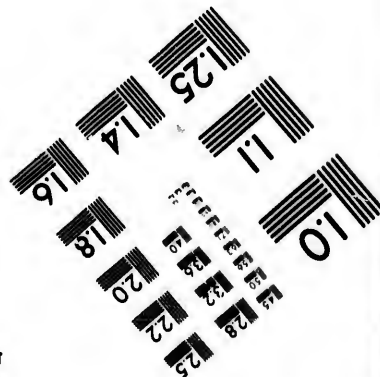
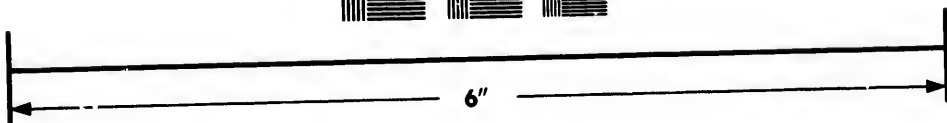
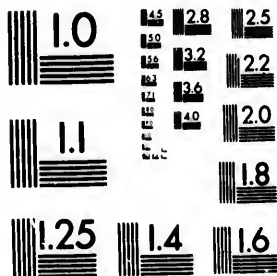


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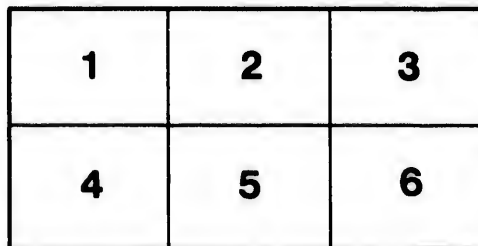
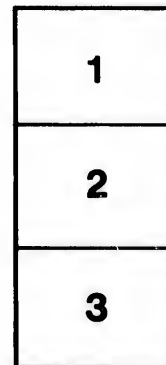
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PLAIN
REASONS

FOR
REMOVING
A certain GREAT MAN

FROM
His Majesty's Prefence and Councils for ever

ADDRESSED
TO the PEOPLE of ENGLAND,

BY
O. M. HABERDASHER.

Be not righteous overmuch :— Why shouldst thou destroy thyself.
S O L.

L O N D O N :

Printed for M. COOPER, in Pater Noster-Row.
M D C C L I X.

[Price Eight-pence.]

THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

FROM ITS INSTITUTION

TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY JOHN HENRY MADDISON

ESQ. OF LINCOLN'S INN

AND

OF THE SOCIETY OF BARRISTERS

AT THE MIDDLE TEMPLE

IN GREAT BRITAIN

AND

OF IRELAND

BY JOHN HENRY MADDISON

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PLAIN

REASONS, &c.

Fellow-citizens and Countrymen,

TH E time is at last come, when duty, as well as inclination, obliges me to address myself to you, on a subject of the greatest importance. The liberty of the press is not the least valuable of an Englishman's privileges: and though of no higher rank than a tradesman of the city, I am not afraid to write my thoughts with freedom, and offer you my advice in this bold and publick manner. I had the advantage in my youth of being one year an apprentice to an attorney, in which service I contracted a great affection for the constitution and the laws of my country; and although an accident took me out of that honourable profession, yet the early tincture I had received, together with the taste for politicks, that prevails so much in the city, have made me apply myself, more than could be expected from one in my station, to the study of publick affairs.

I need not explain the pains I have taken to make myself master of the political science, nor point out the means by which I have attained it. Besides the books and pamphlets which are open to all, I have often been admitted into the House of Com-

A

mons.

mons, on extraordinary days, by a door-keeper, who is my customer and particular friend. I have likewise been long happy in the strictest intimacy with the president of a certain club, who has a very profound knowledge in the art of government. He it was, I must confess, who first inspired me with the desire of becoming an author, for he often assured me, that there was a gravity, clearness, and consistency, in my reasoning, that surpris'd him. I was flattered by his good opinion to undertake the present work, which it has cost me no small labour to collect and to arrange. If I shall be so happy as to be of any service to you, my dear countrymen, the loss of time and of business, nay, even the ruin of my wife and five children, shall not much discompose me.

I have been particularly attentive to a certain great man, ever since he re-assumed his power; and it was not long before I discovered many gross errors in his administration, and perceived the tendency of all his measures to be fatal to his country. But you were then so much dazzled by his splendid pretensions, so infatuated by his eloquence, and so elevated with a few trifling successes, that the attempt would have been vain to call you back to moderation and common sense: But happily for you, the case is now altered. A single event has opened your eyes: An old lieutenant g——l has broke the charm. A dreadful miscarriage on the coast of France, which you could not possibly foresee, has shaken even English constancy: and your ears, thank God, have been open'd to the voice of reason and truth. Those noble patriots who have always secretly oppos'd the measures of the great pretender to reformation in the state, on the least hint from you, will put themselves in motion. May God grant them courage in proportion to their
other

other abilities, and we shall soon see them again absolute masters of the K— and K——!

To you then, my long deluded countrymen, and fellow-citizens, do I address myself on the commencement of this necessary storm of F—t—n. I am a plain man, and one of yourselves; and I have nothing to fear or to hope for. From me then you may expect candour and impartiality. In my work you shall certainly find the utmost clearness and perspicuity. I hate the stiff affected stile of our modern writers, which often makes their works of very difficult interpretation; and as for wit and humour, I am bold to say, that a man must be without morals, who can use them in the present desperate state of his country.

To give you at once a proof how much I abhor hints and insinuations as mean and dastardly arts, I will open up to you, without reserve; the full extent of my design, which is to convince you, if I can, that the right honourable W— P—, Esq; one of his m——y's sec——ies of state, is a m——r extremely dangerous to his country, and to lay before you a few plain reasons for removing him from his m——y's presence and councils for ever. As sanguine as my hopes of success are, it is possible they may be disappointed. But whatever be the event, as my intention is sanctified by the sincere love of my country, after this effort to save it, I shall at least, enjoy that peace and contentment of mind which arise from the faithful discharge of one's duty.

Before I proceed, I must beg that the honourable m——rs of both h——s of p——t may not think themselves neglected, because I have not addressed myself to them in particular. I would not willingly

ly offend any true-born Englishman, and far less such respectable persons; but as I am certain that the love of their country is their ruling passion, and that many of them have private motives, besides, to wish for the downfall of this proud and irregular m——r, I will leave them to the influence of these moral causes, and if they should prove too weak in the breast of any scrupulous m——r, let him swallow such of my plain reasons as he likes best, and they will infallibly cure him of all his scruples.

My first reason for removing W—— P—— Esq; from his M——y's presence and councils for ever, is because he is the minister of the people.

THE fact is notorious, that without party interest, against the inclinations of the court, and in opposition to a powerful faction, Mr. P—— was raised by the voice of the people alone, in time of danger, to the high station he now fills. I do not say that he is now as disagreeable to certain illustrious personages as he was at first; for there are some who give out, that he is as artful in gaining private esteem as in acquiring public confidence. But I affirm, that, besides the affront given by their country to so many greater and abler men, by this piece of ill-judged distinction, which must breed an eternal resentment against his person and administration, the voice of the people may be considered as a kind of undue influence on the S——n, and other members of the Legislature, and is therefore highly illegal and unconstitutional. If former m——rs have acquired dominion over P——ts by corruption, which has been loudly complained of, I do not see that we are in any better condition now, when the same kind of power is attainable by means of the people's blind admiration of magnanimity,

nanimity, and the vain glory which arises from an obstinate pursuit of popular measures.

But there is a greater evil behind than any of those I have mentioned: for if the m—r follows the example of his great predecessors in power, he will be ever ready to comply with the humours and interested views of those who have raised him. As this man, therefore, was raised by the people, it is to be feared that he will study to preserve their favour, and in all his measures pay regard to the genius and interest of the people of England, which, God knows, has been often found very inconsistent with maxims of state, and the principles of modern policy. I will make this as clear as the light of day, by an instance.

I could mention the habeas corpus bill, and the act for encouragement of seamen, which are exactly in point; but as these are past transactions, they would confine me strictly to fact, which is a very great restraint to an ingenious author. I chuse therefore to rest my proof on something that is future, though not in the least uncertain: let us suppose then Mr. S—y P—t to be as successful in the conduct of the war as your hearts can desire; yet when he comes at last to treat about peace, is it to be expected that he will offer our enemies such terms as they can possibly agree to? Will he not stand too much upon the honour of England? Will he not scruple to make such reasonable concessions as may be necessary for the trade and naval power of our enemies? Will he not insist on our preserving such conquests as may prevent the encroachments of France in all time coming? And will he not, by his unseasonable obstinacy, hinder us from obtaining such a kind of peace, as has hitherto been the end of all our wars, successful or unsuccessful?

successful? It is plain then that his being the m—r of the people threatens ruin to England.

Were it possible for him to remain in power till the conclusion of the war, I am confident the king of France will insist on it as a preliminary article, that he be compelled to resign his office, and leave the management of the negotiation to men of cooler heads, who understand and regard the interest of Europe more than he does. Let us dismiss him ourselves, that it may never be said to the disgrace of the English nation, that we have yielded to the desire of a tyrant. And, indeed, I have no doubt, that before I have done, I shall open such a cry against this presumptuous darling of the people, as will soon bring him down from his lofty height, to the private station from whence he rose, which is the proper sphere of an inhuman and untractable virtue.

Another reason for dismissing Mr. P—t, is because he was a chief promoter of the militia.

IT is evident, that in this respect, he acted his part well as a m—r of the people. No body, almost, had ever dared before, seriously to think of a subject so disagreeable to great men in power, and to the worthy gentlemen of the army. Experience had taught the last mentioned, that one British soldier was equal to ten of the militia of France; and on that account, they were solicitous to save us the shame and expence of so useleſs a body: They hold that fighting is a trade, which no man either can or ought to exercise unless he has served his time to it. Nay, to hear some officers discourse on the subject, one would think there was a secret mystery in shooting and being shot at, (something like the

the mason-word) which if a man does not know, it is impossible for him to be a warrior.

Whatever is the cause of it, there is no doubt, that in this respect, they are extremely zealous for the honour of their country. And so far have they carried their zeal, as I have been told, that when a wrongheaded Yorkshire Squire, during the time of the last rebellion, raised a company of volunteers, at his own expence, and marched them into the North, some of the good natured Officers of the army, took all the pains in their power, (without leading the man into private quarrels, which might have been dangerous to themselves) to disgust him at the service; in which, at last, they happily succeeded.

I know it has been often said that a standing army is unconstitutional and dangerous. And such as our army was at the beginning of the war, it was certainly thought improper or insufficient for the defence of this island; for we sent for many thousand foreign troops to secure us against the invasion. Fear seized the people. Some were afraid of the invasion, and some of the foreign mercenaries; but the whole nation called for arms, as their forefathers always had done upon the like occasions; arms were offered them; but, happily for the nation, they had changed their minds. The danger was over, and they had recovered their senses again. And let it never be forgotten for the honour of England: the people rejected those very arms, with disdain, which they so lately demanded with clamour; and thereby gave the noblest proof of a delicate love of liberty that is to be found in all the annals of mankind.

I have heard of a people called the Cappadocians, somewhere in the East, or on the coast of Africk,
 who,

who, in the times of the Romans, refused liberty when it was offered them; but then it is probable, that they had no hope of obtaining the use of arms, without which their liberty would have only served to keep them in perpetual terror of their warlike neighbours. Whereas the English, in full possession of liberty, the freest people upon earth, refused arms when they were offered them, because to accept of them would have betrayed a suspicion that the liberty of so brave a people could ever be in danger.

It has been said that there is a noble band of patriots behind the c—rt—n, on whose part neither vigilance nor zeal are wanting to frustrate the schemes of the mender of the state; and to their artifices the miscarriage of the militia act has been ascribed. But as I am conscious of my own abhorrence of arms, especially of firelocks, I cannot give these great men (whom I honour) the praise I think due to the people of my native land. It has been reported too, that the m—r and his friends are very indifferent about the militia act, in the form in which it now stands. If that is the case, I could almost wish it were put in execution; for if he ever has power to carry through an act of his own, the good Lord have mercy upon us! There will not then be a shop-keeper of us all, but must stand four or five hours a week under arms, and perhaps on great days be obliged to shoot. Rather than suffer such an encroachment on liberty and property, I will give my consent to surrender the Island to the French or the Germans.

There is nothing in the world, let me tell you, my dear friends and countrymen, that would provoke me to fire a gun; and I confess it was this same militia act which first put me on my guard against

gainst this bold and dangerous m—r. There was something so romantick and daring in his attempt to arm a free people, that I began to suspect he was very wrongheaded. Besides the ills I have mentioned, this act is fraught with a thousand more that I have not time to enumerate. The few following will serve as a sample. The militia act, in process of time, would have made the landed Interest an overmatch for the monied Interest, under which we have been so long happily governed: and then a Lord or a 'Squire would have been a greater man than the greatest stockjobber in London. It would have infallibly destroyed the game, and lost us the glory of being the finest sporting country in the world. By doubling the number of warlike men, it would have exposed our wives and daughters to double danger; and which is worst of all, it would have diminished the public credit, because all Europe would have thereby perceived, that we were not in a condition to maintain a sufficient standing army.

My third reason for humbling this haughty m—r, is, because he harrasses the army beyond all example.

HIS predecessors in power either collected the military force of Great Britain round the capital, where cantoned in towns and villages, or encamped on some of the wholesome Downs, they waited peaceably for a foreign invasion; in which situations the officers of distinction had the full enjoyment of all the pleasures of life, as became free Britons; and did no duty but what conduced to health, and served to whet their appetites for delicate food, beautiful women, and moderate play: or, at the worst, they were sent over in a body to the plains of Flanders, to wage regular war under

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generals

generals of ability, for the glory of their country, and to maintain the balance of power. But our new conductor of the war has altered the whole system, and made a commission in the army as intolerable as a place in the galleys of France, or a station in Bridewel. For not to mention his sending the Half of our troops to North America to be scalped by Indians, or blown up by the more perfidious French, and those devils the Canadians; has he not for many months been contriving and executing expeditions to the coast of France, for no apparent reason but to vex, fatigue, and harrass our troops, and especially those pretty gentlemen the o—rs of the g—ds, beyond what they are able to bear? The man, as I have discovered in the course of my reading, was once an officer of the light horse himself, so that it is very difficult to conceive, what can excite his rage so much against his own order.

If I have any notion of the military art, the great object of it is the preservation of the army; and from the minutes of several courts martial, which I have lately perused, I have learned that the safety of his majesty's troops was formerly not only the m—r's, but the g—n—r—l's chief care in the conduct of the war. But, if this man be suffered to proceed, at the rate he has begun, for one year longer, I am really of opinion that no man above the rank of a colonel will remain in the army. And what will become of an army without generals? It is needless to explain. Many of the most antient and respectable officers have already declined the service; and such an universal discontent prevails among them, that I tremble for the approach of that hour, when the whole hoary band, who, like the venerable lions on the heads of our ships, have stood so many storms of battle, and cut their way through so many seas of blood, shall, with

with one consent, lay down their truncheons at the feet of their master. For my part, I would rather be a shoe black, or rake the kennels for hob-nails, than serve as a l—t or m—r g—l under such an enterprising and expedition-making min—r.

I do confess, my dear countrymen, that, upon this subject, I cannot keep my temper. It is not the great men themselves I so much regret; for most of them, thanks to the discerning spirit of our former m—rs, and the gratitude of their country, are able to live independent of the service; and the remainder, if they please, will find refuge and rest in the armies of the monarch of Prussia. But, it is the service itself, it is the conduct of our future armies, it is the honour of my country, that makes me so earnest on this part of my subject.

In the name of all the powers of war, why was he not contented with the miscarriage of the expedition in the year 1757? Why must he contrive new projects to stamp the names of the commanders of that famous year, and the great things they might have done, still deeper on the memory of the public? Had he any reason to think that there were abler or better men than they upon the lists, or men who had the honour and interest of their country more at heart? No, it is evident his design must have been to ruin the army altogether, by contriving impossible descents upon the coast of France, or such as are worse than impossible.

It is very true that the shipping at St. Maloes have been burnt, and the basin of Cherbourg blown up; and it is possible too, that 50,000 troops have been detained on the coasts, who, but for our alarms,

arms, had been on the banks of the Rhine. But did we not lose 300 men at St. Cas? And is not the life of a single British soldier of more value than a thousand wooden ships, or ten thousand bulwarks of stone? And as for the detaining of 50,000 Frenchmen at home, I rather compute that as loss. For besides that France had the advantage of their pay, which would have been spent in Germany but for our invasions; if so great a number of troops had joined their army in Westphalia, they would have been much more streightned for provisions, and the victory at Crevelt would have been still more glorious.

But great and unaccountable as our loss was, in the late descent upon the coast of France, there is one circumstance relating to that expedition which gives me more pain than the loss we have sustained: A circumstance which, if foreseen by the m——r as barely possible, there is no punishment he does not deserve. It is this; That since the days of the Edwards and the Henrys, the English have had no opportunity of fighting the French upon equal terms in their own country, till the 10th or 11th of last September. I tremble when I think of the imminent danger our army escaped: A g——l after the m——r's own heart would have certainly fought. With an English P——ce once more on French ground, with the fortune and valour of another Edward on his side, he would have seized the glorious opportunity, which the chance of war brings round in 500 years. He would have fought, and what would have been the consequence? If we may believe in past examples of the like situation, and in the acknowledged bravery of our troops, it is more than probable he would have been victorious. He would have embarked at his leisure, and returned in triumph;
and

and next summer we should have made war exactly in the same manner; a thing, as I have shewn, utterly disagreeable to all the great officers, and pretty gentlemen of the army. I do assure you, my dear friends, the very thoughts of the hazard we run of making a Cressy or an Agincourt of it, has kept me awake many a night; and my indignation against P—t is raised in proportion to the number of sleepless hours he has cost me. Let us thank heaven, which better directed our general; had he yielded to his own stupid impetuosity, or listened to the advice of one rash counsel, we had been undone by success. But the guardian angel of Britain interposed, in her well known shape, of a council of war. We turned our backs, and the enemy gave us a kick in that side which was turned to them; and all such idle expeditions are at an end for ever.

But what have been the consequences of this war of alarms, expeditions and enterprises? Has it not produced things strange and unheard of in the island of Britain? Have not upstarts and beardless boys gained some name in the army? Heretofore it was age, and long service in the field of war, or of St. Stephen's; it was a modest deference to the opinions, and an implicate submission to the will of their superiors (which are the great principles of military discipline) that procured men preferment in the army. But now, to be impudent enough to talk of battles and of sieges, to have what they call a genius for war, as if a man could be born a general any more than he could be born a button-maker: and when in the field to have minded something besides their platoons or battalions (which is absolutely contrary to good discipline) these, and such as these, are now the chief qualities

ties that recommend a man to favour and preferment.

A fourth reason against Mr. S—y P—t is, because he sets himself in opposition to the established manners of the age.

THE clergy, it is true, whose trade it is, and a few half-thinking dry moralists, have been long declaiming against the excessive luxury of the times; but it is well known to every considerate citizen of London, that without luxury this nation were undone. What is it that supports foreign trade but luxury? What promotes the quick circulation of property but luxury? How are the industrious poor to be maintained, but by supplying all the necessities which luxury alone creates to the rich? It would be tedious to go round the circle by which it can be demonstrated, that there were no hopes of ever being able to pay the national debt but by the encouragement and growth of luxury. And it would be as needless as tedious, because every reader will perceive the truth of the proposition with half an eye.

Now I am credibly informed that the present m—r keeps but a very moderate table, has but a very few servants, and indeed sees but very little company; in short, that he copies the simplicity of antient manners, and is so odd as to divert his leisure hours, if he has any (for that is uncertain) in reading of books, or with a chosen friend or two and his own wife and children. Whence I conjecture that he is either covetous, or has a slow understanding, or really designs to discourage luxury by his example. That the first is not his case, I will do him the justice to allow, because he has sometimes shewn a very foolish prodigality, some instances

instances of which I shall probably mention hereafter. I rather incline to think that he is a man of very slow understanding, and is obliged to see little company, that he may have the more time to plod on the affairs of the state. For that the business of this great nation can be carried on with very little expence of time, or of thought, to men of ability, is manifest from the example of many of his predecessors. And that he is a man of very limited parts, appears farther from the choice he has made of a great many bl—k—s to serve under him at several of the boards. For it is very remarkable that his chief favourites are those, who, like himself, are seen very little in public places, and are all day long to be found puzzling their heads in their respective offices.

But stupidity itself can never account for the scantiness of his table, and the plainness of his equipage; for there is nothing to hinder dulness itself from living in great splendor even in solitude. It is therefore plain that he not only wants capacity, but has formed an absurd design to discourage good living by his example. And since this is really the case, it is amazing that the trading part of this nation can hear his name mentioned with patience. For besides the hurt he intends to do the industrious tradesman, and merchant, by drying up the great source of their gains, this scheme will put an end to their desire of riches, since, if it succeeds, it will be next to impossible for them to find a bankrupt lord, with whom to marry their daughters.

The man is subject to the gout, and an abstemious diet may be necessary for his health. But would he feed all England on boil'd beef because he must live on water gruel? Or is it so rare a thing for
great

great persons to live in the midst of pleasures which they cannot enjoy? Eating and drinking have been useful instruments of government ever since it was formed, and I hope in God it shall not be in the power of any single man to bring them into discredit. The more I think of the unreasonableness and injustice of this part of his conduct, the more I am persuaded that his administration cannot possibly last. I know the constitution of the city of London, and the method of managing business there; and I may be allowed to have some little notion of the influence of turtle and of venison. But in the mean time, alas! the figure of the nation must sink in the eyes of foreigners, much more than he can raise it by his vaunting expeditions; for our feasts were become the wonder and envy of all Europe. In this respect we had arrived at a high pitch of glory. We excelled all the modern world, and came the nearest of any nation to that delicacy of taste and profusion of expence which was exhibited by the great emperors and senators of Rome in their private entertainments.

I need hardly mention gaming, a branch of luxury encouraged by able statesmen, as of infinite service to a great nation, as it occasions a brisk circulation of money; sharpens the genius of young men of fashion, and breeds them to business; disengages them from the pursuit of bad women, or indeed of any women whatever; entirely roots out the love of wives or children, and breaks all the bonds of friendship; affections that often interfere with their duty to the publick; and by bringing them by times into necessity, not only hardens them against misfortunes, but fits them above all things for the service of the state. But our new statesman, it is certain, never plays; and it is whispered, that, in this respect, he is imitated by a few young people

people of great fortunes. It is easy to foretel what will happen if he continues long at the head of our affairs; a race of independent lords and gentlemen will arise, under his influence, who may disturb the tranquillity of the state, and possibly overturn it. And this prophecy will appear to be but too well founded, if you'll consider,

Another reason I have for pulling down this lofty m——r, that is, because in his fortune we have seen an example of the height to which a man may rise by eloquence and magnanimity.

I Remember that a good many years ago, I heard it affirmed by a leading member of the royal society, that the very end of eloquence, is, by an artful address to the imagination and passions, to mislead the understanding. And ever since that time, I have been of opinion, that a man of true probity would no more give ear to an orator, than a person of chastity would fasten his eyes on a harlot. Truth is always naked, and when any thing assumes her name, and at the same time appears dressed out with many gaudy ornaments, you may be sure it is not truth, but falshood. I might appeal to your own experience, fellow citizens, and ask you if you have not been oftner cheated and besfooled by those we call well-spoken men, than by all the world besides? The use of eloquence, therefore, upon any occasion, must be highly immoral.

I have read, somewhere or other in a book of history, that it was the custom of some ancient city, for the sheriffs to hear causes and pronounce sentence in the dark; lest, I suppose, the persons, or the behaviour of the parties, should have prejudiced the judges in their favour, and inclined them to pervert justice. And if partiality can make its way into the mind of man by the eye,
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there is nothing to hinder it from entering there by the ear also. When you have a bad cause before any of the courts of law, do you not employ that counsellor who is the best pleader and has most eloquence? And for what reason? Why surely, that by his false and deceitful glosses you may persuade the judge out of his senses, and sway him to favour your side of the question. And for what other reason can it be, but on account of its immorality, that some of our most pious and learned b-sh-ps, and a great part of the clergy, have totally laid aside the use of eloquence as unbecoming the chair of truth and gravity?

It is to me matter of great wonder, how the wisdom of this nation can permit the debates in parliament still to be carried on by the speeches of the members. I am sure it would be infinitely better if each of them delivered his opinion in writing, on a slip of paper, which the clerk might collect into a box, which box Mr. Speaker could carry home in his coach, and then discover the sense of the majority over a bottle of wine at his leisure; as we are told the king of Prussia always does when he calls a council of war. Many advantages would accrue from this method of debating, for it would preserve that equality among the members which is essential to our constitution; it would prevent the discovery of many important secrets of government, by those blabbing fellows who are always giving themselves airs: it would save the nation an immense sum that is laid out for speaking; and, which is not of the least importance, it would let them home to their dinners before three o'clock, and put an end to that heathenish custom of turning night into day.

After having said so much against eloquence, the application of it to my present purpose, shall be

be very short. It is generally thought that this same Mr. P—t, whose power gives me such concern, not only excells all of our own age and nation in that bewitching eloquence which overpowers the mind, but comes the nearest of any modern to Cicero and Demosthenes, those greatest masters of the art of speaking which the antient world has to boast of. If it were now lawful to believe in forcery and enchantment, I should certainly be of opinion that this arch-orator is in compact with the devil; for a very reasonable and good man once told me, that when Mr. P—t was got to his height in one of his great speeches, he verily thought that the parliament house (which is as large as many of the churches in the city) was shrunk to the dimensions of an ordinary closet. I could have no conception of what my friend meant, if he had not explained himself by adding, that if the assembly of the Gods, which heathen authors talk so much of, could be convoked again, or if all the kings and emperors of the earth, with all their retinues, could meet in some vast place, like the amphitheatre of Vespasian at Rome, the dignity of such an assembly could not surpass the greatness of the man, and the power and splendour of his eloquence.

And having told you this story, the article of magnanimity will need little illustration; because all good authors, who have wrote upon the subject, lay it down as a principle, that to excel in eloquence a man must have this quality likewise. For my own part, I do not see the connection, for I know several sneaking fellows who are exceedingly well spoken. Be that as it may, our statesman is none of these, and all men allow that by these two talents alone he has arrived at the summit of power. And this, I must insist upon it, is a very dangerous example, that may be remembered for a century to come.

come. . . When ambitious young men have discovered this new road to preferment, they will certainly take into it if they can. Eloquence will become their favourite study, and they will wholly neglect all the other arts that are so ornamental to human life, and so honourable to their country; as neither horse-racing, nor coach-driving, nor bruising, nor cocking, nor any other species of gaming, can be of the least use in acquiring eloquence, they will abandon them for ever. O England! O my country!

But this is not all, for magnanimity, when rightly interpreted, signifies a stubborn and unyielding temper; a mind insensible of the charms of riches, or of pleasure: it signifies a proud and disdainful spirit, that is incapable of complying, and will hold on its own course, through poverty and disgrace, or even death itself; and if the youth of this nation are to be trained up in such principles, judge ye, my dear fellow-citizens and countrymen, how it will be possible to govern it. There is but one remedy, and that is in your hands. It was you who raised him, and you must e'en pull him down again. With unanimous voice you must petition the king to remove him from his presence and councils for ever; and so shall you infallibly draw off our young nobility and gentry from the study of pernicious arts. For as the wise man says in the Proverbs, " though the man of understanding will not always take advice, yet even the fool will take warning."

Another reason for dismissing Mr. S—y P—t, is because he is a great encourager of learning.

IF the man himself is truly learned, I will venture to pronounce that he is altogether unfit to be prime

prime m—r of Great Britain. For I have known many scholars, and have never yet met with one who could so much as comprehend the course of exchange, and much less understand all the dark mysteries of the art of stock-jobbing. And how a scholar of a m—r shall be able to settle the ways and means, and with the help of his Greek and Latin go through all the perplexing mazes of the funds and finances, is quite unexplicable to me.

I have heard, indeed, that there are certain inferior m—rs to whom the care of those important branches are committed, and in whose honesty as well as skill, our great man has implicate faith. But I have my own doubts, that men of his chusing will be too like himself, fine florid holiday declaimers, but quite incapable of doing real business. Or if they are indeed men of business, I laugh much at their pretences to honesty in that strict sense some old people now affect to use the word. We of the city know what it is to have the handling of money, and it is impossible to convince us that any one, but a fool, can let millions pass through his hands, as if they were so many sea-shells, or dead flies for the British Museum.

I heard a pleasant instance of our great man's learning, given, not long ago, in a coffee-house by a smart Oxonian, who thought he had hit on something extremely clever, "At last," says he, "we have got a man of learning and parts, who has read the arrients, and avails himself of his reading, at the head of our affairs. It would have been long ere any of our statesmen of Arthur's College, who never read any books but Hoyle and Demoivre, had discovered the true method of making war upon France: but Mr. P—t has learned from Thucydides, the prince of historians,

“ans, in what manner the small state of Athens
 “exerted its naval power, and by expeditions and
 “descents became the most formidable republick
 “of all Greece.” “And it would have been long,”
 replied old flyboots, from a corner, “ere the able
 “statesmen you despise would have contrived such
 “a ridiculous and impracticable lottery as that of
 “the year fifty-seven.” The Oxonian grumbled
 something in contempt of the noble science of cal-
 culation, then strutted to the other end of the
 room, and called for coffee.

What ground they have for it is more than I can
 tell; but it is certain that many of the wits at our
 end of the town, plume themselves not a little on
 the learning and taste of the m——r, as if there
 were an hundred poet laureats to be appointed in
 a year or two. They tell you that if you look back
 through the history of the human mind (a book that
 I have searched for in vain through the whole city)
 you will find that great genius's always come in
 flocks to any country like the birds of passage; and
 that if you have seen one, you may be sure that
 more will very soon appear. They quote certain pe-
 riods of time, which in a certain jargon of their
 own, they call by the name of Siecles; and they
 flatter themselves that such a period is now begun,
 which will prove a perfect golden age to poets,
 painters, architects, and fiddlers. If these are the
 genius's they are so fond of, for my part, I should
 be very glad to see them all fairly on t'other side of
 the channel, except one. I mean that excellent
 artist who built the Mansion-house with its Egyp-
 tian hall, and the noble row of lamps all along the
 magnificent entry. That solid edifice I confess is
 worthy of the chief magistrate of so great and
 opulent a city, for there is not a single chimney
 in the house but I'll be sworn, has more marble in
 it

it than any five of their boasted tombs in Westminster abbey. And it would make me extremely happy to have the opportunity of drinking a glass with the worthy gentleman, who, I hear, comes to town every year, and dines at a tavern hard by the Mansion-house, merely for the pleasure of p—ss—ng against the wall of the hugest and most ponderous house in the world.

But to return to my subject, and to tell truth, what alarms me most, is that this m——r and some more of the same stamp are openly protected by the ap—suc—. And indeed what may not such desperate men as those attempt? If they have warmed the young ——'s heart with a romantick love of the constitution, and filled his head with whimsical ideas of patriotism and virtue, it will be utterly impossible for the able statesmen of the old-mould ever to come into power again.

Amidst my fears for the confusion of our finances, and the decay of our trade under such an administration, I have still one ground of comfort, and that is, that a very small part of what is given out, may only be true. I'll tell you all the reason I have for this hope. You know that the learned and egregious Dr. Br—n, in the second vol. of his Estimate, has drawn a character of Mr. P—t, which, at first reading, gave me infinite pain, as it confirmed all my fears. For as preacher of the kingdom, the Dr. frequented many of the levees at the court end of the town, and had access there to the best information. But I felt my spirits become gradually lighter as I read on farther, and came to my good friend's character of himself. For as he certainly knows himself much better than he can know Mr. P—t, with the help of all his levee-lights; and, as in his own character, he has at least given us the
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cube of the truth, I am willing to believe that with the same measure he has taken to himself, he has also met it to the m—r.

My next reason against Mr. P—t, is because he has meanly complied with the maxims, and followed the measures of the Tories.

EVER since the revolution it has been the constant topick of the Tories, and of all the patriots, real and pretended, that the ocean is the British element, that our natural strength lies there, and that if we exert it to the utmost, this island will not only be safe but prosperous. But such has been the vigour and steadiness of our m—rs, that till now, they never once complied with these absurd maxims of their enemies. This infatuated man is the first who has ever fairly made the experiment; and, as whatever he does, he does with all his might, a few slight essays have not satisfied him, for he has carried on the naval war with so much heat and violence, as to set an example, and establish a precedent that, I am much afraid, will never be forgotten: And henceforth it will be impossible for the best disposed m—r to send over an army of fifty thousand only to the assistance of our dear and faithful allies, while the French have a single ship on the sea, or a fishing town on the coast. Nay, from what I have observed of this m—r's conduct, I doubt very much whether or not he would have permitted one battalion to join the army on the Rhine, or granted one shilling to the king of Prussia, if his wiser predecessors had not, on purpose, left our affairs in such a dangerous situation, as made it impossible for him to avoid it.

For has he not, to please those malignant Tories and mock patriots, made the navy of England more terrible

terrible than ever it has been since the days of Oliver Cromwel the usurper? Has he not employed a force on the ocean that awes and amazes the whole world? Has he not asserted our right to the sovereignty of the sea, and demonstrated that Europe united, is not an over-match for us on that element? In one word, has he not shewn that tho' it may be proper for a horse to kick with his heels, yet it is undoubtedly prudent in a bull to push with his horns, when he is attacked by his enemies; and thereby brought the old genteel method of kicking in Flanders into too much contempt amongst us. For my part, tho' I hate the French, yet I could almost wish for such a frost in the channel as has sometimes been seen in the Baltick, that a hundred thousand Normans might walk over to Kent on one of our star-light mornings, and convince the inflexible Mr. Secretary, that even while we have a navy according to his own maritime heart, it is the easiest thing in the world to invade us.

And here I might apply all my former sound reasonings against harrassing the army, were not our seamen in general, both high and low, such a parcel of brutes as to count hardships and dangers as nothing, when compared with the honour of the British flag. But though the tars are an unelegant set of mortals, who neither ask nor deserve any pity, yet who can be so hard of heart as not to regret our fine, tall, gallant ships of war, which are eternally tost upon the boisterous element, and daily exposed to the sweeping hurricane or gnawing worm in the most distant parts of the world, to please a navy-mad m—r and the Tories.

It is not long since men of milder tempers, and of a more reasonable and moderate way of thinking, were at the head of our fleet; men who had the

safety of his m—y's ships very much at heart, and prudently weighed the enemy's metal in scales, ere they proceeded to action. But I don't know how the former system is worn quite out of fashion: and I believe there is now but a very few officers of the navy who would not fight, although they were inferior in weight of metal to the enemy by several pounds. But I think it a matter worthy of the consideration of parliament, whether or not the same rules that take place in horse-racing, should not be extended also to sea-fights; and whether it should not be declared, that if either party carries but an ounce weight more than his antagonist, there is no match at all, or that the one which has over-weight shall be the lawful prize of the other.

But to return from this digression, the exerting our utmost force by sea is not the only instance wherein Mr. S—y P—t has shamefully complied with the old maxims of the opposition (and which, by the by, is the strongest proof of his baseness or folly; for as he was very deep in the opposition himself, he ought, the moment he accepted a place, to have renounced all his old principles and notions, and acted on the plans of his predecessors in power): for he has likewise employed the Highland rebels in the American war. None of his measures have given me greater disquiet than this has done, and I do not think there is any thing like it to be met with in all history.

The rebel Highlanders, according to a former plan, were to have wrought in manufactures, which they hate, and are altogether unfit for, which would have been a punishment somewhat adequate to their crimes; and whereas one half of their country is almost wholly impassible, the obliging
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them to carry goods from one part of it to another was treating them as they truly deserved.

But the plan at present in execution, I protest, is more like a reward than a punishment. For although they are sent to America (where I would not chuse to go) yet, the making soldiers of them at all, is indulging the genius of their nation, and rendering them of real service to Britain, which ought, by no means, to have been done. Nay, it is giving them a fair opportunity (which they will certainly take) of regaining the favour of their sovereign by their valour, and of winning back again, for their friends at home, that antient dress, without which, there is no possibility of enduring the rigour of their climate.

It will be said, perhaps, that more than one half of the Highlanders are loyal, and were actually in arms on the side of their king and country in the time of the rebellion, and therefore deserve to be as much encouraged as any other of his majesty's subjects. But this must be false in fact, otherwise it is impossible that the law disarming the whole Highlanders without exception, could have been carried thro' by so well informed and equitable a M—n—st—ry as that which governed at the time of the rebellion.

For my part, after what has happened with respect to the Highlanders, very few things could give me surprize. It is more than probable that if general Keith had survived the war, it would have been forgot that he had rebelled against his king, when he was fully seventeen years old. Nay, if the good nature and generosity of our new system continue at the rate it has begun, I would not lay the odds, that the old Earl Marshal, as they call him, Keith's brother, will not be recalled, and permitted

mitted to die in peace in his own country. But mark it, good countrymen and friends, and lay it up in your memories, that O. M. haberdasher, ventures to foretel, that if these same Highlanders are not all scalped by the Indians, or sold for slaves to the planters of the sugar islands, they will sow the seeds of Presbyterianism so deep, and diffuse the spirit of war so wide in North America, that it is two to one if a single colony of them all remain under the British government, so long as the short period between the present war, and the year two thousand two hundred and fifty nine.

My eighth, and last reason, for removing Mr. S—y P—t from his M—y's presence and councils for ever, is, because he is an honest man.

I Am sensible that many of my worthy readers will start at this extraordinary reason, and yet, on mature reflection, they will find it as conclusive as any of the former; and here I will fairly confess that I heard it five or six times mentioned, before I considered it as any thing else than a piece of railery against the enemies of the new m—r. But having been lately informed by a friend from the other end of the town, that this is the objection against Mr. S—y P—t that weighs most in the breasts of the far greater number of his wise and honourable opposers; I sat down with all the coolness and impartiality of which I am master to consider the force of it. I was soon convinced that there is truth and justice in this objection: and I am well assured I shall be able to prove it to the satisfaction of all my readers.

The first thought that occurred to me in my enquiring into the mischievous tendency of moral honesty, was the station or profession of the person to whom

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whom it is objected. Much is to be learned from that, as you will soon perceive. Be pleased to observe then, that though it be very criminal in a barber to cut your throat, or in an apothecary to give you poison; yet for a highwayman to levy your money, or a shoplifter to convey away your goods, or an attorney to perplex and prolong your suit, could not reasonably surprise you, because each of these actions is done in character, and is a part of the respective calling or profession. Now it must be remembered that the person in question is neither a mercer, a draper, nor a grocer, but the first man of a great nation. And one Machiavel, a most excellent political writer, has established this maxim, that it is impossible to govern a great kingdom to purpose, unless the person governing lays aside all sort of regard to morals, especially to that plebeian virtue, commonly called honesty.

But honesty is the great fault which Mr. P—t's opposers lay to his charge; and which entirely disqualifies him for ruling the state. They allow that he means well, and is a man of some parts, but then, say they, the rigour of his principles is intolerable, there have been periods, they add, when such kind of men have been useful to a state. In one of the republicks of Greece, for instance, such a man as he would have been a noble bulwark against the torrent of corruption, which drove Greece headlong into the snares of Philip, the Macedonian. Or in the city of Rome, a Mr. P—t might have preserved the freedom of the state, and averted the domination of a perpetual dictator for an age or two longer; or even in the barbarous times of Charles I. his talents might have availed in bridling prerogative on the one hand, and in setting bounds to the rage of privilege on the other. But in the present age, when men and manners are polished to the last degree

degree, when the elegant arts and the softer virtues have refined the human soul; in these happy days of moderate vice and tractable virtue, when evasion having come in place of transgression, men are governed more by love than by fear; and when gratitude for benefits received, and esteem of the benefactors, are more powerful principles than dread of the laws and regard to the constitution; such a character as that of Mr. P—t is out of its place, it comes not in with propriety; it mars the plot of the play, and therefore ought to be suppressed altogether.

Such is the candid language of Mr. P—t's opposers; and the effects of raising him so unseasonably to power, are already but too apparent. Not many months ago, patriotism and publick virtue were quite exploded. Experience had taught the nation that these were only ideal qualities that had no existence in nature. None but odd fellows ever so much as named them, except in derision: and all men of sense publickly owned that private interest was their sole pursuit. But of late our coffee-house conversation is set to a new tune; and disinterestedness, and the love of our country, is the burden of the song. Now this is a very great evil, for men of such notions will be very apt to thwart the measures of the government: and it will be extremely troublesome and expensive to the m—r, who shall then govern, to take them off.

Let any man but seriously consider the present state of this great nation, and he will soon come to think with me, that honesty is the most unministerial of all qualities. On this article, instances crowd so fast upon me, that I am puzzled to which I shall give the preference. To be a successful minister, a man must have a multitude of friends to assist him,

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him, otherwise the wheels of government cannot be kept in motion. And the only sure way of making friends, is to give to every man every thing he asks. But honesty makes a man difficult and nice in his choice, and leads him to consider the fitness of persons for offices, which, if made a rule, would probably cut off ninety-nine of a hundred. Honesty would make a m—r endeavour to discharge part of the national debt as soon as possible, lest we should come into the strange modern situation of being a rich people and a poor state. But then what would become of all the worthy money-brokers and stock-jobbers, together with the whole children of Israel, who have served the publick for nothing so faithfully and so long? Honesty might excite the m—r to score out all sine cures and pensions from the civil list, and to invent methods of raising the taxes at a cheaper rate. But where would we find such another body of firm and active friends to the court through every rebellion, such brave champions for the administration through every change of min—y? Honesty, it is possible, might move the m—r to make the statute book of the land be copied over in a more legible hand: perhaps he might abridge what is clear, unravel what is perplexed, and omit what is useless altogether. But then what would become of the venerable body of the law, from the silver-tongued counsellor, who rolls in a chariot of state, down to the burrough attorney, who, by indefeasible right, fleeces the lieges around him, to make himself a garment, (I had almost said to build himself a palace) of their wool? And, to mention no more, honesty might tempt a m—r to turn his eyes upon, and stretch his reforming hands, even so far, as our sacred seminaries of learning. But then it is probable they would become academies for the liberal education of gentlemen, and no longer re-

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main cloisters for disciplining monks and friars, which was the original design of their institution.

And if honesty in general be a vice in a m—r, I take that branch of it called disinterestedness to be absolute folly. There is an instance of this kind that has been often boasted of, by some of our great man's half-witted friends. It seems that on the payment of one of the subsidies to a faithful ally, a very handsome sum fell due to Mr. P—t, then pay—r g—l, as a perquisite of his office. But how do you think this haughty man behaved when it was offered him? He disdainfully refused the royal gratuity, and told the astonished Italian, "that the k—g, his master, paid his servants too well, for them to accept of fees from foreign princes."

This story has been spread over Europe. And what opinion do you think foreigners (the Dutch for instance) will entertain of such a statesman? Will not they, and all the world, be under a strong temptation to cheat us to the utmost of their power, while they have to do with such a simpleton of a m—r? Nor is this the only instance of his folly and disinterestedness: for much of the same nature is the tax on places and pensions, which he and his friends and favourites carried through last year with so much applause of the unthinking multitude. But thus do I, and all men of sense, reason upon the subject. "That if the f—ls have so little regard to their own interest, and are so incapable of managing their own affairs, it is truly shameful to entrust them with the business of the nation."

Before I come to a conclusion it is necessary for me, in justice even to Mr. P—r, (with whom, as a christian,

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christian, I would chuse to be in charity, though not as a m——r) to make this publick declaration, that, although I have used his name all along as the chief and head of his party, and although I know that, generally speaking, one man is the life and soul of all co-partneries, yet I am very far from ascribing all the evils that I have enumerated to him alone. No, there are many others, who, tho' guilty in a less degree, because they have had less mischief in their power, yet as they have discovered the same malice of intention as often as they could, are therefore to be considered as his brethren in iniquity, and sharers with him in the same condemnation.

It is high time for me, fellow-citizens and countrymen, to bid you farewell. I have now disburdened my conscience, and if the nation is ruined, I take you to witness, that I have washed my hands of her blood. It is very true that my predecessor in sounding the trumpet of alarm, the learned Dr. Br——n, is entirely confuted and discredited by the importance of Britain in the present war; and foreigners, from hence, will learn to look on transactions, and not on books, for the characters of nations: they will learn to distinguish between the genius of a ministry, and the genius of a people; perhaps they will be convinced that the spirit of a great nation is not always wholly extinguished, when her governors happen to be base, weak, or pusillanimous. But though my latest predecessor has, in the end, been unfortunate enough, yet I know you too well to fear that you will wait till events justify or refute those plain reasons of mine: I mean such of them as are predictive; for the greatest part of them are already confirmed by what is past. In like manner, as you read my learned friend's book with insatiable avidity for many months, and believed every word it contained, I know you will also read and believe mine. And

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my bookseller will find this little piece such excellent property, that I hope he will give me whatever I ask for my next performance.

But you must speak and act as well as believe, otherwise your credulity is good for nothing. That band of illustrious patriots, whom I have so often mentioned with honour, can furnish you with a man (or with several men) who has been trained up in those principles of sound policy, by which this island has been so long happily governed. A man who has given notorious proof that he possesses none of the unministerial qualities I have so justly ascribed to the present m—r, and to whose character and conduct not one of my reasons will apply. Him you must find, him you must exalt, for such as he, alone, can rescue the state, and save the nation.

I know that Mr. P—t and his friends support their spirits with an old prophecy of one Humphry Oldcastle, esq; who says in a certain place of his book, "Let but one great, brave, disinterested, active, man arise, and he will be received, followed, and almost adored, as the guardian genius of those kingdoms." Hitherto you have acted as if you had been in conspiracy with that old dotard; but after the warning I have given you, I know you will do so no more. To the m—r too, and his daring band of associates, I have directed a threatening, from better authority than Oldcastle's, in my title page, and lest it should be thought that I bend the sacred text to my own purpose, my bookseller has furnished me with a collateral evidence in a scrap of Latin from the Solomon of Rome; and bids me tell you, that he hopes you will vindicate the credit of the age you live in, and demonstrate that yet there are times, when

Ob Virtutes certissimum exitum. TACIT.

O. M.

Coleman-street,
January, 1759.

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