always modestly left the magistracy to their betters: tho' it was during the zenith of the *ochlocracy* that they performed their greatest exploits and acquired their highest renown. They consisted only of about twenty thousand families, and yet they became lords paramount of all Greece, excelled in all arts and arms, subdued all the *Ægean* isles, were masters of the seas, extended their conquests to Egypt, often defeated the great king of Persia, and always kept him in awe; and as *Aristophanes* observes, reduced a thousand cities under their dominion. But when this mob-government was abolished, and approached nearer to the *aristocratical*, they sunk in their reputation, and elapsed into baseness and corruption.

I will give one instance of the justice and greatness of soul to be met with in this mob-government. *Themistocles* proposed a great advantage to Athens, but said, to discover what it was would prove its defeat: the mob ordered him to communicate it to *Aristides*, who informed them it was *advantageous*, but *unjust*; upon which they rejected it, chusing rather to sacrifice their interest than integrity. But the *Lacædemonians*, ruled by kings, *Thucydides* says, held for honest what *pleased*, and for honourable what *profited*: yet the BRITON avers with his usual impudence, that the Athenians were a mob, among whom nothing reigned but factions, animosity, ingratitude, and disquiet. Surely this writer must be either a most ignorant or a most abandoned profligate, thus to falsify history to deceive and abuse the people. It is true, historians inform us, that when they were free from foreign wars, they were often employed in domestic feuds, the ambition and emulation of their great men never failing to raise disturbances among their fellow-citizens, and to divide them into parties and factions, &c. But all their contentions were the work of their leaders, not of the mass of the people, who would have been glad to have lived in peace, had it not been for the ambition, oppression, and violence of the great, who were continually, both at *Rome* and *Athens*, labouring to oppress

press them and deprive them of their liberties and privileges.

Thus we have most clearly proved, that this pedlar in small-ware politics has taken upon him to abuse the Athenians as a mob, and their government as anarchy, without knowing their history. His accounts of the *Athenians* and *Romans* are nearly as similar to truth, as his averring that the present citizens, merchants, traders, and commonalty of LONDON, are just such another rabble as the mob under *Wat Tyler* and *Jack Straw* was formerly. He has given all manner of latitude and scope to his imagination, and indulged falsehood in all her wanton levities: he has dived deep in all kind of filth, emerged loaded with mud, and with this dirt bedaubed his fellow-citizens, the constitution, and the laws of his country.

And now, Sir, indulge me with an *apostrophe*, for I cannot help crying out, Ye worthy citizens of *London*, see! a foul-mouthed ruffian, with the spirit of a parricide and the inquisition, with the infernal rage of a fiend broke loose from the regions of darkness, attack your favourite goddess LIBERTY on her throne, surrounded by you her most zealous votaries; rend her sacred vestments, besmear her with dirt, squirt his venomous excrements in her face, lash her with the keen whips of reproach, and at last, to complete his malice, with the frantic fury of a *Clement*, a *Ravillac*, or a *Damien*, rush forward to plunge a dagger in her heart: O execrable parricide!

When his insulting libels enter your assemblies, why do you not arise, and with honest indignation tear them to pieces, and offer up their mangled fragments to *Vulcan*? unless you choose to reserve them for a more ignominious office. You neither want for capacity to discern his insults, nor for spirit to resent the abuse: no; for to do you justice, I must say, whatever the pride of presumption and the swell of vanity may induce some persons to think, the *merchants* of *London*, in their collective capacity, possess more honest, useful, political knowledge, and understand more of the true interest of their country, than all the ministers of state ever discovered, or were masters of, who have appeared in  
Britain



Britain since the invasion of *Julius Cæsar*; however their honest voice may be despised by empty vanity and proud conceit. They have made tyrants tremble on their thrones, and dyed the scaffold with the blood of pernicious, wicked counsellors. That they may always prosper in such pursuits, and confound the machinations of all such advocates for tyranny and slavery as the BRITON and his patrons, is the hearty prayer of,

Sir, your most humble servant,

WILLIAM TEMPLE.

To the NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

In the public papers of last Saturday and Monday appeared the following Advertisement :

**T**HE AUDITOR is called upon to lay before the public the evidence on which he advanced the infamous story at the end of his last Thursday's paper. It is certain that NO CONVERSATION of any kind passed between the two persons supposed to be mentioned, except complimentary expressions, some months ago, in the presence of a right honourable gentleman. The whole is an entire and impudent falsehood; and if the gentleman so alluded to was guilty of so flagrant an outrage to honour, he ought to be shunned as the pest of society.

In answer to which the AUDITOR says, *The story is indeed infamous, but by whom is the AUDITOR called upon? Is it by the person charged with that flagrant behaviour? And does he himself plead Not guilty?* He is called upon by the person supposed to be charged with that flagrant behaviour, who does plead *Not guilty*, and denies every circumstance of the charge.

Oct. 7.

I am, &c.

No. XX.

No. XX. Saturday, OCTOBER 16, 1762.

ENGLAND! thy fault FRANCE hath in thee found out,  
 A nest of hollow bosoms. SHAKESPEARE.

THE AUDITOR, like other low mechanics in the service of the government, has of late been ordered to work *double tides*, and I suppose of consequence has received *double pay*. When the glad tidings of an *Auditor Extraordinary* were first by himself with such parade announced to the public, I could not suspect that he only meant to *double* the nauseous dose of the week. I thought that the *preliminaries*, or the *great outline* of the *peace*, would have been shadowed out, and the uneasy sensation of a fretful impatience for the appearance of that truly *extraordinary* paper prey'd upon me. My disappointment was most severe. I found nothing in the *Auditor Extraordinary* but a great deal of low abuse on the city of *London*, and a dull repetition of old, fulsome, and outré compliments to *all his pay-masters*; compliments which neither he, nor any other man in this country believes. He therefore, in sound policy, has most judiciously made his appeal to a *Chinese philosopher*, whom he soon cures of all his prejudices in favour of this nation; but then, on the other hand, he has given us such a specimen of the *Chinese* in so simple a fellow, that we cannot but laugh in our turn at that *wise* nation. In a former paper he had referred the decision of some constitutional points to the stupid, drunken \* *Cherokee* king, who *would* not even articulate, and to his *ideal* majesty of *Brobdingnag*, who *could* not answer him. He has never once ventured to make the appeal to a cool, candid Englishman.

The poor *Chinese*, whom he has dragged to *London*, is first fed with soft, insipid pap, and afterwards with the rankest poison. He is told, that when he first *enters this metropolis*, he will meet with *daily and weekly libels against a ministry* LEGALLY APPOINTED by the sovereign power. How soon will this foreigner learn the beauties of the English language! not only *daily* but even *weekly*

\* The *Cherokee* king was at this time in *London*.

by libels. Has the *legality* of the appointment of the ministry been ever disputed? I have only heard that the *prudence* and *fitness* of the choice, from the known incapacity of the persons, has been indeed very highly arraigned. I will illustrate this by a similar case: *Cibber* and *Whitehead* were as legally appointed laureats as *Johnson* and *Dryden*. The *legality* never came into question, but the *absurdity of the choice* was the object of just ridicule with the public. But tho' our *Chinese* is indeed very foolish, he could scarcely avoid making this very obvious remark, that if there are *weekly*, nay *daily* papers, issued against the ministry, it is impossible they can have the confidence of the nation, or the hearts of the people with them. He would be apt to enquire if the late ministry were every *week*, every *day*, attacked by their own countrymen; and if we were (in the *AUDITOR'S* words) *torn with party contentions amongst ourselves, or distracted with different views*, while they held the reins of administration. When he was told that *no* writings of that kind then appeared, he must conclude that the late ministry had the full approbation of their country, and was founded in the love and confidence of the people, who he would find, were known to wish for their continuance, and *weekly, daily* expressed not only their dislike, but their alarming apprehensions of our present minister, with an openness and spirit warranted by the constitution. His inference would be easy and natural, that there is now something not merely suspicious, but *unsafe* and *rotten* in the state of administration.

The *Auditor* has very obligingly taken care that we shall not remain in any doubt who the new ministry are, thus *legally appointed by the sovereign power*. In a former paper he has given us an intimation of *Swift's* political dictionary of the fashionable words, *church, tory, party, &c.* He tells us the present ministry are two *Scotsmen*, together with the *Lord high chancellor, the right honourable the earls of Egremont, Halifax, Talbot, Lord Barrington, Sir Francis Dashwood, Sir John Turner, George Grenville, Esq; Charles Townshend, &c.* I believe Statesmen of such opposite, incoherent, and heterogeneous principles were never before huddled together. The

confusion and fermentation which has followed this unnatural mixture we have all seen. I am not so much surprized at finding Mr. *Townshend* at the *far* end of this list, and after some gentlemen now for the first moment, *to their own surprize*, dubb'd *statesmen*, as I am to find him mentioned at all by the *Auditor*. My reason is, that this statesman is not the *slave of power*, nor the *creature of the minister*. Acknowledged abilities and superior talents have alone raised him, and he now holds a great \* office, to the entire satisfaction of the public, on the most free and independent terms. He has never stooped to the low arts of cringing to favourites, or the minions of favourites; nor would he ever submit to the insolent controul of a ministerial bashaw. I will answer for him that he will never suffer *his way to be prescribed to him by any proud Scot*. He has proved himself no less the faithful servant of the public than of the prince, and in place has ever preserved the rights of office, the manliness of his character, and a thorough independency in all his conduct. From these considerations it has necessarily happened that no great confidence has at any time been placed by the present minister in this gentleman. On the contrary, a jealousy and distrust of him have on many occasions indecently broke out.

Two other motives have likewise concurred, and they have both effectually prevented his wonderful abilities and most powerful eloquence ever gaining that ascendancy in the cabinet which they have in parliament, and with the public at large. The first is derived partly from his family, partly from himself; the other is intirely *personal*. This gentleman is of a noble *whig* family, ever steadily attached to the *cause of liberty*, and to *revolution principles*; and has himself never been *warp'd*, never for a moment deviated from the bright path his ancestors have followed with so much spirit and applause. It is impossible therefore that he can enjoy the smiles of an administration, which has *swept the Cocoa for statesmen and pensioners*, or can really be in any high degree of court favour, now the family on the throne have for some months ceased to govern by their firm friends the *Whigs*, to whom we owe our liberties, and the *Brunswic* family,

\* Mr. *Townshend* was at that time Secretary at War.

family, the glorious protectors of them. It is but justice too to declare, that the house of *Brunswic* owe their firm establishment on the throne of these kingdoms to the steady zeal and intrepidity of the *Whigs*. Besides, this gentleman has never *distressed* government. He has often supported it; and, in times of perplexity and embarrassment, has extricated a *weak* and *feeble* ministry, when a national concern has called for the exertion of his abilities. The papers relative to the extent of our rights in *Acadia* and *North America* were drawn up in so correct, clear, and masterly a way, that they have left no room for the smallest cavil of the most shuffling *French* negotiator. This was of the most signal service to government, and was done at an age usually of levity and dissipation; yet is the whole performance so perspicuous and convincing, as well as polished and elegant, that the most experienced and refined statesmen might derive real honour from it. This gentleman has passed thro' almost all the scenes of national business, and in every part of public life has given the clearest proofs of his regard to the principles of liberty, and the rights of the people, secured by the *Revolution*. I therefore rather wondered to find his name at all in the *Auditor's* list. It is upon this principle I suppose the *Duke of Devonshire* is totally omitted. I think he is still *lord chamberlain*, though he is not to be ranked among the ministers. I am glad however, that he still continues in that high office, as he may perhaps keep out a *Scot-man*; and I hope that no studied slights nor offensive behaviour will induce him to gratify his and our adversary, by an ill-timed resignation. I trust that he will, after the great example of his noble house, pledge himself to the public as the firm and zealous supporter of those old *Whigs*, whom he knows to be the true friends of his country, and whose attachment to him is so visible to all mankind, and so thoroughly to be depended upon in the most arduous moments.

My other motive for believing that *Mr. Townshend* has no share of ministerial confidence, is my knowledge of his superior genius and abilities. The splendor of a great genius is offensive to men of narrow and mean understandings. His intuitive eye would pierce too far into things

things not fit, perhaps, to be seen at all, much less to be viewed narrowly by an accurate observer. He joins to an infinite fire of imagination and brilliancy of wit, a cool and solid judgment, a wonderful capacity for business of every kind, the most intense application to it, and a consummate knowledge of the great commercial interests of this country, which I never heard were before united in the same person. Such a man can never be suffered by a *weak minister* to rise to any very considerable degree of power or influence. If such abilities as he possesses should bear him through, it must end in the minister's ruin.

I have not done with the *Auditor's* list, though I shall at present dwell a very little while longer on it. He says that *he has barely done justice to the characters of those who fill the first departments of the state. Let the most inveterate dealers in calumny single out one of them, and then point out a moral turpitude in his conduct. If they cannot do this, &c.* Now I will keep just to the *windward of the law*, and will affirm that the *public records* of the *courts of justice* of this kingdom bear testimony to the falsehood of this assertion. Yet with a candour unknown to the *Auditor*, I will be free to own, that what I dare to allude to is not a transaction which would blast the reputation of a man of *honour*. I speak now according to modern ideas of *honour* and *gallantry*, and he knows that I allude to *more than one* fact of very *immoral turpitude*, established on oath in a long course of judicial proceedings. Any man who has lived in the world will immediately, on casting his eye over the names of the worthies given us by the *Auditor*, recollect a hundred entertaining anecdotes to be parcelled out among the proprietors of that list, and will despise a venal scribbler, who can prostitute his pen to so infamous a purpose. This extravagant encomium is in reality the most bitter invective I have read, excepting only the following cruel satire on the whole body of the English nobility. *The person, who has exhausted all their calumny, is perhaps the most distinguished of the nobility for integrity of life, for the enlargement of his understanding, for the feelings of humanity, and the unblemished honesty of his character.* If this really is the case, I wonder not that the *House of Lords* is of so very little consequence in this nation; I rather

rather think it ought to be of none at all, and must sink into contempt. But surely the public has very little to do with the private life and morals of the minister: let him discharge the duty he owes to the state with fidelity and integrity (with capacity he cannot) and I will not follow him in his private hours of retirement. Whether they pass in the most trifling amusements, in the wonderful disquisitions of a little genius on *cockle-shells, flowers, or plants*, or in the hidden, gloomy recesses of guilt, shall not be my inquiry.

As I am to keep company with the AUDITOR this week, I shall take notice of a trifling charge brought against me by him some time ago. He says, *with a proper distribution of asterisks (for that, let me tell you, is a nostrum for applause, people strangely admiring what they do not understand) you may insinuate, to the bitter cost of a certain nobleman, who that somebody is; and afterwards he adds, I would have you choose some piece of deep scandal; recollect all that has ever been charged upon favourites, then dispose your asterisks \* \* \* \* \** and thus the business is done. I do not mean to tire my good friend the AUDITOR; it will not take him up much time; but I will beg him to count them, and to tell me how many *stars* he has found in all the numbers of the NORTH BRITON. I despise so pitiful an evasion. The laws of my country are my protection: my only patron is the PUBLIC, to which I will ever make my appeal, and hold it sacred. I would not use any *stars*, though I could dispose them as judiciously, and in as proper numbers, as that amazing comic genius *Tristram Shandy*; unless indeed I meant them to the same comic purpose.



No. XXI. Saturday, OCTOBER 23, 1762.

Semper ego AUDITOR tantum, nunquamne reponam?

JUVENAL.

AS the attack which was made on the 30th of September by my good friend the AUDITOR, on a Gentleman of known reputation, took its rise entirely  
from

from a supposition of that Gentleman's being concerned in this paper, and consequently opposed to falsehood and the AUDITOR, we think it our duty to take every occasion, which offers, of giving the injured party the most public opportunities of vindicating his innocence, and exposing to general contempt a writer, who hath, in the most positive manner, asserted facts, which, when called upon, he hath not even attempted to prove, and broached a rank and infamous falsehood, which he hath neither courage to maintain, nor honesty to acknowledge. Two reasons there were indeed which induced us to wish that this affair might not have been canvassed, that it might have been considered as the lie of the day, and like many other instances of the AUDITOR's happy invention, been wholly disregarded. The one was the character of the Gentleman at whom the slander was pointed, and the other the character of the writer by whom it was directed. All who knew the first, must immediately have declared him incapable of such behaviour; and all who knew the last, must have acknowledged him capable of saying or doing any thing which was disingenuous and mean. On these accounts it was impossible the story should ever meet with credit; and therefore we could have wished it had passed unnoticed; but since our correspondent is of a different opinion, and a strict and delicate sense of honour determines him to make as public a vindication of his innocence as the nature of the case will admit, we with great cheerfulness insert the following genuine letters.

To the Rev. Dr. BURTON, Head Master of WINCHESTER COLLEGE.

S I R,

WINCHESTER, Oct. 19.

I AM really sorry that it is now become necessary for me to make *another* application to you in relation to the charge supposed to be brought against me in the AUDITOR of the 30th of September. The name of a \* young gentleman under your care has been publicly made use of to give sanction to a falsehood, and to blast a character, which I have a right to say, not the slightest stain of dishonour has ever spotted. I am conscious of the  
most

\* A Son of the Earl of Bute.



most perfect innocence as to every article of this charge, and I desire that the proof of this may be as public as the accusation has been. One natural and obvious method of coming at the truth is certainly by an examination of the youth himself. I beg most earnestly that this may be in the presence of yourself, and the young gentlemen of the college; and, being thus accused, I should hope to be indulged with being at the examination. I am satisfied that the young gentleman will not to my face advance so gross an untruth, as that he has had *one moment's conversation* with me, since *Sir Francis Dashwood* left Winchester in the spring. *Sir Francis* will do me the justice of telling the world, how civil and obliging, and how becoming us both, were the very few conversations we had together, and they all passed in his presence.

Give me leave, Sir, to remind you, that a very few weeks ago a complaint was made to me of an insult offered to the young gentlemen of the college by some soldiers of the *Buckinghamshire* regiment, which I have the honour of commanding. I made the most immediate inquiry, and found the complaint to have been well founded. I ordered a very exemplary punishment, which was in part inflicted; the rest, at the request of yourself and the young gentlemen, was remitted. By my express orders pardon was asked of the college in a public manner. I hope that, injured as I am, I shall be indulged in the request I make, of an inquiry into so heinous a charge brought against me, and said to be supported by a young gentleman under your care. Truth and justice make this strong claim for me, and from the fairness of *Dr. Burton's* character, I am persuaded that he will not suffer the least failure of justice, and that I shall meet with the only two things I ask, candour and impartiality.

What I have proposed must, I think, strike a sensible mind as a probable method of finding out the the truth. *That* evidence would be *direct*; the *collateral* evidence is as full as I could wish. *Dr. Broclesby*, Physician to the army, has given the strongest written testimony in my justification. I inclose his account of a strange, political dialogue, which passed in the bookseller's shop here, at which only the young gentleman, the doctor, and the  
bookseller

bookseller were present. I believe this gave rise to the *fable* in the AUDITOR. The evidence of the bookseller will be found as express as the doctor's: no other person, by both their accounts, was present. I am most anxious for the examination of the young gentleman in any manner you choose (but I hope that it will be public) because it is whispered that he affirms some of the particulars of the charge, which the AUDITOR has so finely cook'd up. I declare *upon my honour* that every particular of the charge is false. I will now just hint what I imagine, from all I have heard, is the real state of the fact. The youth has very frequently in the bookseller's shop abused me in the grossest terms. He knew so little of me, as to be afraid, if I heard of his behaviour, that I should complain to you; and he dreaded the punishment he thought must follow. To save himself he has invented this curious tale, the falsity of which in every particular he knows better than any body. If this should appear to be the case, as I am persuaded it will, I will venture to say that it will give the noble lord his father more real concern than all the papers together, which have been published against him for the last twelvemonth.

You, Sir, have with so just applause formed the tender minds of youth to the noblest principles, and with such success have sown the seeds of virtue and honour, that I need not say how dear and precious to a liberal mind *good fame* is. The fairest virtue cannot escape calumny; but every man, who has it in his power, is, by what ought to be the most cogent of all motives, a strict regard to justice, called upon to vindicate injur'd innocence.

All the papers I have referred to are inclosed. I beg you to peruse them at your leisure, and afterwards to return them to me. I am, with great respect, Sir, your most humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

*To Colonel WILKES.*

SIR,  
**W**HEN I had the honour of seeing you in my lodgings, I acquainted you with my resolution, that I would not concern myself in the affair: at the  
 fame

same time assured you I would not read any public papers relating to it. I have the honour to be with great regard, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

*Tuesday Morning.*

JOHN BURTON.

However willing we shall be, on all occasions, to comply with the desires of our correspondents, we cannot by any means agree, *as desired*, in the present case, to lay these letters before the public, and leave each reader to make his own observations. We would not even wish to prevent our readers from having their opinions, but we never can consent to be tied up from giving our own.

Through the whole letter to the master of Winchester College, there is a nice sense of honour, a proper spirit of resentment, and that earnest desire of explanation, which truth is as desirous to obtain, as guilt and falsehood are careful to avoid. The request of a meeting with the young gentlemen, under the circumstances there mentioned, is highly reasonable: it is what the injured party certainly has a right to expect, and what the master could not for any good reason refuse; to which indeed we impute the beautiful brevity of his epistle, the general terms in which his refusal is couched, and the peremptory manner in which he shuts up every avenue to a fair and open explanation. I should be glad to know what the cautious and discreet master of that College would have thought, if, on his complaint against the soldier, the colonel had given an answer in his own way, and had positively told him, in his own words, *that he would not concern himself in the affair*. This I think is nearly a similar case. The person supposed to have raised this story laid the scene of it in a place and at a time when he was immediately under the direction of the master, and accountable to him for any misbehaviour. On what principles therefore he can avoid taking cognizance of the affair I cannot see, unless he considers himself appointed only as an instructor in languages, as one who has no charge of the heart, nothing to do with the morals of his pupils, and equally unconcerned whether they tread the paths of honour, or give themselves up to vice and meanness.

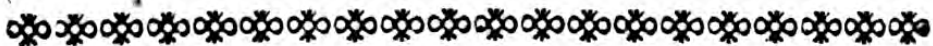
ness. Had the meeting required in this letter been agreed to, and let me say the honour of the young gentleman himself, *if innocent*, seemed loudly to demand it, the first rise and whole progress of this affair had been laid open, the public had been satisfied, the innocent cleared, and the guilty given up to that contempt they deserved: but since this is denied, we shall venture to give our opinions of the whole transaction, and of the persons concerned.

The young gentleman, with a spirit which every thing considered, is perhaps not to be disapproved, had thrown out much abuse against *Colonel Wilkes*, and either through fear of punishment, as our correspondent candidly intimates, or through a youthful warmth of disposition, and a desire of acquiring the reputation of resolution, invents a conference which never passed, substituting *Colonel Wilkes*, in the place of *Doctor Brocklesby*, and adapting circumstances to that ingenious transformation.

The AUDITOR (whose connexions with all the great families in the kingdom give him an opportunity of coming at private anecdotes) heard a plain, simple, and unvarnished tale; but having been charged by us with want of invention, determined at once to prove the falseness of that charge and gratify his malice. The decorations of the story therefore we may with much reason place to his account. The original falsehood, which was the groundwork of all, is perhaps the property of the noble youth; but the many incoherent fictions which were raised upon it, are probably embellishments added by the AUDITOR for his own credit.

*Colonel Wilkes*, conscious of his own innocence, immediately took the alarm: he made a public declaration of his innocence; he called upon the AUDITOR, but in vain, to bring proofs of his assertion; he appealed to *Sir Francis Dashwood*, with relation to his behaviour to the young gentleman some months since; he called upon *Doctor Brocklesby* to declare what he knew of it, who with all that honest readiness which became a man of honour, not only exculpated him, but gave a probable account of the rise of the fable; he even dared, which nothing but conscious innocence would have dared, to appeal to the bookseller who lived on the very spot, who was declared by the young gentleman himself, to have  
been

been present during the conversation, and who in the strongest terms bore witness to the falsehood of the charge; and lastly he begged, which I think he had a right to insist on, to have a personal meeting, and to be brought face to face with his accuser. But this the *prudent Master* thought fit to refuse. It doth not appear indeed, either from *Col. Wilkes's* letter to *Dr. Burton*, or from his answer, that any reasons were given for that refusal. I must however have too good an opinion of a gentleman, placed at the head of *Winchester* school, to think that he acted without reason; his very situation implies *understanding*, though we have *formerly* met with some instances where it did not include *integrity*. The interest of his school, as well as the honour of his pupil, seem to exact a very different behaviour from that which the Doctor pursued, and yet I cannot believe that a master of *Winchester* school could act without reason. I am afraid indeed, that in these considerations I have overlooked the most material point, and thinking only of public concerns have forgot that the Doctor had a private interest of his own, which, however I have a saving faith, the Doctor will never forget. He will ever distinguish between persons in, and out of power; between a Colonel engaged in the barren cause of Liberty, almost alone, and a favourite with a troop of slavish courtiers at his heels, and bishopricks at his command. Motives of this kind prevented the clearing up this, as they have many other affairs of a like nature, and such considerations prevailed, for such only they could be, as interest might suggest, but honour would always despise.



No. XXII. Saturday, OCTOBER 30, 1762.

Versus inopes rerum, nugæque canoræ.

HOR.

AS our attention to the AUDITOR hath too often drawn us from our original design, and considerations of a public nature have been suspended for matters of private concern, we shall once more trespass on our political reader, tho' with much better reason, and introduce

duce to his acquaintance those muses, whom modern bards have taught us to consider as strangers to every thing which passes in the world, as exiles from the cabinet, and fit only to wander in shady groves and flowery meads. The \* gentleman to whom we are obliged for the following Poem, seems to think very differently; and as we know no one who is better acquainted with those ladies than himself, we shall certainly pay great respect to his judgment, especially when we have to good a proof of it, as that which we now present to the Public.

It hath always been customary, and never with greater reason than at present, to consider *the birth of a prince* as a national blessing, as a cement of love and duty betwixt the king and his people, and a pledge of their future happiness to succeeding ages. In consequence of this opinion we always find addresses flying on such occasions to the throne from every part of the nation, assurances of fidelity and protestations of joy are given in all the pomp of laboured language, and with all that awful form which such a solemnity requires. The common dull multitude are contented with humble prose, and satisfied if they speak so as to be understood, and to express the warmth and sincerity of their affection; but from our two universities, those seminaries of true virtue and sound learning, those bright and glorious luminaries of the literary world, something more is required, something of a sublimer nature, something which may shew their superiority over the vulgar herd, and for this end the muses are called in to consecrate their offerings.

On these occasions we have often seen, and not without great concern, whole pages together cold and fulsome; the dull mechanical part of *versmanship* indeed is found, but the spirit of true poetry is wanting, and every thing considered, how should it be otherwise? In *one* of these seats of learning the muses are looked on with an evil eye, and in *both* persons are from situation compelled to write, who are chilled by age, who either were never acquainted with poetry at all, or have for many years bid adieu to it. Hence, and for some other reasons, which our reader's pene-

\* Robert Lloyd, Esq;  
F

tration will naturally suggest to him, this poetical tribute is scarcely worth the acceptance of the prince, and reflects but little credit on that respectable body by whom it is presented. To remedy this is the design of the present Poem, in which the heads of colleges may learn once more the rules of verses, may see and rectify former mistakes, and make their next offering worthy the acceptance of that great personage whom they mean to congratulate.

In spite of some little severity which our poet shews in the following performance, we must think his observations generally just; but there is one thing, which he hath not taken notice of, undoubtedly calculated to give every lover of literature true pleasure. In these collections we often see the names of *nobles* affixed to particular copies, and from thence may rest assured either that they have not forgotten to write, or if they have, are unwilling that the world should know it.

As a *North-Briton* we cannot help observing the presumption of the poet, who has included our *Scottish* universities, and dared to prescribe rules to men who are fit to give law to the world, ignorantly considering our great seminaries as on a footing with those antiquated names, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. Our taste for poetry is well known, and such performances we could produce as would stagger credibility. We must caution our reader therefore to consider every thing in the following piece, which is pointed against the *Scots* as the effect of prejudice and poetical fiction; and to justify him in this opinion we shall hereafter, in a dearth of politics, present him with some compositions lately transmitted to us from that nation, which will shew them as far superior to the English in poetry, as in every other respect.

#### THE POETRY PROFESSORS.

OLD *England* has not lost her pray'r.  
 And *George* the good has got an heir.  
 A royal babe, a *Prince of Wales*.  
 —Poets! I pity all your nails—  
 What reams of paper will be soil'd!  
 What *graduses* be daily spoil'd

By

By inky fingers, greasy thumbs,  
Hunting the word that never comes!

Now *Academics* pump their wits,  
And lash in vain their lazy *tits*;  
In vain they whip, and lash and spur,  
The callous jades will never stir;  
Nor can they reach *Parnassus'* hill,  
Try every method which they will.  
Nay, should the *tits* get on for once,  
Each rider is so *grave* a dunce,  
That, as I've heard good judges say,  
It's ten to one they'd lose their way.  
Tho' not one wit bestrides the back  
Of useful drudge, ycleped hack,  
But *fine bred things* of *mettled blood*,  
Pick'd from *Apollo's* royal stud,  
*Greek, Roman*, nay *Arabian* steeds,  
Or those our mother country breeds;  
Some ride ye *in*, and ride ye *out*,  
And to come *home* go round *about*,  
Nor on the green sward, nor the road,  
And that I think they call an *Ode*.  
Some take the pleasant country air,  
And smack their whips, and drive a pair,  
Each horse with bells which chink and chime,  
And so they *march*—and that is *rhime*.  
Some copy with prodigious skill  
The figures of a *buttery bill*.  
Which with great folks of erudition  
Shall pass for *Coptic* or *Phœnician*.  
While some as *patriot* love prevails,  
To compliment a Prince of *Wales*,  
Salute the royal babe in *Welsh*,  
And send forth *gutturals* like a belch.  
What pretty things imagination  
Will fritter out in adulation!  
The *Pagan* gods shall visit earth  
To triumph in a *Christian's* birth,  
While *classic* poets, pure and chaste  
Of *trim*, and *academic taste*,  
hall lug them in by head and shoulders,  
To be or *speakers* or *beholders*.



*Mars* shall present him with a lance,  
 To humble *Spain* and conquer *France*;  
 The *Graces*, buxom, blith and gay,  
 Shall at his cradle dance the *Hay*,  
 And *Venus*, with her train of *Loves*,  
 Shall bring a thousand pair of *doves*,  
 'To bill, to coo, to whine, to squeak,  
 Through all the *dialects* of *Greek*.  
 How many *swains* of classic breed,  
 Shall *deftly* tune their *oaten* reed,  
 And bring their *Doric* nymphs to town,  
 To sing their measures *up* and *down*;  
 In notes *alternate*, clear and sweet,  
 Like *Ballad* singers in a street.  
 While those who grasp at reputation,  
 From *imitating imitation*,  
 Shall hunt each cranny, nook and creek,  
 For *precious* fragments in the *Greek*,  
 And rob the *spital*, and the *waste*,  
 For Sense, and Sentiment, and Taste.  
 What Latin *hodge podge*, Grecian *hash*,  
 With Hebrew *roots*, and English *trash*,  
 Shall academic cooks produce  
 For present shew, and future use!  
*Fellows!* who've soak'd away their knowledge,  
 In *sleepy* residence at College,  
 Whose lives are like a stagnant pool,  
 Muddy and placid, dull and cool;  
 Mere drinking, eating; eating, drinking;  
 With no impertinence of thinking;  
 Who lack no farther erudition,  
 Than just to *set* an imposition,  
 To cramp, demolish and dispirit,  
 Each true begotten child of merit;  
 Censors who in the day's broad light  
 Punish the vice they act at night;  
 Whose charity with self begins,  
 Nor covers others *venial* sins;  
 But that their feet may safely tread,  
 Take up hypocrisy instead,  
 As knowing that must always hide  
 A multitude of sins beside.

Whose

Whose rusty wit is at a stand,  
 Without a *freshman* at their hand ;  
 (Whose service must of course create  
 The just return of sev'n fold hate)  
 Lord ! that such *good* and *useful* men  
 Should ever turn to books agen ?

Yet matter must be gravely plann'd  
 And syllables on fingers scann'd,  
 And racking pangs rend lab'ring head,  
 Till Lady Muse is gone to bed :  
 What hunting, changing, toiling, sweating,  
 To bring the useful epithet in !

*Vide* No. 26.



No. XXIII. Saturday, NOVEMBER 6, 1762.

Now call we our high court of Parliament,  
 And let us choose such limbs of noble counsel,  
 That the great body of our State may go  
 In equal rank with the best govern'd nation ;  
 That war, or peace, or both, at once may be  
 As things acquainted or familiar to us.

*Shakespeare.*

THE name of *Parliaments* is deservedly dear, and the meeting of them matter of reasonable joy to every true Englishman. The very mention of them recalls to our thoughts the noble ends for which they were established, and the various means by which, at different times and under different circumstances, our ancestors have happily obtained them. What glorious stands have they often made for liberty ! How resolutely have they resisted, how successfully baffled, the daring attempts of arbitrary monsters ! How often, and with what perseverance, have they pursued and brought to justice corrupt ministers, endeavouring in vain to screen themselves behind the throne ! How ready, on the other hand, have we found them to support the dignity and prerogative of the crown in its due extent ! How zealous to forward every good and national design ! How unanimous in strengthening the hands of an upright administration !

In the last point of view only we have had the happiness to consider them for some years. Blest with a King, who, born an *Englishman*, glories in the name, who considers the interests of his people as his own, who, possessed of their love, esteems it the brightest jewel in his crown, who approves himself the guardian and not the invader of their liberties, the rage of party hath been happily extinguished, and the names by which factions were known are almost forgotten. Never did Monarch express greater satisfaction and confidence in his parliaments, and never had any monarch greater reason for it. Notwithstanding the insinuations thrown out by some pestilent movers of sedition, I trust that in the ensuing, as in preceding Parliaments, we shall find the same good understanding and harmony, which alone has been the cause of our present happiness, and which alone can render it lasting. The very calling of a parliament is in itself a symptom of sanity in our state. It implies either that there are no just grounds of complaints, or that, if there are, the prince is ready to hear and to redress them, when that respectable body is assembled, who have an immediate right of laying their grievances before the throne.

As our affairs are now situated, when not only our present welfare, but our future prosperity, seems to turn upon a moment, when matters of the most interesting nature call for consideration, when business of the last consequence is to be done, and there is so little time to do it in, I will not, I cannot believe, that even that little shall be made less by the \* *prorogation* of Parliament. Let the enemies of the administration pretend what they will, I must here be an infidel, I must consider it as one of those many lying reports which the sons of sedition industriously propagate, and with which they endeavour to embroil public affairs merely to serve their private interests. What! on the eve of peace, and of such a peace as must either establish or ruin us for ever, (for in our present situation, loaded as we are with an enormous debt, there appears no alternative) shall the great council of the nation be postponed? True it is, that although they supply the sinews of the war, they have no right to make peace ;  
but

\* The Parliament was prorogued to the 25th of November.

but they have an undoubted right of examining into the peace when made, and if it shall be found dishonourable and disadvantageous, a circumstance well deserving serious consideration at this time, they have an undoubted right also of calling the advisers of it to a severe account. If the peace be such as redounds to the advantage of this nation, no matter by whom it is made. *Scot* and *Englishmen* in that respect are the same, and matters of less consequence may remain to be debated afterwards at leisure; but if it shall be inadequate to our great successes, unequal to those hopes which we have justly formed of securing and enlarging our commerce, of straitening the enemy in their marine, and depriving them of those nurseries of seamen, which alone have enabled them to carry on the war, then let the advisers of it turn back to past ages, and from the examples of others, learn to tremble for themselves.

If we enquire into the cause of that dissatisfaction which at present prevails, and examine the grounds on which the opinion of our having a bad peace is founded, at a time when we have all the right in the world to expect the *peace* to be good, we shall find a distrust of the present ministry either as to abilities or integrity, or both, to be the real source of this discontent. The word *favourite* hath been artfully buzzed about to inflame our minds, which, without any comments on it, are apt enough to take fire even at the name. The ideas which an Englishman forms on the very mention of that word, are such as inspire him with suspicion: he looks back to past times, he there sees the fatal consequences which have arisen, when private affection hath taken the lead of public considerations, and he immediately applies it to his own time. However clearly he may see the right of the sovereign to appoint his own servants, yet when they are appointed to such offices as are of a public nature, he cannot, nor indeed ought he to be easy, if he thinks they are unequal to the places which they fill, and that the nation may be injured by them. As no people ever suffered more by favourites, we are the more excuseable if we carry this point to excess, if our fears are sometimes quicker than reason warrants, and the event justifies: knowing

how severely we have smarted from their lash formerly, we figure to our minds the same effects now. We are convinced of the truth of Shakespeare's observation,

“ That man that sits within a monarch's heart  
 “ And ripens in the sunshine of his favour,  
 “ Would he abuse the countenance of the king,  
 “ Alack, what mischiefs might he set abroad  
 “ In shadow of such greatness !”

Our apprehensions immediately take the alarm, we fancy ourselves ready to become woeful instances of the influence of a *favourite*; we see his power, and we infer his inclination to do evil. Nor are these fears lessened when we consider the object of them as of a different nation; for, notwithstanding the *Union*, the rigid friends of *Old England* have not yet thought themselves to consider the *Scots* as the same people, and compliment them with their places and preferments with a good grace.

Another cause of distrust at this juncture is the influence of *Tories* turned courtiers. Whilst we could perceive the *Whigs*, those old and firm friends of the constitution and of the present family on the throne, standing in some degree of credit, and holding a share in the administration, we were tolerably easy in this respect; but now that the face of affairs is changed, and they seem to be in disgrace, on whom shall we rely? The *Duke of Devonshire*, descended from a family, whose actions have done honour to their rank, well known for constitutional principles, untainted with base considerations of interest, a stranger to factious zeal, of acknowledged understanding, integrity and moderation, was to every true lover of his country a rock on which he might with confidence repose his trust, and justice might declare that he never would take a part in any action which was contrary to the interest of his country, or give the sanction of his name to countenance corrupt administration. This security we are now deprived of, and him whom we could with joy and confidence behold at the head of affairs, we see divested of all authority but that which his own virtues will always give him.

On

On whom then are we to depend? on those old enemies of liberty, those abettors of arbitrary power, those sworn foes of our constitution, the *Tories*? Forbid it, heaven! Consider them as bred up in the rudiments of treason, as continuing fast to the same tenets, even after they came to maturity, and were capable of judging for themselves, as holding their midnight assemblies, and secretly sacrificing at the altars of rebellion, as openly ridiculing the family on the throne, thwarting every measure taken for its establishment, and in the most perilous times sitting down inactive, and with their wishes assisting those who aimed at the ruin of the state, and whom they would no doubt have assisted in a more effectual manner, had not fear prevented. Are these men to be depended on? Shall we believe that they have changed their way of thinking? we may, when they can shew us any good and sufficient cause for such change, and point out the reasons by which they were convinced. Men of understanding quit not rooted opinions, which they have maturely weighed, examined, and approved, in which they have persisted and justified themselves many years, without some strong and very convincing reason, which brings truth home to them in a manner not to be resisted. But what reason can they produce, which they had not before tried and rejected? Suspicion therefore, whether well or ill founded is not the question, will suggest to us either that they have not changed their opinion, and only pretend it, the more easily to accomplish the worst of purposes, or that interest alone hath worked the change in them. If the first of these is the case, it is obvious how much they are to be feared; if the last, it is plain how little they are to be trusted.

Another and indeed the strongest reason for distrust, is a rumour lately spread by the emissaries of the disaffected, and too readily received by the multitude, that the chief direction of affairs is to be given into the hands of that person whom every man of honour despises, and every lover of his country is bound to curse: a rumour which, if considered properly, carries its own refutation along with it? Is it possible that we should forget the means by which we were brought to the brink of ruin,

entirely owing to him? Is it possible that we should be ignorant how universally he is hated, distrusted and despised? Can we forget his breaches of private faith, and his abuses of public trust? His very enemies allow him great abilities; but will his warmest friends say that he ever employed them to any good purpose? The greatness of his understanding serves only to make the badness of his heart more formidable, and to render our apprehensions of him more terrible. Can we then think so meanly of the present administration, as to imagine they will ever join with such a man, much less that they will act under his direction? Prejudice itself can never believe it of them; and I with much greater pleasure, and a fuller faith, receive the report, that the administration of affairs is to be lodged, where every true *Briton* would wish it, in the hands of Mr. FOX.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.

THE  
NORTH BRITON.

*Revised and Corrected* by the AUTHOR.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

EXPLANATORY NOTES,

AND

A Copious INDEX of  
NAMES and CHARACTERS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOLUME the SECOND.

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*Nostris illuferit advena regnis?*

VIRGIL.

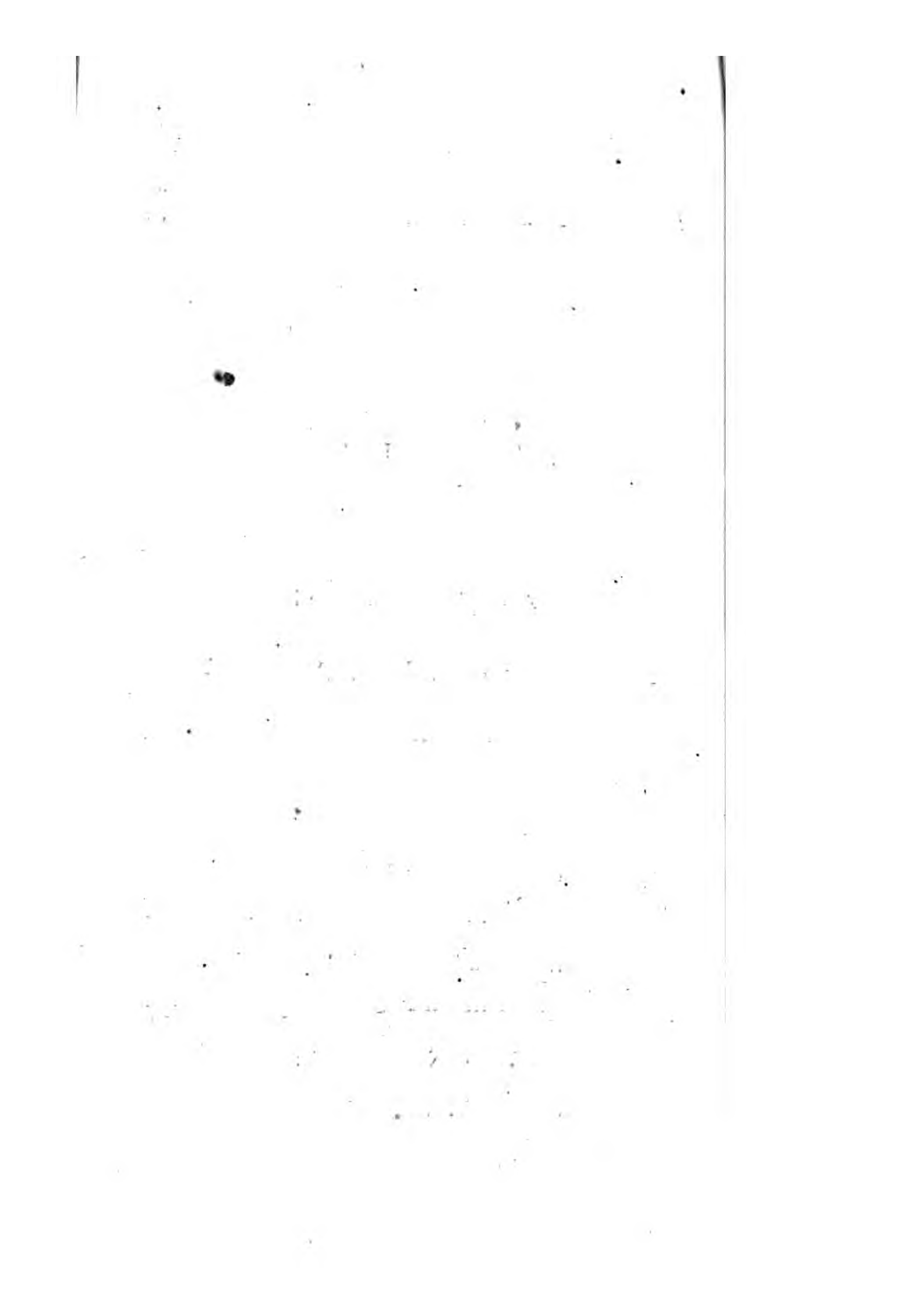
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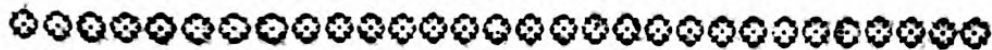




THE  
NORTH BRITON.

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V O L. II.



No. XXIV. Saturday, NOVEMBER 13, 1762.

Et cantare pares, et respondere parati. VIRG.

DIALOGUE of the LIVING,

*Between Earl Buchanan and Duke of d'Offuna.*

*E. of B.*

**N**OW, my Lord, the matter is thus—Your apprehension is very lively, and you will immediately conceive the force of my sentiments—The nation is in want of a *peace*, and a *peace* it shall have, if I have any influence; and your Grace, as I mentioned to you within, is the person appointed for this glorious work—Your Grace's parts, erudition, and extensive knowledge of the true constitution and interest of your country, clearly prove you the only person fit for so great a design—and for France, my Lord, more particularly, as your elegant address, the politeness of your manners, and your skill in—

*D. of O.*

*D. of O.* I did indeed once learn to dance, my Lord; but politics, gravity, state affairs, the government of kingdoms, and many other mighty matters, have, I am, much afraid, destroyed that ease and sprightly facetiousness for which I once was —

*E. of B.* Still, my Lord, still publicly confessed the politest man in the kingdom: but let that pass—I detest flattery, and will still adhere to the honest sincerity of my country—Now to the point, my Lord—Your Grace is sensible that a *peace* is absolutely necessary—that it must be had—had on any terms—that the land-tax in particular is abominably heavy, tho’ thank heaven, your *rebellious, whiggish* counties pay by far the greatest, and most burdensome part—the nation ruined—beggared—undone by her successes—France flourishing—very flourishing—quite inexhaustible—the king of Prussia no soldier—a Cossac—a marauder—poor—very poor—*Pitt* no orator—no statesman—a fellow that presumes to be a patriot and —

*D. of O.* All these points are very clear, my Lord—I say it—You say it—*Dick* bullies *here*, and swears to it.—What need of farther proof?—But this *Pitt* and his damn’d faction raise such disturbances about the terms of peace, and use so many far-fetched arguments against giving up this, and giving up that—though we do not, yet these fellows in the city require reasons and proofs—But, my Lord, with your instructions I will undertake to—

*E. of B.* You shall have them, my Lord; and with them, what may you not undertake? You shall have them at full: I have committed them to paper for the instruction of future ages—If Lord Clarendon had not written, in what darkness had we now been! —  
Posterity shall write our panegyrick though faction and mechanics, and low-lived wretches who live by trade decry us—You have heard of the sugar Islands, my Lord—Martinico, Guadaloupe—

*D. of O.* I was once a great master of geography, my Lord; but state affairs and politics, and the government of—The instructions at large, my Lord—

*E. of B.* We have, my Lord, in our Quixotism, conquered six or seven little islands, where they make sugar  
and

and rum and such stuff—One was conquered in my time—I am not to be blamed for it—I am not in fault—the turbulent pensioner concerted it, and I could not prevent it—He signed every single order about it—These islands are not worth one farthing, if we consider the real value of things—they increase our sugar trade; that is granted: but sugar is a promoter of diseases and luxury—it makes many of those citizens rich and assume airs of consequence; the greatest of evils!—The great Dr. *Farguharson* is now writing a folio to prove it the source of all disorders; gout, stone, phthisis, sciatica, cholera, hot, cold, wet, and dry disorders—it is the strangest, the vilest of all compositions, filled with all the noxious particles of all the elements, and only capable of giving inspiration to a *Creolian Lord Mayor*—The sugar-cane is a paltry plant—Dr. *Hill* only recommends the great virtues of the *sugar-stick* itself, to be drawn out by inward suction, and, I own, so far nothing in this island can equal that plant, but the *Carduus Augustæ benedictus*. Let us therefore give up all the sugar islands to the French; they will grow enervated and full of all those contradictory, hard-named disorders, so that our posterity will be able to kick them thro' the world, if they should ever wink at us.

*D. of O.* Time flies very fast, and the mighty French peer, my Lord—

*E. of B.* I understand you, my Lord—the rest of the instructions—Now for Canada, a miserable, wretched country; we must keep it, we must sometimes gratify the mobile; they get furs there, my Lord—To use furs for warmth is surely a scandalous invention! In *Scotland*, my Lord, we have hardly such a thing; if any Lady there be so nice as to require artificial warmth, we have cats and dogs for the purpose. Thus we encourage our native manufactures; and the delicious roughness of those animals skins promotes that friction which—But such delicacy is rarely found in our hardy, naked-thighed country—Let us avert this plague—They shall have *Louisiana*, a noble country! they shall cheat Canada of its fur trade; and thus, without drawing on ourselves the least odium, we shall defeat the malice of our enemies, banish this unnatural effeminacy from our nation, and throw it  
with

with double weight, in conjunction with pernicious sugar, on the constitutions of our enemies.

*D. of O.* But surely, my Lord, humanity should prevent—

*E. of B.* They *shall* have them, and they shall be crippled with the gout and a legion of other disorders. — We have some provinces in North America inhabited by merchants, planters, and a thousand various species of mushrooms—they are rich—too rich—very rich—their trade promotes ours—they ruin their mother country—we abound in trade, we must clip it, my Lord; we must act like skilful gardeners, and prune the luxuriances—We shall cure this evil also; we shall leave the French at their back; they will leave them no time to plod on the glorious road to riches. Besides, between you and me, the seat of empire may be transferred, if they grow too powerful, and America give laws to the universe. That shall not happen while I am at the helm, if the French incendiaries in their rear are of any effect. It is a great rule in politics that colonies and dependent countries should be kept poor; not to raise their heads, or wag their tongues, lest they should spit at their mother country.

*D. of O.* I am convinced of the justness of such politics: your lordship well knows that was the foundation of my conduct in Ireland, by which I acquired so much glory.

*E. of B.* As the first of viceroys, my dear Lord—Chesterfield was beloved; that is nothing;—you were revered and dreaded. Awe and fear are the real marks of esteem.—Our conquest in the East Indies signify not a bawbee: spice, china, arrack, and all their other commodities are worse than nothing; pimps to luxury and nourishers of wickedness. The East India company indeed may cry out: let them cry out; they are haughty merchants, and too rich already—We will give them all up—Saltpetre is the chief ingredient in gunpowder, gunpowder is used in war, and we hate war, therefore we must hate the trade that furnishes us with it; and that trade is the *East India* trade, and therefore we must—

*D. of O.* My Lord, the time—

*E. of B.*

*E. of B.* As I was saying—indeed my Lord, you have spoiled my argument; quite spoiled the connexion—I have been at it all this morning—It is called a Sorites, my Lord, and requires infinite clearness to deduce such a long chain of—

*D. of O.* The instructions, as you say, my Lord, are pretty long; but I shall remember them—We are poor—ruined—beggared—Sugar is—

*E. of B.* I have not been deceived in my choice. Your Grace is endued with great quickness of penetration—But to recapitulate all—We are ruined and undone; our trade is too great, and our merchants too rich: these may seem contradictory to the vulgar, my Lord, but you see clearly the logical distinction. We want peace—we must have it—The French are inexhaustible—they will destroy us entirely—we shall perish like Pyrrhus or Gaston de Foix—We are tormented by factions—half the subjects of this part of the kingdom are traitors—we nourish a brood of vipers in our own bosom—Our colonies are too flourishing—trade in too great an extent has been our ruin—The Benedictines must have their fish: aye, and so must the Bernardines. The French must prick the quakers of Pennsylvania in the backside; they must, and others too, to banish riches and indolence—Sugar, furs, china, arrack, saltpetre, shall be banished from my common-wealth: I will imitate Plato in this as in other things—These are the arguments for our peace, and yet clear as they are, these cockneys will presume to controvert and examine them—O that I must be doomed to watch over the caprices of furriers, sugar-boilers, cod-merchants, planters, rum-distillers, freighters, importers, and haughty *East India* directors!

*D. of O.* I am persuaded, my Lord, when they hear these arguments so clearly stated, not one of them will murmur—They know their own interests, and must be convinced how safe they will be in your hands—

*E. of B.* My Lord, you revive me—I began to have a little fit of the spleen, and to think of some unlucky consequences which may attend—But, my Lord Duke, they are not blind—they must, as you say, see their own interests—When this hurry is over, how happy shall we be in recapitulating these matters—I once had a  
design

design—and still will pursue—*Grotius* was a foreign fellow, who wrote about war and peace—Shall we not join, my Lord—After your return, when this negotiation shall prove to the world our political talents, shall we not sit down and confute the blockhead?—Our *De Jure belli & pacis* shall live for ages, and be the test of true policy for our posterity.

*D. of O.* Your Lordship may expect my assistance in every thing—*Grotius* is an ignorant puppy—one of the king of Prussia's privy counsellors, or some of his dirty hackney writers, I presume—It is a nation of ignorance?

*E. of B.* My Lord, it is time to depart—The *family compact* is nothing to us—Three or four gentlemen of the first quality in Europe, and near relations, take it into their heads to be also very strict friends—Nothing to us—As to the little trifling spots of the globe, Senegal, Minorca, Goree, Belleisle, &c. we may keep some of them, it signifies not which—the rest are intirely at your service to dispose of—Remember, my Lord—Trade the bane of our nation!

*E. of O.* I shall remember, my Lord—We shall not be overburdened—Your Lordship's most humble servant.



No. XXV. Saturday, NOVEMBER 20, 1762.

*M. Catonis splendorem maculare voluerunt, ignari quid gravitas, quid integritas, quid magnitudo animi, quid denique virtus valeret: quæ in tempestate sæva quieta est, et lucet in tenebris, et pulla loco manet tamen. atque hæret in patria, splendetque per se semper, neque alienis unquam sordibus obsolescit.*

CICERO.

**E**NVY and *calumny* have in every age been the attendants on superior *virtue*. The world has at all times been cursed with some evil and malignant spirits, who, instead of being fired with noble emulation at the great actions even of their own countrymen, have repined at their glories, and wept in the midst of the grateful acclamations of a whole people. The hero of *Milton* shed such *tears of virtue* at the view of the happy state of our  
first

first parents. Their next step is an attempt to ruin the prosperity, which they envy; or effectually to destroy all the noble fruits which would have accrued from any divine successes in which they had no share. In some instances, which could be mentioned from former periods of the *English* history, every mean art has been employed, and every dishonourable and reproachful method made use of, not only to disgrace and ruin the nation at that time, but to prevent posterity from blessing the memory of a great patriot, who wished to have entailed on his country, dignity, wealth and empire. I am sure the sagacious reader will immediately apprehend that I must mean to allude to the great Duke of *Marlborough*, and the four last years of queen *Anne*, when the faction of the *Tories* patched up the infamous, and, in the stile of that time, the felonious peace of *Utrecht*, (so inadequate to the successes of that war) the mischiefs of which we have ever since most severely felt. Almost every thing won from the *French* by the wisdom or valour of a *Whig* administration, these vipers bred and nourished in the bosom of our country, sacrificed to *France* from a lust of power, and the interested views of their faction, ever propitious and favourable to the designs of the ancient enemy of this kingdom.

In great souls the virtuous deeds even of a rival or an enemy have kindled the same noble flame. After *Miltiades* had gained the battle of *Marathon*, *Themistocles* gave up all the dissipated pleasures of an irregular youth, and applied himself solely to public affairs, declaring that he could not sleep for the trophies of *Miltiades*. To this generous emulation in the career of glory, his country was indebted for the important victory at *Salamis*, and in consequence for the preservation of the liberties of all *Greece*.

In little, narrow, selfish minds, the effect is directly opposite. Instead of covering himself with fair laurels, won in the cause of virtue, the vulgar wretch will endeavour to blast or steal others, which a generous mind would think almost equal to sacrilege. The conquest of *Martinique* was undoubtedly the honest fame and just applause of the late ministry; yet some of the present hackney hirelings (though so often convicted by the



the stubborn evidence of facts and dates) are still ascribing the whole merit of that conquest to the *Scottish* idol whom they worship, tho' it is known that not a single order relative to that noble plan issued from any one of the *Scottish* faction. The *Havannah* likewise ought to have been in our possession many months ago. If the advice in writing of the 18th of *September* had been followed, not only a victorious wreath from *Spain* had decorated a sacred brow already adorned with *French* laurels, but what is of infinitely greater importance the lives of many brave *Englishmen* had been saved to their families and their country. The real matter of the present quarrel with *Spain* subsisted in as full force in *September* as in *January*. Is not every man of sense in this kingdom convinced, that the present administration were indeed very short-sighted, and at last plunged the nation into a *Spanish* war for a trifling *verbal dispute*, almost entirely overlooking all the great matter of the most direct hostile tendency? The event of this war has been most fortunate, most glorious to *England*, and every circumstance concurred to give us victory. The enemy we had most reason to dread, the *season*, proved favourable beyond what the annals of the western world can tell: yet when we recollect that there were only 2500 men of all the *British* troops left capable of real service at the surrender of the *Havannah*, as appears from the returns, we must congratulate ourselves on our amazing good fortune, no less than on the valour and intrepidity of the best troops, which were ever collected and formed in the *American* world.

One great source of *calumny* against the late minister has been the prosecution of the war in *Germany*. This objection is made to consist of two parts. The one respects the enormous expence of this war, in the manner it has been carried on; the other, the fitness of engaging at all in *that* war. As to the first, I will only say that the money department was not that of the late minister, nor did he ever interfere in it. If the *German* contractors have defrauded this nation of the immense sums they are charged with, let those whose particular province it was to have examined and checked their accounts, bear the blame. Undoubtedly it does not fall

fall within the province of the secretary of state for the southern departments. As to the fitness of the measure, I will not now discuss that question. I shall only observe that the first treaty with the king of *Prussia* was signed by Mr. *Fox*, who was then secretary of state, on the 16th of *January* 1756, and was gloried in as the happy consequence of the *Russian* and *Hesse-Cassel* treaties. Every measure, since that time, respecting the war in *Germany*, has been taken in full concert with all the administration, and in particular with Lord *Bute*; yet when this part of the war came to be thought unpopular, the odium of that measure was entirely thrown on Mr. *Pitt*. I shall not forget with what wonderful eloquence the most intimate friends of Lord *Bute* harangued on this *single* topic at their private dinners, tho' only one \* gentleman faintly opposed it in Parliament; and there in a manner rather calculated to save a very particular character, than to give mankind the highest ideas of his zeal for the public. How big with expectation was the Committee of supply in the *last* Parliament, on the motion for 670,000 l. to the king of *Prussia*, when Mr. *Charlton* in his *spirited* and *shrewd* way called upon Sir *George Lee*, who had risen indeed not *there* to oppose the motion, but to go out of the house? A roar of laughter ensued, but no opposition was made to that motion. The confidence of mankind in *that* ministry was so great, that the largest sums ever granted by Parliament, passed in a whisper between a gentleman of the Treasury and the *chairman*. The victory of *Rosbach* had demonstrated the zeal and firmness of the king of *Prussia* to the common cause against our most inveterate enemies the *French*, and had endeared him to every true *Englishman*. He was no less the favourite of the prince, than of the parliament and people, and *Leicester-house* was known, equally with *St. James's*, to approve every measure relative to the *German* war, for there had been the fullest participation, and approbation of all the counsels respecting that important point. Since the accession of our present most  
gracious

\* Sir Francis Dashwood every session gave us the same beautiful annual flowers on the Prussian treaties.

gracious Sovereign, it does not appear that there has been any change in the *German* system. I rather fear that the nation will believe the present ministry is more *germanized* than any this country has ever had; because their greatest efforts have been made, and their real strength pointed to save *Hanover* and *Hesse*, in which they have succeeded, but for want of timely and adequate successors have lost almost all *Portugal*, an object of infinitely greater importance to this *commercial* kingdom. We have now for more than two years been happy under his Majesty's mild and gracious government, but the *German war* has gone on just as it did in the reign of his grandfather; and I appeal to the world, whether any event, but that of a *Peace*, was likely to bring the *British* troops back to their own country. The noble Lords who moved and supported that question the last winter in the upperhouse, found that they made their court very ill, some of them smarted for the attempt, and all opposition to that measure was soon laid aside.

Another copious source of *calumny* on Mr. *Pitt* has been the pretended desertion of the public at the most critical period. I did not expect to have seen this urged, after the great part Mr. *Pitt* acted through the last session of Parliament. How nobly did he support the cause of his country, and its firm ally, the king of *Portugal*, invaded contrary to the *law of nations*, solely from his attachment to *England*? Did he at any one moment endeavour to sow the seeds of discord, or to kindle the least spark of faction? On the contrary, was not his manly eloquence exerted to strengthen the hands of government, to give resolution and spirit to a feeble and irresolute administration, and to endeavour to save *Portugal*, not by an ill-timed and penurious, but by the most efficacious and adequate assistance of every kind. His zeal for the public, his firmness, spirit and moderation, were no less admired than the solid wisdom, deep policy and heroic magnanimity of his counsels. His very enemies bear testimony to his patriotism and greatness of soul under all the provocations of petulant, illiberal abuse, and on the most trying occasions. I have the satisfaction of hoping, that through the next most important

important session, the public will reap the benefit of the clearest head and of the most upright heart. If this *just* and *glorious war* should be terminated by an *equitable* and *glorious Peace*, as we have reason to expect from his Majesty's most gracious answer to the last address of the *City of London*, I am sure that measure will derive the firmest support from Mr. *Pitt*. If the *Peace* to be made should be *inglorious*, *inadequate* to the wonderful successes of his wise counsels, *disgraceful* to *England*, and *dishonourable* to her *allies*; it neither *security* nor *permanency* should appear to be the great objects of it, but the seeds of future wars should be shewn for ourselves and our posterity, then I hope that Mr. *Pitt* will stand forth, pour all his vengeance and point all his thunders against these foes of his country, and bring them to condign punishment. There is not, I am satisfied, if such a case should exist, any power able to screen such *evil counsellors* from the resentment of a *brave* and *injured* nation, who would then be exasperated that their most important conquests, the purchase of so much blood and treasure, were given up to their *ancient* and *perfidious* enemy.

The last topic of abuse I shall now mention is, the late minister's dictating to and magisterially controlling all the other servants of the crown and all public offices. I never heard any proof offered of this, but the single word *guide* in the letter to a friend. It is not even pretended that he ever imposed any one *creature* or *dependant* on the board of *Treasury*, *Admiralty*, &c. or paid any low sycophant by places in the *Excise* or *Customs*. The proof rests singly on his own expression in a letter *no longer allowed to guide*; yet in that passage it is confined to the *measures to be taken against Spain, of the highest importance to the honour of the crown, and to the most essential national interests.*—*Spain* is in the department of the *Southern Secretary*, and every dispatch to the court of *Madrid* must, if he had continued in that office, have been drawn up and signed by Mr. *Pitt*, in direct opposition to what he even at that time clearly saw was the *honour* of the *crown*, and the *interest*

\* These are the words of the letter.

*interest* of the nation. He therefore appears to have been under a necessity of resigning the Seals. There is indeed in the *Letters versified* a fine, florid harangue of the *president of the council* against Mr. Pitt, which would fully prove this charge; but unluckily Lord *Granville* has several times declared that the whole speech is pure invention, and destitute of all semblance of truth. Now I have mentioned the *Letters versified*, I will just take notice that the author of that pamphlet began the personalities of the present paper war, and invented the most shameful falsehoods, to which he dared to set some of the most respectable names of this kingdom. I now speak only of the personalities of the present *paper war*.

Personalities of a different kind took their rise from another quarter. Mr. *Legge*, the most accomplished *Financier* in *Europe*, was dismissed (for he would not resign) solely from a personal pique of the present minister. He refused to pay a mean and servile court wherein it was expected, and could never be brought to lend himself to forward the ruin of *liberty* and *Whiggism*, or to subject a great \* *English* county to a *Tory* and a *Stuart*. Every man of common understanding, even so early, very clearly saw what the friends of liberty were to expect, when the *talons* were fully grown. The event has abundantly justified those fears; but I hope the most cordial *Whiggish* union and harmony will now prevail among all the friends of their country. It is, under so many repeated mortifications, the sincerest consolation to every *Englishman*, that there is now scarcely a party among the natives of this kingdom almost every man in his station imitating the illustrious examples of the *Duke of Devonshire*, *Marquis of Rockingham*, and many other the true, free nobles of this *envied and insulted* country.

No XXVI.

\* This alludes to a mean and dirty transaction of Lord Bute's in favour of Sir Simeon Stuart, now one of the members for Hampshire.

No. XXVI. Saturday, NOVEMBER 27, 1762.

Corvos poetas, et poetrias, picas,  
Cantare credas Pegasium melos.

PERSIUS.

AS the season is now approaching, when the learned *universities* are to offer up their *sacrifice of thanksgiving*, and pay their poetical tribute to the throne, we shall, for their benefit, present the public with the remainder of that poem, the beginning of which was so favourably received some time since. We have long lamented, and in all probability, shall have fresh cause of lamenting, the wretched figure those ingenious societies make in poetry. That the muses should droop at *Cambridge*, where they are *despised*, where they have not even a *Professor* to keep them in countenance, and where every method has been *illiberally* taken to drive them into banishment, cannot be matter of surprize; but, that *Oxford* should fall so very far short in this respect, justly creates astonishment. There, the polite arts meet with that encouragement they deserve, and the muses are treated with particular civility. — The truly ingenious Mr. *Warton* hath repeatedly set an example; which if it had been followed, this poem would have been wholly unnecessary. But, since that gentleman hath in vain pointed out, by his *own* writings, in what manner *they* ought to write to merit praise, the design of these lines (and I hope they will meet with better success) is to point out a remedy for their faults, by which at least they may escape censure.

In the present critical situation of affairs, which so loudly calls upon us to adhere to our original intention we should not have deviated in this manner, but from an unexpected disappointment, arising from the fears of a printer, who trembled at the thoughts of imprisonment, and smarted under a severe, *private* reprimand. The like disappointments we have prevented for the future, and the public may rest assured, that whilst the *North-Briton* is actuated with affection and fidelity to his *King*, with love for his country, and is

directed by those principles which naturally fall in with our excellent constitution, he will never tamely give up the glorious cause in which he is engaged; he will never be drawn away by the arts of a subtle man, nor intimidated by the menaces of a wicked minister; he will always be ready to stand forth for his king and country; and according to the old *English* plan of liberty, will praise or censure any minister, or set of ministers, according to their behaviour; nor shall the examples of any brother-writers prevail with him to desert the *Public*, whilst he hath any right to suppose he can be serviceable to it.

The POETRY PROFESSORS. *Vide* No. 22.

WHERE the cramp measure kindly shews,  
It will be *verse*, but should be *prose*:

So, when 'tis neither light nor dark,  
To 'prentice spruce, or lawyer's clerk,  
The nymph who takes her nightly stand  
At some sly corner in the Strand,  
Plump in the chest, tight in the boddice,  
Seems to the eye a perfect goddess;  
But canvass'd more minutely o'er,  
Turns out an old, stale, batter'd whore.

Yet, must these sons of *gowned ease*,  
Proud of the Plumage of *Degrees*,  
Forfake their *apathy* a while,  
To figure in the *Roman* file,  
And offer incense at the shrine  
Of *Latin Poetry Divine*.

Upon the throne the goddess sits,  
Surrounded by her *bulky* wits;  
*Fabricius*, *Cooper*, *Calepine*,  
*Ainsworthus*, *Faber*, *Constantine*;  
And he, who like *Dodona* spoke,  
*De Sacra Quercu*, *Holyoake*;  
These are her counsellors of State,  
Men of much words, and wits of *weight*:  
Here *Gradus*, full of *phrases clever*,  
Lord of her *Treasury* for ever,

With

With liberal hand his bounty deals ;  
*Sir Cento Keeper* of the *Seals*.  
 Next to the person of the Queen,  
 Old Madam *Profody* is seen ;  
 Talking incessant, altho' dumb,  
 Upon her fingers to her thumb.

And all around are Portraits hung ;  
 Of Heroes in the *Latin* Tongue ;  
*Italian, English, German, French,*  
 Who most laboriously entrench  
 In deep parade of *Language dead*,  
 What would not in their *own* be read,  
 Without impeachment of that *Taste*,  
 Which *Latin Idiom* turns to *chaste*.  
*Santolius* here, whose flippant Joke,  
 Sought refuge in a *Roman Cloak* :  
 With dull *Commirius* at his side,  
 In all the pomp of *Jesuit* pride,  
*Menage*, the pedant, figur'd there,  
 A Trifler with a solemn air :  
 And there in loose, unseemly view,  
 The graceless, easy *Laveling* too.

'Tis here grave Poets urge their claim,  
 For some thin blast of tiny Fame ;  
 Here bind their temples drunk with praise,  
 With half a sprig of *wither'd Bays*.

O Poet, if that honour'd Name  
 Befits such idle, childish Aim ;  
 If *Virgil* ask thy sacred care,  
 If *Horace* charm thee, oh forbear  
 To spoil with sacrilegious hand,  
 The glories of the *classic* Land :  
 Nor sow thy *dowlas* on the *Sattin*  
 Of *their* pure, uncorrupted Latin.  
 Better be native in thy verse, —  
 What is *Fingal* but genuine *Erse* ?  
 Which all sublime sonorous flows,  
 Like *Hervey's* Thoughts in drunken Prose.

Hail, *Scotland*, hail, to thee belong  
 All pow'rs, but most the pow'rs of Song ;  
 Whether the rude, unpolish'd *Erse*  
 Stalk in the buckram *Prose* or *Verse*,



Or bonny *Ramsay* please thee *mo'*,  
 Who *sang sae* sweetly *aw* his woe.  
 If ought, and say who knows so well,  
 The second-sighted muse can tell,  
 Thy happy *Lairds* shall laugh and sing,  
 When *England's Genius* droops his wing.  
 So shall thy soil new weakh disclose,  
 So thy own *Thistle*-choak the *Rose*.

But what comes here; Methinks I see  
 A walking University.

See how they press to cross the *Tweed*,  
 And strain their Limbs with eager speed!  
 While *Scotland* from her fertile shore.  
 Cries, on my sons, return no more.

Hither they haste, with willing mind,  
 Nor cast one *longing* look behind;  
 On *ten to* Carriage to salute,  
 The King, and Queen, and *Earl of Bute*.  
 No more the gallant *Northern* Sons  
 Spout forth their strings of *Latin* puns;  
 Nor *course* all Languages to frame,  
 The Quibble suited to their name:  
 As when their Ancestors *bevers'd*  
 That *glorious Stuart*, *James the first*.  
 But with that Elocution's *grace*,  
 That oriental flashy *Lace*,  
 Which the fam'd *Irish Tommy Puff*,  
 Would sow on sentimental *Stuff*;  
 Twang with a sweet pronunciation,  
 The flow'rs of bold Imagination.  
*Macpherson* leads the flaming Van,  
*Laird* of the new *Fingalian* Clan;  
 While *Jacky Home* brings up the rear,  
 With new-got pension, neat and clear,  
 Three hundred *English* pounds a year.  
 While sister *Peg*, our *ancient Friend*,  
 Sends *Mac's* and *Donald's* without end;  
 To *George* awhile they tune their lays,  
 Then all their choral voices raise,  
 To heap their panegyric wit on  
 Th' illustrious chief, and our *North Briton*.

Hail

Hail to the Thane, whose *patriot* skill,  
 Can break all nations to his Will;  
 Master of Sciences and Arts,  
*Mæcenæ* to all Men of Parts;  
 Whose fost'ring hand and ready Wit,  
 Shall find *us* all in places fit;  
 So shall thy friends no longer roam,  
 But change to meet a settled Home.  
 Hail mighty *Thane*, for *Scotland* born,  
 To fill her almost empty Horn:  
 Hail to thy ancient glorious *Stem*,  
*Not they from Kings, but Kings from them.*

## The D R E A M.

WHEN *favourites* their parties make,  
 To play the royal game of goose,  
 Though *they* should answer each mistake,  
 Their master hardly 'scapes abuse;  
 And those who hold unworthy honour,  
 Though grac'd themselves, disgrace the donor.

A mile or rather more from town,  
 There liv'd a *Squire* of peerless rank;  
 Tir'd of my walk, I laid me down,  
 And fell asleep upon a bank.  
 It would a crime in fancy seem,  
 If poets slept without a dream.

A *lilly* held the regal pow'r,  
 (*Good folks, I've had a precious dance,*  
 To find this same imperial flower,  
 You see it in the arms of *France*.)  
 This *Fleur-de lys* was brave and young,  
 The darling theme of ev'ry tongue.

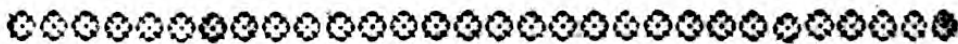
When (*from I know not what affection*)  
 The *Thistle* grew in favour great,  
 Had the king's ear and whole direction  
 Of all the officers of state.  
 Fir'd with the fame of his renown,  
*Brier* and *bramble* came to town,

And at the court on public days,  
 'Twas difficult to get along,  
 So doubly lin'd were all the ways,  
 With this same *scrubby, prickly* throng.  
*Famine*, you know, with hollow eye,  
 Can't bear that *Plenty* should be by.

And our new minister of state,  
 Resolv'd to triumph o'er his foes:  
 The *Thorn* and he were wond'rous great,  
 But he could not abide the *Rose*.  
 Pleas'd with the new-got toy of pow'r,  
 He turn'd out this, and t'other flower.

Banish'd the *Laurel* with disgrace;  
 And what made many people sport,  
 To fill the *Laurel's* vacant place,  
 Came broad-leaf'd cousin *Dock* to court.  
*Bardana* then with saunt'ring pace  
 Came simp'ring up to thank his *Grace*.

When a damn'd fly upon my nose,  
 Which surely ow'd me no good-will,  
 Wak'd me at once, and as I rose,  
 Whom shou'd I see but *Doctor Hill*.



No. XXVII. Saturday, DECEMBER 4, 1762.

*Cereus in vitium flecti, Monitoribus asper.*

HORACE.

**A**lmost every man I meet looks strangely on me—  
 some industriously avoid me—others pass me si-  
 lent—stare—and shake their heads.—Those few, those  
 very few, who are not afraid to take a lover of his  
 country by the hand, congratulate me on being alive  
 and at liberty.—They advise circumspection—for, they  
 do not know—they cannot tell—but—the times—  
 Liberty is precious—Fines—Imprisonment—Pillory  
 —not indeed that they themselves—but—then in  
 truth—God only knows—

My

My correspondents likewise, those who seemed most sanguine in the cause, who were the most ready to encourage and assist me in my undertaking, are tainted with suspicion and fear; and those letters which used to breathe the genuine spirit of *Old English liberty*, are become insipid, tame, and languid. Caution hath got the better of every public virtue, and discretion is substituted in the place of true wisdom. Not content with thus basely flying from their colours themselves, they would tempt me to follow the infamous example; and as an inducement thereto, propose their consideration of my own safety. If, however, they expect their solicitations to have any weight, let them come forth from those fastnesses where fear hath entrenched them; let them no longer talk in the clouds, no longer satisfy themselves with general admonitions; but honestly descend to particulars, and declare the cause on which those admonitions are grounded. Let them point out, if they can, and if they dare, from whom, and on what account. I am in danger, before they produce it as a motive to effect my conduct; and plainly shall they prove that I have deserved punishment, before they shall oppress me with the fear of it. The laws, I am certain, are of no party; nor will I harbour one moment's doubt of those who are appointed to put them in force. *Fear* is the proper companion of *guilt* only; and I have not yet learned to call a sincere and uniform love of my King, and my Country, by that name.

This humour of suspicion seems to have taken its rise from the confinement of some persons concerned in the *Monitor*; but how doth that affect the *North-Briton*? In our opinions, perhaps, we may agree; in our mode of communicating them, we certainly differ; and with relation to consequences, stand wholly unconnected. Some writers in the *Monitor* have been taken into custody; and, for my own part, whatever may be the language of popular prejudice, I will suppose on substantial grounds. On a careful perusal of those papers, indeed, I have found nothing within the gripe of the law, according to my humble apprehensions; but I have happily taught myself the useful lesson, that those who are superior to me in rank, must, of consequence, be superior in understanding also; and that a great man can see farther into a

mill-stone, than one of low degree. But besides this grand article of *State Creds*, circumstances all concur, and, I make no doubt, but the event will join, to justify the apprehensions of those gentlemen. The liberty of the press, that bulwark of the liberties of the people, is so deservedly esteemed, that every attack made on it is productive of danger. Punishments inflicted even on the licentiousness of it are unpopular, and have been attended with disagreeable consequences. It cannot then be imagined by any candid man, that at this juncture any step should be taken, which might be deemed a wanton, vexatious, and oppressive infringement of that glorious privilege. The particulars of that procedure have not, indeed, transpired; but till the contrary appears, it is a justice we owe to every administration, to suppose they have some reason for what they do. To take any man into custody, and deprive him of his liberty, without having some seeming foundation at least, on which to justify such a step, is inconsistent with wisdom and sound policy. If, upon examination, (which, surely, the common feelings of humanity would suggest ought to be as speedy as possible) that foundation proves weak, then to detain those persons, or to oblige them to give in bail, in order to obtain a discharge, which, under such circumstances, they have a right to in the most free and absolute manner, is inconsistent with justice; and from thence I conclude, proceeding on the well-known wisdom and equity of the present administration, that we may now believe, and shall hereafter be convinced, that this step was warranted by weighty and sufficient reasons.

The abettors of faction, who, to promote their seditious designs, and sow discontent amongst the people, will say any thing, have undertaken to relate the particulars of this affair, and to account for some circumstances of it, tho', I suppose, no better informed than I myself am. They presume to point out the very papers complained of, and say (but *that—no—that* we cannot believe) the complaint was carried back against papers, written some months before; and from thence they form arguments and draw inferences, the mighty absurdity of which is evident to the most common reader. For—thus they tell—if that paper is criminal now, it was criminal at the  
first

first moment of its publication. Why then not taken notice of before this time? because—thus, you see, these curious politicians are question and answer both—because it would then have served no particular purpose—but now, at this important and critical juncture, it might be of excellent use to stop the mouths of those who imagine it possible to love their country, although they exclaim against the minister; and who really sigh for a good peace, yet, might be inclined to represent the false *preliminaries* handed about, as most infamous and injurious to *England*.

These children of disaffection have dared likewise to insinuate, that there is no intention of \* prosecuting this affair any farther; and bail was given in merely for a colour, and to save appearances! that some private conditions are settled, (as now and then in more *public treaties* we have met with a secret article which has rendered all that was published of little or none effect) and that the terrors of a prosecution are to hang over their heads without being enforced. Shallow and impudent pretence! Will any minister lay himself thus open to censure? If there are no grounds of complaint, why were they obliged to give in bail? If there are, why should they not be brought to justice? To insist on bail, in the first instance, is an oppression of individuals: to drop the prosecution is, in the last instance, a desertion of the public: nor can I well discern, however different they are in degree, where, as to complexion, the compromising a misdemeanor differs from compounding a felony.

As little credit ought these malevolent spirits to meet with when they suggest, that passages to be found in history, and fairly quoted word for word, with considerations on the supposed *preliminaries*, and general thoughts on the *peace*, were the ground-work of this complaint. Passages of history, of what nature soever, communicated to the public, without any parallel drawn, without any comment or application made, can never be proper objects of the law. Should this ever be the case, we must be cautious how we quote scripture in our sermons,

\* No prosecution was carried on, and all the recognizances are now actually discharged.

left our churches be turned into goals, and our pulpits into pillories. It may be dangerous to talk of the differences between the children of *Israel* and *Judah*; and to say, that the former had ten parts in the *king* (when the latter had but two) and therefore ought to have been consulted, may be ingeniously construed into whatever crime misinterpreters shall think fit. Not he, who merely quotes an historical passage, but he who makes the application, is the libeller. If ever the strong hand of authority should so far prevail over truth and reason, as to maintain the contrary, and establish a doctrine so novel and erroneous, we may then bid adieu to the liberty of the press.

Much less can we believe that to have considered the supposed *preliminaries*, and to have thrown out thoughts on the subject of *peace*, was made any part of a criminal charge. The *peace* deserves, and indeed demands, the most serious consideration, for it is the near concern of every individual. Where the right of making *peace*, and where the right of examining it, when made, is placed, we all know; but every man, surely, hath a right to have, and to give an opinion in an affair, where he himself is so materially interested. Should the *peace* be of such a nature, as to procure us those advantages we have a right to expect, and to provide every human method of securing them to us; where is the man, who loves his country, that will not suspend all partial and narrow considerations to applaud those who were concerned in accomplishing it? But should it, which God forbid, prove of a different nature, and the seeds of a future war be left in it, where is the Englishman who shall be afraid to condemn it? For our own part, the reason we have not as yet entered upon that subject, was, the uncertainty whether the *preliminaries*, as handed about, were true, and our hopes that they were not. For a full gratification in this point we have hitherto waited, and shall postpone our considerations on this head till that satisfaction can be obtained.

One thing, however, I cannot help observing, before I quit this subject, which is, the manner in which it is become fashionable to discourse on this head. Those

Those who have little understanding, and those who have no integrity (no contemptible party for number and power) think that we ought to be satisfied, if the *peace* is much better than we could have expected at the commencement of the war. But this is nothing to the purpose. Our ancient and perfidious enemy forced us into a *bloody* and *expensive* (and give me leave to add, however unfashionable, a *just* and *necessary*) war, for the maintenance of our rights, and the recovery of what they had deprived us of. From that moment all the expence arising from the war, becomes a part of the original demand on them; and whatever places we take, ought at least, and with the most moderate, to be considered as so many places held as a security for their fulfilling the engagements entered into, but never executed in former treaties; for their adjusting the differences, on which the *war* was grounded, in our favour, and for the repayment of those sums which we expended in bringing them to reason. But, in this case, I should venture to go one step farther, nor scruple to assert, that to have a *peace* adequate to our successes, we must see *preliminaries* very different from those handed about. All the places we have conquered are actually ours, and I cannot sufficiently admire the complaisance of the French, who are willing to cede, as they are pleased to call it, what is already in our possession, and what they have no prospect of recovering. *Canada* is at this instant as much ours as *Gibraltar*; and the rest of our conquests admit as little dispute. How far generosity may influence us, I cannot determine; but, I hope, we shall be just to ourselves, before we think of being generous to them. To what extent a prudential consideration of our own home situation ought to prevail, I shall hereafter examine; and shall only say at present, that how strictly adequate these supposed *preliminaries* are to our successes, will appear from the equality of what each party is to surrender to the other, as may be at one view seen by the following state of them.





“ the liberty to fish in the gulph of *St. Lawrence*, on  
 “ condition, that the subjects of France do not exercise  
 “ the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues  
 “ from all the coasts belonging to *Great Britain*, as well  
 “ those of the continent, as those of the islands situated  
 “ in the said Gulph of *St. Lawrence* :” a grant which,  
 if they improve it, will turn out to be a grant of the  
 whole fishery, unless our wise ministry will contrive to  
 erect seamarks, to be visible thro’ the eternal fogs of  
 those seas, and to have them guarded by the whole  
 fleet of England. *Mr. Pitt* found himself so ill sup-  
 ported in the cabinet, and was so much over-ruled in  
 some important points, that he did at length agree to  
 leave this privilege to the *French*, for the sake of *peace* at  
 that time; but the last year he declared in a great  
 assembly, that he repented having done it, that it was  
 worth while, even at the present great expence, to carry  
 on the war another year, for the sake of preserving that  
 fishery entire to England, and that if we made any fu-  
 ture acquisitions of importance, he put in his claim, to  
 be for an absolute exclusive right in this nation, and  
 never would consent to admit the *French* to the smallest  
 share of the fishery. The war has been carried on an-  
 other year; we have since conquered *Martinique*, the  
*Havannah*, &c. we have recovered all *Hanover*, almost  
 all *Hesse*, &c. our ally the king of *Prussia* is triumphant;  
 yet the fishery is now in a worse state than it was by the  
 former negociation. That rock *St. Peter* only, for the  
 fertile *Miquelon* was not included, by the answer of Eng-  
 land to the ultimatum of France, was ceded to France, on  
 the express condition, “ that an *English* commissary  
 “ shall be allowed to reside there, and the commander  
 “ of the *British* squadron at *Newfoundland*, shall be at  
 “ liberty from time to time to inspect the said isle and  
 “ the said port, to see that the stipulations above ex-  
 “ pressed, of no fortifications, no military establishment, &c.  
 “ are punctually observed.” The *London Chronicle* says,  
 “ that *Miquelon* and *St. Peter’s* are subject to the inspec-  
 “ tion of an *English* commissary, by the present Preli-  
 “ minaries :” but no such provision is to be found in  
 them. The only security the present minister has taken  
 is (in *Art. 4.*) the French king’s *Royal Word*, often  
 pledged

pledged to this nation, and almost as often violated. I will just take notice that *Miquelon* seems to have been yielded to *France*, merely from wantonness, or a ridiculous generosity: for in the *Memoire Historique* it is said, “the cession of the isle of St. Peter was accepted on conditions more than burthensome: the union of *Miquelon* to *St. Peter* was of the least consequence, and the Duke de *Choiseul* even assured Mr. *Stanley*, that such a cession would not be insisted on.”

According to the *Preliminaries*, now published by authority, the cessions to be made to *France* were fairly stated in the last *North Briton*. The immense sacrifices we have made to the ancient enemy of these kingdoms seem neither to have arisen from necessity, nor to be warranted by any rules of sound policy. Almost all the glorious advantages we had gained over our most restless and perfidious foe, our ministers have given away; and in consequence of this weakness, or of this treachery, the trade and commerce of *France* will soon be in a more flourishing state than in the most prosperous times since their monarchy began, and ours in the same proportion will decline. Their sugar-islands are restored to them greatly improved, by all the arts of English cultivation, very soon to rival, perhaps, to ruin, our own colonies. We have, indeed, planted, but they are to reap the harvest. The *French king*, by a stroke of his pen, has regained what all the power of that nation, and her allies, could never have recovered; and *England*, once more the dupe of a subtle negotiation, has consented, to give up very nearly all her conquests, the purchase of such immense public treasure, and the blood of so many noble and brave families. Is it therefore at all surprising, that on this occasion, the most frantic symptoms of insolent joy and triumph have been remarked in *France*, and of grief and dejection in *England*? What right have we to expect that an indulgent Providence will again in so distinguished a manner stand forth our friend, when we have thus wantonly given away to the enemy of our religion and liberty, the fruits of all the signal blessings Heaven has poured down upon us?

This

This nation has ever been renowned for the bravest warriors, *France* for the ablest negociators. *Philip de Comines* observes, *b. 3. c. 8. Jamais ne se mena traite, &c.* "In all treaties between the *French* and *English*, the French have shewn more dexterity and subtilty than the English; and the English have a proverb, as they told me formerly, when I treated with them, that in almost all battles with the French they have had the honour and victory, but in all treaties the loss and damage." And again, *b. 4. c. 9, Et sans point de doute, &c.* "Without doubt, the *English* are not so subtle as the *French*, for they go bluntly to work; but you must have patience, and never debate angrily with them." In the great duke of *Marlborough* the two characters of a warrior and a negociator shone forth with full lustre, and were united in the *Englishman*. He had often defeated the most renowned generals *France* could send into the field; and in 1709, he baffled all the arts, and eluded the finesse of the two best negociators *Lewis* the 14th could employ, *Rouille* and *Torcy*.

In two great points particularly, the *French* have been superior to all the policed states of *Europe*. The one is the sowing divisions among the allies of a hostile confederacy; the other, a happy dexterity of making with infinite secrecy, politeness and address, the largest private offers to those, who have been in a situation and capacity of seconding their ambitious views.

The first was the case in the grand alliance at the beginning of this century. Lord *Walpole* says, "the superior genius of the duke of *Marlborough* made this principle a fundamental rule in all his conduct, and it constantly prevailed, and was attended with incredible success, as long as he remained at the head of the last grand alliance."—He speaks of preserving a perfect harmony between all the contracting powers; and afterwards adds, "the intrigues and artifices of *France* had no more influence on the councils of the allies, than her arms had success in the military operations: the whole body seemed to be actuated by one soul, to such a degree, and with so good an effect, that a general peace, in all human appearance, as honourable, safe, and satisfactory to all the allies, would have been concluded,

" as

“ as the war had been conducted with unanimity and  
 “ glory, but the humourfome and ungrateful carriage of  
 “ one proud *Woman*, &c.” p. 127. We have experienced  
 in our times fomewhat very fimilar to what is related of  
 the beginning of the prefent century, though I do not  
 know of any *woman*’s having now in the leaft broke into  
 the great political line. I mean to fay, that of late, by  
 the *superior genius* of *one man*, the war in the four quar-  
 ters of the world has been fuccefsful beyond the ex-  
 amples of all former ages, and the moft entire confidence  
 has prevailed, both among our people at home, and our  
 allies abroad. By the *evil genius* of another man, which  
 has iffued forth *black as the whirlwinds of the North*, di-  
 ftruft and diffentions have arifen, and the firmeft bonds  
 of union have fplit and been diffolved. “ We were, as  
 “ all the world imagined, juft entering on the ways that  
 “ promifed to lead to fuch a *Peace*, as would have an-  
 “ fwered all the prayers of our religious *King*, the care  
 “ and vigilance of a moft able miniftry, the payments  
 “ of a willing and obedient people, as well as all the  
 “ glorious toils and hazards of the fouldiers when,” as was  
 obferved by the wife lord—bifhop of *St. Afaph* in the  
 preface to his four famous fermons) “ God for our fins  
 “ permitted the *spirit of difcord* to go forth with the  
 “ new minifter, to embitter all our prefent enjoyments,  
 “ and to blaft all our future hopes.”

Upon the removal of the Duke of *Marlborough*, the  
*Dutch*, and all the confederate powers of that war, with-  
 drew all confidence from *England*. On the refignation  
 of Mr. *Pitt* the ftrongeft affurances were given by  
 Lord *Bute*, then fecretary of ftate for the Northern de-  
 partment, to all the *German* allies, that the meafures,  
 refpecting that part of the war, would be carried on  
 with redoubled vigour; yet the world knows how little  
 that declaration from him was believed, or trusted to.  
 The *preliminary articles* fpeak pretty plainly the senti-  
 ments of the new minifter. It is ftipulated that fome of  
 our allies are to have their countries *reftored* to them:  
 the *Electer* of *Hanover*, Landgrave of *Hefle*, Duke of  
*Brunfwick*, and even the Count of *La Lippe Buckebourg* :  
 though it is known that at the moment of figning the  
*Preliminaries*, the *French* were fcarcely in poffeffion of  
 ten

ten villages, and not much above a hundred acres belonging to all those princes together; but the King of Prussia's dominions, *Cleves, Wesel, Gueldres, &c.* which they now fully possess, are only to be evacuated; perhaps for *Austrian* troops to enter the hour after the evacuation. The declaration likewise signed the same day with the *Preliminaries*, gives the French court a full liberty of paying all their arrears to their allies, under which colour the largest pecuniary succours may be given to the House of *Austria*, and the 13th article may be entirely evaded. *England*, on the other hand, is tied up from affording any kind of assistance to her allies, while *France*, whose revenues are now diverted no other way, is put in a capacity to give as ample aids as she chuses. Is so palpable an evasion as this consistent with the good faith for which the crown of England has ever been celebrated? or, is it possible not to have been observed? In that case, we may hope to see it rectified in the *definitive treaty*; and this, to be sure, is the only idea of submitting the *Preliminaries* to public view.

Another *French* mode of negotiating is by a *secret* and *private* application, in a way which *avarice* can seldom withstand, to those who have the power of carrying their views into execution. *D'Estrades's* letters demonstrate in what manner *Lewis* the 14th recovered *Dunkirk*, the infamous sale of which *single town*, has fixed an indelible stain on the memory of *Clarendon*. Sir *Stephen Fox*, the father of the excellent *Paymaster* of our forces, and of our —, was the person sent to *France* on this occasion, and he received the greatest part of *five millions* of livres, the price of that atrocious villainy.— What attempts were made on the Duke of *Marlborough*, I shall relate from a *private* letter of *Lewis* the 14th to *Torcy*; because that the author is in such wonderful credit with my friend *Auditor*, *Je ne doute pas que vous ne profitiez, &c.*—“ I do not in the least question but you avail yourself of the opportunities you have of seeing the Duke of *Marlborough*, to let him know, that I have been informed of the steps he has taken to hinder the progress of the conferences of peace, and even to break them off entirely; that I have been so much the more surpris'd at it, as I had

“ had reason to believe, from the assurances he had  
 “ already given, that he was willing to contribute to  
 “ this end; that I should be glad his conduct was such  
 “ as to deserve the *Reward I have promised* him; and  
 “ in order that you may be able to come to a clearer  
 “ explanation, I am willing you should give him a po-  
 “ sitive assurance, that I will remit *two millions* of livres  
 “ to him, if, by his good offices, he can obtain one  
 “ of the following conditions for me.

“ To preserve Naples and Sicily for the king my  
 “ grandson, or, at the utmost extremity, to preserve  
 “ Naples only. I should make him the same gratifica-  
 “ tion, were he to preserve Dunkirk under my obe-  
 “ dience, with its harbour and fortifications, without  
 “ even Naples or Sicily; the same for preserving Stras-  
 “ burg only, excepting fort Kehl, which I shall give  
 “ up to the Empire in the state it was in when restored  
 “ to my obedience; and also, without preserving Na-  
 “ ples or Sicily: but of all these different expedients,  
 “ the obtaining Naples for my grandson, is that which  
 “ I should like the best.

“ I should consent to extend this recompence to *three*  
 “ *millions*, if he obtained Naples for my grandson, and  
 “ at the same time I was permitted to keep Dunkirk,  
 “ with its fortifications and harbour. If I should be  
 “ obliged to relinquish the article of Dunkirk, I should  
 “ give him the same sum, could he contrive so as to  
 “ preserve Naples and Strasburg, in the manner as  
 “ above explained, and Landau, with its fortifications,  
 “ by giving up Brisac; or even could I be allowed to  
 “ to keep Strasburg and Dunkirk, both in their present  
 “ condition. In short, I am willing you should offer  
 “ the Duke of Marlborough *four millions*, should he  
 “ enable me to keep Naples and Sicily for the king my  
 “ grandson, and to preserve Dunkirk, with its fortifi-  
 “ cations and harbour, and Strasburg and Landau, in  
 “ the manner above explained, or even the same sum,  
 “ were Sicily to be exempted out of this last article.”

*Memoirs de Torcy, t. 2. p. 237.*



No. XXIX. Saturday, DECEMBER 18, 1762.

O Academiam volaticam & sui similem, modo huc, modo illuc!  
CICERO.

Mr. *North-Briton*,

YOU politicians of the town are so totally engaged in the transactions of the great world, that, I suppose, you will hardly think it worth while to take notice of any occurrences, however important, that happen amongst the obscure folks of the country. Let me hope, however, for once, that the concerns of a private family, as they are considerable enough to have been the talk of two or three of our neighbouring counties, may find a place in your publication. They contain very ample instruction to all masters and mistresses not to be misled by the arts of crafty and intriguing servants; and as the nation itself is but a larger family, and the servants of that family are as apt to be corrupt as those of any other, my subject may, I think, in some sort be allowed to be of public use and application.

The family of the *Wiseacres* are of a long standing in this country. It is agreed on all hands that they are, at least, as old as the days of king *Alfred*. About three months ago, the present lady *Wiseacre* lost her late husband. The poor gentleman was old and infirm, and as his death had been some time expected, the news of it was received, even by her ladyship herself, with very little signs of grief or emotion. After enquiring whether he had left her any thing by his Will, and being answered in the negative, she dropped all farther thought about him; and began to contrive how she might provide herself with another husband. This, you will allow, would have been a natural method of proceeding in a young widow; but must appear a little indecent in a woman of her ladyship's age, and matron-like appearance. But such had always been the way with her. She had had more husbands than might have satisfied  
half



half the reasonable women in the neighbourhood. In short, she always made good use of her time: she never buried one, but within three weeks or a month after his decease, she was married to another. There was something particular, likewise, in her method of conducting her choice on these occasions. She always referred the affair to the people of her family; and she made no scruple of taking to her bed whatever suitor had the majority of votes amongst them.

One of the first that was mentioned on the late occasion was lord *Sapling*. He is a young nobleman of the best family in the country, and every way worthy of her ladyship's regard and affection. He had spent some years in the same house with her, when she seemed much pleased with his exemplary behaviour and very amiable disposition. He was a great favourite with many of the honest and disinterested part of her domesticks; and her late husband was pleased to take particular notice of him, and once, in a very large company, and upon a very solemn occasion, protested that he had never seen a more hopeful young gentleman.

The next was lord *Safe*. He is a very honest and worthy man; and withal a very prudent and wary one. He would have made a very good master of a family, especially in matters of œconomy.

But the person we are most concerned with, and whose character will require a more particular development is captain *Giddy*. The captain was a sprightly fellow in his youth; and is remembered about twenty years ago, to have made a very good speech or two at some of your public meetings in London. From that time, however, the figure he hath made in the world hath not been much to his credit. The chief of his company till within these two years, have been parsons and country 'squires, These used to lead him about to races, cock-matches, and country-clubs, where he was apt sometimes to drink a little too freely. A course of life of this sort brought on a *swimming in his head*; so that he hath frequently been supposed not to be *sensible* where he was, or what he was about. Hence he hath been known in the late times of party violence.

in the same sort of company, and within few days of each other, to drink Exclusion to the house of *Hanover*, and confusion to all Jacobites.

But the matter which bore hardest upon the captain's character was the cruel treatment he was guilty of towards his former wife. She was a very honest country-gentlewoman, and had brought the captain for her fortune, a very large accession of command and interest in the county, which had been long vested in her family. Her right to it, however, was contested, soon after the marriage, by a younger lady, a mere stranger; who by the contrivance of Mr. *Double-tongue*, the Referee, and the shuffling proceedings of some lawyers at *Westminster*, found means to carry her cause against Mrs. *Ciddy*. The captain hereupon bounced, and swaggered and swore; and vowed that, before seven years were over, (in which time he should have an opportunity of bringing the matter again to trial) he would have *public satisfaction* for such flagrant and *public injustice*. It was found, however, before that time came, that the captain notwithstanding all his blustering, had been drawn into, or rather had himself projected a most shameful compromise with the adverse party; and had agreed to divide the matter in dispute between them. To secure the execution of this scheme against all opposition, he determined to get rid of his wife. It hath been impossible to get to the knowledge of all the circumstances of this dark story. Thus much however is certain, that when a view was taken of the corpse in the County-Hall, it appeared that it was all over full of *blue* and *green* spots, with many other tokens of violence upon it: particularly, a large *black mark* under the throat, in which, it was said, might plainly be observed the traces of the captain's *own hand*.

Perhaps, I ought to have told you before, that the captain had paid his addresses to lady *Wifeacre* at the same time she was courted by her late husband. His pretensions however for that turn, were easily set aside. To say the truth, Mr. *North-Briton*, it was proved against him, that he was absolutely *incapable* of being her husband to any good effect. The modesty of my pen will not suffer me to be too particular upon this part of  
the

the captain's history. I have hinted before that he was apt to keep low company. It happened one day that he dined in the *next town* with a club of taylor's, when the frolic was set on foot of *making him free*, as they called it; that is, of making him like one of themselves, which was immediately put in execution. This story soon got to the ears of lady *Wifeacre*; who vowed she would have nothing more to say to him, and that, as she deserved a whole man as well as any widow in the kingdom, she would not do so much injustice to herself and her family, as to be contented with the ninth part of one.\*

How the captain's matters, in this respect, were patched up afterwards, whether by tacking on again what had been snipt off, or by what other means, it would be difficult and tedious to relate. It is certain, however, that more than two years ago, he was pronounced a *good man* again by a great majority of lady *Wifeacre's* domestics; by some of them perhaps, with a view of promoting his farther designs upon their mistress.

Having given a sufficient account of the three competitors, I shall hasten as fast as possible to the catastrophe of my story. The confusion and irregularities which had prevailed, for some years, in lady *Wifeacre's* family, required the hand of a vigorous and active master to correct and reform them. No house had formerly been more exemplary to the whole country for the great decency and order maintained in it: but, of late, things were much altered. The younger servants were suffered to run loose about the country. Not one in ten of them could say his catechism. Very few of them could read; and even those who ought to have *read to them*, either could not, or would not do it. It lay in a great measure, upon the upper servants to rectify these matters; and the time of chusing a new husband, for lady *Wifeacre* gave them an opportunity of taking one main step towards it. We shall now see in what manner they made use of it.

Their old master was no sooner dead than Mrs. *Browne*, the housekeeper, who is mistress of all that female wisdom called cunning, summoned together the  
*head*

head servants in the *Scullery*, with the design of taking their sentiments on the face of affairs in the family; or rather with a view of dictating her own. After opening the business in the meeting;—Look ye, gentlemen, says she, I will have nothing to do with that lord *Sapling*;—I will not be governed by a boy; and, what is still worse, I will not be governed by lawyer *Keene*. You know very well, Mr. *Puff*, said she, (speaking to *Peter* the pastry-cook) what a noise that fellow made some years ago, upon looking into one part of the accounts, and finding the paltry sum of *twenty thousand pounds* placed on the wrong side of the book.” “*Ay, ay*, says *Peter*, *I shall never forget it. No lawyers. No lawyers.* Immediately the cry of no *lawyers* ran thro’ the company; and thus concluded the fate of poor lord *Sapling*, who tho’ the fittest in the world to do the lady’s business, lost all hopes of success from the untoward circumstance of his being intimately acquainted with an honest lawyer.

“As for lord *Safe*, continued Mrs. *Browne*, we want none of his œconomy here. It would be little for the credit of lady *Wiseacre*’s house-keeping to have the plumbs weighed out for the pudding, or a weekly view taken of the wine-cellar;—besides, I am not sure, that he is not upon pretty good terms with *another lawyer*.”

“Turn your eyes therefore, gentlemen, towards my noble captain. There’s the man will fit us to a hair. If my lady marries him, he hath assured me, for he called here this morning, that all things shall go in the same road. We shall have our turkey and oysters as usual, with the best turbot in the season by the Birmingham coach; and you all know, gentlemen, that the venison of Ditchley is as good as any in the neighbourhood.” The very sounds of turkeys, turbot and venison of *much to be eaten, and nothing to be done*, put a stop to all farther deliberation, and immediately secured the votes and interests of the whole meeting for the captain.

This was a very good beginning; but things might not have ended so well, had it not been for a countryman of your’s, Mr. *North-Briton*, who, having cultivated an interest among the lower servants, and hav-

ing

ing some little design of his own to serve upon the lady, determined to drive them all into the assistance of the captain. Thus the game was secured for him, and he carried off his prize (for lord *Safe's* people were determined to stand it out) by a majority of almost two to one.

The wedding was celebrated at the captain's own house, with such a profusion as had never been known within those walls. The claret was suffered to extend itself almost the whole length of the first table; there was some port at the second; and an enormous quantity of punch, which according to the rule in Horace, had been *nine years in bottle*, was distributed among the servants.

But, alas! amidst all this jollity a cloud of melancholy was perceived to overspread the face of lady *Wiseacre*. She could not, without concern, observe the strange mixture of company which the captain had got together for her reception; and she began to conclude, from hence, that she was at length betrayed into the hands of those, who had always been the professed enemies of her and her family. These suspicions were but too truly the presages of her ensuing misfortunes. The captain, for near two years before, had spent great part of his time at a bagnio, near St. *James's*, and for reasons which may be easily guessed, was no longer possessed of that stock of athletic health and vigour, which he used to enjoy when he resided more constantly in the country. It was likewise soon discovered that he married lady *Wiseacre* as much for the use of the *Scotsman*, to whom she hath been prostituted, as for his own. The effect of this complication of corrupt embraces hath shewn itself in the breaking out of blotches and blains all over her, to the utter ruin of the poor woman's constitution as well as her character. In short, those who speak out plainly, do not scruple to affirm, that she hath caught the p—x from her husband, and the i—h from her gallant. She now subsists to shew, by her sad example, *that the most established female virtue may fall a prey to the most contemptible assailant, when assisted by the Falschood and Treachery of pretended friends,\**

I am, Sir, your's, &c.

N. N.

\* Vide a key to this Paper in Vol. III.

No. XXX. Saturday, DECEMBER 25, 1762.

Venit hoc mihi, Megadore, in mentem, te esse hominem divitem, factiosum.

PLAUTUS.

**I**N all political disputes the word *faction* is much in esteem, and generally applied to the weaker side; though perhaps, there is not the least reason to justify that application. If by a *faction*, we mean nothing more than a party formed in a state, without any consideration had to the principles on which it is formed, the means by which it is conducted, and the ends to which it is directed; in this sense, the word is equally applicable to all parties, be their purposes good or bad, and comes entirely divested of that unfavourable idea, which usually attends it. But if by a *faction* we mean, according to general acceptation, a set of men formed into a party on seditious and selfish principles, and determined, at all events, to oppose the friends and sacrifice the interests of the public to their own base and private views; in this sense of the word, it becomes us to be extremely cautious how we apply it. We ought fairly and candidly to examine both sides of the question, impartially weigh their several merits, and place it there only, where justice declares it to be due. If we regulate ourselves according to the directions of reason, we shall, I trust, on such an enquiry as is here proposed, find the word *faction* as often applicable to the greater number, as to the less, and shall have as frequent right to give it to the abettors of an administration, as to the supporters of an opposition.

One sure and infallible *criterion*, by which every man may find out a *faction* with the most absolute certainty, is, the wicked art of sowing discord, and infusing of groundless jealousies among the people; whether directed against their old and firm friends, or their great and spirited allies. The first weekly political paper, which has appeared since the change of the ministry, and has been countenanced and paid by government, was the *Briton*, who has abused in the most indecent terms, his Majesty's royal grandfather, our protestant ally, the

king of Prussia, the city of London, its first magistrate and the *people of England*. This was the first wretch hired to ring the alarm bell of discord and sedition. The unwearied labours of some others, for the four last years, to blast the laurels of *one man*, we all remember; and what arts were made use of to inflame the people against him, ever since the *Scot* assumed the reigns of government. Let facts speak. Are we not now become an uneasy, distrustful, and divided people? and, were we not a happy, confiding, and united nation, respected abroad, and blessed at home? Does not the present ministry occasion the greatest disunion and animosity ever remembered in this country? Are they not in the highest degree culpable of endangering the alienation of the best-intentioned subjects from the most gracious of sovereigns? Did not the late ministry preserve union and harmony in the nation; and had they not the confidence of the public in an unlimited manner. Whence has the change arisen? The progress of the present *daring exertion* of the new minister's *enormous power* is worth remarking. The first sacrifice to feed his proud arrogance, and to gratify his haughty and imperious nature, was Mr. Legge, that able and faithful *chancellor of the Exchequer*, who never presumed to present an account to parliament, without being able to give real satisfaction on every article in it, and was ever ready to answer even the *acute Sir John Philips*, on every part of the demand made on the public, though it might have consisted of above two hundred articles, and have amounted to upwards of £500,000.\* He was *turned out* solely from a personal pique of the minister. Mr. Pitt, and the noble lord, his brother, not very long after, quitted the administration, on their rejecting so wise and solid a plan of national honour, and indeed justice, that if it had been adopted, above half the destin'd victims of temerity and ignorance, which have fallen at the *Havanah*, had now in all human probability, been alive, to have

\* Sir John Philips, as usual, began the last session to nibble at the public accounts, but Sir Francis Dashwood, the new Chancellor, would not gratify so impertinent a curiosity. Sir John in vain catechised: Sir Francis was not so raw a catechumen as to give him any answer whatever.

have shared in the *late* glories of their country. The next sacrifice was the old faithful servant of the crown, the *Duke of Newcastle*. — I will now only say, that the new minister, under the pretence of sparing unnecessary taxes on the subject prevented that noble *duke*, who then presided at the *treasury*, from raising an additional million, which the public creditors in every department of government, now clamour for from a Treasury, which cannot, or will not pay them. The *duke of Devonshire* has likewise nobly disdained to suffer a name so auspicious to liberty, to be ranked among those of a *faction*, whose first view seems to establish the *despotism* his family has ever steadily and strenuously opposed. Mr. *Townshend*, whose superior abilities, and extensive knowledge, have been the admiration of mankind, is now in no employment under an administration of so black a cast, but stands as independant as unconnected with any part of it. It is remarkable, tho' not in the least astonishing, that of all the ministers, who, in the late and present reign, have carried the glory and power of this kingdom beyond that of all former ages, there is not *one* at present in the *cabinet*. Is not this the clearest evidence of *faction* in the new ministry? I do not mention Mr. *Fox*, on this occasion, as one of the ministers, who have carried the glory of England to such a stupendous height; because, after the loss of *Minorca*, the late king, in compliance with the wishes of a whole people, gave the reins of government into abler hands. Mr. *Fox* retired to a post not of ambition, but of avarice. Dead to every feeling of a public nature, the *minister* was lost to his country. The business of the *paymaster* was, indeed, very thoroughly attended to, and every agent, jobber, broker, contractor, schemer, &c. had from him the most fair and patient hearing. As to other things of trifling moment he quietly and silently concurred in all the measures of government, even those of the *German* war, tho' he is now, after the *preliminaries* are ratified, *very ready to debate that question*.\* Is not this avowing, that while it could be of any importance to his country, or of any detriment to himself, he chose to wave that debate;

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.now,

\* This Declaration was made by Mr. Fox in a great Assembly, after the ratification of the preliminaries.



now, when it is merely a point of curiosity, this wary minister wishes, like an artful old Sophist, to try the argument?

Do we not then discover clear marks of a *faction's* having seized the helm of government? Are all the most able and successful ministers excluded? Who have succeeded? The creatures of a *Scottish faction*. The friends of liberty and the *revolution* have now no countenance but from the nation. The *Tory faction* is triumphant, and the most slavish doctrine of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance* is preached up by every pamphleteer, and to it's full extent insisted upon by an all-grasping minister. Is there a man, who has been zealous in the cause of liberty, or who hesitates about the goodness of the preliminaries, who does not think them quite unequal to the splendour of the war, and the immense value of our conquests? He is immediately disgraced. We were indeed promised, that in this parliament, under the halcyon reign of a *British* monarch, every man might vote according to the honest dictates of his conscience, without fear of losing the protection he is most ambitious of, or the smiles he most values. The king has nothing to ask of his people, but what their hearts and voices will concur in: a minister, for the support of *his* power, must have all *his* measures approved, and *his* security established by a *majority*. The occurrences of a few days open a new scene to us. Not only the most approved friends of government in the senate, but in almost every part of administration, no longer find protection or favour. A life of forty and sixty years assiduity, with acknowledged integrity, in an important \* office, have not been able to save a secretary and a comptroller; but they are ungratefully dismissed, and devoted as victims of the vengeance denounced against their benefactors, though confessed not only innocent, but highly meritorious. Is not this descending to the lowest dregs of *faction*? Are there not in such proceedings the plainest marks of low and selfish designs, and of the interested views of a despicable *faction*.

*Faction* likewise discovers itself in constantly keeping in view partial, selfish schemes, in opposition to the interests of

\* The Post Office.

of the public. Thus, in the late negociations for a peace, when it was asked, why it was not insisted that the fishery should be preserved entire to England, and if refused, the war be carried on another year; the answer always was, *we cannot raise the supplies*. Is not this the language of a self-interested *faction*? The honest answer is clear; *then you ought to resign to those, who can raise the supplies, and carry on the war, till we obtain what we have been promised, an equitable and glorious peace*. A wicked *faction* only could purchase an ignoble and *inglorious peace*, by giving up to the perfidious *French*, and to the feeble and insolent *Spaniards*, our most valuable and important conquests. I will add an *insecure peace*; because, whatever restores *France* to her former power and capacity of injuring her neighbours, renders the *peace insecure*, and infallibly draws on another war. *France* will now soon be in possession of all her sugar islands, those great sources of naval strength and of wealth, of the northern fishery, that nursery of seamen; and upwards of twenty thousand seamen are immediately to be given up, *unransomed*, to recruit her shatter'd, almost annihilated fleet, in order to lay the foundations of future rivalship of this nation. What ought to be ascribed only to the imbecility or timidity of our new minister, *France* already makes a solemn mockery of to heaven, "Dieu, par sa bonte, ne permit pas, que la paix se fit au desavantage de la Maison Royale, & de la France."

The language of *faction*, has always been remarkable: very plausible and specious, but full of treachery and falsehood. Thus the *Briton* of last Saturday, says, "who ever dreamed that the boasted success of the *French* at Newfoundland should add a fresh wreath to the present minister's political garland! We could not imagine, that an unpractised minister should, almost in the twinkling of an eye, have recovered, without expence to the nation, without effusion of blood, that important settlement, to the loss, disgrace and confusion of our enemies, in such a manner, that the loss was scarcely felt before it was repaired. Now that this is the language of *saleshood* and *faction* will most evidently appear from these two clear proofs. The one is, that the ships which sailed from hence did not arrive till after *St. John's, &c. at Newfoun*

*land*, was entirely recovered from the *French*. The other that the American officers *before the receipt of any orders from Europe*, attempted and compleated this great service. Lieutenant-colonel Amherst, in his letter to the Earl of Egremont, says, "According to the orders I receiv'd from Sir Jeffery Amherst at New-York, of which your Lordship will have been informed, &c." It is, therefore, most evident, that the loss of *Newfoundland* ought to be ascribed to the *negligence* of the new minister, and its recovery to the *vigilance* of the American officers, and in particular of *Sir Jeffery Amherst*. I will only mention one fact relative to the loss of *Newfoundland*, because it is not generally known. It is, that a fortnight before Mr. Pitt resigned, he insisted that *four ships of the line* should be sent for the protection of *Newfoundland*. Such a succour, in all probability had saved our merchants from a loss not yet, nor likely for some years to be fully repaired.

I think it is now clear, from the principles and views, as well as the conduct and language of the administration, that the present ministry is a *faction* of a dangerous nature and most mischievous tendency. An *opposition*, therefore, to measures evidently calculated on one hand to restore our inveterate enemy, *France*, to her pristine state of greatness, and on the other hand to depress the noble spirit of freedom, by inculcating the mean doctrines of the uncontrollable power, and *independancy* of any single part of the British legislature, becomes the duty of every honest man, and every sincere lover of his country. It was under such circumstances, at every period, undoubtedly the *duty* of a good man, now it becomes his *glory*; because he is likely in so noble a cause to be reviled and persecuted. Almost every friend of *liberty* and of *revolution principles* has retired, or been dismissed; and it is generally believed, that every person brought in by the duke of Newcastle, is now, by the present minister, to be turned out — except the King.

*The North Briton presents his compliments to the Auditor, and returns his best thanks for the insertion of the letter concerning Florida, signed Viator, in his*

*his last paper, and for the full credit he has given to the several facts it contains.*

\* Vide, No. 35, Vol. III.



No. XXXI. Saturday, JANUARY 1, 1763.

Solon rempublicam duabus rebus contineri dixit,  
Præmio & Pœna. CICERO.

**T**HE doctrine of *rewards* and *punishments* has always operated in a very powerful manner on the passions of the weak and selfish part of mankind. It is a question which would require a nice discussion, whether the *divine* or *politician*, has more frequently been obliged to have recourse to it, or has made the most converts by this efficacious application to our *hopes* and *fears*. I own that I am rather inclined to the *politician*, because he brings all his artillery in view, to begin an immediate attack, and in case we do not surrender at *discretion*, we see that the effect will be as instantaneous as it is certain. The *divine* allures us with the most pleasing hopes, or alarms us with a prospect of much terror, but then it is believed to be so distant, that the danger seems to diminish, and he is obliged in a good measure to trust to a *reversion* of *rewards* and *punishments*. I am sorry to observe, that man is so short-sighted, as well as suspicious, that these kinds of *reversion* scarcely operate at all; while others of an infamous nature have on base and groveling minds produced the most wonderful effects. I have known a *reversion* for three lives on the *Irish establishment* operate in so surprising a manner, that with an effrontery, and contempt of parliament, of which only that one man is capable, a modern statesman, some few years ago, ventured to give it under his hand, that he would take the conduct of the house of commons.\*

Though I must say, that the iron *ministerial* rod of

\* The Right Honourable Henry Fox, Esq;

power was certainly never lifted so high, nor ever fell with so much weight, and unrelenting cruelty on the subject; yet I am very ready to acknowledge the great sagacity of our politicians in general, and especially of the minister now at the head of the *British* government, in the distribution of *rewards* and *punishments*. I only hesitate a little at the *quantum*, which does not seem to me always accurately adjusted. I could mention several, but I shall confine myself to two striking instances, which by comparison will perhaps be shewn in a stronger light. I mean the *rewards* bestowed on those two very extraordinary gentlemen, Mr. *Pitt*, and Mr. *Rigby*. I cannot but be of opinion that they are quite disproportionate to the respective merits of each. Mr. *Pitt* seems to me greatly overpaid: Mr. *Rigby* is penuriously dealt with, if we consider the variety and importance of his services. Mr. *Pitt* from the annuity he enjoys does not receive quite 2,200*l.* a year. Mr. *Rigby* is *Master of the Rolls in Ireland*, which is 1,600*l.* a year, and is likewise one of the *Vice Treasurers* of that kingdom, which is a good 3000*l.* Mr. *Rigby* has then in all 4,600*l.* a year, which is little more than twice what Mr. *Pitt* receives from the public. Mr. *Pitt*'s services, however have been formerly acknowledged by his sovereign to be *great and important*\*; Mr. *Rigby*'s have not that *eclat*. The reason perhaps may be, because they are *secret services*; perhaps ought to remain so, and from the modesty of their nature, as well as of their author, should not only carefully be kept from the glare of ostentation, but even concealed from discovery. They are not less essential, because they are *secret services*; and in my conscience, I believe they are of such a nature, that Mr. *Pitt* would be found totally incapable of reaching in so superlative a degree. I cannot persuade myself, that Mr. *Pitt* could have done such real services to the *Duke of Bedford*, when his *grace* in so amiable and endearing a manner, administered the government of *Ireland*, as Mr. *Rigby* actually and frequently did—by his mild and moderate counsels. I am likewise of opinion, that in his late tour to *France*, on that arduous business of the negotiations for *peace*, his

\* Vide London Gazette of Oct. 10, 1761.

*grace* had particular obligations to Mr. *Rigby*—in private hints, and perhaps even amendments of the *preliminaries*, which have made them appear so correct and high-finished, that they are universally admired. If I might be indulged a bold conjecture, I should be inclined to give Mr. *Rigby* the particular merit of that article, which describes countries so accurately by their lying on the left side of the river *Mississippi*; and I think he ought to be appointed *first geographer* as well as *Master of the Rolls*, (or should it not be *Revels*?) in *Ireland*. The merit of Mr. *Rigby* shines forth here in full lustre. We must likewise in justice ascribe to the wise and salutary advice of that gentleman all the happiness our fellow-subjects of *Ireland* enjoyed under the beloved administration of his *grace of Bedford*, as well as a share of the glories of a *peace*, which has saved *England* from the certain ruin of success, and preserved to her all those conquests, which were of any value or importance. In the whole of these transactions Mr. *Pitt* had not the least share.

I will do the ministry justice in every thing. There is, I confess, a fitness and propriety in the mode of rewarding these two gentlemen, which does honour to the discernment of the administration. Of the plenteous crop of laurels, which Mr. *Pitt* has gathered, the fairest and the only laurels likely to be *evergreen*, have come from *America*. The revenues, therefore, of the new world have been taxed to pay a little tribute to its conqueror. The scene of Mr. *Rigby*'s glory is *Ireland*. The modest *Irish Bay* encircles his modest brow, and her sweet *harp* ever resounds with his praises. Her sons, therefore, with the strictest propriety, as well as wonderful cheerfulness, now pay the 4,600*l.* a year, to support the dignity of this *English* patriot, their late adored governor; for *Trinculo* well says, "You shall be Viceroy, but I will be Viceroy over you."

In another instance where Mr. *Pitt* has never concurred, Mr. *Rigby* has steadily served his country. We all know that Mr. *Fox* has ever been the darling of the people, as well as the particular favourite of the *Cocoa-Tree*. Some malevolent writers have, indeed, some years ago, compared him to *Catiline*, (for I must correct the spelling of the ignorant *Auditor*, who always writes

*Cataline*) I suppose only from the circumstance of *Cataline's* having been the *Paymaster* of all the seditious and profligate in *Rome*; but the body of the people have always had the utmost trust and confidence in him. This virtuous minister, who by so fully opening his—heart, has now opened the eyes of the parliament, tho' not of the public, Mr. *Rigby* has supported: Mr. *Pitt* firmly opposed, and never concurred in any of his great and glorious schemes for his country.

The comparison of Mr. PITT with Mr. RIGBY.

Among many things which claim our admiration in both these men, one of the chief is, that from inconsiderable helps they attained to such greatness. In this respect Mr. *Pitt* has the advantage; for he has no partner, none to share his glory; whereas Mr. *Rigby* has been joined with many others, and has always acted rather in an inferior and subordinate sphere. Mr. *Pitt*, almost alone in his age, seems to have possessed that great political virtue, the art of governing kingdoms to their own satisfaction, which the ancients laid down as the greatest perfection which the nature of man could acquire.

In comparing their lives, we may observe, that this was common to them both; they were not born to any share of the legislature of their own country, but both raised themselves to be considerable among their fellow citizens, and to have voices in the *senate*. This was, indeed, effected by different methods. Mr. *Pitt* obtained his seat in parliament by the unanimous suffrages of a few gentlemen of virtue and discernment. Mr. *Rigby* has put himself upon his country more at large, and has generally canvassed the dregs of the people in the same manner *Cæsar* did for the post of *Pontifex Maximus*, and with them has found the same success. This is peculiar to Mr. *Pitt*, that the palm of virtue and ability was readily yielded to him by every man of every party; whereas any great superiority of virtue or talents has been disputed by many with Mr. *Rigby*. Every prudent, every modest, every decent part has been denied to be his praise; and I have, indeed, never heard that he has made any serious claim to either. In this, the difference is glaring. *Plutarch* says, “ *Quintus Sertorius* was already in high  
“ esteem

“ esteem for his former services in the war, and his  
 “ great abilities in the Senate House; whereas *Eumenes*  
 “ obtained what he had, when he had been only a *Se-*  
 “ *cretary*, and had been despised for the meanness of  
 “ his employment.”

As to *eloquence*, they are both confessedly great; and I scarcely know how to compare them. If the eloquence of Mr. *Pitt* has been compared to the *bold thunder*, that of Mr. *Rigby* is undoubtedly the *brisk lightning*. Mr. *Pitt* never fails to persuade, to awaken, to rouse the passions, and to gain them over to the side of truth and virtue. Mr. *Rigby* as seldom has failed to enliven, to entertain, to amuse, and where he has found his own language sink under the powers of his oratory, he has opened to us all the classical treasures of the great Roman, *Lilly*, (not *Tully*) and has boldly denounced the terrors of his vengeance against *omne quod exit in hausen*.\*

As to their *negociations*, Mr. *Rigby* is to be preferred. Mr. *Pitt* has been concerned only in one negociation, with the perfidious *Gaul*, whom he brought to sue for peace in *our capital*. Mr. *Rigby* has twice adventured to the *capitals* of his enemies the *French*, and of his *dear friends*, the *Irish*, on important negociations. Their motives were the same, and motives are the soul of actions, by which wise men have at all times measured the merits of them. Mr. *Pitt* seems to feel the most sincere benevolence, and disposition to do good to the *people of England*; Mr. *Rigby*, a much better christian, to our late enemies, the *people of France*; by which, as they are certainly more numerous than the subjects of the *British* empire, the benevolence of Mr. *Rigby* becomes more dilated, and is more univertal than that of Mr. *Pitt*. In the negociation likewise, Mr. *Rigby*'s open, unsuspecting nature relies on the *Royal word of the French King*, that he will not fortify *St. Peter's*, &c. which all Europe knows is ample security; whereas Mr. *Pitt* very uncourtously insists (and this only one of four *indispensible* conditions) on the residence of a *Commissary*, among people who do not wish for his company, and on the *visits* of the commander of the *British* squadron at *Newfoundland*, which must be unwelcome to every single *French-*

*man*

\* An expression of Mr. *Rigby*'s in a great assembly.



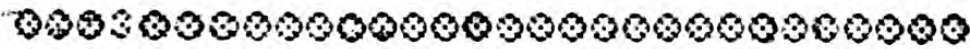
man there. As to Mr. *Rigby's* negotiations among the *Irish*, their affection to him is now by no means equivocal. The returns he makes I think scarcely adequate to the exuberant kindness of such friends; for he is now endeavouring to obtain an act to enable him to take *here* the oath of office, as joint *Vice Treasurer of Ireland*, which will deprive them of his wish'd-for company in that kingdom, and of the opportunity of giving him the most *solid* and *striking* proofs of their esteem and affection. This they will the more lament, because by his politely taking the *French* leave of them, they lost an opportunity (of which they were universally ambitious) of giving him indelible marks of their gratitude.

As that body is, without doubt, the most strong and healthy, which can best support extreme cold and excessive heat, so that is the most firm and vigorous mind, which is not elated with prosperity nor dejected in adversity. In this respect the virtue of Mr. *Pitt* appears more compleat. He was for many years the admiration of all his fellow-citizens; on a sudden the wicked arts, and false suggestions of a few malevolent and envious men, the hirelings of the mean *Scot*, for a short time obscured his fame, and eclipsed his glory. His conduct on both occasions was the same; modesty, calm sense, and dignity attended him. Mr. *Rigby* has ever been in the *same esteem* with mankind; therefore we have no trial of the firmness or fortitude of his mind.

Mr. *Pitt* seems to have the advantage of Mr. *Rigby* in the number and greatness of his exploits. There is a glory round Mr. *Pitt*, from *Louisbourg*, *Quebec*, *Pondicherry*, &c. which no *sane* man looks for round Mr. *Rigby*. On the other hand, Mr. *Rigby* has the merit of having restored concord to a neighbouring kingdom, and of enthroning peace and himself in the heart of every true *Irishman*. Mr. *Rigby* too deserves a distinguished niche in the temple of *domestic concord*. If the *conqueror's laurel* be peculiarly Mr. *Pitt's*, the *lover's myrtle* is no less Mr. *Rigby's*.

As to their more private characters, both Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Rigby* have generosity and spirit. In other things they differ. Mr. *Pitt* is abstemious, temperate and regular. Mr. *Rigby* indulges more in convivial pleasures, is an excellent

cellent *bon vivant*, perfectly amiable and engaging in private life. Mr. Pitt, by the most manly sense, and the fine sallies of a warm and sportive imagination, can charm the whole day, and, as the *Greek* said, his entertainments please even *the day after* they are given. Mr. Rigby has all the *gibes and gambols, and flashes of merriment which set the table in a roar*; but amidst his profusion of pleasures, and even amongst his roses, fierce repentance rears her snaky crest, and *the day after* a cruel head-ach, at least, frequently succeeds. In short, I wish to spend all my days with Mr. Pitt; but I am afraid, that at night I should often skulk to Mr. Rigby and his—friends.



No. XXXII. Saturday, JANUARY 8, 1763.

Here stood her Opium, here she nurs'd her Owls,  
And here she plann'd th' imperial seat of Fools. POPE.

To the COCOA-TREE.

Gentlemen,

IT is now so much become the fashion to address you, that common politeness seems to give you a right to a few lines from the *North Briton*. To you then he calls, *but with no friendly voice*. He feels neither affection, nor esteem for you. He equally detests your *principles* and your *practices*. He has marked you for many years, factious, seditious, and very near *rebellious*. For *four* years only, under the *patriot minister*, whom you have now deserted, he was witness to your acting on *revolution principles*; but how little you were in earnest, and how faintly your hearts glowed even then with the generous warmth of liberty, your present conduct bears full evidence. I shall not now attempt your history as a *party*. That is too large a field for a weekly paper; *longa est historia longæ ambages*. A few of the *outlines* I will mark, and if they are faithful, and drawn after truth, they will be more *bold* than *regular*. I shall confine myself almost entirely to some circumstances, I believe of importance, which are still unnoticed by abler pens; and I will point out a few, though not of your *amiable*, yet of your *leading features*.

The

The infinite number of writings you formerly published to recommend *passive obedience, non-resistance* and *indefeasible right*, were a disgrace to the free government under which you lived, and *your* slavish maxims led a former unhappy prince, *James the Second*, to attempt the reducing into practice what you had for some years inculcated through the nation, as the clear right of the *Crown*. You have *now* rather softened the terms, and you only talk of the *independency* and *prerogative* of the *crown*; but your meaning clearly remains the same. These were the universal doctrines, and characteristics of a *Tory*. All your friends at your head quarters in the capital loudly proclaimed these tenets of slavery, and your favourite country residence of *Oxford* echoed them through the nation. They were *talked, written, and preached into vogue* by venal, prostitute priests. The judgment and decree of the university of *Oxford*, passed in the Convocation, July 21, 1683, is full of maxims which overturn the first principles of all free governments and of all civil liberty. "That there is a mutual contract, tacit or express, between a prince and his subjects: *That* the Sovereignty of England is in the three estates, *viz.* king, lords, and commons: *That* self-preservation is the fundamental law of nature: *That* there lies no obligations upon christians to passive obedience, when the prince commands any thing against the laws of our country, &c. &c. &c." These are only a few of the many propositions, which the university of *Oxford* declared to be *false, seditious, and impious*, and Rapin says, "The *Decree* was presented to the King with great solemnity, and was very graciously received." I appeal to the common sense of mankind, whether the English government is not entirely overturned by these maxims, which only the professed slaves of a *Turkish emperor* could securely without blushing offer to the Grand Seigneur. *Bolingbroke* says, "that they are as absurd in their natures as terrible in their consequences, and would shock the common sense of a *Samojede*, or an *Hottentot*. The university ordered, that *in perpetual Memory*, these their decrees shall be entered into the registry of the convocation, &c." The house of lords in 1710 ordered this *Decree* to be burnt

burnt by the common hangman; but I desire to be informed whether it does not now remain at *Oxford un-repealed*.\*

Many, however, of the considerable *Tories* concurred in the *revolution* which was brought about, *against their principles*; but they all soon repented of it, and were never hearty friends to king *William*, though many of them were favoured by him. They continued generally in very ill humour with the government till the latter end of *queen Anne's* reign, when their machinations against the house of *Hanover* were manifest to all Europe; and they actually betrayed to *France* almost all the members of the grand alliance. Their particular spleen to the *Dutch*, to whom this nation was so greatly indebted for the *revolution*, is remarkable. *The following orders were sent to lord Privy-Seal, who was then the great tool of that faction, for his farther conduct.* "You are to stop  
" all instances for procuring the Tarif of 1664 to the  
" *Dutch*: you are to decline absolutely to confer any  
" farther with them upon any matter—and the queen  
" looks upon herself, from their conduct now to be  
" under no obligation whatever to them." Report from the committee of secrecy, the 9th of June 1715, p. 12, and afterwards, p. 30. "Mr. St. John writes a long letter  
" to the lord *Privy-Seal*, and instructs him to lay the  
" intire blame of all that has happened on the *Dutch*."

The *peace of Utrecht*, gentlemen, was infamously patched up by your party, and therefore you are to be detested, for having laid the foundation of all the future troubles of Europe. I must, however, own, that on the 24th April, 1714, both houses of parliament presented an address to the queen, "to express the just sense which  
" they had of her Majesty's goodness to her people, in  
" delivering them by a safe, honourable and advantageous peace with *France* and *Spain*, &c." In the house of commons this resolution passed *nemine contradicente*, the friends of liberty having at that time agreed to avoid unmeaning divisions, and to reserve themselves  
for

\* It is expected that this infamous Decree will be soon repealed, at the particular request of their present Chancellor, as an indubitable proof of his sincere conversion to the principles of Liberty and the Revolution.

for a more favourable exertion of their spirit. *Your* pens now flourish on *Prerogative* just as they did at that time. The message to the house of commons on the 8th of May 1713, begins "As it is the undoubted *Prerogative*, of the crown to make Peace and War, &c." The last address, presented on the 13th of December 1762, has these words, "although to make Peace and War be your Majesty's just and undoubted *Prerogative*, &c". In little more than a twelvemonth, another house of commons, *nemine contradicente*, impeached Lord *Oxford*, and Lord *Bolinbroke*, of high treason, for some of the articles of this very treaty. One of the articles of impeachment against the Earl of *Oxford*, was, that he had treacherously advised the 9th article of the treaty of commerce with France, and the giving to the French the liberty of fishing, and drying fish on *Newfoundland*." All Europe laughed at the first resolution, and detested the vile flattery and venality of that parliament. The queen, in her answer, said, "I esteem this address as the united voice of my affectionate and loyal subjects." Notwithstanding this, the lords, in their very first address to king George I. say, "they hope to recover the reputation of this kingdom in foreign parts, the loss of which is by no means to be imputed to the nation in general." *The commons* declared, "We are sensibly touched not only with the disappointment, but with the reproach brought upon the nation by the unjustifiable conclusion of a war, which was carried on at so vast an expence, and was attended with such unparalleled successes: but as that dishonour cannot in justice be imputed to the whole nation; so we firmly hope and believe that, through your majesty's great wisdom, and the faithful endeavours of your commons, the reputation of these your kingdoms, will, in due time be vindicated and restored."

What passed, gentlemen, among your friends at *Oxford* in the beginning of the reign of his Majesty's great grandfather, and how opportunely *major-general Pepper* arrived there, with a considerable body of horse to your utter confusion, and the ruin of all your *rebellious* designs, is fresh in our memories. *Oxford* was then known to be the strong hold of *Jacobitism*; but I believe, even then, in fear, or in modesty, you only called yourselves *Tories*.

After

After the Duke of *Ormond* was attainted by act of parliament, the superior numbers of your friends in the university, by a great majority, elected his brother the Earl of *Arran*, their Chancellor, *to testify*, as the Vice-Chancellor publicly declared, *their obligations to the family of Butler, and to express their gratitude to his Grace* — for his many services to the Pretender. To the Earl of *Arran*, lord *Westmorland* succeeded, by the strongest of all recommendations to the university; for he was said to be the man in the kingdom most *personally* obnoxious to our late Sovereign. The Earl of *Westmorland* was succeeded by Lord *Litchfield*; and your party, gentlemen, grew so greatly in favour, that *Oxford* now gave us *chancellors* for *courtiers*, and of her *doctors* we made *chancellors*; for that remarkable year teemed with the dire omen (which heaven avert!) of the same *doctor* \* made *chancellor of the Exchequer* and *comptroller of the high Borlace club*. He at once administered the finances of this kingdom to the purposes of a *German* war in its full extent, and artfully *guided* the *nice constitutional* toasts of that *virtuous, patriot* club. Your favours, and those of government, which he had merited by a long succession of services, were showered down for the first time on the *same* great object, who had in some degree (*credite poster!*) the confidence of both. I must observe, that the poor *old interest* expired a little before this time, deserted at least, perhaps betrayed, by those she had most confided in: She had, indeed, but a little before seen her present *Oxford* chancellor subscribe a parchment full of wonderful promises to support her; but she had likewise seen his orders to erase his name from it, with an express and very true declaration, that he would not abide by what he had signed.†

I am not surprised, gentlemen, at your present virulence against that *great person*, whom next to king *William*, every *Englishman* reveres as his deliverer; and, I appeal to daily observation, almost every *Scotsman* detests and reviles. Ever since the battle of *Culloden*, to which his Majesty owes his crown, he has been the marked object of your abuse. How much of the admired invective  
of

\* Sir Francis Dashwood, Bart.

† This curious parchment is still in being.

of the celebrated, *Radcliffe's* harangue was pointed by your favourite orator of sedition, the factious, pestilent, vain \* old man, against our great deliverer! Has your present † leader caught of you the foul stain of ingratitude to our great friend; and, falling on so rank a soil, has he improved it by treachery to a noble, and generous benefactor? how near did your orator approach to the very verge of treason, to gain your applause? I well remember your apprehensions at the frequent repetitions of the word *redeat*, and your loud applauses, when you found that tho' the guilt of treason was clearly incurred, yet the orator had contrived to save himself from the penalty of the law. How were you charmed with *Carmina tum melius, cum venerit ipse, canemus*, and many other expressions, totally void of all meaning and wit, but what must arise from their being treason to the constitution of your country? The standard of disaffection was then set up at *Oxford*, and your midnight orgies were such as every true lover of his country heard of with horror. What your wishes were in the time of the last rebellion, is now universally known; and your intrigues with the court of *France* have been fully unravelled. *Deyman*, who died in *Paris* soon after the battle of *Culloden*, the pensioner and agent of the *French* king, was for ever with you at the *Cocoa-Tree*; nor will you dare to deny that your negotiation with the court of *France* became fruitless from this single point, that you insisted on the *French* first landing here, the court of *France* insisted in your first rising in arms, which only your poltroonery kept you from. Had your courage equalled your disposition to rebellion, you had joined your new allies, the *Scots* at *Derby*, and the *English* had delivered this free country from a few more of her base and unnatural sons.

Forgive me, gentlemen, when I recall your attention to the general election, in 1754. You then supported lord *Wenman* and Sir *James Dashwood*. Did either of them associate in the time of the most eminent danger to the state, when the *Pretender* was at the head of a considerable body of rebels in the heart of the kingdom? In the reams of paper you blotted in advertisements, did you

ever

\* Dr. King.

† Mr. Fox.

ever once name his majesty king *George*, or the house of *Hanover*? Did not this give the nation the strongest suspicions of your loyalty and affection to his majesty's family? I blush, when I add, that in the reign of his grandson you are carested and trusted.

Yet, gentlemen, I will be far from blending you all in one common mass, as tintured with *Jacobitism*. I could name some among you, who, though generally actuated by caprice, yet I know have had in their few cool moments of reflection, an aversion to all *monarchical government*, and have held in perpetual derision the *respect and veneration* due to kings. All their ill-bred and indecent jokes on *kissing hands*, &c. are well remembered. His majesty's father said to the two \* most remarkable, when they professed much devotion to his service, "I know you both well; you would indeed make me the greatest *Stadtholder* England ever had." Yet, notwithstanding all their parade of *stubborn* † *virtue*, we have seen these two men ready to go into all the most odious measures, to *run all lengths*, and to become very *practicable* or rather very *pliable*; for *practicability* implies a dexterity in business, which we have never yet seen in either of them. It is the observation of *Swift*, "employments in a state are a reward for those who entirely agree with it. For example, a man, who, upon all occasions, declared his opinion of a commonwealth to be preferable to a monarchy, would not be a fit man to have employments; let him enjoy his opinion, but not be in a condition of reducing it to practice."

I shall now, gentlemen, only make one farther remark, that while you have been regularly preaching *submission*, and practising *opposition* to the crown, the impartial world will conclude that you believe the crown has not hitherto been placed where you may think it ought, and therefore you waited till then to practise your old doctrine of

*non-*

\* Earl Talbot, and Sir Francis Dashwood, Bart.

† So Talbot's want of place is want of sense.

And Dashwood's stubborn virtue, downright insolence.

Paul Whitehead's epistle to Dr. Thompson.

We have seen how stubborn the virtue of Sir Francis Dashwood was, particularly in the Excise, but it was scarcely so real as Lord Talbot's want of a place.

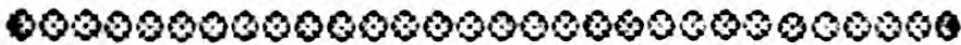


*non-resistance*; a doctrine you have ever forgot to the *Hanover* family. For my part, I have ever been persuaded that the happiness of this government depends on the security of his majesty's undoubted title, founded on those principles, which established the glorious *revolution*, and I hope will ever warm the breast of every *Englishman*.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most humble servant,

The NORTH BRITON.



No. XXXIII. Saturday, JANUARY 15, 1763.

Naturam expellas furca llet, usque recurret      HOR.

I cannot sufficiently admire the modesty of those writers who congratulate the public on a total abolition of party, and the universal satisfaction and harmony which prevail throughout the nation; at a time when every honest face is clouded with distrust, and every honest heart full of grief; when the old and tried friends of the constitution are retired in discontent, or rudely thrust from their seats, through the influence of the old avowed enemies of the present Family on the throne, headed by a minister whose country, before he was in power, and whose behaviour since, has rendered him justly suspected, and generally odious. However great the advantages of union amongst ourselves may really be, and however they may be magnified beyond their true extent, by the venal instruments of power, I should think them much too dearly purchased, if they could be purchased that way, by throwing all places of trust, honour and profit, into the hands of the *Tories*, whom no true lover of his country can behold without suspicion in any place of trust at all.

If we look some years back, we shall find *that party* was wholly sustained by the great abilities of some few among them, who made it subservient to their private piques or interests, and had ingenuity enough to puzzle the cause with dexterity, and confound those whom they could not convince. At present, happily for this nation,  
there

there is not one able man amongst them; their heads are as bad as their hearts: those who have taken up the pen in their behalf have made a bad cause worse, by the manner in which they have handled it, and notwithstanding the various palliations and unmeaning distinctions they have made use of, their principles are laid open to the nation, and in every honest man's mouth is to be found that ancient, and I will venture to say, for I will in the course of this paper, undertake to prove it, true assertion—*Shew me a Tory, and I will shew you a Jacobite.*

As this assertion may, perhaps, seem too general and severe to many moderate persons, and as the abettors of that reviving party, will no doubt tell us, that these words have by no means the same import; that they differ as much in latitude of signification as in their original; that they are entirely employed on different objects; and that the name of *Tory* subsisted long before that of *Jacobite* was known, which was afterwards grafted upon it merely from an *unfortunate accident*, as they call it, or as we would term it by a *special providence*; as they will insist that the name of *Tory* cannot include that of *Jacobite*, at any rate, though they will indeed candidly allow that the name of *Jacobite* includes that of *Tory*; as all these pretences carry with them some shew of reason. I shall now give this point a more particular discussion. I shall consider the real import of these words, and shall, I trust, before I have done, convince the impartial reader, that he may with the greatest propriety pronounce them *synonymous*.

A *Tory*, in the true and original meaning of the word, not to gloss it over with vain and artificial interpretations, was a maintainer of the infernal doctrine of arbitrary power, and indefeasible right on the part of the sovereign, and of passive obedience and non-resistance on the part of the subject; a doctrine which many preceding monarchs had endeavoured to establish by cunning, but which the *Stuarts* first openly avowed, and would have confirmed by force. The *Tory* maintained, that the king held his crown of none but God; that he could not by the most flagrant violation of the laws, by the most tyrannical exercise of his powers forfeit his right; that the people were made entirely for him, and that he had

had a right to dispose of their fortunes, lives and liberties, in defiance of his coronation oath, and the eternal laws of reason, without the subject having any right to demand redress of their grievances, or if their demand was denied, to seek it in themselves. Doth not the *Jacobite* hold these very tenets? Are not his articles of state-faith of the same complexion? Where is the one different from the other, unless in name? Will the *Tories* tell us, that what they maintain relates only to the system of government, to which the *Jacobite* adds a particular consideration of an attachment to the interests of the *Stuart* family, whereas *they* are zealous for the present family? They may have impudence enough to tell us this; but, I trust, we are not yet arrived at that pitch of credulity to believe them. Examine them by their leading principles laid down above, and tell me, if according to them they must not, like the *Jacobite*, consider the expulsion of *James* the Second as unjust, the *revolution* as a rebellion, and all those patriots who were concerned in accomplishing it, as traitors to their lawful prince; whether they must not, to act consistent with themselves, believe the title of the *Stuarts* to remain still in full force, tho' they are deprived of the possession, and that his present majesty holds the crown contrary to the laws of God. Can we see these persons preferred without uneasiness? Can we weigh their principles and not suspect their actions? However moderate and averse to party, can we see them entrusted with the power of doing mischief, and for a moment doubt their having inclination to carry it into execution? Can we without concern behold the danger of the constitution, and must we not tremble with apprehensions both for our sovereign and ourselves?

The *Tories* themselves will not, for indeed they cannot, deny that these were the distinguishing marks and governing maxims of those who formerly embraced that party, and some of them may be candid enough to own that they themselves have been actuated by the same principles; but with regard to their present vindication they scorn to intitate (for it is rather an intimation than a declaration) that their opinions of government are entirely altered; that they have seen their mistake, and, in order

to make amends for past errors, are now become willing to take all places and preferments, to prove their regard to the present constitution. For my own part, I must confess myself, in this respect, an infidel, nor can I believe one tittle of this pretence; and it might perhaps have shewn no improper caution in the minister, if he hath the interest of his master so much at heart, as he would have us think, to have had some better proofs of the sincerity of their conversion, before he had bestowed on them such lavish rewards; and to have been well assured that they had laid aside all inclination to do ill, before he had entrusted them with the power of doing it.

With regard to these ever loyal gentlemen, I shall observe farther, either

That they have changed their principles, or,

That they are still *Tories*, in their limited sense of the word, or,

That they are still *Tories*, as I understand the word, including *Jacobitism*.

In every one of these respects, let them take which they will, they are not fit to be entrusted with the administration of affairs.

The first of these points is the only one which will admit a moment's doubt. Those who determine at first sight, will naturally say, that, as the principles of the *Tories* were the only objection to their being concerned in the administration, those principles being now changed, the objection of course ceases, and they become entitled to state-employments equally with the most ancient and steady loyalists.

This inference, however specious, and founded on a maxim generally true, will not, I am afraid, hold good, when applied to this particular case. The qualifications necessary for employments in the administration, I apprehend, ought to be real attachment to, and zeal for, the constitution, a strength of understanding which may discover the true interests of it, and an invariable steadiness of mind, in the promoting of them. In the first of these respects, we will credulously suppose that the *Tories* have qualified themselves (those I mean who have had occasion to take the oaths) by a total and miraculous change of principles effected in an instant, without any visible

visible cause, and almost amounting to a new birth. In the second respect, which relates to the understanding, we will generously give them credit: but how then will they stand with regard to the latter qualification? If we acknowledge the sincerity of their conversion, their zeal for the constitution, joined with an amazing understanding, what must we think of their steadiness? What, without any one motive (but those arising from true reason and sound argument, which they had for years rejected) all at once, in a moment, by the strongest sympathy in the world, shift about, profess those doctrines they had exploded, and disavow those principles which they had sucked in with their milk, in which they had been educated, and which, when arrived at what they called years of discretion, they openly gloried in; those principles in defence of which many of their fathers lost their honours, and some their lives! Is such a change as this credible? Can they really have relinquished those hellish tenets, or do they dissemble? If the change is dissembled, what is become of the first qualification of a Statesman, a love of the constitution? If the change is real, what becomes of the latter qualification, that steadiness of mind which alone can make the other of good effect? Can we think our dependance well founded on those men who can so easily take up and relinquish principles, or be well pleased to see power lodged in the hands of those, of whom the most candid must declare, that they are chargeable with levity, that they are lighter than vanity itself? When they professed themselves *Tories*, they attempted to give us reasons for their Political Creed, nay, they pleaded conscience. Why do they not tell us the reasons on which they have changed their faith, and assign some fair methods by which they have satisfied the doubts of conscience. Till they do this, we certainly have an undoubted right to consider their pretended change as a mere piece of finesse, calculated to advance the worst of purposes, or to regard them as men of inconstancy and levity, acting from caprice and not reason: consequently in either of these respects unfit to take a part in the direction of affairs.

To do them justice however, I shall endeavour to account

count, not for their change of principles, because I believe those to continue as they were, but for the alteration in their mode of speaking and acting. This I the rather think necessary, because it seems to arise from motives which they may not be willing to avow. I mean ambition and interest, an unbounded desire of such places, as bring in real profit, and afford mock honour. We shall however do well to observe here, that though these are strong inducements to them to dissemble their principles, they cannot be of any force to work an honest change in them. Their beautiful pliability indeed, and complaisance to those bewitching tempters, seems to prove more than they would wish, and instead of evidencing a change of principles, declares that they have no principles at all.

If then we are of opinion that they have changed their old rooted principles merely thro' caprice and levity, we can have no assurance that they may not as wontonly return to them, with a fresh accession of power and influence to accomplish the subversion of our happy constitution: if they are governed by ambitious and interested views, we can only consider them as persons put up to auction, and always to be sold to the best bidder; if they continue *Tories*, in their limited sense of the word, as it means the friends of despotic government, we immediately see how much their influence ought to be feared by the people: Or, if they continue *Tories*, as I understand the word, including *Jacobitism*, how dreadful ought their new-revived power to appear not only to the people, but also to the sovereign!



No. XXXIV. Saturday, JANUARY 22, 1763.

Fuit hæc sapientia quondam,  
PUBLICA PRIVATIS fecernere.

HOR.

IT is become the fashion to ask, "What have you to say against the present minister: What ill hath he done?" I would answer this question, and, I think, not

improperly, by asking another. "What have you to say for the present minister? what good hath he done?" My notion hath ever been, that services should precede rewards, and that places of so high and interesting a nature, should be conferred on those only who had previously given some unquestionable proofs of integrity and ability. The tools of this very great man, and particularly the AUDITOR, think all objections to his having the direction of public affairs sufficiently answered by telling us, that he is a man of excellent character in *private life*.

Whether this be truth or not, I neither know nor care; but certain I am, that it is nothing at all to the present point. Private virtues are very often to be found where the qualifications of a public character are wanting. A good man may be a very bad minister; and this observation will justify us in asserting, that *religion* was in a great measure the cause of that prince's fall, whom we now consider as a martyr. To enter into *private life* on this occasion, cannot be serviceable to the cause we espouse, and is by no means agreeable to our inclination; though perhaps, without any violation of candour, we might disprove the general assertion of venal flatterers, and without any danger from the law, make them severely repent of the challenge they have so often sent us on this head. The only plausible pretence for the minister's holding his present place, is his great *economy* at home: but even here, I am afraid the inference which they would make is not just. We frequently meet with persons who are careful to the last degree of their own money, and lavish, beyond precedent, of what is entrusted to them by others. How far this is the case here, I shall not consider at present; one particular transaction of the greatest moment, which will throw light on these affairs, hath been lately communicated to the NORTH BRITON, and shall in due season be laid before his readers, who will not, he hopes, deem this a vague and wanton assertion, but give that credit to him, which he trusts he has merited from the public, by a faithful and close regard to truth, the great object of all his political enquiries.

One very remarkable reason, for such it is called, assigned to justify the exorbitant greatness of the present minister, is the great care which he exerted to form the  
mind

mind of his most excellent majesty in his early years. As there is no true Englishman who doth not feel the good effects of our sovereign's virtues, they must all (I take it for granted, and can answer for myself) be highly sensible of the obligations due to those who in any measure contributed to the improvement of them; but I am not yet sufficiently deep in the history of LEICESTER-HOUSE, to be quite certain that the *Favourite* hath any just claim to our acknowledgments in this respect. He had a place there, of no great consequence in itself, and, according to my poor conceptions, wholly unconnected with the business of education; nor amongst the several great names to whom at various times, this important trust was committed, did I ever hear his lordship mentioned till he became a manager in the state. Taking the fact however for granted, the reward bestowed on him in consequence of it, seems much out of proportion, and is of such a nature, as to take him entirely out of that province, to his excellency in which, as we are told, he owes his influence. A very good Schoolmaster may make a very indifferent statesman: pedantry is of little service in politics, and I should have a very contemptible opinion of an English administration, who would submit in their several departments to the imperious dictates of an overbearing tutor. I am extremely sorry that I cannot in this respect agree with the great Mr. MALLEY, *alias* MALLOCK, that ingenious SCOT, who, by the publication of lord BOLINGBROKE's *deistical writings*, formerly endeavoured to overthrow our religion, and at present is doing what in him lies to change our constitution, by advancing such doctrines as strike at the liberties of the people. In the *political poem* of ELVIRA, now acting at Drury-Lane Theatre, are the following remarkable lines.

*He holds a man who train'd a king to honour,  
A second only to the prince he form'd.*

I could much wish to see the work of education more considered, and those to whom it is entrusted better rewarded than they are in general; but cannot by any means agree to this extravagant opinion, even though I could persuade myself that a *groom of the stole* must in good reason mean a *Tutor*; and that to superintend the ornaments



ornaments of the body is most essentially to adorn the head and heart.

In the best political \* pamphlet which has been laid before the public, relative to our present divisions, it is asserted, and I think with great reason, that the unpopularity of a minister, on whatever grounds it is taken up, is in itself a sufficient motive for him to quit the administration; nor would the ministerial hirelings have seriously contradicted this doctrine, if they had once considered, that the consequences of such unpopularity will be the same whether it should arise from prejudice, or from reason. In the course of this paper, I shall venture to go one step farther, and shew that there are many other real, fair, and substantial objections to the administration of this *Scot*.

The first is, that he is a *Scot*. Can he help that, say his friends? No, nor can we; I from my soul wish that we could.—But, say they—you cannot impute his country to him as a fault; it is his misfortune.—The misfortune, I am afraid, is ours. In spite of all their specious arguments, I am certain, that reason could never believe that a *Scot* was fit to have the management of *English* affairs. There is something in the very thought which strikes disagreeably, even before we are able to account for our disgust, tho' on a moment's pause we find reasons enough at hand ready to justify it. A *Scot* hath no more right to preferment in *England* than a *Hanoverian* or a *Hottentot*; and tho' from the Time that the *STUARTS*, of ever odious memory, first mounted the throne, the *Scots* have over-run the land; yet the countenance shewn to them hath ever been attended with murmurs and discontent. From the *union*, indeed, they have another kind of plea to make, and with much modesty represent to us their undoubted right of enjoying every thing in common with us. That the *union* was designed, however the act may be worded, to put the inhabitants of the most beggarly part of the island, into full possession of the whole, I cannot believe; and if we consult the behaviour of the *Scots* at that time, we shall find they themselves did not then consider it in that very advantageous light. A true *Scot* never opposes his own interest; and  
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\* *An Address to the Cocoa-Tree. From a Whig.*

if any one of those few amongst them who favoured this union, had made it clear that it was for their advantage, the whole nation would unanimously have come into it. Had that spiritual argument been used to them, which had such an effect on the children of *Shechem*, " Shall not their cattle, and their substance, and every beast of theirs, be ours?" there would have been no hesitation on their side. But the most sanguine amongst them could not encourage such hopes, for they had not yet sanctified themselves by repeated rebellions. The particular post now held by the minister is of all the most liable to exception, as it includes the disposal of places, considerable both for their number and quality; and his behaviour therein justifies the suspicion we had entertained, that none but *Scots* or *Jacobites*, or such *English* as are *Scotticized*, must expect favour or preferment under him.

Besides the objection which lies against the minister from his being a *Scot*, from his glaring partiality to that nation, and contempt of us; from his connexions with the old enemies of our constitution, and supercilious treatment of the true friends of it; from the arbitrary displacing of men, merely because they were too honest to approve his measures, and from the doctrines of arbitrary power which seem to be once more walking abroad under his protection, our discontent is well grounded on the late inglorious *Peace*.

The warmest defenders of the *Peace* on the present plan, seem to abate something of their zeal, and no longer assert it to be adequate to our successes: they only say that it is necessary for us in our present situation. This doctrine hath been maintained on a public occasion, by a \* gentleman of known abilities, who for some time hath exerted the happy and honourable art of speechifying so mysteriously, that no one can find out whether he is for or against the *peace* and the *administration*. Could it be made out that there was an absolute necessity for us to make *peace*, and such a *peace*, I dare not to wag my tongue against those concerned in patching it up; but this point, though frequently asserted, remains yet to be proved, and the trifling pretences which have been offered

\* *Charles Townshend, Esq;*

ferred to the public want nothing but the slightest consideration to make them contemptible.

One reason still insisted upon to shew the necessity we were under of making peace is, the impossibility of the minister's raising the supplies to carry on the war. This, if true, was a good reason for the minister's quitting his post; but a very indifferent one for his sacrificing the honour of an indulgent master, and the interest of a country not his own, in order to retain it. If there was any difficulty on this head it did not arise from the thing itself, but from the person: and on his removal, and the appearance of any one in whom the people thought they might confide, it would have vanished of course. But, distrusted, suspected, and hated as he was, there is little ground for making the raising the supplies any plea for a precipitate peace, when a \* merchant, *now* of great and fashionable note, as remarkable for *fimsy oratory as dull poetry*, with much confidence assured his noble patron, that however steady the city might appear, they were always to be turned about by throwing in an *eighth*.

On a comparison with our enemies we had no imaginable reason to make peace. They were totally undone: we had nothing to fear from them, and much was to be got. The time was come when our brave sailors might have reaped the rewards of their dangers, and instead of returning to rust at home in beggary and contempt, might have settled themselves in ease and comfort. FRANCE, we all know, was ruined: her fleets destroyed, her trade at a stand, her colonies in our hands. Spain, an enemy at the best little to be feared, had lost that fortress which alone secured to her the sinews of war. This assertion is not without proof. РОССОКЕ, to whom the nation is bound by the most important services, declared it; we had it delivered to us in a place and by a person which makes the truth undoubted; nay, we seriously and solemnly returned thanks *by authority* in our churches to almighty God, for *having deprived our enemies of the means of war*. In such a situation what was to prevent a peace adequate to our successes? *The minister*. What was to drive us to the acceptance of such terms as are generally

\* Richard Glover, Esq;

generally disagreeable? *The minister*. What could induce us to restore our conquests, to put the enemy into a condition of rekindling the flames of war in a short time, and more to our disadvantage? What, but *the minister*. Above all, why allow the right of fishery? Because the *French* would not make peace without it; they held it a *sine qua non*. However fashionable it may be to undervalue that article now, *their* attention to it, if nothing else, demanded *ours*; and, if it is a *sine qua non* to the *French*, that was reason sufficient to make it so with us. But I cannot enough admire that the *French* would not make peace without it. Are the vanquished then to prescribe terms to their conquerors? What did it concern *England* whether *France* called it peace or war, if she was so destitute of force as to be unable to oppose our success, and to prevent that commerce, which put the whole world into our hands, tho' we have generously given so considerable a part of it to her again.

But how would EUROPE have considered this behaviour? Would not the jealousy of other powers have been raised; nay, would not their justice have taken the alarm, when they had seen *England* drawn unwillingly into a war, cruelly and unnaturally defending herself, and humbling her enemies; most injuriously detaining those places which were honourably conquered, and refusing to restore to her enemies a power of doing her fresh injuries? This I confess to be a material reason for our concluding the war in the manner we have now done, and it ought to warn us never to go to war with any power, for the future, till we have first sent round the world to know what places we may keep, if conquered, and what we may not; so that we may not, as now, exhaust our treasures, and, which is more considerable, throw away the lives of our brave fellows, to take places on purpose for a weak or wicked minister to give them up again.

N<sup>o</sup>. XXXV. Saturday, JANUARY 29, 1763.

Et quocumque volent, animum AUDITORIS agunto.

HORACE.

I Must confess that for some time I entertained the fond hope of availing myself, in the discussion of the *preliminary articles of Peace*, of the wonderful political knowledge of the AUDITOR. In his thirty-first number he had began an excellent set of observations, by printing *Viator's Letter*, relating to *Florida*, *exactly in the form which he received it*, that he might (to use his own words) *throw all the lights in his power upon the solid value of the advantages procured for us by the late negociation*; but after having assured us, upon that *undoubted authority*, that *Florida* is a *well-improved, richly cultivated, and populous country*, in this auspicious beginning of his career, he unhappily stopt short, and from this incomparable specimen, has left us to regret what such *acuteness and knowledge* combined, could, but alas! will not effect for the public. Perhaps, however, I injure him, and we are only to wait a little while till a kind correspondent sends him *another letter* to blazon in as lively, and *faithful colours* the *solid value* of the *blake and barren deserts of Canada*. He is so fair that we have no reason to doubt but he will give the letter *exactly in the form which he receives it*; and will, perhaps, again pawn his credit to the public for the authenticity and truth of every particular. I hope he will then likewise dwell on the *commercial advantages* which may be drawn from it, as they must surely be equal to the very important one of the *Florida Turf*, that fine, rich vein of trade, just opened by the AUDITOR, to give, as he says, *comfortable fires* to our cold, frozen *West-Indian islands*. May I hope to be forgiven by the \* *lord steward* of his majesty's household, who has his master's and his own *honour* ever at heart, and by the † *lord* of the *Treasury*, whose love to this nation is tempered with the truest *frugality*, if I should propose a scheme of *æconomy*, which

is

\* Earl Talbot.

† Earl of Bute.

is of a nature perfectly new to *both*; for it is in no way derogatory from the dignity of the crown, or the safety of the public? I would therefore humbly submit, whether the *pension* which the AUDITOR now enjoys should not be withdrawn, and instead of it an *exclusive charter* be granted to him for this new branch of commerce, the *Florida peat*. He surely deserves it much more than Mr. Touchet does a *monopoly* of the trade to the river *Senegal*. That gentleman has just now made this modest claim, tho' he received his share of *prize-money*, and his usual enormous profit on almost all the goods he sent out, when he contrived to make a *trading voyage* of a warlike expedition. I do not know how both their claims will be relished by the public; but, *being of such a nature*, I should not wonder if they were supported by that great patron of modest men, and modest merit, the modest Mr. Fox.

This wonderful genius, the AUDITOR, who for the advancement of *political science*, has so happily emerged, though not so pure as I could wish, from his *native bog* of *Allen*, is too grave a politician to *sport on the turf* of *Florida*. According to the *simple primitive ideas*, which in the first dawn of life so deeply impressed his *soft, tender mind*, he considers wisely and soberly the real and solid benefits of this *new, but important, commerce of peat*, so necessary to the *comforts of life*. To carry on *that trade*, I dare say he would be ready to bargain even for his dear *natale solum*, and would no more scruple to begin a treaty to *sell his country*, than he did to sell himself. At present he only proposes the *Florida peat at a cheap rate for the lower kind of the planters in our West-Indian islands*, to have a comfortable fire in their parlours or bed-chambers, to which there can be no objection, provided he will first build *chimnies* in their parlours or bed chambers.

As to the *inhabitants* of this *populous country*, it is well known that *Florida* has been chiefly peopled by *convicts from New-Spain*. I hope however, since the *Spaniards* have turned out the most shallow politicians in *Europe*, that we shall not adopt their policy; for I am really unwilling to lose the weekly entertainment of my friends, the AUDITOR and BRITON. They both know

so much already of *Florida*, there can be no necessity, though it might be the strictest justice, to send them to a country at present so well peopled with similar geniuses, that (if they are not already expected there) they would undoubtedly be well received by the new excellent subjects we have acquired, and smit with the love of the same *fine arts*, they would *meet congenial, mingling knave with knave*. I do not doubt but our disciple of *St. Omers*, who is rather the greater genius, would instruct his fellow-labourer, the poor BRITON, to throw away his *Scottish* pack of dullness, and in time they would both surpass in perfidy and fraud the most refined Jesuit, who is to be tolerated in these new conquests—possibly to read mass to this good *Irish Catholic*. If no untimely end prevents the dullest *play-wright* of our times, he may then at last present us with a woeful *Tragedy*, both *new* and *interesting*, drawn not from fable and invention, but founded on his own real adventures, and *hair-breadth scapes*.

Leaving however, to the ridicule of mankind, this egregious dupe the AUDITOR, \* the most *fond believing* fool of the age, I shall take *a comparative view* of some of the important articles of *the two negotiations*, in 1761 and 1762, and will in a summary way state what is restored to *England*, and her allies, and what is yielded to *France*. As to *Spain*, I shall reserve that power for a separate consideration. The first important article, insisted upon by *all* the king's servants consulted in the most secret affairs of government, which has been since RECEDED FROM, is, *that the French shall abstain from that particular fishery on all the coasts appertaining to Great-*

\* The AUDITOR soon after gave up the ghost. He died very little regretted by the world in general, but the kindness of the same partial friend and correspondent reached beyond death, and inscrib'd his tomb with the following lines,

*Siste VIATOR.*

DEEP in this *bog*, the AUDITOR *lies still*,  
His labours finish'd and worn out his quill;  
His *fires* extinguish'd, and his works unread,  
In peace he sleeps with the forgotten dead.  
With heath and sedge oh! may his tomb be dress'd,  
And his own *turf* lie light upon his breast.

*Great-Britain, whether on the continent, or on the islands situated in the said Gulph of St. Lawrence, which fishery the proprietors only of the said coasts have constantly enjoyed and always exercised, saving always the privilege granted by the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht. Vide Memoire Historique, p. 52.* Now let us examine the negotiation of 1762. Article the third gives the French the liberty to fish in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said Fishery but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to great Britain, and fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape-Breton, together with the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland. If the French are as attentive to their own interests, as we have ever found them, I will venture to affirm, that the Scottish minister has now made them a grant of the whole fishery, and consequently has endeavoured to restore their navy, and to ruin our's.

The state of the islands of *St. Peter* and *Miquelon* is as remarkable. The cession of *Miquelon* in 1761, was absolutely refused, and the duke of *Choiseul* told Mr. *Stanley*, he would not insist on it. p. 59. Four indispensable conditions are annexed to the cession even of *St. Peter*; but by the Scottish treaty in 1762, *St. Peter* and *Miquelon* are ceded in full right, without any one of the four indispensable conditions. No English commissary is now to be allowed to reside there; but our security is the present French king's royal word, for there is no kind of engagement whatever to restrain his successor. Such a cobweb tie has been the subject of ridicule to all Europe.

With regard to the indispensable object of *Dunkirk*, which the king (of England) has required, and still requires, p. 51. the town and port of *Dunkirk* shall be put in the condition it ought to have been put in by the last treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. The *CUNETTE* was deemed of the utmost consequence to that port, and therefore the demolition was insisted upon. By the last negotiation, Article the 5th of the Preliminaries, the *CUNETTE* shall remain as it now is, provided that the English engineers, named by his Britannic majesty, and received at *Dunkirk*, by order of his most christian majesty, verify, that this

CUNETTE



CUNETTE is only of use for the wholesomeness of the air and the health of the inhabitants.

As to Senegal and Goree, Mr. Stanley, on the part of the British ministry in 1761, absolutely insisted on keeping both; for that Senegal could not be securely maintained without Goree, p. 27. and Monsieur Buffy was authorized to consent to the cession required by England; so that the exportation of negroes might be confirmed by France, by some expedients equally easy and secure, p. 46. Why was it not then by the royal word of England, since that of the French king is deemed so satisfactory, with regard to their not erecting fortifications in St. Peter, Miquelon, or Bengal? Goree, of the utmost consequence to the trade and security of Senegal, but more important still as a security to France, in the supply of negroes for the French West-Indies, is unnecessarily and scandalously given up by the Scottish negociator.

As to the East-Indies, the negociation carried on by the English minister required that the perfect and final settlement should be made in conformity to certain rights absolutely appertaining to the English company, and must necessarily be left to the companies of the two nations to adjust the terms of accommodation and reconciliation, &c. Till the whole was settled, England was to keep possession. The Scot has given us in the 10th article of the Preliminaries a most fallacious agreement for mutual restitutions of conquests, which certainly includes Pondicherry on our side, and nothing on the part of France. Every conquest she made, has been retaken, and there is nothing she has now left to restore. Is not this abusing mankind in the most barefaced unparalleled manner? Are not these glaring marks of a formed design in the new ministry, not only to amuse, but to deceive a brave and honest nation?

As to St. Lucia, an object of the greatest importance, the negociation of 1761, not only refuses it to France, but declares the cession by no means admissible, p. 53. and the fact is, that it never was yielded till after the duke of Newcastle was driven out of the ministry.

Our magnanimous ally, the King of Prussia, appears to have been treated by the English minister with that  
good

good faith, which gives a lustre to any crown, and by the Scot with the most unbecoming chicanery, and the meanest, most despicable trick, and low fraud. *The answer of England to the ultimatum of France, in 1761, says, As to what regards the RESTITUTION, and evacuation of the conquests made by France over the King's allies in Germany, and particularly of Wesel, and other territories of the King of Prussia, his majesty persists in his demand relative to that subject, in the seventh article of the ULTIMATUM of England, viz. that they shall be RESTORED and evacuated, p. 53.* The French memorial of the 23d of July, 1761, having proposed the keeping possession of the countries belonging to the king of Prussia, the answer returned by Mr. Pitt in writing, on the 24th, and approved by all the King's ministers, was, *I likewise return you as totally inadmissible, the Memorial relative to the King of Prussia, as implying an attempt on the honour of Great-Britain, and the fidelity with which his Majesty will always fulfill his engagements with his allies, p. 36.* The Scottish minister has only stipulated, that France shall evacuate (not evacuate and restore) as soon as it can be done, that is, as soon as the Austrians are ready to take possession of them, the fortresses of CLEVES, WEZEL and GUELDRES, and in general all the countries belonging to the king of Prussia, Article the 13th. In consequence of the latter part of the same article, England must evacuate and in fact restore the three bishopricks of Munster, Paderborn and Hildesheim, which amount to 500,000*l. per annum.* But we are told that the dominions of our great protestant ally are to be scrambled for; for in an august assembly, that was the low, vulgar, and tricking phrase of the Scottish minister. This is a new kind of ministerial language, exactly conformable to the baseness and artifice of a mind capable of planning so despicable a fraud, whose pretended wisdom is nothing but that consummate hypocrisy and mean cunning, which men of real worth, sense, or honour despise, and will ever consider as an alloy, which may, indeed, make the fine ore go farther, but debaseth its worth and purity.

The

The *Prussian* ministers have most justly entered a formal protest against the contents of a treaty, no less *buffing* with regard to our great ally, than *injurious* with regard to us. In fact, all our stipulations with *France* are to *restore*, and the countries belonging to the electorate of *Hanover*, to the Landgrave of *Hesse*, to the duke of *Brunswick*, and to the count of *La Lippe Buckebourg*, are to be *restored* by the 12th Article. Is the same care taken of *Prussia*?

I shall now only farther observe, that the negotiation of 1761 was carried on while the *Czarina* was alive, the affairs of the king of *Prussia* almost desperate, *Hesse*, &c. in the hands of the enemy, before the conquest of *Martinico*, the *Havanna*, &c. together with the capture of so many capital ships of war belonging to *Spain*. The decided superiority of *England* and her allies, in 1762, was such as might have *command any terms*; and therefore *the whole exclusive fishery* ought to have been insisted upon, according to what was *earnestly contended for* by lord TEMPLE and Mr. PITT, even in 1761. The sense of the nation is clear and strong against the present terms of *peace*. Very few *addresses* have been presented, although most of the Lord Lieutenants have had *begging letters*, entreating them to use their utmost influence. The *city of London* refused to *address*, notwithstanding the *private assurances* of 14,000*l.* to compleat the Bridge, with this condition tacked to it. This will be recorded, to their immortal honour, when the descendants even of the *clothiers* and *manufacturers* of *Gloucestershire* \* shall blush at the stupidity, the high-flown nonsense, and servile flattery of their ancestors. That in so prosperous a state of our own affairs, and so promising to our allies, a most ignominious *Peace* was patched up, is now in us a matter of just indignation, and *public spirited opposition* to the *minister*; and, I will venture to say, that our *posterity*, from a true sense of their own sufferings, and of the author of them, will execrate his memory.

No. XXXVI.

\* Vide the *Gloucestershire Address*.

No. XXXVI. Saturday, FEBRUARY 5, 1763.

Præsertim, cum sit hoc generi hominum prope natura datum, uti, qua in familia laus aliqua forte floruerit, hanc fere, qui sunt ejus stirpis, quod sermone hominum ad memoriam patrum virtus celebratur, cupidissimè persequantur.

Cic. pro Rabir 2.

To the NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

**A**LTHOUGH I never could be reconciled to the most absurd doctrine propagated with so much zeal by the *Tories*, that there is a *divine hereditary, indefeasible* right in any family; yet I have remarked many *hereditary* virtues and vices, which seem to have been transmitted, with the family honours, by the father to the son, in a regular succession from age to age. The younger *Brutus*, who delivered *Rome* from the tyranny of *Cæsar*, was descended from the patriot stem of *Lucius Junius Brutus*, who expelled the *Tarquins*. His countrymen were continually making a kind of family claim on him to stand forth their deliverer, and to emulate the glories of his godlike ancestor. The whole race of the *Nassaus* has been renowned for a love of liberty and their country, for superior gifts of understanding, and for the most manly courage. Pride and bigotry have marked the imperial house of *Austria*, equally with the coarse, big lip. I believe there is not one instance where this observation has failed in the male line; and in our time we have seen it hold good in the most *ungrateful* female descendant of a family, which has waged eternal war against the protestant religion, altho' they were sworn to tolerate it, and against the liberties and independency of the *Germanic body*, which they were under the strictest oaths to defend.

A sacred regard to the religious and civil rights of mankind, spirit, humanity and valour, have characterised the whole *Brunswick* line. Their competitors, the house  
of

of STUART, have been ever stigmatised as tyrants and cowards. The country, which gave them birth, has always regarded them in the true light; and the history of *Scotland* shews how little that nation is disposed to submit to any oppressions *at home*, tho' they have so often endeavoured to establish their own tyrants of this accursed stem, on the throne of *England*. It is *Bayle's* remark, after *Rivet* and *David Blondel*, that of 105 kings who reigned in *Scotland*, before *Mary Stuart*, there had been three deposed, five expelled, and thirty two murdered.

The first prince of the house of *Brunswick*, who swayed the sceptre of *Alfred*, gave in many campaigns the most distinguished proofs of personal courage, and true heroism. His great successor at the battle of *Oudenard* put to flight the princes of the royal blood of *France*, and the Pretender. In the next generation, the *Scots* contrived to give the world a fresh and striking proof of the superiority which the house of *Brunswick* has, and will ever, *I hope*, maintain over that of *Stuart*. At *Culloden* their sons met, but fought not; for the *daftardly Stuart*, at the beginning of the engagement deserted his faithful *Scots*, and fled before the *English Hero*, to whom his illustrious house, and grateful country owe whatever they hold most dear. The *rebel* was chased from hill to hill, and skulked as an out-law in the kingdom he impudently laid claim to, confiding not so much in the natural strength of the country, as in the hearts of the natives, till at last he made his escape to the old friends and allies of his nation and family, the *French*.

Other families likewise of noble, though not royal, descent, have in a glorious manner followed the great examples set by their ancestors. The *Earl of Devonshire* publicly avowed the inviting over the prince of *Orange* to rescue these kingdoms from the arbitrary designs of a *Stuart*. At the end of the reign of queen *Anne*, that nobleman, and the great *Somers*, were offered up as victims to liberty, by the faction of the *Tories*. Even then, he dared to move the house of Lords for leave to bring in a bill to settle the *Precedence of the most illustrious house of Hanover in Great Britain*. His great descendant, one of the most amiable and unspotted characters of this age,

a true

a true friend of liberty and the constitution of his country, we have seen rudely thrust out; and Sir *John Philips*, who never possessed one spark of the ancient *British* fire, but by an infernal zeal was instigated in the time of the late rebellion to endeavour to procure the glorious *Association* to be presented to the King's-Bench, as an illegal levying of money on the subject without an act of parliament, has been brought into his Majesty's councils. Is it that he may meet there another great *constitutional lawyer*, who in all his pleadings before the battle of *Culloden*, called his countrymen only the *Scottish* army, though ever since that decisive victory he has termed them what we did before, *Scottish rebels*? Had the *Association* been deemed *illegal*, and the rebellion succeeded, Sir *John's* merit with the successor had been clear, and a long life of opposition to every measure of government in the *Brunswick* line, had given him a just title to favour from a true *Stuart*. His principles of justice and legality, with his wonderful gravity, might perhaps have made him *president* of some *high commission court* in *Wales*, and with the aid of other baronets of that country, a *Hanoverian* would soon have been as rare among them, as a true *Whig* ever was. Perhaps, however, I mistake, and the merit of Sir *John Philips* with the *Scottish* minister may be, not so much the having opposed the *Association*, nor the kind law advice he gave *gratis* in 1746 to so many of the rebels, as the resuming his bar-gown to plead for another *Scot*, the honourable *Alexander Murray*, Esq; when he was committed to *Newgate*, by the house of Commons, for a *high and most dangerous contempt of the authority and privilege of the house*, of which the spirited Sir *John Philips* before that time used to give himself out as the undaunted protector.

It is to be regretted, and I make the remark with the deepest concern, that some of the considerable men of this age have not before them that great incitement to virtuous actions, the example of their ancestors. I shall confine myself to one glaring case, because it cannot be disputed. The memory of Sir *Stephen Fox* is not, I believe, so precious to his family, as to have excited any one of his descendents to any one virtuous action. In the

the debates of the house of Commons, collected by the honourable *Anchitel Grey*, is an account of Sir *Stephen Fox's* infamous bribery of the parliament preceding that in 1679, when the enquiry was made, and the charge brought home to several of the members, *The house being informed of several sums of money paid to some of the members of the last parliament, by Sir Stephen Fox, &c.* Vol. 7. p. 316. Sir *Stephen* at first fenced with them. He alledged, that as he was no Exchequer Officer, there were no footsteps of his payments, and he gave many cunning insinuations, p. 316. However, in the course of his examination he confessed, *I have paid much money for SECRET SERVICE; but for these FOUR YEARS I HAVE PAID NONE. I have paid it as the king's bounty, and under such other titles, but not as members of parliament,* p. 316. THIS WAS NOT AN EMPLOYMENT I DESIRED. I NEVER SPOKE, nor was adviser; but I was directly to issue out money, as I was ordered, p. 318. This confession was not obtained till he had no dependence more upon that unfortunate person now under the obloquy of the nation, p. 317. Mr. *Boscawen*, one of the members, very justly observed, *If this place meaning the house of commons, has been corrupted, it is God's great mercy that such a house had not delivered up the nation to arbitrary government.*

I must, from that caution and circumspection, which I trust the wary NORTH BRITON will ever preserve, and from the hope of preventing malicious applications, declare, that all these quotations solely respect the parliament immediately preceding that of 1679, and have no respect to any subsequent parliament whatever. As to the present Mr. *Fox*, I should think it almost criminal to suspect him only because his father was so deeply concerned in such a scene of villainy; and surely, *Tully* discovered his own malignity, rather than his knowledge of human nature, when he observed, *hoc ille natus, quamvis patrem suum nunquam viderat, tamen et naturâ ipsâ duce, quæ plurimum valet, in PATERNÆ CULPÆ SIMILITUDINEM deductus est.* It must be admitted that this very Sir *Stephen Fox* DROVE that mild *Scottish* prime minister, duke *Lauderdale*, and almost overturned the machine of government; but surely this can never be set up as an  
bere-

*hereditary right* in Mr. Fox to *drive* the present gentle minister of the North in the way he now does.

I own I cannot entertain any conception of Mr. Fox's being quite so profligate as the ingenious Mr. Horace Walpole represents him, (and in print too) in a *World extraordinary*, addressed to his wife, the right honourable Lady Caroline Fox. Mr. Walpole observes, *his passions are very strong: he loves play, women more, and one woman more than all.*—Is this panegyrick? I hope Mr. Walpole meant by the *one woman*, Lady Caroline; but surely, this is a most wonderful compliment to be addressed to a gentleman's wife, that her husband loves *play* and *women*. His other *passions* we are left to guess. Mr. Walpole proceeds to tell us, *I say nothing of his integrity because I know nothing of it*—nor I neither. I cannot, however, go on as Mr. Walpole does, *that it has never been breathed upon even by suspicion*; because Mr. Walpole, and I know the contrary. He likewise vouches to us, that Mr. Fox is *as bravely sincere as those who take, or would have brutality taken for honesty*. I do not quite understand Mr. Walpole, and much question if he understood himself. I have no idea of Mr. Fox's being *bravely sincere*; but I really believe him *sincerely brave*. Mr. Walpole is happier in the description of Mr. Fox's person. He says *his bended brow at first lets one into the vast humanity of his temper*. Another painter might from a slight, transient view of so gloomy, sulken and lowering a brow, which seems overhung with conceit and superciliousness, have guessed at the dark, crafty inhabitant within, and have presaged, from a most unfortunate scowl, that much deceit and treachery lurked in a black, malignant heart: but Mr. Walpole tells us, that he has *succeeded in drawing the picture*, and that *his talent is not flattery*. I beg, *en passant*, to know what this gentleman's talent is.

Mr. Fox, according to Mr. Walpole's account, *makes his worth open upon you, by persuading you that he discovers some in you*; so that all Mr. Fox's *worth* actually consists only in what is truly the *worth* of others. How much, Mr. Walpole, is he really *worth*?

Very



Very unhappy do I feel myself thus to disagree with so great a judge of men and things, as Mr. *Horace Walpole*. I once before ventured modestly to hint my doubts of the justice of his opinion, that the *Scottish* nation was *endowed with a superior partition of sense to the English*. Mr. Walpole in vain will endeavour to prove it from all the *unkingly writings* of *James the First*; but as twenty six *Preliminary Articles of Peace*, signed at *Fontainebleau*, in November last, of true *Scottish* manufacture, have since appeared *by authority*, I now give up that point.

With respect to the present *trifling* dispute about Mr. Fox, I submit *that* to the gentlemen of the *Cocoa-Tree*; because they have been so wonderfully enlightened of late as to his great political merit. Mr. Fox has very dextrously cajoled them, and Lord *Bute* has fed *them*, or where the stupid, old *Tory trunk* was almost sapless and rotten, has fed their sons and nephews with loaves and fishes. In the affairs of the *Mitchell* election, which was the most sensible thing they ever did as a party, for they shewed their strength as well as their venom, Mr. Fox was the constant topic of their virulent abuse; and they are undoubtedly the most foul mouthed hounds of the whole pack. They never loved the Duke of *Newcastle*, nor can with sincerity love any friend of liberty and the protestant succession; but they then declared that they would support the Duke of *Newcastle*, against Mr. Fox, because they had rather have their *pockets picked* by his grace, than their *throats cut* by Mr. Fox. I honour their zeal: *laudo manentem*.

I am, &c.



No. XXXVII. Saturday, FEBRUARY 12, 1763.

Repugnante CÆSARE, sed frustra adversus duos, instauratum,  
Sullani exempli malum *Proscipio*.

VEIL. PATER.

THERE is no study more entertaining or instructive than history; nor is any history so applicable to our own government and times as that of ancient *Rome*.  
We

We clearly see in it the fatal rocks and shelves upon which a great and flourishing empire was wrecked ; and by a careful attention, we may, perhaps, be able to prevent the like danger. The experience acquired from the misfortunes of others, *Polybius* says, is the safest, though the evidence and conviction arising from our own, is the most forcible. To enumerate the various causes of the decline of the *Roman* empire, would far exceed the limits of my paper ; it will suffice, that I point out such only as were the principal and immediate forerunners of her slavery and ruin. Where any of the same symptoms of danger shall appear in our own body politic, I will as becomes a watchful and an honest centinel, communicate the alarm to all true *Englishmen* and lovers of their country.

From the annals of *Rome* it appears, that her ambitious nobles, however at times checked by the integrity and wisdom of the *senate*, were still going on to pare off something from the commonwealth. It remained only to beat down *that* barrier against lawless rule, to *bribe*, *intimidate*, and at last to *proscribe* the most spirited, experienced and honest friends of the public. The work of destruction was then compleated. When *Pyrrhus* attempted to corrupt the *senate*, not a single *Roman*, in those days of public virtue and national honour, would take the vile wages of prostitution. The more subtle *alien*, *Jugurtha*, found means to melt their stubborn virtue, and by the dint of *secret service* money gained over a flagitious party to espouse his shameful cause. His exclamation, when he left the mercenary capital, is well known ; *O venal city devoted to immediate destruction, if thou shouldst find a purchaser.*

In our own memory, there has been a time, when the sum of *twenty-five thousand* pounds issued from a *certain* place, upon a *certain* article, gave too just cause for melancholy reflections. By what magic influence and fascination of mind, was a former parliament induced to gild with gross and fulsome panegyric the infamous treaty of *Utrecht*, whilst the traitors, who made it, were held in utter detestation by the honest and discerning nation ? I must desire, professing always a regard to decency, as well as to my own safety, that I may not be misunderstood ; for there is nothing farther from my intention, than to insinuate

insinuate that there is the least similitude between the circumstances of last December, and of June 1713.

In the *golden age*, metaphorically I mean, of virtue, who could dare to suppose that we have any thing to fear from that too skilful and sure pioneer, corruption? No; if the minister was wickedly inclined to practise it, there is a person, we all know, who will never be prevailed upon to suffer it. Examine well the present administration; is it not composed chiefly of the choicest patriots, men of long experience in business, and of unshaken loyalty? Have we not at the head of our finances, the *experienced*, the *eloquent*, the *able* Sir Francis Dashwood? At the head of our admiralty, that great favourite of the navy, Mr. George Grenville? At the head of our *pensioners*, lord Litchfield? &c. &c. &c. They have ever declaimed loudly against *pensions*; they have represented all employments held at the pleasure of the crown, as little better than splendid badges of dependence and abject slavery. We may repose with entire confidence, on the chaste and scrupulous integrity of the knot of *Tories*, *Scottish* members, and *Scottified English*, who now constitute, by an amazing concurrence of unexpected incidents, the present virtuous majority in parliament. These gentlemen, we must confess, had in the worst of times, a natural *penchant* and predilection for each other's merit. The famous Colonel Cecil, of the *Cocoa Tree*, upon his examination in the late rebellion, declared, that the ministers of *France*, which was then on the point of invading us, expressed the utmost joy at the entire union between the *English* and *Scottish Jacobites*. In these happier days of universal loyalty, how lovingly do they concur in the support of the prerogative, and of his majesty's undoubted title to the throne of these kingdoms? Must not the *Duke of Choiseul* and the *Marquis of Grimaldi*, as they are become our exceeding good friends, be in raptures, on account of the strict harmony subsisting between the whiggified *Tories*, the torified *Whigs*, and the amphibious *North Britons*.

The next political battery, employed against the *senate*, was that of *intimidation*. The conjunction of *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, and *Crassus*, proved much more fatal to the commonwealth, than even their opposition would  
have

have been. Under their unconstitutional administration merit was no recommendation, nor was innocence any protection. All offices and places were given from the motives of interest or party. The wise and honest were driven from all participation of government. *Cato* was sent away for being too virtuous, by that tool of power, the profligate *Clodius*, and *Cicero*, for being too able, was forced into banishment.

This second engine of despotic power has rarely been played off in *England*, since the accession of the house of *Hanover*. A principle of conciliation and forbearance was the distinguished characteristic of our two last kings and of their ministers. To rule by love and not by fear, over free and willing subjects, was judged by them the wisest policy. The present *mushroom* minister, *sprang thus suddenly from a hot-bed*, disdains to walk in that old beaten track. The plan of the *Triumvirate* appears to *him* in every respect preferable. *Oderint, dum metuant* is *his* rule of action. The hatred of the nation *he* despises, provided *he* can operate on our fears. The most eminent lawyers have been see'd, to find mistakes and flaws in patents, granted for the security of the liberties of the subject, and which for ages have been esteemed not only valid but even sacred. *His* insolence and cruelty have put this menacing alternative, *Renounce all ties of honour, consanguinity, and gratitude, or else some sycophant belonging to myself shall have your place*. The secretary\* of a certain board, a very apt tool of ministerial persecution, with a spirit worthy of a *Portuguese* inquisitor, is hourly looking for carrion in every office, to feed the maw of the insatiable vulture. *Imò etiam in senatum venit, notat et designat unumquemque nostrum*: he marks us, and all our innocent families, for beggary and ruin. Neither the *tenderness of age*, nor the *sacredness of sex* is spared by the *cruel Scot*. The *widow* of one of the most meritorious † men of this kingdom, was told her doom; but our *great deliverer*, from the noblest motives of gratitude to his deceased friend, *there* interposed, and saved her from the  
threa;

\* *Samuel Martin*, Esq;

† *Stephen Pointz*, Esq; formerly Governor to his Royal Highness the *Duke of Cumberland*.

threatened ruin. Proceedings equally violent and unprecedented, and so highly dangerous in their direct tendency, cannot fail, in time, of becoming the objects of parliamentary enquiry.

If then *corruption* and *intimidation* have paved the way to arbitrary power amongst the Romans, the invention of *Proscription* by *Marius* and *Sylla*, repeated too successfully by the last Triumvirate, gave the finishing stroke to their expiring liberties. The dictator *Sylla* proscribed two thousand knights and senators, with a cruel joke, that they were all he could just then recollect, but that he reserved the punishment of others till he could remember their names. Satiated at length with vengeance, blood and power, he gave up his usurped command, and what was indeed extraordinary, the people permitted him to die peaceably in his own bed.

The evil example of this *Proscription* was renewed by the last Triumvirate. At their first meeting the young *Octavius* resisted so inhuman a measure; but, when his pretended squeamishness was over-ruled, he outstripped them both in wanton barbarity. Historians agree that *Lepidus* was a weak, inconstant man; that he was raised, without the merit of one single virtue, to so high power, and infamously abused the most glorious opportunity of serving his country, to the ruin of his country and himself. *Mark Antony*, the third Triumvir, is painted to us as a composition of the most furious passions, ambitious, profligate and vindictive. His associates were pimps, bankrupts, gladiators, and all men of the most infamous characters. The abandoned *Clodius*, and the lewd *Gabinius*, were his bosom friends, and dearest companions. The effects of this fatal coalition are well known. Thren hundred senators, and two thousand Roman knights were doomed to die for a crime the most unpardonable to tyrants, their warm and steady support of the cause of liberty. The patriots lost their lives, and with them perished the liberties of *Rome*.

Happy *Britain!* in whose well-poised government such scenes of violence and horror are not now to be apprehended. Happy in a monarch, who crowns all his virtues with lenity and moderation. When the relentless hand of power shall seem to fall too heavy on the subject,  
we

we known to whom the rigour ought to be imputed. The world will place it always, as it does at this particular crisis, to the account of an hot-brained and over-bearing minister; or, not to be unjust, I should make use, I verily believe, of the dual number, and lament the tyranny of the DUUMVIRATE. There are but few, I may venture to assert, who do not regard the many late removals of respectable and worthy persons from their employments as a persecution, and indeed, a sort of *proscription*.

The ministers, who club their wisdom and their power in this *chef d'œuvre* of politics, appear in general to the nation in the odious light of *Cossacks*, exercising a domestic *Dragonade*, and looking out for plunder for their creatures and dependents. Of what crime or misdemeanor has the ancient \* bulwark of the house of *Hanover*, the faithful and disinterested servant of the great grandfather and grandfather of our most gracious king, been guilty, that not he alone, but all his innocent relations and well-wishers, are marked out to their indignant fellow-subjects as the most outrageous and unpardonable offenders? The public waits impatiently to learn the mighty accusation. Have then his grace, and his most noble friends, been complicated in the foul practice of rebellion? No; that perfidy has never been, nor ever will be imputed to any *them*; or if they had, such is the extraordinary clemency of these times towards the sons of rebellion, they would undoubtedly have been forgiven. Do we not daily see the families of those, who were deeply concerned in the last desperate attempt to overthrow our liberties and constitution, and to fix the crown upon the head of a Papist, admitted into favour, and even advanced to preferment? What then has the noble *Duke*, with all the victims to ministerial rage, committed? They have ventured to declare, no matter in how decent a manner, their humble sentiment, that though the work of *peace* was owned to be a most desirable object, yet, that the precipitate and blundering manner, in which it had been conducted, was by no means worthy of a national or parliamentary commendation. If a conduct so moderate and defensible as this; if to

\* The Duke of Newcastle.

differ ever hereafter with an upstart minister, is to be construed as a *crimen læsæ majestatis*; if the giant *prerogative* is to be let loose, and stalk about, to create unusual terrors, and inflict unpractised punishments; if the fiercest thunderbolts of Jupiter are to be launched by a low miscreant against the slightest offence, and even against innocence itself; if the favourite motto of the *North*, the *nemo me impune læcessit*, is to be adopted by a minister as the future rule of government in our once happier *South*, we may then boast, as much as we please, of our invaluable liberties, purchased with the blood of our heroic ancestors; but let us watch them narrowly, lest before we are aware, they should soon depend upon too slight a thread. One consolation, however, is still left us, that so severe an exercise of the *extreme right of the prerogative* cannot fail of recoiling soon upon the heads of those impetuous and rash ministers who first advised it. The chariot of the sun, which they have borrowed, will be their's but for a day. They may for a short time endanger our little world; but their own ruin will be the certain consequence. Their fall will be unpitied; their memories for ever detested.

To the NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

“ The AUDITOR made us wait from *Saturday* to  
 “ *Tuesday*, while he was *hatching* another infamous  
 “ falsehood. I affirm that there never was any quarrel  
 “ between the baronet in the North, and the gentleman  
 “ supposed to be alluded to. The circumstances be-  
 “ long to another person, *very lately deceased*,\* who  
 “ gave the affront, and was afterwards chastised by  
 “ the baronet. The gentleman was not present at  
 “ either, though he was at another *election fray* after-  
 “ wards, and at a few previous, in the same year 1754.  
 “ The story in the AUDITOR is false. The baronet  
 “ himself will do justice to the gentleman's character  
 “ in that whole transaction.”

Feb. 9, 1763.

I am yours, &c.

Vide VOL. III.

No. XXXVIII.

\* *Coulson Storr*, Esquire.

No. XXXVIII. Saturday, FEBRUARY 19, 1763.

Italiam, fato profugus, Lavinaque venit  
Littora.

VIRG.

Dear Cousin,

WE have heard with infinite satisfaction of the most promising state of our affairs, not only in our *ancient* kingdom of *Scotland*, where, indeed, our interest has always been deeply routed in the hearts of our subjects, but likewise in *England*, where, till of late, we have never been able to entertain any well-grounded hope of recovering our just claims, and regular rights. Every thing, through your benign influence, now wears the most pleasing aspect. Where you tread, the *Tbistle* again rises under your feet. The sons of *Scotland*, and the friends of that great line of the *Stuarts*, no longer mourn. We have had the truest pleasure in hearing of the noble provision you have made for so many of our staunch friends, and of the considerable posts, both of honour and profit, which you have bestowed on them. We no less rejoice at this than at the *Proscription* you have made of our inveterate enemies, the *Whigs*, and the check you have given to that wicked *revolution spirit*, as well as to the descendants of those, who have impiously opposed our *divine, hereditary, indefeasible right*. With this *spirit* we know the title of the family in possession must fall, because it is their only firm foundation, and therefore we thank you for blasting it, and forcing out all who were in any degree thus actuated, or inspired. We thank you too for giving the power to so many of those, whose family estates were nearly ruined by a steady opposition, for almost half a century, to the house of *Brunswick*, and we rejoice to see them begin to revenge themselves on their enemies and oppressors. We hope that no consideration will divert you from your purpose, on the present vacancy, of recommending our noble friend, lord *Elibank*, to be one of the *sixteen peers of Scotland*. We have no small obligations to him, as well as to his



brother, Mr. *Alexander Murray*, and to the rest of the WORTHY independent electors of *Westminster*. Let not poor Sir *George Vandeput* starve. He and Mr. *Dobyns* the upholsterer, are my two only friends of all the subscribers to that glorious cause, who are yet unprovided for by you.

We lament that our dear country for so many years has been exposed a prey to foreign invaders, and domestic traitors. We made repeated efforts to relieve it from the tyranny of the one, and to secure it from the malice of the other. Our last attempt you were no stranger to, nor to the causes, which rendered it abortive. The former you do not remember. The truth is, they were both formed on a wrong plan, and we inconsiderately undertook to bring about by foreign assistance what can only be effected by domestic union among our friends, and by putting them in a condition to give the law to our unrelenting enemies. This you will best accomplish by creating divisions among these our refractory subjects, which you have most successfully begun. The native courage of our people is such, that they can only be subdued by themselves, and valour is so congenial with their very being, that it remains with them, when heaven has forsaken them, and even permitted them to trample under foot the rites of our holy religion, and to bid our Holy Father defiance, our dear sister, the apostolic Queen, has justly called them, *ces braves impies*.

We never can forget the warm wishes and kind remembrances of our friends in the year 1745, at the *Yoccoa-Tree*, and at *Oxford*, in a part of our old principality of *Wales*, and almost in all our ancient kingdom of *Scotland*. When that traitor *John Murray*, a disgrace to the name and family, impeached so many of our good friends on the trial of *Duke Lovat*, the alarm of our royal breast cannot be expressed. We have read those proceedings, set forth by pretended authority, with the utmost horror. After the name of one *Welsh* banner, Sir *Watkins Williams Wynne*, our royal tenderness for another made us tremble to think what might have followed, but the noble lord *Talbot* stopped the traitor's tongue, suppressed the rest of the evidence, prudently

prudently kept other names sacred from the public ear, and would not suffer the villain to go on to *calumniate* \* *the characters of several gentlemen, who were his worthy friends* †. The impartial public, however, did justice to the zeal of the noble lord's *friends* in our cause; and though some of them have, since that unfortunate æra, been more prudent, they have not been less in earnest; and notwithstanding a few short transitory *gleams* of *court sunshine*, we shall ever consider them as our own. The *steady baronet*, who like others of his name, has been *preferred for his wit*, did indeed accept no inconsiderable place under the late usurper, and in consequence renewed the sanction of the most solemn oaths against us; yet his *innate* loyalty never for a moment deserted his *faithful* breast, and even since that time he has encircled his glasses with our *white rose*, and has engraven on them, what is still deeper engraven on his heart, the true orison of the *Tories* for the accomplishment of *their* wishes no less than of *our own*, the comprehensive *FIAT*. We are extremely happy to hear that he is at present in the *Privy-Council*; and we do promise on our *royal word*, that he shall be continued in it on our *RESTORATION*.

The happy progress you have so speedily made to give all power into the hands of *your countrymen*, is matter of true joy to us, and gives us the most promising hopes that they will soon rise superior to all *resistance*, which can be made, either by the obstinacy of those, *who have ever been our enemies*, or by the *new favourers* of a bold intruder on the *indefeasible rights* of our true line, and *unalienable* possessions of our ancient inheritance. They will always be asserted with dignity by our august family, and we are the more assured of it, because another noble *Scot*, our cousin, Lord *Dunbar*, of the loyal stock of *Murray*, when he was *groom of the stole* to his royal highness, formed the mind of our most dear son, *CHARLES*, prince of Wales, to all virtues, and above all to the two princely virtues of our

K 3

race,

\* Vide *Lowat's Trial*.

† In ———'s reign these fruitless lines were writ,  
When *Ambrose Philips* was preferr'd for wit.

race, strict *economy* and exemplary *piety*. We have already given the *green ribband* to this distinguished friend of our son, but we have gracious intentions of bestowing on him likewise the GARTER, *should it not interfere with any of the blood royal of Stuart*.

We thank you for the favours you have shewn to so many of our friends, whom we have seen in our exile. We retain the most lively sense of the professions of attachment, which we personally condescend to accept at our court here from so many of the *old interest*. We have reason to be satisfied with more than one *Dashwood*; and we enjoin you to go on to heap your favours on all *that party*.

Yet, dear cousin, we must acquaint you, that your friends here are unanimously of opinion, that in some things you have deviated from that regard to your own interest, and prudent attention to your own power, which seem in general to have governed your conduct. You have too soon dropt the masque. You have not justly weighed the true temper and disposition of our enemies about you. They have acted towards our predecessors, like wanton boys, tugging at the end of a rope, who will not desist till they find it slackened by him who holds the other end, and then they are content to let it go. The experience of this was happily made by our *uncle*, but most unfortunately neglected by our *father*. Do not aim too soon at the *ministerial despotism* we know you have in view. You may, by too large strides, miss your footing; and if you do, we are irrecoverably undone, and *your fortunes* will have a tragical end. The annals of *Scotland* are already more stained with blood, than those of any country in *Europe*, and horrid butcheries disgrace every page of her history.

If ever you are pressed to give your assent to an enquiry into the past management of the public revenue, avoid the yielding to it as long as possible: it will fatally *recoil* on yourself. If you are at last forced to give up the point, boldly promise a *commission* of all public accounts. You may afterwards swear that you only engaged for a *committee*, and never thought of a *commission*. The *poor creature*, who will seem so very earnest

nest in it, will be easily duped. Perhaps indeed he  
 I desire to be duped. You may make the most  
 impious professions of the sacredness of your promise  
 the very moment you are violating it. The house  
*Stuart* has always claimed, and exercised, a *dispensing*  
*power*, as to promises, oaths and vows; and you are  
 indeed, dear cousin, full blood to us. If there is any  
 one, whom you allow, as your *factor*, to share in some  
 degree your power, instruct him not directly to oppose  
 you, but let him endeavour to postpone it till another  
 year, *for all the accounts of the war will then be closed.*  
 Let him urge that it *should not now be gone into, nor*  
*should a negative be put upon it.* The *evil day* should  
 be put off both from you and *him*. If, however, it  
 must come on, give good salaries to all those, who  
 shall be named to take the public accounts. This will  
 nobly protract it, and you will be able to provide for  
 a *nest* of our old friends, the *Tories*, till they are all  
*greatly wasted* into places of ease and profit.

We have deeply meditated on the public *odium* which  
 has ever pursued you. We must tell you that this has  
 not been the pique of a senseless and outrageous mul-  
 titude, nor a flame raised by the breath of private  
 whispers. It has arisen from the indignation of the  
*wisest* and *most virtuous* of our people, who have la-  
 mented your incapacity, but have abhorred your *guilt*,  
 and blushed at the *dishonours* which they have cursed  
 you for their being reproached with among the nations  
 of Europe. You ought, dear cousin, to reflect that  
 the party which opposes our interest, is great in num-  
 bers as well as in rank and fortune. Their abilities too  
 are incomparably superior to those of *our friends*,  
 their experience in every department of public business  
 much greater, their characters more respectable, and  
 their persons favoured by all, but those whose principles  
 in government are the same with *your's* and *our's*, and in  
 religion differ but little from *us*. The subordinate ranks  
 among them must, as yet, be considered as a part of the  
 community not safely to be depended upon, till it please  
 heaven to subdue their minds to a perfect and ready  
 submission to superior power, and to quell that high,  
 uncontrollable spirit of liberty, which the *English* dare

to claim as their birthright, and in every age endeavour to make their first distinguishing character.

As to the *military*, you are desired, dear cousin, to make it as numerous as possible. There will be ample provision for your *needy countrymen*, who are so devoted to you and to us. Never regard the finances of the country. First consider your own safety. This is the more necessary as you do not know how soon all may be insufficient to protect you from an enraged multitude.

As you have the command of every thing, deal out the most boundless largesses, yet preach up œconomy and in all trifles, practise it, but however never cease parading on every article. Abuse likewise all your predecessors, and extol yourself as the model of all virtues. Your creatures are bound to believe, and to propagate that faith.

Our royal house has been long wedded to calamity, and we have drank deep of the cup of bitterness. The frowns of heaven have been severely upon us. The solemn curse of the first of our family, who ascended the throne of *England* seems still to hang upon us: *If I spare any that are found guilty, in the case of Somerset, whom he did spare, God's curse light on me and my posterity for ever.* Every attempt for our relief, has, as in consequence, been said by heretics to have *providentially* miscarried. A gleam of hope at length breaks upon us; for though the usurper at present *has got our crown, he has got all our ministers too.*

*Given under our sign manual and privy signet, of the  
THISTLE, at our court at Rome, the second day of  
January, in the sixty-third year of our reign.*

J. R.

Countersigned

JAMES MURRAY.

No.

No. XXXIX. Saturday, FEBRUARY 26, 1763.

Ante hæc durissima tempora reipublicæ nihil aliud unquam obiectum est, nisi crudelitas illius temporis. CICERO.

**T**HERE is a great resemblance between the histories of most nations, whose forms of government are nearly similar. All the free states of *Greece* experienced the same kind of internal convulsions, and their final destiny was the same. The resemblance between particular periods of history, in different states as well as in the same body politic, is sometimes remarkably striking. There are few passages in the *Roman* history but find their exact parallels in our own. *Oliver Cromwell* plays the same poor farce (and acts it as ill) in his refusal of the crown from a committee of parliament, as *Julius Cæsar* had before done on a like offer from *Mark Antony*. The comparison of particular periods of the history of the same nation is still more just, and an argument may be drawn from it with more truth and precision, because it is founded in the genius of the people, and the form of the government.

I must own, that at present I am struck with the close similitude before the four last years of *Anne's* reign, and the present times. The nation was then in a war with *France*, which had been carried on with amazing success; and indeed, very little remained to be effected to reduce that exorbitant power, which had threatened the liberties of mankind, within the most moderate bounds. All these just and glorious hopes were blasted by the infamous *peace of Utrecht*, which completed the disgrace of the sovereign, and the dishonour of *England*; for it was attended with ignominy to ourselves, and with the most shameful breach of faith to our allies. We have lately been engaged in a war with the same power. It hath been carried on with, at least, equal glory; but for all our blood and treasure, we have only the wretched present of the *preliminary Articles of peace signed at Fontainebleau*, with a promise that the gross faults which have been pointed out to an ignorant minister, and which would have disgraced a

*Tartar*, or a *Sclawonian*, should be amended. THIS HERE lord-mayor \* of London, in an *elegant* and *masterly* speech, publickly declared, *that the present Peace was in every respect more infamous than that of Utrecht; and that he was ready to prove THAT THERE peace was LESSER to be found fault with.* He did accordingly, from the duty he owed to his fellow-citizens, and from his steady, admirable uniformity of conduct, summon a common-council expressly on that great occasion, to explain and enforce with patriotic zeal the important cause of their meeting, and propose an address to the Legislature, to stop in time the progress of so alarming a negociation, founded on the strong evidence of the *preliminaries*. This was his clear duty, and this he nobly discharged. The city must ever with gratitude look up to him for taking the lead in so manly a way, as became their first magistrate, thus called upon in such a cause, by that love of his country, which in him still rises superior, unshaken, and unseduced by all the *arts* and *caresses*, as well as by the *lavish promises*, of courts and ministers. Great in himself, and in a legion of public and private virtues, he despises all *honours*, as the vile traffic of courts, nor has he a wish to change a *title* only *temporary*, for one *hereditary* and *perpetual*. He will therefore, never lend himself to *prop* the minister who made this *infamous peace*, as he terms it; but will, I am persuaded, continue steady, indefatigable and animated in an opposition to him.

As the two *Treaties* are so much alike, there is also a wonderful similitude between the *two ministers*, who fabricated the two treaties; the *lord High-Treasurer*, and the present *first lord of the Treasury*. The true reason with both was the preservation of their own power. The ostensible reason to the public has, in both cases, been the same, and equally false, that the nation was not able to carry on the war. The *earl of Oxford* and *earl Mortimer*, opened his plan of power, and drew in the enemies of the constitution to support him, by abusing the *revolution*, and it's great author,  
king

\* *William Beckford, Esq;*

*king William.* The present minister has been equally industrious in procuring the vilest hirelings to revile the *good old king*, and all whose families brought about the *revolution*, and who have steadily supported the family on the throne against the Pretender. It is remarkable that only at one period of her reign, in the beginning of 1708, when the queen was alarmed by the arrival of the Pretender at *Dunkirk*, and the preparations made for his landing in *Scotland*, the *revolution* was mentioned in terms of approbation, and the friends of it, in that day of danger, were considered as the only firm security of the throne. In the answer to the address of the house of lords, the queen says, "I must always place my chief dependance upon those, who have given such repeated proofs of the greatest warmth and concern for the support of the REVOLUTION, the security of my person, and of the protestant succession." How thoroughly *Scotland* was at that time tainted with *Jacobitism*, quite through, even to its rotten core, a famous *Scottish* historian shall tell. *Lochart of Carnwarth* in his *Memoirs*, p. 343, says, "people of all ranks were daily more and more persuaded that nothing but the restoration of the Royal Family, and that BY THE MEANS OF SCOTSMEN, could restore them to their rights: so that now there was SCARCE ONE OF A THOUSAND that did not declare for the king, (*anglicè the Pretender*) nay, the Presbyterians and the Cameronians were willing to pass over the objection of his being a papist; for, said they, according to their predestinating principles, God may convert him, or he may have protestant children;" and again in page 344. "On ALL occasions, in ALL places, and by ALL people of ALL persuasions, nothing was to be heard throughout ALL the country, save an universal declaration in favour of the king," that is, the *Scottish* king. One of the first addresses to his present majesty, from the most eminent in the opposition to his family, makes his majesty's hereditary right the only principle of their loyalty.

Another topic of *their* abuse has been our allies. In the queen's time the odium fell on the *Dutch*: in our own,



own, on the king of *Prussia*. The same reason was equally strong in the two cases; for both warmly concurred in the support of all our measures against the common enemy, *France*.

When that *earl Mortimer* had in effect seized the crown, he removed the two most eminent persons who ever appeared in their different stations, the duke of *Marlborough*, and the earl of *Godolphin*. *Burnet* says, "the wise management of the one at home, and the glorious conduct of the other abroad, one would have thought, would have fixed them in their posts above the little practices of an artful favourite, who had not shewn any tokens of a great genius, and was only eminent in the art of deluding those that hearkened to him." That *earl Mortimer* drove from his sovereign's councils all the great and eminent men of that reign. He turned out most of the *lords lieutenants* of the several counties, and removed almost all the *Whig justices of the peace*. We too have seen several of the first characters among the *English* nobility removed from being his majesty's *lieutenants* in several counties. There is as yet no alteration as to the *justices of peace*. The change in those commissions is reserved for a change in the possession of the Great Seal, which is at present in the hands of an *Englishman*.

That *earl Mortimer* removed a considerable number of the *Whigs*, and the friends of the *revolution*, and gave their places to professed *Tories*, and to the enemies of liberty. The present minister has made almost a total resumption of all the appointments to places in the hands of the *Whigs* whom he disliked, and has ruined many families, who have no other guilt than the being put in by the friends of the late *truly patriot* king. A nature so unrelenting, and a temper so despotic, were never before seen and felt in a first minister of this country.

As soon as that *Earl Mortimer* had effectually secured his interest with the *Queen*, he kept her in a state of imprisonment, and suffered none, but his own creatures, to be about her person. The sovereign was then actually in a state of thralldom, and what is infinitely the worst kind of slavery, was held in a captivity of

of the understanding. The royal mind was enslaved in the most wretched manner; yet *that Earl Mortimer* had the impudence to assert, that he had only freed his sovereign from the chains of the old ministry. Have not the two venal scribblers of our times, the BRITON and the AUDITOR, perpetually declaimed, that the late ministry only resigned, because they could not controul and govern their master.

*That Earl Mortimer* got privately into the palace by means of one bad, ungrateful woman, Mrs. *Masbam*; and in a short time compleated his ascendancy over the mind of his sovereign. Here I do not find the least similitude.

As the view of both ministers has undoubtedly been the same, the preservation of their enormous power, both have made use of the same apt instruments. Their tools were the *Tories*, and all the revilers of the *protestant succession*.

*That Earl Mortimer* having got entire possession of the heart of his sovereign, and the power of the crown being, as it were, delegated to him, he employed it to purchase and to secure a majority of the two houses of parliament. Thus in effect he obtained the sovereignty of three kingdoms, and kept his power by distributing the revenue of the *civil list* to some, by giving places to others, and by creating twelve new peers at once. Since *October 1760*, seventeen new *peerages* have been created, nine additional *lords*, and an astonishing number of *Tory grooms of the bed chamber* have been made; every *obsolete useles* place has been revived, and every occasion of encreasing salaries has been seized with eagerness. That great reformer of abuses, the new *Whig* head of the board of trade, has just condescended to stipulate for an additional salary *without power*, as the price of his support of this *Tory* government. In all these cases however, *merit* has been the sole motive. Here again we do not find the most distant resemblance. The *corruption* under the Queen's *Tory* administration was so flagrant, that they had greatly overdrawn the *civil list*, and the venal parliament of 1713, was easily brought to vote 500,000*l.* which was given to pay off the debts of corruption,

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contracted in that short, infamous period. This was the boasted œconomy of the most ignorant, and incapable set of men, who ever pretended to the direction of the public business. The *Whigs* had managed the *civil list* so well, that the Queen had for several years given 100,000*l.* toward the expences of the war, had contributed 120,000*l.* to the support of the poor *Pa-latines*, and had laid out above 200,000*l.* in the building of *Blenheim-House*. Yet, by their wise management the *civil list* was more than adequate to those expences of government, for which it was given. The *civil list* was so ill managed by the *Tories*, that very unfairly at the end of the session, the Queen was brought to ask 500,000*l.* of her parliament, which these *frugal* dispensers of the public treasure *precipitately* and *eagerly* voted; for they knew that it would soon find its way among them. They were ever puzzling at the public accounts, pretending *great* abuses, yet, though invested with the fullest powers, had never the capacity of detecting even the *smallest*, which must creep into offices.

The present *civil list* exceeds that in the Queen's time, by 200,000*l.* I have not heard that any part of it has been given toward the great expences of this war; and I have heard of most wonderful savings in the articles of *beef* and *pudding*, *candles* and *coals*, &c. &c. &c. I believe that 118,000*l.* of the late King's *civil list* has been received since the demise of the crown. I am therefore satisfied that the report of a speedy application to Parliament, grounded on the distress already pretended to be felt, can have no foundation; because I am satisfied that there has been *no corruption* in this virtuous Reign, in which it has been so openly and warmly disclaimed. Even at its commencement a declaration was made, that not a "shilling  
" should be issued to serve any sinister purposes of go-  
" vernment, nor to give any undue influence. Every  
" man was now to be left to act and to vote according  
" to the dictates of his own conscience: no menaces  
" would ever be used, no punishments, no sufferings,  
" be known. The crown has nothing to ask of the  
" people, but to follow their own interests, which in  
" this

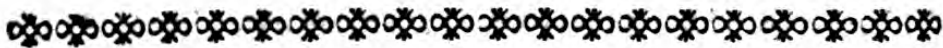
“ this patriot reign, would be left to them to discover  
“ and to pursue, unbiassed, uncorrupted.”

*That Earl Mortimer* was educated in the religion of the *Kirk of Scotland*, and passed his youth among the *Presbyterians*. He afterwards put himself at the head of the *Tory* faction, and gave into the most slavish doctrines of the *indefeasible* rights of the crown, and the immense extent of the prerogative. Is there not the strongest parity of circumstances in our time, both from the minister and all those who have wrote under him? When has the *prerogative* of the crown been sounded so loud?

When *that Earl Mortimer* had securely in his own imagination established his power, he threw off all regard to his sovereign; and knowing that the *Whigs* and the *Hanover* family would never suffer his tyranny, he endeavoured to sacrifice his gracious mistress rather than forfeit his own power, and actually formed a scheme to repeal the *Act of Settlement*. The death of that princess, the last *weak* remnant of the unhappy house of *Stuart*, frustrated his designs, and prevented a slavish *Tory* faction from restoring arbitrary power. One anecdote on this occasion ought to be transmitted to posterity. The legal successor, his Majesty's great Grandfather was then absent from the kingdom. No man but a *Scot* was enough tainted with treason, to offer his service to proclaim the Pretender, in the *English* capital, at noon day, on the *Royal Exchange*. This *George Keith*, late *Earl Maréchal* did. He was afterwards attained of *high treason*, and during the two last reigns, to elude the justice of his country, he lived abroad. He at all times openly declared himself a subject of the prerender, and publicly affronted the *English Ambassador*, at *Paris*, in the most mortifying manner, because it was before an infinite number of our inveterate insulting enemies. The late King from his great clemency, did indeed pardon him; but this noble *loyal* countryman of the minister, has in the present reign obtained near 12 000*l.* out of the purchase-money and interest due to the publick for certain parts of his estate. I have stated the grant accurately; for though the public was duped by the idea which went forth, that  
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it was only a grant of 3,618*l.* 9*s.* 0*d.* yet, it was expressly mentioned, that *that* sum should bear interest from *Whitsunday* 1721.

I shall conclude with one very short remark. On the death of *Queen Anne*, the political Barometer of the stocks *rose*: on the death of the late excellent King, it *fell*.



No. XL. Saturday, MARCH 5, 1763.

Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia  
devictum. SALLUST.

THE following memorial shall speak for itself. The memorialist has been long disappointed by the board of *treasury*, and instead of redress, finds even the *spirit of enquiry* so low, that he at length despairs of an examination into the merits of his case. He has therefore a right to state it, first to the *twenty one chosen* sons of virtue, and next to the *public* at large. The NORTH BRITON, who will ever make his appeal to that respectable tribunal, gives him the opportunity. What a shallow pretence to the least *reformation of abuses*, or to any degree of *economy*, the *first lord of the Treasury* has, is apparent from the little attention paid to this memorial. Is the *clear head* of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* too so *puzzled* with the public accounts, or the *new tax*, that he cannot give one hour to justice and to a gentleman, who declares himself highly injured? I hoped that business would now have been conducted *in another guess kind of a manner*; for I borrow his favourite mode of expression. From the warm approbation which the *tax on dogs* had publickly from him the last year, I thought every thing had been long ago settled for this Session. He was then no less serious than eager for it. If that *tax* is not now sufficient, let him speak out; for, to be sure, his views are *more extended*: *not that he's wiser, but he's higher*. Suppose he adds *ducks*, the *lame ducks* in the *alley* excepted; and I appeal to the *clergy*, if this *dog-and-duck* tax would  
not

not be as good as his humane plan of selling all their livings, or any other of his many *practicable* schemes.

As to the *memorial*, I shall only say, that no enquiry has been made, and that Mr. *Pownal* is still continued. With respect to the *letter* mentioned in the *memorial*, I should guess that it was at the time suppressed from the *Treasury*; or perhaps, in violation of every rule of *honour*, and of every right of *office*, with papers of the utmost moment, conveyed away to a patron very similar, and worthy of him, by the most treacherous, base, selfish, mean, abject, low-lived and dirty fellow, that ever *wriggled* himself into a \* secretaryship.

The affair is of real moment, not only for the vindication of the characters of the gentlemen concerned, but for the good of the service. A luxurious pampered *Englishman* may indeed exclaim, *what! OATS! OATS! a paper on OATS! is it from Brogdingnag? Have the BRITON and AUDITOR died for this?* like captain Lemuel Gulliver, *fullen he turns from both, and calls for OATS.* We *North Britons*, however, know the *importance* of the subject, and the delicacy of the food; for *Pensioner Johnson*, in his *Dictionary*, says very truly; *OATS, a grain, which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people.*

*To the right honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.*

*The MEMORIAL of JOHN GHEST, late an Inspector of his Majesty's magazines in Germany.*

*Most humbly represents,*

**T**HAT in May 1761, your memorialist having been at *Bremen*, in order to attend his duty as an inspector of his Majesty's magazines, was appointed by colonel *Peirson*, to put a stop, as far as in your memorialist

\* *Samuel Martin*, Esq; The other secretary, *Jeremiah Dyson*, Esq; is a gentleman of the truest worth and honour, possessed of very wonderful endowments, both natural and acquired; amiable in private, useful, disinterested, and eminent in public life.

memorialist lay, to the many and frequent abuses there in practice, in sending bad and damaged *oats* up the river *Weser*, for the use of his majesty's army.

That your memorialist having applied himself with zeal for his majesty's service, and used his closest attention and utmost endeavours to correct and prevent the aforesaid pernicious abuses, was so fortunate as in a great measure to put a stop to the same; which gave umbrage to several persons there, who had views and interests in such practices, very remote and different from those of your memorialist: and your memorialist's conduct therein was so clear and manifest, and the services which he rendered were such, that the said colonel *Peirson*, on the first day of July, writ a letter to your memorialist, wherein are the words following, *viz.*

“ I approve very much of what you have been doing, for bad *oats* must upon no account be sent from thence; I shall write to the major to-day in the strongest terms, that he does not attempt to send any thing that is not perfectly good.”

as by the said original Letter, in your memorialist's hands, ready to be produced to your lordships, may more fully appear.

That your memorialist having a few days after discovered that a considerable quantity of bad and damaged *oats* was loaded on waggons, by private traders of *Bremen*, with a design to be transported for his majesty's army, he stopped the same, and prevented the transport thereof, and by that means put a stop, for some time, to that pernicious practice among those traders, and having reported to colonel *Peirson* his proceedings, and the steps he took in the discharge of his duty, and the trust reposed in him, the said colonel *Peirson*, by his letter, dated *Nord Denker*, the fifteenth of July aforesaid, writes to your memorialist in the following words, *viz.*

“ I approve very much of what you have done, in stopping the transport of bad *oats* to the army.  
“ It

“ It certainly is comprehended within *your duty*,  
 “ *which is to be as extensive as possible, in the pre-*  
 “ *vention of any bad arriving here.*”

as by the said original letter, of the proper hand-writing and signature of the said *colonel Peirson*, ready to be produced to your lordships, may also more fully and at large appear.

That your memorialist, by a perseverance in his duty, in opposing and preventing the transport of many quantities of bad and damaged *oats*, having, as he has just reason to believe, given uneasiness and disappointment to several who were interested in sending bad *oats* to the army; they found ways and means, by their sinister and underhand contrivances, to cause to be removed from *Bremen*, about the twelfth of September following, a lieutenant, with a command of some dragoons, who had been stationed there, in order to compel the skippers to prepare their vessels with dispatch to take in Grain, &c. for the army, and had assisted your memorialist in the execution of his duty: and without such aid your memorialist could not effectually continue to put a stop to said fraudulent proceedings.

That your memorialist finding himself deprived of the said assistance, and seeing the practice renewed of sending away bad *oats* for the army, about the end of said September he made a representation thereof to *Michael Hatton*, Esq; late commissioner-general, then arrived at *Bremen*, who would not pay any regard thereto: and in some days after, your memorialist made a like representation of the aforesaid abuses to *lieutenant colonel Pownal*, then also arrived at *Bremen*; who, in answer thereto, bid your memorialist go on as he had done, and added these words, “ You shall be backed, “ well backed:” which gave your memorialist reason to apprehend and believe, that he should have a sufficient number of men assigned him, to prevent said abuses: but the said Mr. *Pownal* never thought fit to appoint any one person to assist your memorialist, in pursuance of his promise aforesaid.

That



That a person, named *Uckerman*, who was greatly interested in sending bad oats to his majesty's army, and who has made an immense fortune by such commerce, having soon after the said Mr. *Pownal's* said promises to your memorialist, laid a considerable quantity of bad oats on board vessels, with a design to transport, the same for the army; your memorialist made a report thereof to the said Mr. *Pownal*, who instead of preventing the same, gave your memorialist, to his great surprize, the following order and authority in his own proper hand writing and signature, to wit:

“ As I see nothing in your report to occasion my  
 “ detaining the four vessels laden with *oats*, as there-  
 “ in specified, *I think you may certify, that as they are,*  
 “ *though not good, and such as ought to be passable,*  
 “ *they may pass up to the army.*”

Signed, *T. Pownal*, first commissary of controle.

To Mr. *Ghest*, king's inspector  
 of magazines, Bremen,  
 Oct. 9, 1761.

As by the original in your memorialist's hands, ready to be produced to your lordships, may more fully appear.

That on the next day your memorialist made a report to the said Mr. *Pownal*, of another quantity of the said *Uckerman's* bad *oats*, in vessels, ready to be transported for the army; which report was in the words following:

“ Upon inspecting forty lasts of Mr. *Uckerman's*  
 “ *oats*, in two of *Haram Hanning's* vessels, I find  
 “ that the greater part thereof consists of various  
 “ sorts of bad *oats*; some red, having been burned,  
 “ others grown, and the grain exhausted; others  
 “ blue, which never were any thing but shell: and  
 “ the whole having a great deal of chaff and dirt in  
 “ it. Bremen, Oct. 10, 1761, Signed, *John Ghest*,  
 Inspector;

“ Inspector ; and directed to lieutenant-colonel  
“ *Pownal, &c.*”

That the said *Uckerman* having made an application to the said Mr. *Pownal* to pass the said oats, the said gentleman had a farther examination made of the same by two grooms in the presence of his first clerk ; who finding that said oats was very bad, did not fail to confirm your memorialist’s said report.

That notwithstanding all this, the said Mr. *Pownal* very soon afterwards permitted those very oats to be sent up for the army ; and never after suffered your memorialist to inspect any of said *Uckerman*’s oats.

That said Mr. *Pownal*, having left *Bremen* about the twenty-third of November, left at the same time a free passage up the *Wefer*, for the transporting of all said *Uckerman*’s bad oats without obstacle ; which said bad oats had been rejected by your memorialist : and also, great quantities of the like bad and damaged oats, that had been provided for the army by one *Mamberg*, and were not fit for use ; (which the said Mr. *Pownal* well knew, by a report made to him thereof, by persons employed by him to examine the same in the presence of a public notary ; a copy of which said report is in the hands of your memorialist, ready to be produced to your lordships) and likewise many shiploads of the like, which afterwards came up the river. So that your memorialist has had the mortification to see his efforts for his majesty’s service rendered abortive ; and his good services and endeavours for the public good have been since recompenced by the said Mr. *Pownal*, upon his return from *England* into *Germany*, with a paper, containing a dismission in writing from his majesty’s service, in the words following, *viz.*

*Bremen, May 18, 1762.*

“ Sir, by virtue of the power and authority vested  
“ in me, I do hereby acquaint you, that I have no  
“ further occasion for your services, as an Inspector,  
“ and that your pay ceases from this day, of which  
“ you

“ you will herefrom take notice. I am Sir, your obedient servant.

*To Mr. Ghest, at Bremen.*

That your memorialist most humbly hopes, and fully apprehends, that his conduct and endeavours in his majesty's service, will appear fair and unblemished; and that the said dismissal is without any foundation of any charge, or colour of any crime against him.

And here your memorialist, with the greatest submission, begs leave to say, that he has undoubted reason to believe, that his said dismissal has been owing to a letter written by him, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1761, to *Samuel Martin*, Esq; wherein your memorialist gave intimation of the misconduct of the said Mr. *Pownal*; and to no other real cause: and that your memorialist is the more persuaded thereof, from a declaration made by the said Mr. *Pownal*, in a public company, on the very evening when first he declared his dismissal to your memorialist; expressing, that your memorialist had writ something to this right honourable board, which might have done him much harm; as your memorialist was well informed by a gentleman of veracity then present; a procedure that will never escape the just and equitable observations of your lordships.

That your memorialist, from the motive of a zealous regard for the good of the publick, left *Bremen* with his family, at a great expence, in order to lay the aforesaid facts before your lordships.

All which he most humbly submits to your lordships.

N<sup>o</sup>. XLI. Saturday, MARCH 12, 1763.

Carpent tua poma nepotes.

VIRG.

I Shall not this week touch a single drop of Sir Francis\*—*Dashwood's Cyder*. I will leave it all till he has gauged the *hoghead*, and has found how many gallons it contains. When he has learnt a little of his lesson, I may perhaps condescend to argue on the new taxes, *wine* and *cyder*, with the *chancellor of the Exchequer*, who by the confession of his own board, as well as of the rest of mankind, now stands forth the most confused, most incapable, and most ignorant of all, who ever accepted the seals of that high office. I shall perhaps too expostulate with him, how very unkind and ungrateful he is to his two old friends, the *grape* and the *apple*: but they have already been amply revenged on him. *Rode, coper, vitem, tamen, &c.* A disgrace seems to be entailed on these unsocial attacks, and all the genial powers conspires to frustrate them. *Eloquence* and *wit* take the alarm, fearful of losing the advantages of an old *amiable union* with such friends. *Wit* points its keenest arrows, and the noble tide of *eloquence* bears down the poor creature who made the *feeble* attack. He remains a little while an object of pity, and is then consigned over to eternal oblivion †.

At present I shall quit this comic scene to do justice to a very ingenious correspondent, who has sent me the following letter.

To the NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

I WAS surpris'd the other day with a visit from an old acquaintance, whom I had not seen since the year *forty five*. He had been outlawed on account of his engagements in the last *rebellion*, and was just returned from abroad, where he had remained ever since that

\* Vide *Vanbrugh's Journey to London*.† In the following month Sir Francis *Dashwood* resigned the *Seals*.

that memorable æra. He was a true BRITON, and a zealous lover of his countrymen. He had lately sent for his youngest son from the Highlands of *Scotland*, to receive *national* preferment under a truly BRITISH administration. I could not help enjoying the satisfaction of mind, which appeared in my old friend's countenance, on having now settled all his family to his utmost wishes; for he told me that this young gentleman was assured of particular favour and advancement under the present government, I would say administration, and the five patriot heroes his brothers, were already provided for in the service of him, whom we call the PRETENDER.

As the boy who appeared to be about eighteen, was but a raw *child*; and seemed entirely ignorant of every thing on this side of the *Tweed*, I thought I could not spend the day better, in respect to his amusement, as well as my own, than by attending young maister *Macdonald* in the quality of *Ciceroni*, to shew him the sights about this great metropolis. This scheme tallied exactly with my friend's business, who was obliged to wait on his patron at a certain hour, in order to return him thanks for his son's near promotion, and at the same time to solicit his Lordship for a vacant place in the Treasury for his brother, or in the Post-Office for his nephew, or in the Exchequer for his cousin, or in the Custom-house for his cousin's cousin, or any where for any of his countrymen. All which, his *known* attachment to his patron, his loyalty to *his* king, and love to *his* country, gave him sufficient reason to expect from a minister who makes it his pride, as it is his declaration, to encourage merit wherever he finds it—except in a *Whig*. On this account he very readily let him to my care, and agreed to meet us at his return among the tombs in *Westminster-Abbey*; for after our *City* tour, and visiting the two house of parliament, *Westminster-Hall* and *Westminster-Bridge*, that was settled to be our last stage, and the rendezvous for the day. The young gentleman was much delighted with the curiosities of the *Tower*. He seemed very little to regard the fire arms, but expatiated largely on the terror of the *broad sword*, and on the sure, dark, death-

death-dealing *dirk*. He took particular notice that all the *foreign wild beasts* were confined in their dens, while the *foreign, tame Lord Mayor* was permitted to walk at large in his *chains*.

At our return to *Westminster-Abbey*, in looking over that Mausoleum of great men, great scoundrels, great scholars, and great fools, my young companion testified much surprized at the enormous wigs of the last age, in Parian buckle, and the *pagan* divinities of the present *à-la-mode*. His curiosity, I must own, perplexed me, by desiring some rational and historical account of those piles of marble, erected to the memory of great generals who were never heard of, or ought for ever to be forgot, and illustrious statesmen, who had no other chance to be remembered at all. He seemed in *second sight*, already to behold new and superb monuments erected to his valiant countrymen; and he dwelt much on the magnificent *labour of a future age*, to the great *American* hero, the earl of LONDON. He raved too of epitaphs, and the scrupulous attachment to truth, which is ever kept up in them. In the heat of his enthusiasm, he gave capacity and virtue to an earl of BUTE; and what is remarkable, one *Englishman* had his praises; for he gave an elegant form, a liberal disposition, and a soul capable of the nicest honour, and truest friendship to the earl of POUIS.

But when we were got within the iron gates, the office *Ciceroni* was taken off my hands, by a fellow, who, upon the regular demand and payment of a three-penny fee, preceded us to the first chapel, flirting about a switch, with a careless familiar air of consequence, and humming a *divine hymn*, to the tune of *Nancy Dawson*. The extreme volubility of our guide's tongue, which ran over the methodical account of the consecrated dead, with equal emphasis whether they bled by the point of a sword, or the prick of a needle, gave us, indeed, little leisure to dwell upon any single object; but left my companion's mind in a confused state of general admiration, till we were conducted into EDWARD the confessor's chapel. While the rest of the company, for we had licked up several more in our passage, besides my old friend, who had by this

time rejoined us, were taken up in contemplating the waxen image of the duke of BUCKINGHAM, and examining the elegance of his glass shoe buckles, my young *Scotsman* carelessly flung himself into one of the old chairs, which were placed like useless lumber at the side of this deadly representation of life. According to the *customary* extortion of the place, our conductor claimed a forfeit, which you may be sure maister *Macdonald* was not so untutored in *æconomy* as to comply with. But when the historian, with an air of authority informed us: This is the chair in which his majesty was crowned. Underneath it is the stone supposed to be *Jacob's* pillar; it was brought from *Scone* in *Scotland*. They were both used at the ceremony of the coronation of the kings of *Scotland*, and brought into *England* on the conquest of that kingdom by *Edward* the First:” these words were hardly out of his mouth, when I perceived my young gentleman’s eyes glistening with uncommon transport, and rolling about from the stone to his father, from his father to the stone, till at length unable to contain himself longer, the prophetic inspiration came upon him, and he repeated like the Sibyls of old with equal rapture, and in full as good verse, this memorable couplet:

*Ni fallat fatum, SCOTI quocunque locatum,  
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

“ Or fate’s deceiv’d, and heaven decrees in vain,  
“ Or where they find this stone, the SCOTS shall reign.”

CAMDEN.

Oot, oot, mon, cries his father, clapping me on the back with great earnestness, and looking his son full in the face, let the false NORTH BRITON and his advocates burst their weams, here is a prophecy for us, better than *faiſty* PROPHECIES OF FAMINE. Yon stene there is more precious than the philosopher’s, and *Archimedes’s* *ωρηνα* is a folly to’t. Ken ye weel, boy, that ye have sat upon the seat, which has hald the purest blood of aw *Scotland*? And if the family which make such illustrious figures in the *Scottish* annals, and  
caused

caused such wonderful revolutions in this our kingdom, are not at present in the chair, we can aw tell wha is naxt to it."

I was surpris'd at this sudden exaltation of my friend, nor could possibly frame to my mind whence he could draw such strange and wonderful conclusions, on examining a rough, hard stone, which seem'd in my eyes nothing more than a typical representation of the country which it came from. It seem'd to me to indicate as strongly the nature of the country, that it was *Petra et præterea nihil*, as the single bunch of grapes, which was forced to be carried by two men, denoted the fertility of the *land of Canaan*.

This extraordinary alteration of behaviour both of the old and young gentleman, much surpriz'd me. The completion of this glorious prophecy had so intoxicated their understandings, that they could not behave commonly civil. Upon my remonstrating with proper submission, that this prophecy could by no means extend to *England*, especially as we had now a sovereign whom we *English* gloried in, as being our countryman, and whom we should neither be so complaisant or traitorous ever to *sell* or to give up for all the *Stuarts* in the world, my loyal friend, with great eagerness, and thorough *Scottish*, good-breeding, interrupted me hastily, by telling me with a supercilious air of authority, "Sir, we have as gued a right to this country as yourselves; and let me tell you Sir, there is nae such thing as an *Englishman*, and I hope shortly the very name will be annihilated." Convinced of the sincerity of his wishes, but unwilling to be persuaded out of my birth-right, or bullied out of my senses, I left them at coming out of the iron-gates, to the contemplation of their rising greatness, and the new modelling of their new kingdom, by beautifully tempering those two happy peculiarities, *Scottish elegance*, and *Scottish æconomy*.

When I had got home, and began to reflect upon our expedition, though I must confess, I was somewhat ruffled by the unexpected insolence of my two companions, I was more heartily vexed, that what I had at first conceived to be impossible, upon recollection, ap-



peared more than probable. There had indeed been some pains taken, in the glorious reign of that *pacific* monarch, *James* the First, to establish their *right*, founded upon this stone, and warranted by this prophecy; but now under the administration of the *elder* branch of that august family of the *Stuarts*, with such conspicuous abilities to support him, in all those measures so conducive to the welfare of *his* country, I think I may fairly wish them joy of their prophecy being fulfilled, more especially as I find it corroborated and marked out for these times by another, which is as clear and express.

*When ANDREW shall unite with JAMES,  
And TWEED adulterate with THAMES;  
When Cod shall make the Salmon rue,  
Blue turn to yellow, green to blue;  
When John leaves Marg'et in the lurch,  
And Presbyterians head the church;  
When cold JAMAICA sends for \* PEAT  
From FLORIDA to roast her meat;  
When Reformation turns a sbrew,  
And acts as RIOT us'd to do;  
When ENGLAND's lost, and BRITAIN wins,  
When UNION's firm, and STRIFE begins,  
When STUART's claims are all o'erthrown,  
And STUART reigns without a crown;  
Then triumph, SCOTLAND, thou hast won,  
ENGLAND look to't—the charm's begun.*



No. XLII. Saturday, MARCH 19, 1763.

Utinam istuc verbum ex animo ac vere diceres.

TER.

**T**HERE is generally *one* favourite, ministerial word in high vogue. The minister himself first broaches it, and afterwards the whole herd of his dependents is ordered to eccho it through the nation. During the administration of Mr. *Pelham*, the fashionable word was *candour*.

\* Vide No. 35. and Vol. III.

*candour*. He frequently made use of it, and he really loved the thing more than the word. His whole public conduct gave the most convincing proofs of his *candour*. The *cant word* of the present minister is OECONOMY. There is not a poor, insignificant, *English Tory*, or *Scottish Jacobite clerk*, who has been three days in the *customs*, or *excise*, but has already learnt his lesson, and talks incessantly of the new minister's *æconomy*. We hear of nothing but *æconomy*, though we cannot, in any one business of national concern, discern the least trace of it. It is become the *Shibboleth* of the whole *Scottish* faction; for *their countrymen* is for ever retailing the *word* to us, even when he is practising the most unbounded prodigality. The *word* he never forgets: the application of it to any public business we have never yet experienced from him. At no period of the English history has the nation been so much abused with *words*, and so grossly abused with glaring *facts* of extortion on the people, as of late by the present *Scottish* minister. It is an old observation, that he that first cries out *stop thief*, is often he that has stolen the treasure. We have heard of nothing but *æconomy*, and we have seen nothing but profusion and extravagance. The proof shall soon follow the assertion; but I shall first state a late very extraordinary occurrence.

By the *Votes of the house of Commons*, we find, that on the seventh of March, an address was voted to his majesty, though not without opposition, *that he would be graciously pleased to employ in the army such persons, as now are, or shall be, upon half pay, who are qualified to serve his majesty*. This surely was so plain and self-evident an instance of *æconomy* to the public, as well as justice to the officer, that such an address must in its very nature be trifling, or must mean a direct insult on the minister. I think indeed, that it shewed the suspicion which that *honourable house* entertained with regard to his real intention. The *house* knew their gracious sovereign had the wise regulations of a just *æconomy* at heart: but they seemed greatly to have distrusted the minister, and therefore proceeded in a true constitutional

nal manner, by recommending the measure in a dutiful and humble address to the crown. I only argue from the *Votes*, which I suppose are printed, that the public may fairly reason on all parliamentary proceedings, of such a kind as to be judged fit to be submitted to the opinion of Mankind. At the opening of the session, in a most gracious speech from the throne his majesty strenuously advised his parliament *to lay the foundation of that Oeconomy, which we owe to ourselves, and to our posterity, and which can alone relieve this nation from the heavy burthens brought upon it by the necessities of this long and expensive war.* In the answer likewise to this address, his majesty is graciously pleased to declare, "It was always my *intention* to shew my regard to the merit of my half pay officers, as well as my *attention* to the lessening of the public expence, by taking every proper opportunity of employing such of them as are qualified for service." It is therefore clear that our most excellent *sovereign* had always at heart this scheme of *oeconomy*, and the *minister*, was believed by parliament to be averse to it. This unravels the mystery of this *address*, and proves that it, not only became the wisdom of parliament, but was peculiarly adapted to the critical circumstances of the times. The conduct of the minister has shewn the justice of this opinion. The first principles of national *oeconomy* have been disregarded, for every *regiment* has been compleated as to its compliment of officers even a few days only before it has been broke, and chiefly by *Scotsmen*. This has most infamously swelled the *half pay list*, and put the nation to an enormous expence, without a pretence of the least service to the public. I beg to know how many weeks Mr. *Gilbert Elliot's* son has had a captain's commission, and if he is yet *ten* years old? The *list of the army* has been entirely printed off; but was ordered to be suppressed, and the new *secretary at war*, the *jackall of the paymaster*, bought the whole impression. † This has kept from the eye of the public this infamous scene, as well as the names of several *Scots*, who distinguished themselves

\* *Wilbore Ellis*, Esquire.

† *A List of the Army* was after this published.

elves under the banners of rebellion in 1745, and have been promoted since the administration of *their countryman*. Their names however, shall in due time be given to the public, and their *loyal* deeds faithfully recorded. By such methods has the *half pay list* grown to its present enormous size, and so deep a wound been given to the public, even in *æconomy*.

Let us now consider another striking instance of the total disregard of *æconomy*: I mean the present loan of 3,500,000 *l.* The terms of the new subscription have been so injurious to the public, but so beneficial to the subscribers, that is, to the creatures of the minister, that there was immediately an advance of seven *per cent.* and in a very few days of above eleven *per cent.* I shall however, only state it at the even, round sum, of ten *per cent.* that I may not puzzle the *chancellor of the Exchequer*. The whole loan amounted to 3,500,000 *l.* consequently in the period of a very few days, the minister gave among his creatures, and the tools of his power, 350,000 *l.* which was levied on the public: the most enormous sum ever divided in so short a time among any set of men. A few of their names I will mention, to shew in what estimation they are held by the public: Messieurs TOUCHET, GLOVER, *Cust*, (brother to the able and impartial speaker) *Amyand Maygens*, *Salvador*, *Colebrooke*, *Thornton* and *Muilman*, had each 200,000 *l.* of the new subscription, and of course almost immediately cleared 20,000 *l.* each, which they have, or have not, shared among their friends. In *this* instance, however, I dare say, the public will experience *no stoppage of payment*: such bargains are more likely to bring a nation, than the proprietors themselves, to *bankruptcy*. In a lucrative, ministerial *job* of any kind, it was impossible the name of Mr. *Fox* could be omitted. He had 1000,000 *l.* that is 10,000 clear profit. What the *jackall* had, I know not; but Mr. *Calcraft*, *not in Mr. Fox's name*, had upwards of 70,000 *l.* that is a gift of 7,000 *l.* Mr. *Drummond* a *Scottish banker*, to whom *his countrymen*, while shop continued open, had such obligations in 1745, was gratified with 72,200 *l.* or in

other words, had 7,000*l.* given him. I hope that this *douceur* is really meant for Mr. *Drummond*, and not for the *minister's* poor distressed *cousin*, and *namesake*, at *Rome*. The governor of the bank *Robert Marfb*, Esq; had 150,000*l.* to keep the gentlemen there in good humour; and to preserve his own good humour, 50,000*l.* *Lewis Way*, Esq; sub-governor of the *South-Sea*, had the same sum, for the same purpose. Such *douceurs* were given to such persons, when gentlemen of the first monied property in the kingdom, who had subscribed the largest sums in all the exigencies of government, during the two last wars, and who were of known affection to the *Brunswic* line, were refused any share. The reason given to several, was, *you are no friends of the minister*. The minister has declared that he had actually a tender of above seventeen millions *only* from the city. The public will judge from this how impossible it was to carry on the war even another year.

This enormous sum of 350,000*l.* ought to have been saved to the public. It undoubtedly might have been, if a fair bargain had been made by honest and intelligent stewards of the public, free from any disposition, or at least any resolution, to *buy* friends in so shameful a way with the nation's money. The sum is very near one shilling in the pound of the land tax, which the *zealous, fond, believing, obsequious, confiding, supporting, acquiescing, bearing and forbearing* country gentlemen ought, among their stipulations with the minister, to have saved the nation. The public would then have had one obligation to their ministerial zeal, and some amends made for their scandalous prostitution. Had there been the least attention to *æconomy*, we see this saving might have been made. If the Shilling in the pound had not been taken off the land, the odious tax on *cyder*, in its present oppressive mode, would have been totally unnecessary: but the *excise laws* seem to be the favourite laws of the new minister, and \* *bis* *Chancellor of the Exchequer* declared with a perspicuity, of which only that one head was capable, *that he was not for an EXTENSION of the Excise laws, but for an ENLARGEMENT of them*. If there can be any meaning

couched

\* Sir Francis Dashwood, Bart.

couched in such barbarism, it should seem that the hydra of Excise is now to reach, where its cruel fangs never did before. After the monster of Excise had been so long kept tame, this *chancellor of the Exchequer*, I should imagine, is ordered to *enlarge* his claws, and then another is to come to *extend* his accursed dominion through the land. Yet (not to deviate from his happy *Patawinity*) all the *whole total* is *any thing for peace and quietness sake*; and at this time we must be content to take the thing *rough as it runs*.

I desire likewise to state the case of the lotteries, and of the gross impositions on the public, by that part of the late bargain. Lotteries have always been objected to as promoting the spirit of gaming, so peculiarly pernicious to a commercial country. The necessities of government, during the two late wars, forced this measure: I mean of a lottery; but this year, the year of peace, we are to have *two* lotteries. To make this scheme as chargeable as possible to the public, and creative of more jobs, as well as longer to keep up the spirit of gaming, the *two* lotteries are to be drawn at *two* different times of the year. A minister who had really any love of *æconomy*, would have made the tickets duplicates of each other, and have saved one half of the expence to the public. The earl of BUTE chuses to parade about *æconomy*, at the very time he is practising the most unjustifiable profusion. In former years the interest on the lottery annuities commenced a year after the bringing in the scheme, and was only three *per cent*. In this frugal *Scottish* administration, it commences almost with the first payment, and is four *per cent*. I must observe how very unnecessarily, and even wantonly, this was done; for experience convinces us how little attention is paid by the purchasers of lottery tickets to the rate of interest accruing on them.

The creditors of the public for navy, transport, victualling, and ordnance services, have at least as much merit with the nation, (whom they trusted without the security of a fund, in dangerous times) and as strict a right to justice, as the new creditors of this loan advanced in days of a peace. To the former the mi-

nister has thought it just to give a bare four *per cent.* redeemable at pleasure, to commence from the next Lady-day. To the *meritorious* subscribers to the loan, interest commences upon the whole from the first payment, together with two lottery tickets for every 100*l.* which are now selling at the advanced price of 9*l.* clear gain. I wish to know by what scale of equity, the merits of these two sets of the public creditors have been weighed. Is it in the same *Scottish ballance*, by which *evacuation* only was to be the lot of one ally, and *restitution* of all the rest? How exactly parallel to our *foreign honour* is our *domestic justice*!

An *open* subscription has ever been deemed the fairest and most *æconomical* method of borrowing money for the public. In times of war, and public distress, government for greater security has been obliged to have recourse to the other, more confined mode, though subject to partiality, job, and influence. In these days of peace and affluence, is there a man who doubts that an *open subscription* would have been filled as soon as made public even with an overflowing of millions? but in this case the hungry harpies of the minister had not feasted on the vitals of their country.

In former subscriptions, even during a war, and a certainty of its continuance, an *English* first commissioner of the Treasury has always thought about one *per cent.* a sufficient profit, when so large a sum as twelve millions has been raised on the public. His friends always rested satisfied with that expectation. Under the *Seotfman* a set of hungry, avaritious, rapacious dependants have, with the certainty of a peace, and the sum of three millions and a half *only* to be raised, made above eleven *per cent* of the public. I speak of those who have already sold other things, besides their subscriptions.

For the future, whenever I hear of *Scottish æconomy*, I shall conclude, that in private and house-hold concerns, it means *sordidness*, in public matters *profusion*, *corruption*, and *extravagance*.

In this manner is the nation insulted by the falsest pretences to *æconomy*, and her wealth squandered among the tools of an insolent, all-grasping minister.

*Gracious and best of Princes, knowest thou this!*

No. XLIII. Saturday, MARCH 26, 1763.

Vestigal esse impositum *fructibus nostris* dicitur, et pecuniam pre-  
magnam ratione ista cogi potuisse confiteor et invidiam. Cic.

I AM not surprized at the general alarm, which has spread not only through the capital, but likewise through the whole kingdom, from a well grounded terror of the fatal consequences so justly to be apprehended from the new tax on *cyder*. This *odious* and *partial* tax is likewise to be enforced in the most *odious* and *partial* manner possible, by an extention of the laws of *excise*. The very word is hateful to an *English* ear, and the new doctrines introduced by that most grievous system of laws have, in a great measure, repealed the most favourite law of our constitution, which has ever been considered as the birth-right of an *Englishman*, and the sacred *palladium* of liberty; I mean the tryal by JURY. In every case of property, where the *excise* is interested, the decision is not by a JURY, where the party has a right to object to any one or more of *twelve* partial or prejudiced men, but in *one* or *two* justices, or *commissioners*, who may have private, selfish views, and from whom generally there is no appeal. By the mode of the tax on *cyder*, not only professed dealers in that commodity, but many new orders of men become subject to the laws of *excise*, and an insolent *exciseman*, under the influence, perhaps by the order of an insolent minister, may force his way into the house of any private gentleman, or farmer, or freeholder, who has been guilty of voting contrary to a ministerial mandate, and of obliging a friend with part of the growth of his own orchard. Even for what is used in his own family, a *poll-tax* of five shillings *per* head is to be paid, by all persons of the family under *nine* years of age. I am glad the limitation is confined, by this *merciful* and *forbearing* ministry, to that tender age, because I think *master* (I beg his pardon *captain*) *Elliot*, at *ten* years of age, with such a commission in his pocket, ought to pay himself, or, at least, be paid for by his *Papa*, (I beg pardon again, I mean his father)

Mr.



Mr. Gilbert Elliot, out of the *half-pay*, which HE receives, in these days of *oeconomy*, for the eminent services performed to the public by the *little master*. I am satisfied even that proud Scot, who has here learnt to talk such very *courtly language*, \* would not utter one word against the *actual* payment of a fair share of such a tax, imposed by the advice and influence of *his* countryman, chiefly on a few rich *English* counties. I am sure he ought to rest satisfied with his good fortune, for he has the *treasury of the chamber* in England, which is a present income of near 3,000*l. per annum*, and reversion of a most useless office, *keeper of the signet in Scotland*, a place for life, of 1,700*l. per annum*, for himself, and his deputy (I suppose the said *infant captain*) receives 300*l. per annum* more, I do not mean *Scottish*, but *English* pounds.

The partiality of the tax on *cyder* has been no less blamed than the odious mode of collecting it ; but the most cogent objection with the disinterested part of mankind goes still deeper ; for the enormous profit made by the subscribers to the new loan proves, that the tax was so far *unnecessary*. The proprietors, who have been gratified with it, exult at so immense and so secure a plunder of the nation, while the candid and unbiassed part of mankind stand astonished at the effrontery of the minister through this whole transaction. The *bargain* is the most scandalous ever made for the public. It has been attempted to be excused from the uncertainty of the negotiations with *France* and the difficulties which arose between the two courts even after the *Preliminaries* were signed. Mr. Fox himself fully answered this ; for *in a great assembly*, he affirmed, that the bargain was made on the eighteenth of *February*, and that it was known here before that time, that the *Definitive Treaty* was actually signed on the tenth. *In a very small assembly* he asserted, that a bargain still more infamously injurious to the public had been concluded by the minister on that very day, the eighteenth,

\* This alludes to a favourite expression of Mr. Gilbert Elliot's in a great assembly,

teenth, and as infamously on his part receded from, on the twentieth, and finally settled on the present scandalous terms, on the twenty-second. What must the terms of the eighteenth have been, that even such a minister was not only ashamed, but afraid to keep? I am sure, I may safely assert this little anecdote, as coming from Mr. Fox himself, and this without the least suspicion of *new invented new found-LAND FORGERY*. The *Bashaw* has the obligation to his *real friend* and (in *Scottish* phrase) his *doer*, Mr. Fox, of the publick detection of this infamous scene. This bargain was not laid before parliament till the seventh of March. It would have been very extraordinary in any other board of *treasury* to have concluded the bargain so long before, because it neither can nor ought to be considered in any other light, than as a bargain made at the very time of the application to parliament. Infinite imposition and abuse might otherwise follow. The settled method has been to develop the whole business, and to compare the proposal of the day with the general price of stocks at that time. All former chancellors of the Exchequer (*who have not been ASHAMED to know something of their business\**) have invariably pursued this rule. The navy, victualling, and transport services, on the seventh of February (three days before the *Definitive Treaty* was signed) were charged on the sinking fund, at four *per cent.* and they appear to have been sold at half *per cent.* discount. The new loan at four *per cent.* exclusive of the lottery ticket is two *per cent.* more advantageous than the allowance to the former creditors of the public: for a profit of two *per cent.* is given to every subscriber on account of prompt payment, who chuses to make it. This gives a profit of one and a half, on every 100*l.* of the four *per cent.* redeemable, and in effect it actually sells at little less than 103*l.* without any material change of circumstance.

I think it is now made clear to a demonstration, that the prime minister ought not to have given above a bare four *per cent.* redeemable for the 3,500,000*l.* lent  
to

\* A remarkable expression of Sir Francis Dashwood's.

to the public. The profit infallibly to be made on the lottery tickets could not in estimation fall much short of 9*l.* for the two tickets, given with every 100*l.* Government, till it fell into the hands of the present most incapable minister, has ever availed itself of this profit, in favour of the public, and credit has ever been taken for it in the bargain made with the subscribers. The unexampled paucity of the tickets, no more than 35,000 in each lottery, and the great probability that this kind of gaming will end with this auspicious year (till the rottenness of the *Peace* brings us into new difficulties, perhaps, speedily to end in a new war) advanced the price of them so high, that their present rise cannot surprize any man, whose attention has been turned to matters of this nature, founded on comparative experience. It cannot therefore be deemed an accidental or problematical rise, but was certain and inevitable.

The mismanagement of the finances of this kingdom must give the deepest concern to every thinking man, who really loves his country. Such a man cannot but ask the question, whether the late infamous job was the consequence of incapacity or villany, or a mixture of both? Let it be either, it has ended in a manner equally fatal to the public, thus defrauded of so large a sum. The *sinking fund*, which has had the epithet of *sacred* peculiarly applied to it, is so wantonly clogged, and groans under so many anticipations, that, it is confessed, it will not produce any thing to the public for above seven years. This prospect into futurity is still more clouded by the declarations made very publicly, by those who have the power to carry them into execution, that another tax, probably on the same odious line of *excise*, is *in the next year* at least to be laid upon the public in addition to a land-tax still to be continued at four shillings in the pound. This declaration exactly tallies with every other act of that *low cunning* which characterises the minister; for it holds out to his creatures the blessed *second sight* of more plunder of the nation, if the hounds continue to follow their former feeder. Thus is the minister as well as these robbers of the public driven to the commission of a second crime, to secure impunity of the first.

This

This first essay of the *Scot* in the business of our treasury is, indeed, by the hand of a *master*; but of what kind? surely of a most corrupt and profuse *master*, who must be totally ignorant of our finances, or at least *very lately* have acquired any practical knowledge of *money matters*, unless in the receipt of a small annual *pension*, obtained with difficulty from the duke of *Newcastle* for his faithful services, and steady vote in a former Parliament. In either case, he ought not, at so critical a moment, boldly to have assumed the sole administration of so important a department, where *his own* incapacity, and *his chancellor's* ignorance, are the hourly ridicule even of the youngest, most dependant clerk in the treasury. The tax on *cyder* has for many days covered *them both* with public contempt and derision. If it receives the sanction of the legislature, according to the mode of *excise* proposed, or rather imposed by the Minion, I will venture to assert, that he will soon be *deservedly* as unpopular and as much detested in every county in *England*, as Mr. *Bamber Gascoyne* is very *undeservedly* in *Lancashire*. His gentle and gentlemanlike manners, his candour, urbanity and sweetness of temper, his politeness and high breeding, soar even beyond his patron's, and ought to conciliate mankind to the minister as well as to himself. I hope too they will for ever obliterate the odious name of *BUTCHER Gascoyne*, by which all his contemporaries at *Oxford*, in so uncourtly a way, still persist to mark him.

The whole progress of the tax on *cyder* has shewn to mankind that nothing could have equalled the impudent pretence the minister has made to superior ability and *economy*, but his ignorance, fraud, and profusion, to a degree scarcely to be credited, but on the notorious evidence of *facts*. I chuse to argue from *facts*, because my Lord-Mayor is so fond of travelling the high *priori road*. That acute reasoner and sound scholar has more than once assured us, that he always will argue *à priori*, from *facts*, *a priori*, I say. *Why do gentlemen laugh? I argue from the stubborn evidence of facts,*

*facts, Sir. Arguments drawn from facts, a priori, Sir, cannot be resisted. That gravel, gentlemen. I see they feel me,\* &c. &c.*

I shall conclude my ideas of the *Scottish* administration of our finances with an old observation of *Swift*. I could point out some *SCOTS* with great titles, whose whole revenues before the Union would have ill maintained a *Welch* justice of the peace, and have since gathered more money than ever any *Scotsman*, who had not travelled, could form an idea of.



No. XLIV. Saturday, APRIL 2, 1763.

Pulchra pro liberate.

VIRG.

**T**HE restless and turbulent disposition of the *Scottish* nation before the union, with their constant attachment to *France* and declared enmity to *England*, their repeated perfidies and rebellions since that period, with their servile behaviour in times of need, and overbearing insolence in power, have justly rendered the very name *Scot* hateful to every true *Englishman*. The mean arts by which the present minister acquired his power, and his conduct since the acquisition of it, the long and dark scenes of dissimulation which he run through for the sake of greatness, with the open and insolent outrages he hath committed, since his accession to it, against men much better than himself, the little capacity which he hath shewn for business; the inglorious peace which he hath infamously patched up, and whereby he hath sacrificed the glory and interest of this country to his own private ambition; his contempt of the *English* nobles, especially of those who are the known and tried friends of the constitution, and his strict union with those who are the avowed enemies of it; his mean and implacable resentments in turning out and reducing to poverty whole families, the honesty of whose patrons was their only crime; his gross partiality

\* This noble specimen of *Creolian* oratory was lately given to a great assembly of *Whites*.

tiality to his own *beggarly* countrymen ; his virulence against all who will not slavishly comply with his destructive measures ; his associating with a man justly odious to every party, from whose influence this country hath every thing to fear, and *who having been false to all, ought to be trusted by none* ; these things laid together have rendered the minister justly suspected by the people and have, *if possible*, made the name of *Stuart* more odious and contemptible than it was before. The very great and excessive complaisance of the associates in power, if he will suffer them to be called associates, whom he never suffers to act as such, in embracing his pernicious doctrines, and falling in implicity with his fatal measures, their joining to give up in peace, what we had gained in war, their taking such steps as not only partially affect the property but strike deeply at the liberty of the subject, have weaned the affections of the people from those few members in the administration in whom they had reposed some little confidence, and increased their suspicions with regard to those whose former behaviour had not entitled them to any confidence at all. Under these circumstances, we cannot be surprised that the spirit of discord should go forth in the land, and the voice of opposition be strong in the streets ; but what we cannot help admiring is the modesty and veracity of those tools of power who would persuade us that the body of the people are perfectly satisfied, and that all reports of publick discontent are made and spread abroad by the venal emissaries of a disappointed faction. They do not scruple to assure us, that the earl of *BUT* is the darling of the nation, and as much approved in the quality of a minister, as his Royal master is beloved and revered as a king. They would represent to us those respectable personages, who oppose the minister, as influenced by envy, interest, and other selfish motives, and not at all actuated by a love of their king and country ; nay, they have ventured to proceed one step farther, and openly condemn all opposition, on whatever principles it is taken up, as criminal in itself. A doctrine which we could scarce have expected to hear in *England*, (I hope it is not treason to make use

use of that word) at this time of day, or which we never could have imagined should have passed without rebuke. Not long since a \* divine of the church of *England*, remarkable only for reading lectures which no one went to hear, publicly maintained from the pulpit, that to resist the minister was to resist the king; to resist the king was to resist God, and that the consequence of such resistance must be damnation. Let me not, however, be thought to insinuate that this reverend adventurer in politics acted at all by the command of the one great man, however agreeable the doctrine might sound in his ears. He certainly would never have employed this young *Sacheverel*, when so many dignitaries were at his devotion, and all those grateful churchmen, who fled from the shipwreck, as they deemed it, of old *Newcastle*, must have stood ready at their idol's command, to preach up the traditions of men for the laws of God. But amongst all the advocates of despotism, the notorious *Paul Whitehead* is the most remarkable. Little could we have expected to have seen his name in the black list: What? He, who was ever a licentious asserter of privileges, whose tongue was loudest in every mob to resound their rights, and vindicate the liberty of the press; who treated nobles with impunity, and trampled on the sacred honour of crowns, whose unbounded boldness brought him into such extremities, that he may relate, which he hath often related, his *bear-breath scapes*, shall he become a defender of the base, infamous doctrine of passive obedience, and non-resistance? shall he brand with the name of faction those men whom every honest Englishman considers as his dearest friends? Can he, who was enlisted under the banners of a *staunch Republican*, thus weakly change his opinion, and thus impudently declare it, merely because the dull patron is ridiculously renegadoed into a *court Jacobite*? Is this to be accounted for?

*Græculus esuriens, ad cælum, jussuris, ibit.* JUV.

“ And bid him go to hell, to hell he goes.”

*Pensioner* JOHNSON.

\* This stupid divine was one *Trufler*.

In spite, however, of all that can be said by private men, and threatened by those in a public station, I can answer for myself, and hope I may for others, that the liberty of communicating our sentiments to the public freely and honestly, shall not be tamely given up, nor, I trust, forced out of their hands. I am not yet so perfect in the court creed, as to believe they have any right to do it; and if they know their own interest, I am certain, they will not attempt it. The ridiculous figure which they made in the apprehension of those persons concerned in the *MONITOR* hath opened their eyes, and tainted their rashness with some wholesome degree of fear. Inclination there is, no doubt, to silence the *NORTH BRITON*, but a consciousness of guilt prevents it's being carried into execution; and however they may deal out large promises, and thunder forth empty threats, that impudent libeller, as they are pleased to call, but cannot, or dare not prove him, shall still pursue the part in which he hath hitherto trod; and whilst he finds the opposition, which is now gathering over the minister's head, composed of those men who are zealous for our constitution, and lovers of their country, no means whatsoever shall be effectual to wrap him from so great, so good, so necessary a cause. Whatsoever opinion slaves may entertain, they shall as soon persuade a free born *Englishman* to call the spirited opposition of the present earl of *Bath*, when Mr. *Pulteney*, the glorious efforts of those true patriots who expelled the cursed race of *Stuart*, and the vigorous struggles of those barons to whom we owe *Magna Charta*, by a disgraceful name, as the animated advances which are now making against the influence of the proud *Scot*, under the conduct of men whose names shall descend to posterity, and stand in the roll of honour with the first patriots.

When the opposition to the minister is the subject of conversation, it is remarkable to observe how men, who are in their hearts well-wishers to it, but have not spirit to speak out, retire back into themselves, how cautiously they hint their love of their country, as if it was a fault, and how sparingly they praise those who openly avow themselves the defenders of it.

These



These men may love their country much, but they love themselves more. Public considerations have some share in their hearts, but no farther than as they fall in with their private views.—Self is their grand object, and their country comes in, only by the bye, and in a subordinate degree. They wish England well, but that is all—they will not advance one step, nor run the least risque to promote her welfare. Her situation may call for vigorous measures——but they beg to be excused——they chuse to wait——nor can come to any resolution, till the event shall give them an opportunity of joining the strongest party. Whatever consequence such fluctuating spirits may maintain in troubled times, sure I am, that in a quiet and settled state, they ought to be treated with the utmost contempt. When a country is divided, neutrality is little better than treason; an honest man may through mistake, take the worst side; but he cannot be an honest man who refuses to take any. The timorous disposition of these lukewarm patriots is at present inexcusable, as the opposition to *Scottish* influence is founded on those principles which ought to make every Englishman a party in it, and conducted by those men, whom long and repeated services have taught us to honour. Whatever face the credit of the minister might wear sometime since, and however his slaves might boast the strength of their chains, observation may convince us, that his power is now in vain, and that a storm is gathering over him which must involve him in disgrace. However the name of *England* may be lost, the spirit still remains; nor would the NORTH BRITON for a moment believe, even at that time when there was more ground to believe it than he could have wished, that an upstart *Scot* should lord it uncontrouled over such a nation as this, or that the *Whigs*, those old and true friends of king and people, should tamely sit down, and suffer the hellish designs of *Tories* to be carried into execution without resistance

The minister himself seems conscious of his decline, his fears appear in spite of his pride, he is meanly endeavouring to break the force of the opposition by disuniting the members of it, and employs his paltry emissaries

emissaries for that purpose. But should he unhappily succeed in that attempt, it cannot establish his power, though it may prolong it; the *English* are a people who will not suffer their rights to be trampled on for any length of time, and whose just resentments have ever been successful against favourites and aliens. They will no more suffer the person who hath injured and oppressed them to skulk out of power without calling him to account, than they will tamely bear his oppressions whilst in authority. A minister is the servant to the public, and accountable to them. Our constitution is so happily tempered that it is not in the power of a sovereign to secure a bad minister, and of this it may be certain that it can never be the inclination of the best of sovereigns to protect the worst of ministers. The Earl of *Strafford* is an example on record, which our great man would do well to consider, and tremble. How soon this desired change may be brought to bear, we cannot pretend, though blest with the gift of second sight, to ascertain; this, however, we may venture to declare, that it cannot be far distant. The jarring principles of those who compose the administration, and the impossibility of their bending with each other, so as to give and receive strength at the same time, made it probable from the first, that their union could not be of long continuance, and the noble spirit which hath been of late exerted against the minister by those honest men, who love both king and country, gives us a pleasing prospect of being speedily restored to harmony amongst ourselves. Nothing is necessary but resolution and perseverance, and these I am convinced cannot be wanting, when I consider the persons, from whom we expect our deliverance.

As it may be convenient to many persons on various accounts to give as near a guess as possible, when this ministerial revolution will take place, I shall give them a hint which may perhaps assist their conjectures, and propose Mr. *Fox* as a mark of observation to all who trade in politics. His steadiness to his own interest, with his remarkable talents of penetration, have hitherto enabled, and I doubt not will still induce him

to quit his post when he can keep it no longer, and to leave his friends in the lurch. When we see him therefore, *flying from the storm* \*, pleading age and sickness, *accepting of a peerage* \*, or retiring to the government of the alley, we may safely conclude that a change is at hand, and that concord shall once more take place among us.

\* Mr. Fox was created Lord *Holland* on the 16th of *April*, 1763, and soon after went to *France*.



JOHN EARL OF BUTE RESIGNED ON  
THE FRIDAY FOLLOWING.



*John* Earl of BUTE was made first Commissioner of the Treasury, May 29, 1762.

On the same day the first number of the BRITON was published.

The first number of the AUDITOR was published June 10, 1762.

The last number of the AUDITOR was published February 8, 1763.

The last number of the BRITON was published February 12, 1763.

Lord BUTE resigned April 8, 1763.

No. XLV. \* Saturday, APRIL 23, 1763.

*The following advertisement appeared in all the papers on the 13th of April.*

THE NORTH BRITON makes his appeal to the good sense, and to the candour of the ENGLISH nation. In the present unsettled and fluctuating state of the *administration*, he is really fearful of falling into involuntary errors, and he does not wish to mislead. All his reasonings have been built on the strong foundation of *facts*; and he is not yet informed of the whole interior state of government with such *minute precision*, as now to venture the submitting his crude ideas of the present political crisis to the discerning and impartial public. The SCOTTISH minister has indeed *retired*. Is HIS influence at an end? or does he still govern by the † *three* wretched tools of his power, who to their indelible infamy, have supported the most odious of his measures, the late ignominious *Peace*, and the wicked extension of the arbitrary mode of *Excise*? The NORTH BRITON has been steady in his opposition to a *single*, insolent, incapable, despotic minister; and is equally ready, in the service of his country, to combat the *triple-headed, Cerberean* administration, if the SCOT is to assume that motley form. By HIM every arrangement *to this hour* has been made, and the notification has been as regularly sent by letter under HIS HAND. *It therefore* seems clear to a demonstration, that HE intends only to retire into that situation, which HE held before HE first took the seals; I mean the dictating to every part of the king's administration. The NORTH BRITON desires to be understood, as having pledged himself a firm and intrepid assertor of the rights of his fellow-subjects, and of the liberties of WHIGS and ENGLISHMEN.

Genus

\* The passages included within the inverted commas are the *only* passages, to which any objection is made in the INFORMATION filed in the *King's-Bench* by the *Attorney-General* against the publisher, Mr. *George Kearsley*.

† The earls of *Egremont* and *Halifax*, and *G. Grenville*, Esq;



GENUS ORATIONIS atrox, & vehemens cui opponitur lenitatis & mansuetudinis. CICERO.

“ THE *King's Speech* has always been considered  
 “ by the legislature, and by the public at  
 “ large, as the *Speech of the minister* \*. It has re-  
 “ gularly, at the beginning of every session of parlia-  
 “ ment been referred by both houses to the consider-  
 “ ation of a committee, and has been generally can-  
 “ vassed with the utmost freedom, when the minister  
 “ of the crown has been obnoxious to the nation.  
 “ The ministers of this free country, conscious of the  
 “ undoubted privileges of so spirited a people, and  
 “ with the terrors of parliament before their eyes,  
 “ have ever been cautious, no less with regard to the  
 “ matter, than to the expressions, of *speeches*, which  
 “ they have advised the sovereign to make from the  
 “ throne, at the *opening* of each session. They well  
 “ knew, that an † honest house of parliament, true  
 “ to

\* Anno 14 G. II. 1740. Duke of Argyle.

‘ The King's Speech is always in this House considered as the  
 ‘ *Speech of the Ministers.*’ LORDS Debates, vol. 7. p. 413.

Lord Carteret.

‘ When we take his Majesty's Speech into consideration, though  
 ‘ we have heard it from his own mouth, yet we do not consider it  
 ‘ as his Majesty's speech, but as the speech of his ministers, p. 425.’

Anno 7 Geo. II. 1733. Mr. Shippen.

‘ I believe it has always been granted, that the speeches from the  
 ‘ Throne are the compositions of ministers of state; upon that sup-  
 ‘ position we have always thought ourselves at liberty to examine  
 ‘ every proposition contained in them; even without doors people  
 ‘ are pretty free in their remarks upon them: I believe no Gentle-  
 ‘ man here is ignorant of the reception the speech from the Throne,  
 ‘ at the close of last session, met with from the nation in general.’  
 COMMON Debates, vol. 8. p. 5.

Anno 13 Geo. II. 1739. Mr. Pulteney, now earl of Bath.

‘ His Majesty mentions heats and animosities. Sir, I don't know  
 ‘ who drew up this speech; but whoever he was, he should have  
 ‘ spared that expression: I wish he had drawn a veil over the heats  
 ‘ and animosities that must be owned ONCE subsisted upon this  
 ‘ head; for I AM SURE NONE NOW SUBSIST.’ vol. 11. p. 96.

† The House of Commons in 1715 exhibited, *Articles of im-  
 peachment of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors  
 against*

“ to their trust, could not fail to detect the fallacious  
 “ arts, or to remonstrate against the daring acts of vio-  
 “ lence, committed by any minister. The Speech at  
 “ the *close* of the session, has ever been considered as  
 “ the most *secure* method of promulgating the favou-  
 “ rite court creed among the vulgar ; because the par-  
 “ liament, which is the constitutional guardian of the  
 “ liberties of the people, has in this case no opportu-  
 “ nity of remonstrating, or of impeaching any wicked  
 “ servant of the crown.

“ This week has given the public the most aban-  
 “ doned instance of ministerial effrontery ever attempt-  
 “ ed to be imposed on mankind. The *minister's speech*  
 “ of last Tuesday, is not to be paralleled in the annals  
 “ of this country. I am in doubt, whether the im-  
 “ position is greater on the sovereign, or on the na-  
 “ tion. Every friend of his country must lament that  
 “ a prince of so many great and amiable qualities,  
 “ whom England truly reveres, can be brought to give  
 “ the sanction of his sacred name to the most odious  
 “ measures, and to the most unjustifiable, public de-  
 “ clarations, from a throne ever renowned for truth,  
 “ honour, and unsullied virtue.” I am sure, all fo-  
 “ reigners, especially the King of Prussia, will hold the  
 “ minister in contempt and abhorrence. \* He has made  
 “ our sovereign declare, *My expectations have been fully*  
 “ *answered by the happy effects which the several allies of*  
 “ *my crown have derived from this salutary measure of the*  
 “ *definitive Treaty. The powers at war with my good*  
 “ *brother the King of Prussia, have been induced to agree to*  
 “ *such terms of accommodation, as that great prince has ap-*  
 “ *proved; and the success which has attended my negociation,*  
 “ *has necessarily and immediately diffused the blessings of peace*  
 “ *through every part of Europe.* The infamous fallacy of  
 “ this whole sentence is apparent, to all mankind: for it  
 “ is known, that the king of Prussia did not barely *ap-*  
 “ *prove*, but absolutely *dictated*, as conqueror, every

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M

article

against Robert Earl of OXFORD, and Earl MORTIMER. Article  
 15 is for having corrupted the sacred fountain of truth, and put  
 falsehoods into the mouth of Majesty, in several speeches made in  
 parliament. Vide Vol. III. and Journals of the House of Commons,  
 vol. 18, p. 214.

article of the terms of peace. No advantage of any kind has accrued to that magnanimous prince from *our negotiation*, but he was basely deserted by the *Scottish* prime-minister of *England*. He was known by every court in Europe to be scarcely on better terms of friendship *here*, than at *Vienna*; and he was betrayed by us in the *treaty of peace*. What a strain of insolence, therefore, is it in a minister to lay claim to ~~that~~ that he is conscious all his efforts tended to prevent, and meanly to arrogate to himself a share in the fame and glory of one of the greatest princes the world has ever seen? The king of *Prussia*, however, has gloriously kept *all* his former conquests, and stipulated security for all his allies, even for the *elector of Hanover*. I know in what light this great prince is considered in Europe, and in what manner he has been treated here; among other reasons, perhaps, from some contemptuous expressions he may have used of the *Scot*: expressions which are every day echoed by the whole body of *Englishmen* through the southern part of this island.

The *Preliminary Articles of Peace* were such as have drawn the contempt of mankind on our wretched negotiators. All our most valuable conquests were agreed to be restored, and the *East-India company* would have been infallibly ruined by a single article of this fallacious and baneful negotiation. No hireling of the minister has been hardy enough to dispute this; yet the minister himself has made our sovereign declare, *the satisfaction which he felt at the approaching re-establishment of peace upon conditions so honourable to his crown, and so beneficial to his people*. As to the *entire approbation* of parliament, which is so vainly boasted of, the world knows how that was obtained. The large debt on the *Civil List*, already above half a year in arrear, shews pretty clearly the transactions of the winter. It is, however, remarkable, that the minister's speech dwells on the *entire approbation* given by parliament to the *Preliminary Articles*, which I will venture to say, he must by this time be ashamed of; for he has been brought to confess the total want of that knowledge, accuracy and precision, by which such immense advantages both  
of

of trade and territory, were sacrificed to our inveterate enemies. These gross blunders are, indeed, in some measure set right by the *Definitive Treaty*; yet, the most important articles, relative to *cessions, commerce,* and the FISHERY, remain as they were, with respect to the *French*. The proud and feeble *Spaniard* too does not RENOUNCE, but only DESISTS *from all pretensions, which he may have formed, to the right of Fishing*—where? only *about the island of NEWFOUNDLAND*—till a favourable opportunity arises of *insisting on it, there, as well as elsewhere.*

“ The minister cannot forbear, even in the *King’s Speech*, insulting us with a dull repetition of the word *æconomy*. I did not expect so soon to have seen that word again, after it had been so lately exploded, and more than once, by a most numerous audience, *hissed off the stage of our English theatres*. It is held in derision by the *voice of the people*, and every tongue loudly proclaims the universal contempt, in which these empty professions are held by *this nation*. Let the public be informed of a single instance of *æconomy*, except indeed in the household.” Is a regiment, which was completed as to its compliment of officers on the *Tuesday*, and broke on the *Thursday*, a proof of *æconomy*? Is the pay of the *Scottish Master Elliot* to be voted by an *English* parliament, under the head of *æconomy*? Is this, among a thousand others, one of the convincing proofs of a *firm resolution to form government on a plan of strict æconomy*? Is it not notorious, that in the reduction of the army, not the least attention has been paid to it. Many unnecessary expences have been incurred, only to encrease the power of the crown, that is, to create more lucrative jobs for the creatures of the minister? The *staff* indeed is broke, but the discerning part of mankind immediately comprehended the mean subterfuge, and resented the indignity put upon so brave an officer, as marshal *Ligonier*. That step was taken to give the whole power of the army to the crown, that is, to the minister. Lord *Ligonier* is now no longer at the head of the army; but lord *Bute* in effect is: I mean that every preferment given by the crown will be found still to be ob-



tained by *his* enormous influence, and to be bestowed only on the creatures of the *Scottish* faction. The nation is still in the same deplorable state, while *he* governs, and can make the tools of *his* power pursue the same odious measures. Such a retreat, as he intends, can only mean that personal indemnity, which, I hope, guilt will never find from an injured nation. The negotiations of the late inglorious *peace*, and the *excise*, will haunt him, wherever he goes, and the terrors of the just resentment, which he must be to meet from a brave and insulted people, and which must finally crush him, will be for ever before his eyes. -

“ In vain will such a minister, or the foul dregs of  
 “ his power, the tools of corruption and despotism,  
 “ preach up in *the speech* that *spirit of concord*, and that  
 “ *obedience to the laws*, which is essential to good order.  
 “ They have sent the *spirit of discord* through the land,  
 “ and I will prophecy, that it will never be extinguish-  
 “ ed, but by the extinction of their power. Is the  
 “ *spirit of concord* to go hand in hand with the PEACE  
 “ and EXCISE thro’ this nation? Is it to be expected  
 “ between an insolent EXCISEMAN, and a *peer, gentle-*  
 “ *man, freeholder, or farmer*, whose private houses  
 “ are now made liable to be entered and searched at  
 “ pleasure? *Gloucestershire, Herefordshire*, and in gene-  
 “ ral all the *Cyder* countries, are not surely the *several*  
 “ *counties* which are alluded to in the *speech*. The *spi-*  
 “ *rit of concord* hath not gone forth among them; but  
 “ the *spirit of liberty* has, and a noble opposition has  
 “ been given to the wicked instruments of oppression.  
 “ A nation as sensible as the *English*, will see that a  
 “ *spirit of concord*, when they are oppressed, means a  
 “ tame submission to injury, and that a *spirit of liberty*  
 “ ought then to arise, and I am sure ever will, in pro-  
 “ portion to the weight of the grievance they feel.  
 “ *Every legal attempt of a contrary tendency* to the  
 “ *spirit of concord* will be deemed a justifiable resistance,  
 “ warranted by the *spirit of the English constitution*.

“ A despotic minister will always endeavour to daz-  
 “ zle his prince with high flown ideas of the *preroga-*  
 “ *tive and honour of the crown*, which the minister will  
 “ make a parade of *firmly maintaining*. I wish as much

“ as any man in the kingdom to see *the honour of the*  
 “ *crown* maintained in a manner truly becoming *Roy-*  
 “ *alty*. I lament to see it sunk even to prostitution.  
 “ What a shame was it to see the security of this coun-  
 “ try, in point of military force, complimented away,  
 “ contrary to the opinion of Royalty itself, and sacri-  
 “ ficed to the prejudices and to the ignorance of a set  
 “ of people, the most unfit from every consideration  
 “ to be consulted on a matter relative to the security  
 “ of the *house of Hanover*?” I wish to see *the honour of*  
*the crown* religiously asserted with regard to our allies,  
 and the dignity of it scrupulously maintained with re-  
 gard to foreign princes. Is it possible such an indig-  
 nity can have happened, such a sacrifice of *the honour*  
*of the crown of England*, as that a minister should al-  
 ready have kissed his majesty’s hand on being appointed  
 to the most insolent and ungrateful court in the world,  
 without a previous assurance of that reciprocal nomi-  
 nation which the meanest court in Europe would insist  
 upon, before she proceeded to an act otherwise so dero-  
 gatory to her honour? But *Electoral Policy* has ever  
 been obsequious to the court of *Vienna*, and forgets  
 the insolence with which *count Colloredo* left England.  
 Upon a principle of *dignity* and *economy*, lord *Stormont*;  
 a *Scottish* peer of the loyal house of *Murray*, kissed his  
 majesty’s hand, I think, on Wednesday in the *Easter*  
 week; but this ignominious act has not yet disgraced  
 the nation in the *London Gazette*. The ministry are  
 not ashamed of doing the thing in private; they are  
 only afraid of the publication. Was it a tender regard  
 for the *honour* of the late king, or of his present ma-  
 jesty, that invited to court lord *George Sackville*, in  
*these first days of Peace*, to share in the general satis-  
 faction, which all good courtiers received in the indig-  
 nity offered to lord *Ligonier*, and on the advancement  
 of ———? Was this to show *princely* gratitude to the  
 eminent services of the accomplished general of the  
 house of *Brunswic*, who has had so great a share in  
 rescuing *Europe* from the yoke of *France*; and whose  
 nephew we hope soon to see made happy in the pos-  
 session of the most amiable princess in the World? Or,  
 is it meant to assert *the honour of the crown* only against

the united wishes of a loyal and affectionate people, founded in a happy experience of the talents, ability, integrity, and virtue of those, who have had the glory of redeeming their country from bondage and ruin, in order to support, by every art of corruption and intimidation, a weak, disjointed, incapable set of—— I will call them any thing but *ministers*—— by whom the *Favourite* still meditates to rule this kingdom with a rod of iron.

The *Stuart* line has ever been intoxicated with the slavish doctrines of the *absolute, independent, unlimited* power of the crown. Some of that line were so weakly advised, as to endeavour to reduce them into practice: but the *English* nation was too spirited to suffer the least encroachment on the ancient liberties of this kingdom. “The *King of England* is only the \* first  
“magistrate of this country; but is invested by law  
“with the whole executive power. He is, however,  
“responsible to his people for the due execution of  
“the royal functions, in the choice of ministers, &c.  
“equally with the meanest of his subjects in his particular duty.” The personal character of our present amiable sovereign makes us easy and happy that so great a power is lodged in such hands, but the *favourite* has given too just cause for him to escape the general odium. The *prerogative* of the crown is to exert the constitutional powers entrusted to it in a way, not of blind favour and partiality, but of wisdom and judgment. This is the spirit of our constitution. The people too have their *prerogative*, and, I hope, the fine words of DRYDEN will be engraven on our hearts,

*Freedom is the English subject's Prerogative.*

\* In the first speech of James I. to his *English parliament*, March 22, 1603, are the following words, *That I am a SERVANT is most true—I will never be ashamed to confess it. My principle honour, to be the GREAT SERVANT of the commonwealth.* Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. I. p. 145.

To the NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

Please to state the following fact, which is of a nature almost entirely new, and I will soon trouble you with my observations on so remarkable a proceeding.

L. S.

By the Right Hon. WELBORE ELLIS,  
*His Majesty's Secretary at War.*

**H**AVING received his Majesty's commands, do hereby discharge ANTHONY NICHOLS, a private man, from the *Coldstream* regiment of foot-guards, commanded by General JAMES LORD TYRAWLEY, from any further service in the same regiment.

Given under my hand and seal, at the WAR OFFICE,  
this 26th day of March 1763.

W. ELLIS.

*To all his Majesty's officers, civil and military, whom it may concern.*

By the ARTICLES OF WAR, Sect. 3. Art. 2. *After a non-commissioned officer or soldier, shall have been duly enlisted, and sworn, he shall not be dismissed our service, without a discharge in writing; and no discharge granted to him shall be allowed of as sufficient, which is not signed by a Field Officer of the Regiment into which he was enlisted; or commanding officer, where no Field Officer of the regiment is in Great-Britain.*

*Quere.* Is the Secretary at War a Field Officer, or what Officer is he?

I am, &c.

END OF the SECOND VOLUME.

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