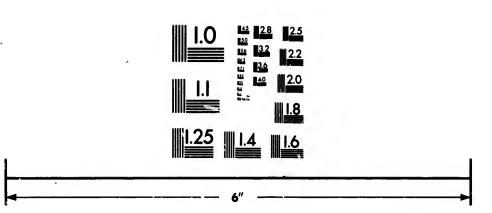


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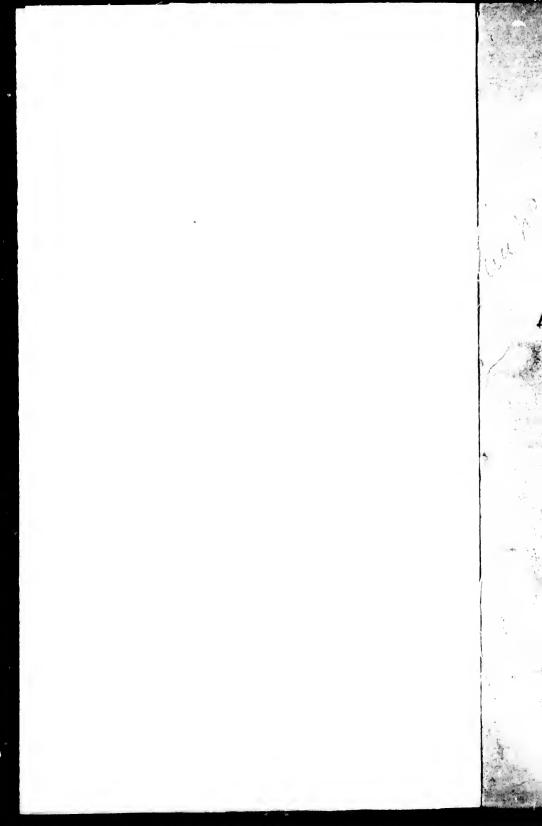
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AUTHENTIC SPECIMENS

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ALL THE ADDRESSES

THAT HAVE BEEN; AND ALL THAT WILL BE,
PRESENTED

To the Right Hon. WM. PITT,

AND

THE VIRTUOUS AND UNCORRUPTED MAJORITIES

IN BOTH

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT;

WHO HAVE VOTED THEMSELVES IN POSSESSION OF ALL THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE, AND PREROGATIVES OF

THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. RIDGWAY, NO. 1, YORK-STREET, ST. JAMES'S-SQUARE.

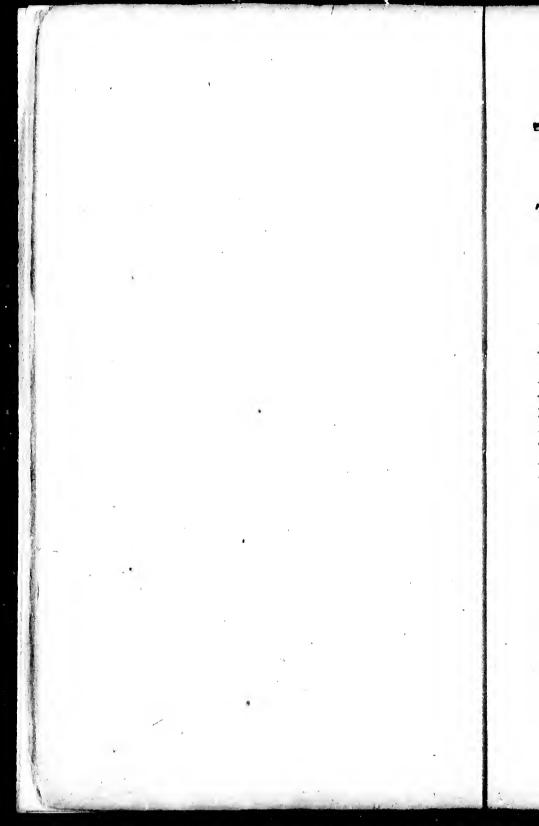
MDCCLXXXIX

[&]quot; The Church determines, that the Church has a right to deter-

[&]quot; mine. The Authority of the Church proved by its own

[&]quot; Decisions .- I determine that I am infallible; therefore I am

[&]quot; infallible."



To the Rt. Hon. WM. PITT.

SIR,

The power and influence of literature were understood by its professors; the Government of england would be in the press. Imperfect and exceptionable, as the present channels of literary information may be; they form public opinions, and generate those great passions, which control the progress of ministerial corruption, and awe the venality of Parliaments pretending to omnipotence. This, sir, you felt early; though you could not perceive

perceive the truth in all its extent: and you have ever hated the genuine spirit of literature.

Standing on opposite, though less elevated ground; cultivating learning as my portion and selicity; and perceiving its salutary influence on nations—I require no effort in despising the meretricious idol of stupid ignorance and venal profligacy; the ostensible salesman of a dishonorable market; or the broker of a gambling assembly: though cloathed by the caprice of Fortune, with the power and influence of a Minister of Great Britain.—

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We are thus peculiarly circumstanced, as PATRON and AUTHOR.

Without wishing to participate your success, I have observed your progress

progress with anxiety. You were blown up to a pinnacle, by the breath of calumny: but the candor and inexperience of youth gave hopes of your integrity; and a predilection, from the fortune of your father, sanctified your pretensions to public esteem.

I bow not to idols, fir;—but your noble father has occasionally commanded my respect. He had paroxysms of disinterested honesty, which alarmed; but he wanted extent of knowledge, and the philosophic temper of cultivated reason.

As he had destined you for the state, it was expected you would improve on the model before you: but you displayed at once, to those who could see through your masque, a finished

a finished portrait of insatiable ambition, supported by unfeeling perfidy, and consummate hypocrisy.—

You deceived me, fir, until you exhibited the farce, of Parliamentary Reform. In every succeeding pretence to public principle, I have marked you an impostor: and impostors are my game.

The following sheets; which I dedicate to you: will shew my skill in hunting them down.

I am, Sir,
With proper fentiments of
Your oftenfible and real worth,
Your's, &c.
THE AUTHOR.

AUTHENTIC

AUTHENTIC SPECIMENS, &c.

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Downing-Street, December, 1788.

"EMORANDUMS—after feveral confultations—on the dreadful in"terruption occasioned by the King's illness,"—

What is the reason the Scots are generally insidels?—Dundas says—If he believed in providential interpositions, he might suspect the present interruption ordained to save the state. The web of venality had covered half the land; and I was the spider in the centre. My poor honest master thought himself the spider: and we have had many a laugh at the simplicity of Fox, who invited the discomfiture of his scheme by vociferously announcing it.

B Jenkinson

Jenkinson has taught me, the power of an English Minister is ever vibrating on a precipice; unless the Crown, as well as the Parliament, be in thraldom. years more, and I would have unmafqued; bid defiance to my royal benefactor; and governed his dominions at my will. refult was to have been a family union with Jenkinson: the idea of which I have encouraged; but on which I had doubts. My mother still urged the negociation for Miss P—. Our family is dreadfully poor; and yet has ever been difgraced with penfions. P-would be glad to revive the honors of his family; but he requires fomething more fubstantial: besides, the girl feems to have spirit and choice—and love is not my province.

The ground is finking under me: and I must try expedients.—The Prince's manners have deceived even me. I thought at Windsor I saw an opening to his favour—but I perceive he is fixed. He has no taste for guarded duplicity; and he shall rue it. His noble undisguised nature is all over vulnerable

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vulnerable to the shafts of calumny: and I am surrounded by her votaries and priests. Every falsehood in the reach of imagination, and to be purchased with money, shall be affixed to his name.

I had alienated many of my affociates; and I must again sooth them into union. I crouch before Thurlow, as if he were a lion. He would soon have been entangled by my toils, if this event had not occurred. The common enemy forces us into a temporary concurrence; and he proposes the Queen for Regent, with a fixed council. But the whole country would blaze into a fury that might annihilate us.

Rofe was delighted at the thoughts of the Queen's Regency. Madame Schwellenburg would have been in effect Chancellor of the Exchequer; and all things, the very stones in the streets, would have been at market.

How fuperior is prudence to virtue; and cunning to wifdom! Old Camden is B 2 plaufible

plaufible cunning personified; and he has fastened Fox to a post.

THE PRINCE's RIGHT.

That, during the incapacity of a Parent, -his fon at full age, and perfectly capable; has a species of right to the care and superintendance of his inheritance; subject only to a recognition: is a principle of law, as well as of reason; and extends to inheritances from the throne to the cottage. But by annexing the words affume and absolute, and ascribing them to Mr. Fox, we may form a question, and pass our majorities over it. We may thus convert recognition into appointment; control the Regent; and enfure our return to power, on the first fymptoms of recovery in the King.—This is the object which unites our efforts; and our pretenfions must be popular.—

Mem.—To defire Prettyman, to look into Locke; and to collect the most captivating phrases on the Rights of the People.—What a stupid mass is this People!—trampled

trampled on by every adventurer; and furnishing authority for it's own evils. The puppet of an artful cabinet, in the purchases and sales of a political market!—I am almost inclined to blush at the slightest reference to the People of England!

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The refractoriness of Thurlow had nearly disconcerted the whole plan - "I'll be d-d, " faid he, if I ever cant about the people!d-n the people! it is a herd of cattle; and " I know none of it's rights. Occasional " Patriots, turning to Camden and me, " may blow hot and cold as may fuit their " purposes: but I will not even affect the " language of a Whig. Scott tells me, for " I read little myself, the word Regent " is not to be found in the law books; " and there is no hereditary Regency.-" This is my ground. You may talk of " Parliament and People; until idiots credit " they are fynonimous." Nature formed the brute for a blacksmith; but he has drank and bullied his way to the fummit of his profession: and he holds the House of Lords. Lords, like children to their lessons. He has the common ambition incident to low birth. The idea of taking place of the Prince, in the trial of Hastings, so agitated his mind, that it produced a fever. On the first proposal of a feigned commission to pass the Regency-bill; he fwore it was a trick that would difgrace Breslaw or Pinetti; and that even the aggregate folly of the people would perceive it, and be alarmed. Jenkinfon shewed the dexterity of a practifed master:-he pointed out strongly the republican tendency of any measures by the two Houses, without an apparent head; alluded to fimilar expedients in France and Spain; and intimated that the Chancellor would take place of the Prince. G-you are right, faid he-we will feign a commission: and I will reign a day if I die for it.

These manœuvres being settled—I think our return to power is tolerably secured. The restraints are directed by Camden wholly

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you tun wholly to this object: and I may trust his skill.

I must now see a man I have neglected. Prettyman advises, not only the diffusion of calumny, to which Rose's literary friends are fully competent; but to procure Addresses, in which the affistance of Robinson is necessary

THE INTERVIEW.

I can hardly certify my own identity; that man has fo stunned me—

Sir, faid he, what do you want?

I want your affiftance-

In what?

The boroughs may be disposed to address, on the late incident in Parliament; and on the expedience of continuing our Administration.

Our Administration! You are now inclined to believe, there may be in the world a man of importance, besides yourself?

I am fure, Sir, I always acknowledged yours; and meant to take every opportunity—

Meant!

Meant!—Have you meant only, to make Prettyman a Bishop; and Jenkinson a Lord?—Who made you, Sir, in effect, what you are?

Sir, I am very sensible-

Are you fenlible, Sir, the authority you now assume, is mine? Who arranged the Election of the present House of Commons; without which, your appointment as a Minister would have only held you up to ridicule? Who procured Addresses from every corner of the kingdom, to fanctify that arrangement? Who gave you the parliamentary majorities, by which you determine every question, in the name of the People of England? Who decided the Prince's right to be in those arranged majorities; against the common law of the land, and the principles of the Constitution? And who appoints the Regent? Is it you, conducting your majorities—or is it John Robinson, who created you and them?

Sir, I can only profess my acknowledgements—

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I have no regard to your professions. (At this time the Bishop of L—entered) You want my services, in sictitious Addresses, to render your retreat popular, and to secure your return; or, if a dissolution of Parliament take place, to strengthen your party in the Lower House, to harass the Prince's Administration—

PRETTYMAN.

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And you shall have your own terms—

Without entrusting their execution to you, my Lord. They shall be secured, before I move; or I offer myself to the other party—

PRETTYMAN.

Where you are not wanted; and will not be received.

ROBINSON.

I have a great opinion of your judgment, my Lord, fince your bufiness with Wedgwood. A rare politician, to attempt a falsehood on a Presbyterian!

MINISTER.

I beg you will not lose time in crimination. We have a common interest, that should absorb all private passions. Mr. Robinson may propose and secure his own terms; on a certain even without which we must all be disappointed.

ROBINSON.

You have a list of the corrupt boroughs; and of the manageable country gentlemen: the *most corrupt* of all the Members of the House.

PRETTYMAN.

O fie Mr. Robinson!

ROBINSON.

This is no place for cant, my Lord. I tell you, the country gentlemen are the most corrupt of all the members of the legislature. A man who purchases a borough, often does it merely to make himfelf a gentleman, and to be introduced into good company: but a Lord or a Knight of the Shire comes into Parliament with hopes and expectations on every 'crative incident in the county: and it is by the manage-

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management of those hopes and expectations, his vote is secured.

The present moment is extremely critical. Even since the Revolution, a disposition has appeared in the great families of the kingdom to connect the public administration with the landed interest; and the interference of the Crown in the Lower House, has been controled by that interest. The control was felt by George the First and George the Second; and unavailing efforts were made against it: it was completely removed by the unsuspected talents of our present unfortunate Monarch.

But by removing the thraldom of property, he prepared for himself another species. "In Camden, Thurlow, Jenkinson, Dun-"das, and Pitt—there are no hereditary claims; and their combined property would hardly justify a commission of the peace. I lift them from beggary into power and wealth. I thereby engage their implicit attachment; and the management of the national debt and East India Com-

C 2 " pany,

" pany, will fecure a majority in the Lower

" House, against the great landed interests

" of the country."

I do not fay, he chose the wisest method for his future peace, or the interests of his family. I am only pointing out the ground on which we stand: it is that of venality, in opposition to the landed interest.

All corporate bodies are naturally in our alliance. Their privileges are public injuries. And we diffused a suspicion that Mr. Fox had a design on them. That suspicion must be renovated and improved: and we may dictate the language of their addresses. I am doubtful about Hastings—yet I cannot help considering the punishment of Governors as Quixotism, similar to that of reforming the India Company, or suppressing monopolies.

MINISTER.

The great object, is to extinguish every fpark that may revive the popularity of Mr. Fox.

ROBINSON.

I know you dread him—as Paris did Achilles—But, I think, I perceive an Ulysses forming in Sheridan.

Fox's candor, will ever embarrass his policy. He would tolerate venality, and exhibit the means; employ puppets, and unveil the machinery: and when the world is disposed to extol him above humanity, he is assiduous in asserting his claims to its exceptionable defects. The negligences and indifcretions of Mr. Fox, are the very grounds of your hopes. On the prefent crisis, you have been infinitely indebted to Europe had long admired the ftrength and fplendor of his talents; and he mounted the Alps in a mode to balance the lights and shadows of his character; as if determined, that Europe should behold his folly as fuperlative as his genius.

No man; no country, has any thing infidious or oppressive to fear from Mr. Fox. With all his abilities, he could not rob an old woman's hen-roost; for he would alarm her into defence and security. You would purloin

purloin the pillow from the head of your dying mother; while apparently affifting that pious prelate in prayers at her bed-fide. But you have the advantage: you fave appearances, Fox neglects them. The Public is always a dupe; and it is not difficult to determine, who will fucceed with it. I therefore embark with you. Let your flupid Secretaries be ready to execute my Instructions.

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INSTRUCTIONS.

INSTRUCTIONS.

The place of business, a private room; effectually guarded from surprize; and which Robinson calls The Wedgwood; from his peculiar affection to the Bishop of Lincoln.

The number of conspirators fluctuate every hour; as they act in town the parts of scouts, and collectors of information. The fixed parties, are the Minister, Robinson, Rose, Steele, and Smith.

MINISTER.

Each the Secretaries of the Treasury.

Before we enter on this business—Have you informed yourselves of all vacancies, even in the smallest office?

STEELE.

In the Custom-house, there are few; and they may be disposed of, to influence the Addresses in London.

ROSE.

The moment I had any apprehension of this event, I filled up every thing in my knowledge——

ROBINSON.

ROBINSON.

I'll warrant you—Shall we begin with London?——

MINISTER.

By all means—The Corporation is the most iniquitous body in the kingdom——

ROBINSON.

Except the India Company—

PITT.

And, therefore, the flattery must be the most fulsome.

DUNDAS.

[Entering in a burry.

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The Duchess of Gordon begs and intreats she may receive the first instructions: for she will break her heart, if she does not procure the first addresses.

ROBINSON.

Hey-day! Who will fay our Premier is a woman-hater; when he can preserve the favor of so fashionable and so discerning a woman as the Duchess of Gordon? Pray what is her object? I am sure it cannot be Pitt's person.

PRETTYMAN.

It has been fometime her object, and that of Dundas, to marry her daughter to him.

ROBINSON.

And so become *Premier berself*. Does she mean to change her sex on the occasion? The transition would not be violent; and according to John Hunter, not impracticable: for he says, it is not uncommon for old HENS TO TURN COCKS.

PRETTYMAN.

Nonfense! to marry poverty to poverty!

Ay! and to facrifice a fine girl to a cold blooded eel; who covers with affected fanctimony the defects of his nature.

STEELE.

You know your importance at this time; you otherwise would not dare—

ROBINSON:

Not dare!

PITT.

Come, come! let us proceed.—The Duchess must give way to London; and D you

you must make our compliments accordingly.

ROBINSON.

Aye—and tell her, that the pious Wilberforce defires she will make it a maxim in all her drums and hurricanes, that no young and beautiful girl ought be committed to a youth who has been at Cambridge, under the hands of the Priests of Mercury.

They all start up— "explain—explain!"

I beg, gentlemen, you will either proceed in bufiness, or let us break up.

ROBINSON.

You need not fear, my lord, that I should fay any thing indecorous before your lord-thip; or be unmindful of the fate of Alcibiades, who was guilty of impieties against this God; whose power in Britain, is much greater than it was in Greece.

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INSTRUCTIONS FOR LONDON.

ROBINSON.

Who is Lord Mayor—my bricklayer?

No, no, he is gone out. The prefent is a frationer, on whom we have feveral holds; both in the Bank, and in business.

ROBINSON.

Who are the Sheriffs?

They are ours—as we like. One of them is a bons vivans, the fat bifcuit baker; who will do any thing for a pipe of genuine claret: the other is Hammett, one of Margaret Nicholfon's knights; and as gross a composition of mean avarice and vanity, as ever distinguished the city records.

ROBINSON.

You have the Court of Aldermen:—a business of this kind need not be a question with the Common Council or the Livery.

PITT.

If it were; they would have no time to perceive the deception. They have fuckled D 2 with

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with their milk, prejudices against prerogative; and we have given Fox's opinion an air of Toryism, at which all their sectaries will take offence. It is far beyond their power, to penetrate the veil that covers arranged majorities, assuming the rights of the people, and violating the tenure of the Crown.

ROBINSON.

How came Lord Lanfdowne to co-operate with you in the deception? His foplulin will have fome weight among the diffenters; as it is expressed in their language.

PITT.

He first examined the ground at Carleton, House, under affectionate pretences of sympathy with the present condition of the Royal Family: but no desire of his affictance being intimated, he determined to snatch a little temporary popularity with us.

ROBINSON.

I am glad his jargon has been adopted, But what is the Salus Populi, to the present question? The government is not dissolved; and the tenure on which the Crown is held, is as fixed and legal as that of any estate.

estate. It is true; in certain extremities. all tenures should give way to the general welfare. But to affirm the Crown has no rights, contradicts a fixed opinion, that the law confers rights which are facred and inviolate, until they are brought in competition with those of the people. Here no fuch competition has been in contemplation. The Prince waited the recognition of Parliament, as Lord Wycombe would that of Chancery, if the thin partition in the Marquis's brain should be rent, by too much cogitation for the public good. And furely the tenure of the Crown is as good, as legal, and as much a right as that of the Marquis's estates; even those he derives from the practices of Sir William Petty.

PITT.

You are talking against us.

It is under the rofe. The prefent fituation does not feem to me to call out the latent and paramount power of the people. If it were—you know as well as I, Parliament does not reprefent the tenth part of

of the nation; and that the mutilated representation is rendered totally incompetent and ineffectual, by such arrangements as you celebrate my genius for; and which libellers call packing. The English legislature is constituted by fiction; in which the nation may long acquiesce for the sake of peace, if you do not extend its extravagancies too far. A feigned representation, generating feigned Royalty, under the open direction of an arranged majority; is, I fear, too gross and palpable to escape detection.

PITT.

Two evils lay before me—
ROBINSON.

And you have chosen the greatest.—To fay nothing of the public; for which I profess no regard: you should have offered our majority to the Prince.

PITT.

I did—in effect.—The Chancellor did every thing but directly offer it. The Prince has no art; and all the policy of our present fystem would be lost under him. gı

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ROSE.

You forget London, in your political arguments.

ROBINSON.

No—It is by these discussions we shall produce right measures. The trouble given us in the American war, by the noisy interpositions of the city, drew our particular attention to that stupid vortex of gluttony and chicane. By directing the management of loans to political purposes, we secured a sufficient body to answer all our purposes: and this is not the only bleffing of the American war which Pitt enjoys without grateful acknowledgment.

STEELE.

But are there any particular methods to ensure the addresses, and to heighten their effect?

ROBINSON.

You will, of course, write to the aldermen, bankers, and merchants, in our interest; remind them of the past, and the great probability of suture favors—assure them the King is rapidly getting well—and that the

the interregnum of the Prince will be short; his powers garbled; and his measures super-intended and harassed by the present administration.

WILBERFORCE.

As the differences are numerous in the city, you should diffuse an alarm; on the probable danger from Popery.

ROBINSON.

True; and fuggested by the right spirit of a renegade. I observe you, snivelling Presbyterians; when you get over to us—are the most assiduous in alarming and injuring your old friends.

WILBERFORCE;

You know a certain lady.-

ROBINSON.

Fie!—nothing but fuch a figure as you are, or fuch a wolf as Rolle, would drag an amiable and apparently unexceptionable woman, into our interested and political contests.

PITT.

We have nothing to do with her as a woman.

ROBINSON.

ROBINSON.

I believe not.—What fay you Doctor Prettyman? Do you think, as a woman, she has any thing to fear from our administration? I know not what to think of Steele—if he had not been pre-engaged by patronage.—I tell you, in spite of the frowns of the Bishop, that the Cambridge members are under the suspicion of being without heads; and that one of the Bishop's views in the plan for confining ordination to the Universities, is to check procreation among the clergy.—But I shall discuss this matter with my Lord of London; who has turned his thoughts to population.

PITT.

You will dash your wit at the Bishop—but the hint of Wilbersorce is important—without bringing the lady's accomplishments and virtues into question—we may improve the rumors we have been at some trouble and expence to create—we may infinuate that a future Parliament may annul the acts of former Parliaments, and authorise an union alarming to the people.

E

ROBINSON.

ROBINSON.

It is too false to bear the color of probability.

PITT.

It has borne the color extremely well: and there are thousands in town and country, who firmly believe the romance of Horne Tooke, and apprehend all the impossible consequences of an impossible transaction.

ROBINSON.

Well!—I, perceive the arts of calumny are improved.

PITT.

The little white house in Pall-mall is the ear at which I would pour in the choicest venom: and I have long intimated it to Rose.

ROSE.

Every effort has been made in that part; but it is guarded, and the prefs to me is unmanageable.

ROBINSON.

We found no difficulty, when we chofe to employ writers: but you have revived the

the barbarous customs of old nurses, who chewed out the juices of the children's food, before they administered it.

STEELE.

I have wished Rose to pursue a different method; but he thinks he has a right of brokerage in every thing that passes through his hands: and is too much in haste to be rich.

ROBINSON.

With fuch lucrative brokerage, why flould his wife have a penfion? Is she handfome? In any but our chaste Administration, her character would have suffered—

PRETTYMAN.

Still flying from the subject, to have a blow at your friends!

'ROBINSON.

I love a blow, at fuch friends as you, Doctor. But what think you, of a thorough alarm on the subject of Popery? It would shake the Prince's nerves.

PRETTYMAN.

I doubt there being zeal enough for any thing, remaining in the nation. But I am

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of Rose's opinion, that Pall-mall is defignedly guarded; and that the mischief must be done, by disfusing hints in the country. I suggested a mode of relief to the interest of Hastings, by infinuations that Sheridan meant to revive the credit of the Pagan religion; that the Bow Begum and the Whore of Babylon, were first cousins; and that both might endanger the established religion.

ROBINSON.

The established religion is in no danger, but from her own oppressions and the profligacy and venality of her priests. I have no objection, however, to avail myself of public credulity about the Whore of Babylon, or the Bow Begum. But I would have you separate the improbabilities at their outset. In London; particularly among the surious sectaries around Moorfields, any thing will be credited concerning Popery; but nothing of Paganism and the Bow Begum. You may couple them for the country with the best effect.

STEELE.

The next circumstance in London, must relate to charters: and our measures may be easily extended to all other exceptionable corporations through the kingdom.

ROBINSON.

The alarm concerning charters, was the most masterly artifice of my life: and I will read you a letter, which, with little variations, may serve as a model in our present proceedings.

To the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor.

MY LORD,

HIS Majesty's Ministers, from memorandums and hints in Mr. Fox's office, which the promptitude of his dismission made him overlook—perceive he had formed a plan for demolishing all the corporations in the kingdom; under the pretence of applying the produce of their funds to the discharge of the national debt. The injustice and violence of such a measure, will unquestionably engage your Lordship's zeal; and being communicated to the Mas-

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ters of the feveral companies, cannot fail of rouzing their hatred against Mr. Fox.—Your Lordship will immediately diffuse this important intelligence among the Livery; who will easily believe, it was not the real intention of Mr. Fox, to apply a shilling of this money to public use; and that it was all designed for him and his associates, at the clubs in St. James's-street.

I have the honor to be, &c.

All cry out, Charming! charming!

ROBINSON.

Damn your elamor—I wish some mode could be devised, to render it less execrable in the House of Commons?—How is the hunting Meynell affected?

STEELE.

A Blue and Buff

ROBINSON.

He has the delightful art of harmonizing the cry of a pack of hounds. I would give a finall fum to have the pack behind the Treafury Bench taught by fuch an artift, of

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tift. The foprano parts I would give to the Cambridge men, Dr. Prettyman—the tenor to the Scots—the bass to Lord Mulgrave; and the Irish howl to Macnamara. But I would have the general effect to be human—if not musical.

FITT.

But let us first secure the Bench.—Have you any further directions respecting London?

ROBINSON.

It is not necessary I should descend into minutiæ with such men of genius as your Secretaries. You will remember the flourishing state of the Customs and Excise; the improving condition of trade and commerce:—and though Pitt knows no more of them than my horse; and no Minister can greatly or suddenly influence them—they must be all attributed to his wishuon and virtue. Have you lately had any thing to do with the brethren of the Trinity-House? An Address from them would not be amiss. Many circumstances interesting to navigation, are under their wretched

wretched direction: and they are so ignorant and interested, that you may venture on any extravagance, in suggesting hints. I remember a consultation with two of them, on a compliment to Lord North: and I nearly brought them to declare, the bed of the river Thames had been traced out by his Lordship's singer. Some unlucky event in the American war prevented the compliment; and you are welcome to the use of it for Mr. Pitt.

PITT.

Southwark will follow the city.

By the pious endeavors of Mr. Wilberforce's coufins. What aftonishing fortunes have been made by finuggling!—and finuggling masqued by piety! yet this is the age of Reformation; by great simugglers impeaching the little. Don't be angry, Wilberforce; as you will have occafion for your patience, when I accompany you into Yorkshire.

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1-1y ROSE.

You have faid nothing of the City Members in our interest—

ROBINSON.

They are too contemptible, even for my fatire.

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INSTRUC-

INSTRUCTIONS FOR YORKSHIRE

ROBINSON'S EXORDIUM.

· ACCUSTOMED as I have been to the machinations of political profligacy, the pen drops from my hand, when I meditate deceptions on the largest county in England; represende in several Parliaments by the talents and virtues of Sir George Saville. Our poor unfortunate Monarch; who had more difcernment of characters than was imagined, often exclaimed, " If I " could form a Ministry of fuch men, as " Sir George; I would change my fystem: " and my country would be prosperous " and happy." With talents, in every respect, answerable to the dignity of his trust: and with a fortune suited to the liberality of his mind; he reflected luftre on the Constituents who deputed him; and awed the venal majorities of Parliament into caution and decorum!

What a contrast!—I love not to insult puny esseminacy; but I cannot, without a species

fpecies of shame, contemplate in his successor, the immediate offspring of a trading smuggler; with the manners of a taylor; and the canting plausibility of a methodist preacher.

STEELE.

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Sir—I will not hear my friend thus abused.

ROBINSON.

It would be curious to have our confultation terminate in a duel. But I only delineate characters in confidence, and by way of stating the difficulties in accomplishing our views. When the terror of the coalition had fublided, and the county of York viewed its proceedings, a deep and general regret fucceeded. The gentlemen of the county, accustomed to refort to the hospitable and magnificent table of their reprefentative; and there to meet the first company in talents and rank: had no fooner chosen his fuccessor, than he disappeared. His estate, consisting only of a small farm, was almost nameless: and to elude the neceffity of giving a constituent a beef steak, he skipped monthly in town, from one mean lodging to another.

PITT.

You would not have him facrifice his health to the entertainment of his constituents—

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ROBINSON.

I would have him quit a station, into which he was driven by a species of hurricane: and if he must be in Parliament to secure the rank of a gentleman, let it be for some dirty borough; whose sensibility will not be affected, at his associating with secretaries, paragraph-writers, and other instruments of low salsehood as a calumny. At the General Election—would you deliberately oppose such a character to the families of Cavendish and Fitz-William?—

PITT.

That is not the present question. We only mean to procure from Yorkshire, any thing like an Address.

ROBINSON.

On what stratagem do you ground your hopes. You can as easily obtain the judgment

ment and approbation of China, as of Yorkshire: but you may procure signatures, if the Sheriff be in your interest, and can prevail on a few of his acquaintance to subscribe their names. I would obtain five hundred names in any county by opening a few public houses in it. Mr. Rose may direct the little expence attending it, and without brokerage.

PITT.

I think the Officers of Excise may be very successfully employed on these occasions. They are the nerves and sinews of our Administration; and they reach the remotest extremities. It is associating how the country people are awed by them: and how easily they may obtain signatures.

ROBINSON.

A very good thought: and the very first you have suggested, since you have been a Minister.

PITT.

I have been fufficiently tormented, in being the vehicle of the thoughts of othermen.

WILBER-

WILBERFORCE.

The Piffenters are very numerous in Yorkshire, particularly in the manufacturing towns: and they are extremely fond of republican propositions.

PITT.

The question of right, is exactly suited to

ROBINSON.

What, if they should recollect, that a few years ago, they signed Petitions, implying strong imputations on the state of the Legislature; and expressly denying the House of Commons to be a Representation of the people?

PITT.

I have no apprehension, from their professions seven years ago. Besides, they subscribed then; as they ever will—from some collateral or secret motive. One manufacturer brought Wilbersorce three hundred votes; on being assured, if I continued in power, I should adopt a plan for a revival of the Turkish trade, in which he would have nearly a monopoly.

WILBER-

WILBERFORCE.

He now thinks the matter is in train; and waits only the conclusion of the war.

ROBINSON.

Suppose we fend him down, in confidence, a translation, of the Grand Visir's letter to Mr. Pitt, on the subject—Do you know the Visir's name?

ROSE.

We can obtain it.

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ROBINSON.

We had better not use real names, lest it should be made public. These Turks may not like such liberties.

- " Hassan-Beg Visir, and first slave to his
- " Sublime Highness, the Emperor of the
- " World; the King of all the Kings of the
- " Earth; the Conqueror of Empires, the
- " destroyer of enemies; and the preserver
- " of friends-to the illustrious and Right
- " Honorable William Pitt; Vifir to the
- " King of Great Britain"-

PITT.

I would not hazard fuch a forgery.

ROBINSON.

ROBINSON.

Yet you would put the great feal to a feigned commission! But you are not so fecure in the friendship of the Visir; as in that of your parliamentary majorities. I meant, on Turkish authority, to convey some hints concerning heirs apparent; who, previous to dominion, should feel the miserable condition of a man ill treated, to acquire practicable ideas of justice and mercy:

PITT.

I am willing to affift in furnishing such lessons. The children of kings, as those of other men, are subject to the evils of their stars.

ROBINSON.

A malignant star shed its influence on the fate of an amiable Prince, when you were initiated in the counsels of his father. The principles of your extravagant ambition, are scarcely discernible to the eye of mature experience; and they are not fully known to yourself.—But for some time I must act with you.

WILBER-

WILBERFORCE.

An account may be given of the Visir's letter, that will fully answer; without producing a pretended copy: and it will be very useful on this occasion, to give an opinion, that the genius of Mr. Pitt pervades the councils of Europe and Asia; and that the spirit of the Ottoman empire is upheld by his breath.

ROBINSON-TO PITT.

Do you know any thing of the prefent character of the Turkish government?

PITT,

Not at all.

ROBINSON.

Do you know the extent and relative power of the Turkish do. vinions?

PITT.

No.

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ROBINSON.

Do you know the longitude and latitude of Constantinople?

PITT.

I can procure information—if it be requisite.

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ROBINSON.

ROBINSON.

I do not mean to prepare you for a speech: that I leave for Dr. Prettyman and his assistants; who I understand go by the appellation of "Divers for Pearls in the sea " of eloquence."—I only suggest that you should be surnished with these general points of knowledge, to save appearances.

PRETTYMAN.

He knows how to be filent; and to keep people at a distance.—

ROBINSON.

I thought I discerned your hand, Doctor, in the ungracious outline of his figure, and the forbidding reserve of his manners.

WILBERFORCE.

If Mr. Robinson were more sparing of his wit, we should proceed with more expedition—all I want is, an opinion may be diffused among the manufacturers of York-shire, that the revival of the Levant trade is in the breast of Mr. Pitt; that the mode of conducting is under my consideration; and that I am solicitous for the advice of my Yorkshire friends. This alone will secure

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cure addresses from very populous parts of the county: we may send down the forms, and give the people what denominations we please.

G 2 INSTRUC-

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SCOTLAND.

ROBINSON'S CHARACTER OF THE SCOTS.

THE Scots; though reproached for nationality; can hardly be faid to possess a national character. By the act of union, their political rights are so circumscribed, and have been since so completely usurped, that they form no political principle or passion which may be deemed peculiar to Scotland.

That the poor and hardy fons of Caledonia will migrate fouthward; and by their industry and frugality, reproach the profligate indolence of the English—may be true: but that they are remarkably fervile in pursuit of interest, and insolent in prosperity, is not true of the Scottish nation; however it may be, of those boroughjobbers and their connections, who have intimate intercourse with English administrations. Allowing only for a slight shade

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of hypocrify, which is the necessary effect of their religion, the Scots peasantry are the most laborious, frugal, orderly, and virtuous people in the world. Their opinions and dispositions, formed by the clergy—are republican; but they are more matters of prepossession, than of judgment and knowledge: and they consider government, like the concerns of Heaven, as out of their reach; and consigned to its priests, the nobility and gentry.

You are to attend to these circumstances in your design of obtaining addresses.

That Satan, in power, might obtain addresses from the corrupt agents of the Steuartries and royal burghs, is not to be questioned: and I need not instruct either the Duchess of Gordon or Mr. Dundas, in any thing but the form and language of the compositions.

But something more might be attempted on the present occasion. The latent prejudices of the people might be called into action; they might be deluded into an opinion, that our virtuous young Minister

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is at heart a republican; and has feized the first favorable moment to furnish a precedent of election to the English throne.

This may be infinuated; but not afferted; you know the difference, Mr. Dundas: and I am mistaken if all the Colleges and Presbyteries of Scotland would not immediately address.—

DUNDAS.

I have the Colleges to a professor; for the insult proposed by Sheridan, to except their graduates from the immunities allowed by the medicine act.

ROBINSON.

Sheridan did not mean their fair and legitimate graduates; but those English nuisances in divinity, law, physic, and and general literature, who obtain diplomas from Scotland for money, without having studied in its colleges, or undergone any species of probation.

DUNDAS.

Sheridan's meaning shall be as I please; and I will to the liberty of giving Burke's affent to it; as a characteristic return of ingratitude

ingratitude to an univerfity which had cholen him its rector.

ROBINSON.

D-n ye---I think that is cruel: but it may be of service.

PITT-TO THE SECRETARIES.

Let the outlines of the addresses have as much the air of republicanism as possible; and let the Duchess of Gordon have the first.

ROBINSON.

You have forgotten a principal instrument in all operations on Scottish passions religious fanaticism.—The itinerant methodists may be made the vehicles of any absardity you chuse to diffuse: and I perceive by the proper disposal of a place in his family, you have enlisted Old Wesly; who says, Pitt is a miracle of purity and wisdom.

PRETTYMAN.

It is difficult to fuggest any new hint, to interest the fanaticism of the Scottish populace.

ROBINSON.

ROBINSON.

Suppose you say, the severe frost is a providential judgment—from the mere apprehension that Fox may return to power.

PRETTYMAN.

That is impious.

ROBINSON.

Impious!—and is it an objection where, an hierarchy pretending to the gifts of the Holy Ghost, has publickly averred, the calamity of the Sovereign, to be a punishment for the fins of the people? Let me tell you Dr. Prettyman—I have great experience of your profession: and I never could perceive, that an ambitious, pliable, subscribing priest believed any thing; had any sentiment at heart analogous to genuine piety; or any real impression of a God, perceiving his motives and recording his deceptions.

PITT.

Come, come:—you go too far, Mr. Robinfon; the character of the priesthood is not before us: nor does a prudent politician tician of he the b

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tician expect more from it, than that species of honor, which binds the beneficed to the benefactor.

. ROBINSON.

Why talk to me then of piety and impiety?—I think it as probable the Scots will believe the feverity of the weather, a providential warning against the Coalition; as that any man should believe you a statefman; or that the prosperity of the country has had any connection with your discipline and management of parliamentary majorities.

PITT.

The infinuation may be hazarded; if it be fo contrived that the fuggestion may not be traced to us.—

ROBINSON.

The Scots dread cold above all evils: their preachers in winter feldom hint at Hell-fire; and those who do, adopt Milton's idea, and fay, "it burns frore." I do not imagine it would be amis to disperse similar intimations through the remote and ignorant provinces of England and Wales.—What is to be done in Ireland?—

H IRELAND

IRELAND

PITT.

MR. Robinson has asked a Question I am not prepared to answer.—Ireland is now an independent kingdom.

ROBINSON.

An independent abfurdity!—The Irish orators think it more convenient to have a market in Dublin, than in London; and to that alone amounts Irish Independence.—I only wish to know whether you mean to have Addresses from Ireland?

FITT.

I wish to have them; but the middle—men of our political transactions are doubt—ful of success; until our proceedings on the Regency have been repeated in their Parliament.

ROBINSON.

What! is the fame farce to be played . over in Dublin verbatim? How can you introduce the question of right?

PITT.

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PITT.

There will be some difficulty—but it may be introduced; either by provoking indiscretion, or referring to alarming rumors.

ROBINSON.

Will the doctrine of parliamentary omnipotence be as well relished in Ireland as in England? The Irish have made very free with the character of their Parliament and it has been so lately unsettered, that it can hardly have the use of its limbs.—Pray, on what documents and grounds is it to proceed? To render the proofs of the King's condition authentic, his Majesty's physicians should be examined before Committees of the Irish Houses.

PITT.

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We hope copies of the English examinations will be admitted as sufficient evidence.

ROBINSON.

That will render the business truly farfical. Rouze your invention a little, and do not degrade the Irish legislature so far

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as to confine its proceedings to an exact imitation of the English. Obtain the same end, but save appearances by varying the means.—In order to render their proceedings singular, and to give eclat to your general doctrine on the omnipotence of Parliaments—suppose a Member were committed who should question the right of the Two Houses to elect and appoint the Third Estate?

PITT.

The King, on his recovery, would never forgive it.

ROBINSON-

When Sir George Saville averred the House of Commons not to be a representation of the people, and called it a corrupt assembly; the same idea occurred to me, which Camden suggested to you, on Fox's declaration of the Prince's right. I wished Parliament to take up the question, and to vote itself an incorrupt and adequate representation. This vote would have been a proper companion to that you have obtained. But I would have rivetted its authenticity

thenticity by committing Sir George to the Tower. You are a coward—though you bluster.—We will leave Ireland; and return by Devonshire.

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DEVON-

DEVONSHIRE.

ROBINSON.

THIS is the fecond English county in fize, but not in consequence. And I find you depend on a sictitious interest that may address in its name.

PITT.

Lord Fortescue is married to my coufin; and I have frequently obliged his friends. Rolle is at my devotion, for his heart is fixed on a coronet; and he can never hope to obtain it but by means.

ROBINSON.

He feems to be the mastiff of the Treasury Bench: for when any indecent outrage is to be committed on the Prince's character or connections, you shrink back with an air of prudish sensibility; and Rolle fixes his fangs in the victim. An uncle, from whom he derives a great part of his estate, was for many years the Tory Patriot of Devonshire. Sir R. Walpole per ceived the family infirmity; and sunk him into the contempt he deserved, by a Patent of Peerage Peerage to him, and the beirs of bis body, at the age of seventy. Fox may take this hint; and filence your Cerberus in the same way.

PITT.

He is very useful. But my interest in Devonshire is much strengthened by the East-Indians who are dispersed through it; and who are terrified at the name of Fox, as implying justice and retribution. Every India culprit is persuaded a general judgment will take place on Fox's return to power; and that the produce of oppression and villainy must be disgorged.

ROBINSON.

Will the city of Exeter follow the example of the county; if your friends should force through an Address?

PITT.

I fear not.—Yet I think I have removed the fuspicion which the Declarator, Bill had excited in the Barings: and of two evils, they would prefer me to Fox.

ROBINSON.

ROBINSON.

If I rightly recollect Exeter, it was actuated by three distinct forces; the Corporation, the Chapter, and the Dissenters. A coalition of any two left the third in a minority: but the Church and Corporation were inclined to Toryism; and they will address awkwardly on the supreme power of the Two Houses of Parliament, unless they guess the truth, that they are the arbiters, not the servants of the people.

PITT.

Lord Weymouth is with us. He made the Bishop, who is supple, plausible, and artful. I think the Church will be manageable. The Corporation is extremely vicious and exceptionable in its construction; and of consequence is easily induced to fear Fox. If the Barings are little more than neuter, the merchants and dissenters will rejoice at subscribing an Address on principles they suppose republican.

ROBINSON.

What hopes have you from Plymouth?

PITT.

Hardly any—unless Lord Lansdowne should prove sincere—which would be a miracle. He is in the neighborhood, and has promised, with all his address and influence, to promote our interest in his tour.

ROBINSON.

What has brought you and the wily Marquis again together?

PITT.

You know he affects the principles and language of a Cincinnatus; but on the flightest agitation in the political world, he thrusts himself forward, and artfully seeks an advantage. But he has not the talent to conceal the artisce. There are two opinions on me and on Fox; on Thurlow or Camben: there is but one on Lord Lansdowne: and he will never, for three months, be Minister of this country.

ROBINSON.

He would not defire a longer period; if on the eve of a peace, or any great event, which affected the stocks.

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PITT.

FITT.

He should have been a broker in the Alley. He is active: but little and minute. His views are always fliort of the real political horizon; and his affiduity about information is rendered ufeless by his credulity.-He does every thing in his power to render Lord Wycombe as equivocal and infignificant as himself. He changes his mode and object of education every year; whirls him perpetually through Europe to acquire information and suppress prejudices; and he will probably, like his father, have no fystem, principle, or manners, either in politics, religion, or conduct.—The Marquis's hope of popularity rests on his old friends, who, I understand, abhor him to a man: but mean to make use of him. They want the Test Act removed; because occasional conformity generally terminates in a total defertion of them. The Marquis is preparing a Bill, which is to coalefce the Difference and Roman Catholics; and I have promifed my affiftance, for his fervices in the present moment.

ROBINSON.

Can you change fo foon—after your ftrong declarations against the late dissenting application?

PITT.

I am guided in that matter wholly by Dr. Prettyman.

ROBINSON.

Be guided also a little by me. I know you mean to use Lord Lansdowne, without ceremony, on the article of fincerity. This Bill may be rendered extremely formidable to Fox's Administration. Fox has declared himfelf unequivocally for extending the acts of toleration. Let the matter be pressed by the Marquis on the faith of the Minister's declaration. If Fox fall into the fnare; alarm the country, and aver he is influenced by a certain Lady, on whom you may boldly charge the improbable defign of fublituting Popery for the Protestant Religion. If Fox perceive the danger, and fhrink from it; declare loudly for toleration, and render Fox odious to all the Petitioners, and contemptible in the country.

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PRETTY-

PRETTYMAN.

[Taking Robinson by the hand.

I forgive all your farcasms on me. This alone will overturn the Prince's Ministry: and Mr. Pitt shall be prepared for it—on your idea.

ROSE.

Let us proceed in bufinefs.

ROBINSON.

You must not descend so much into minutiæ. In Somersetshire, your hints may be general. You know how the House divided.

STEELE.

Sir Benjamin Hammett begs an Address may be drawn up for Taunton; and that he may have the credit of it. This sketch has been fent up to him; and he desires we will use it as hints.

- " To the Right Honorable William Pitt;
 - " and the two hundred and fixty leven
 - " virtuous and independent Members of the
 - " House of Commons, who voted them-
 - " felves the Representatives of the People

" of England; in whom all the rights of

" Government are lodged.

" We, the Mayor, &c. being Pot-wallers,

" and receiving only peculiar kinds of cha-

" rity in the Town of Taunton-beg leave

" to express our decisive opinion on the im-

" portant point of policy, which has fo

" warmly engaged the great orators of the

" English Parliament.

" Sir Benjamin Hammett-our favorite

" member, as he calls himfelf-has late-

" ly turned the attention of this town,

" from religious bickerings, to political

" fubjects: and feeing in his fplendid ad-

" vancement, nothing is unattainable to a

" Pot-waller of Taunton, who will culti-

" vate his talents; we have purchased

" Montesquieu and Blackstone at a club,

" confifting principally of the faithful elec-

" tors of this place.

" Sir Benjamin has ever affected to quote

" Montesquieu: and in his last letter, he

" has promifed to refer to the very paf-

" fage; where he afferts, that all right

" and power are in the People. Holding

" the

"the People to be qualified Electors, and no other, we cordially subscribe to this doctrine; and no man should possess any part of that right and power, who does not settle fair and reasonable terms with the Electors, and obtain their confent.

"We have never had any intercourfe " with the Prince of Wales, or his friends: " We, therefore, do not understand what " right Mr. Fox can claim for him. When " he becomes King or Regent, and has " the command of the Treafury, we shall be " ready to confign to him, what we have " yielded to his Royal Father: and we " shall expect to hear from him, either " through our prefent Members, or any " he may better approve: though we can-" not help hoping he may continue Sir "Benjamin, as he has been one of our " Pot-wallers; and his good fortune fur-" nifhes a motive of emulation to the poor " boys of the town. He tells us, he is " confidered a very pretty orator, and that " he hopes, in time, to be Chancellor of " the

"the Exchequer. God grant it, for the fake of his poor relations, and of this town.

"Believing, as we do, that Montesquieu affirms all right and power to be in the Popple: and Mr. Popplem having af-

" People: and Mr. Popham having affured us, that the People means the Elec-

" tors of Parliamentary Members—we of-

" fer our humble and hearty thanks, to the

"Right Honorable William Pitt, and the

" virtuous majorities of both Houses of Par-

" liament—for their defence of the facred

" Constitution of this Country.

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"Given at our new Town-House, this day of January, 1789."

"Lord Lanfdowne interferes in this Bo-"rough, by means of the Diffenting Minif-"ters: but it is like whiftling to the wind."

Some of the *virtuous* and *independent* Members have died fince their patriotic effort. You should fend the Addresses after them. Dr. Prettyman will take the business in charge!

PITT.

PITT.

Will it not be advitable to fend down a general form to those called *rotten* boroughs? They are very numerous, and generally in our interest: and Addresses from them would found like the national voice.

ROBINSON.

Are you aware, young man, that the banditti of corrupt boroughs, called Electors; are as fagacious, respecting their interest, as yourself? The accession of the Regent may bring on a dissolution of Parliament, and open their markets.

PITT.

I wanted Thurlow, to include in the Restrictions, that the Prince should not dissolve the Parliament.—He answered, d—n me, if I will.

ROBINSON.

It must be a curious state of political society, to admit of the arbitrary decisions of Thurlow and Pitt, on all the constitutional arrangements of Great Britain—But do do you not perceive his reason?—and that you are out-witted?

PITT.

How do you mean?
ROBINSON.

Thurlow leads the devoted phalanx in the House of Lords; that phalanx is fixed: and acting in conjunction with the Queen's party; when the power and offices of the Household are committed to her; Thurlow, in any event, will remain in a very important and promising situation. In the Commons, you lead a majority, that is precarious: and I know it from himself, that Thurlow leaves to the Prince the power of diffolving the Parliament, that the ground on which you stand may be taken away.-When pressed to consider your interest, as well as his own; he fwore he would never forgive you the appointment of Pepper Arden and your brother: and when the conversation turned on Fox, and harsh epithets were applied to his name, "Ay," faid Thurlow, "fome call Fox a rogue, " and some call Pitt a rogue—D—n me, I " have K

" have known them well, many years—, and I know Fox is No Rogue.

PITT.

I am tolerably affured, the Prince will not dissolve the Parliament: and that I shall lead a very numerous and troublesome opposition—but—more immediately to these Addresses—

ROBINSON.

You must assure the boroughs, it was your intention to dismiss Parliament in the Spring; and that you will do it the moment his Majesty recovers. You must also assert, the Prince is asraid of an Election, and will continue the House to the utmost moment. If you think the Members have any influence, your assurances to them must have a contrary tendency—for they must imagine you intend to continue Parliament, and that the Prince will immediately disfolve it.

PITT.

I wish I had applied to you sooner; you would have devised means to counteract Thurlow in framing the Regency-bill.

ROBINSON.

ROBINSON.

There are forty-five rotten boroughs, whose constituents are below a hundred—I can name them from memory.

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Names of Boroughs.	Number of V	oters.
1 Bath		30
2 Beaumaris -		24
3 Bletchingly -		90
4 Bodmin -		36
5 Boroughbridge -		65
6 Boffiney -		20
7 Bramber - =		20
8 Buckingham		13
9 Calne -	÷ -	34
10 Castle Rsiing -	-	50
11 Christchurch -		70
12 Downton -		60
13 East Grinstead -		₃ 6
14 East Looe -	~	50
15 Fowey -		63
16 St. Germains -		50
17 Grampound -		59
18 Harwich	-	31
19 Heytesbury -	,	50
K. 2	Carried over	851

Names of Boroughs.	Number of Voters.		
	Brought over 851		
20 Knaresborough	50		
21 Lestwithiel	24		
22 Luggershall	70		
23 Lyme Regis -	50		
24 Lymington	- 60		
25 Malmibury -	13		
26 Marlborough	21		
27 St. Mawes	31		
28 Newport in Corn	vall 62		
29 Newport, Hants	24		
30 Newton, Lancash	ire 60		
31 Newton, Hants	- 12		
32 Queenborough	70		
33 Romney -	32		
34 Saltash -	28		
35 Salifbury (New S	arum) 56		
36 Old Sarum -	7		
37 Stockbridge	70		
38 Thetford -	31		
39 Tiverton -	26		
40 Truro -	26		
41 Weobly -	80		
	Cominal		
**	Carried over 1754.		

Names of Boroughs.		Number of Voters.			
		Bro	ught	over	1754
42 Westbury	-	-	•	-	50
43 West Looe	-		-	-	52
44 Whitchurch		-	-1	•	- 70
45 Winchelfea	-	-	-		40
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Ninety members of the English Parliament are chosen by less than two thousand unprincipled raggamuffins; nine in ten of which have no choice; and may be fecured to Satan at the expence of five pounds per annum, a head.—If you had confulted me instead of Thurlow, I would have obtained for you a permanent command of the House of Commons, with half the trouble you have had in Westminster: the folly of which must astonish you; when you consider Westminster has twelve thousand voters; and that ninety members are returned by less than two thousand. That Fox should be repeatedly returned for Westminster, and carry another member, against the whole power of government; is unqueftionably tionably a stronger proof of popularity, than any thing that has ever been procured by parliamentary majorities, or than any addresses we can obtain from corrupt boroughs.—But it is not so profitable, or so well calculated for imposition.

PITT-TO ROSE AND STEELE,

You will take care the letters to the borough-jobbers, and the affurances to the members, be directly opposite; on the ingenious idea of Mr. Robinson.

STEELE.

Lord Camden has given in his address for Bath, which may serve as a model for the corrupt boroughs.—

To the Right Honorable William Pitt, &c. &c.

&c.
"We, the Mayor, Aldermen and Common

"Council of the city of Bath-beg leave

"to testify our approbation, of the intrepid and manly manner, in which you have

" afferted the Rights of the People against a

" desperate faction, who are suspected to en-

"tertain hostile intentions on, them. We

"regret the interest of an amiable Prince "should

"tion; and that he had not the prudence to attach himself in such a manner, in both Houses of Parliament, as to preserve the executive power from being divided; as it will be, into hostile and embarrassing parts —We think it providential however, that the ultimate control of government, will be in the Queen and the Nobility: and that her Majesty, the guardian genius of the land, will be aided by a virtuous and immaculate council; whose sole object must be to check any dispositions to eccentricity in the Regent and his ministers.

"We are particularly anxious to express our opinion at this time—as the favourites of the Prince are gamblers; and our city is confecrated to that occupation. But we always harbor antidotes to that vice; and even the fanctity of Dr. Prettyman or of Sir Richard Hill might be improved and edified by the glowing piety of this place.

"Given under our common fea!, this "day of January, 1789."

" Lord

"Lord Camden advises it may be left for fignature at Lady Huntingdon's chapel."

ROBINSON.

The effect of an address from Bath will be considerable. It is not known to the public, that Bath is among the most corrupt and contemptible of all boroughs; and that the voters do not exceed thirty.—But let us fecure forty of these boroughs; and we will boldly say, "The voice of the people is for us."—How do you manage at Bristol?—It is a very superstitious place: You might have fent down a prophesy or a vision to Old Wesly: the Presbyterians and Anabaptists would have caught the deception; and an address from thousands might have been obtained.

PITT.

We have been injured by the forward zeal of an ignorant blockhead. But Mr. Brickdale, to whom I have made large and plaufible promifes, has requested a moderate address may be fent to him; and he will get fome fignatures to it, on the first favorable occasion.

ROBINSON.

ROBINSON.

Liverpool-

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PITT.

I am doubtful of fuccess there —Gascoyne is with us: but Lord Penryn and the Liverpool merchants are suspicious on the subject of the slave trade. My declarations have been equivocal; with a view to leave two ways open for me. If the business be introduced while I am in opposition, I shall take the popular ground: if reserved for my return, I shall take the prudent:—

ROBINSON.

And regret the fact fice of your humane feelings, to the necessity of the occasion.—Gloucester—

ROSE.

We have tried it—but the Duke of Norfolk is strong; and the Bishop will forget the Royal visit, unless a stimulus can be applied to his recollection.

ROBINSON.

Suppose you produce something from Cheltenham.—

L

DUNDAS.

DUNDAS (scrubbing himself.)

Damn the place! I had fome thoughts of going there myfelf:—but I dread the confequences:—I have had a little fluctuating humor about me, and my hou'e-keeper teazes me to take Velnos' Vegetable Syrup. (They all burft out in laughter.)

You may laugh, but there is a letter from Peterborough; announcing our defeat by Velnos' Vegetable Syrup; though we relied firmly on the B—p's recent gratitude;—the letter is from a physician in our interest.

"SIR,

"You mistake the influence of the palace in this city. The grey mare is the better horse. And by the evil councils of Dr. "S—M—, Mrs. H—— is woolly enful ployed in driving sicknesses, fores, and peccant humors out of the town, by Velmos' Vegetable Syrup. The faculty is all aghast and starving: and the doctor, at the age of seventy; whose complications

"are very puzzling; but profitable: is vocifirating through town and country, that
he is cured as by a miracle:—that it is
nonfense to address; or to appoint a regent; that he will walk up to Kew; take
the medicine with him; and cure the
King.

"We hope the fury of his zeal will foon abate; and that all things will return to their usual channel. We shall then try an Address.

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"If he comes up, it is to be hoped you will not attend to him; though he is a very good man in every thing but his late prejudice to the faculty. He pre- tends to trace our principal difeases to Saxon origin; and speaks learnedly but wildly on the scurvy, as the root to be aimed at by medicine. He has heard his Majesty took Maredant's drops with ill effects; and that Dr. Willis gives him mercury. You may therefore expect to see the old gentleman up, with a view to displace the Doctor.

" I-have the lionor to be, &c."

L 2 DUNDAS.

DUNDAS.

Egad, there may be some hope.

PITT.

Will you propose it to the Chancellor: after he has settled an aristocracy; which is infinitely more to his mind, than the Constitution of this country? I would not sustain his volley of oaths for all the chances to be given us by any remedy. But I would recommend it to Mr. Dundas, to purify his constitution in retirement.

DUNDAS.

I do not want it to invigorate or warm me. I am old enough to be your father; yet I have never stuffed up my trousers with flannels.

PRETTYMAN.

Every thing here leads to altercation. You imagine yourselves in the House of Commons. You have passed from Cheltenham to Peterborough, to pursue extravagances concerning a nostrum; which, if conveyed from heaven with miracles to attest it, the physicians would not permit you to use in the case of the King. Can you

do nothing at Worcester, with the Recorder and Bishop in your interest?

ROBINSON.

Are you fure you can rely on the Bishop? Will he not affect a regard for his pupil, Dr. Prettyman? Or do you forget Thurlow's opinion, given of your order but three days since? "The moment you lose "a ray of the sun, you lose that d—n—d "r—sc—lly Bench." However, Worcester is thoroughly corrupt: and in a corrupt borough, an Address may be obtained for any party.

STEELE.

Macnamara has been defired to fend down a little money to Leicester, in the severe weather, and to request an Address. This expedient may be used in other places.

ROBINSON.

The clergy—

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PITT.

I believe nothing can be obtained from the Archbishops; neither of them being particularly obliged to me.

PRETTYMAN.

PRETTYMAN.

If Durham will lead, and Chichester sollow, under the influence of Mr. Steele's patron; an Address shall be sent from Lincoln.

STEELE.

The influence of the Duke of Richmond is to come:—for he is promifed the nomination of the next Bifhop. I am forry to fay, his refidence in the neighborhood is not a prefumption of his influence.

ROBINSON.

In an Address from the clergy, there should be strong infinuations that the new Ministry will introduce Popery:

PITT.

Thurlow will not admit it—he fwears Popery to be as good as any thing elfe—and that his brother can neither write an Address, or read it when written—but that we may make use of him if we please.

PRETTYMAN.

Let the Addross from Durham be such as will not offend the Chancellor.—I will procure some signatures in Lincoln to the following:

lowing:—There may be peculiarities in it; I cannot prevail on the Chapter to fign it.

"We, the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Lincoln, impressed with the highest verentation for the sacred Constitution of this country both in church and state: observe with gratitude and delight the watchful attention of a beaven-born youth and a virtuous majority in both Houses, to preserve that

"Constitution from cabal and violence.

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"As in the present melancholy suspension of Royal authority, the wisdom and virtue of Parliament is to provide a third estate: "We hope they will form its strength only for the occasion; provide a proper control on its powers; and insure the easy return of all things to their former channels.

"We participate the more largely in the general gratitude on this occasion—as the youth who has lifted the nation from defpondence to prosperity, opened new sources of wealth, and furnished that superiority in invention and industry, which are the difficultions and advantages of Great Britain, is the pupil of our diocesan; the choicest offspring

" offspring of his mind; and the faithful co-

"We regret that an abandoned faction

" should, even for a short time, interrupt the

" patriotic offices of these great and good

" men: and we deplore the depravity which

" has attempted to contaminate their names.

"With a peculiar refinement of impudence

"and malice, they have laboured to fix a

" falfehood, on a facred and unfpotted cha-

" racter; because he would not submit to ex-

" planations for the purposes of an artful and

" defigning fectary: of whom his own em-

" ployers averred, " If he does not find a lie,

"he will make one."—It is not wonderful,

" persons thus calumniating the clergy,

" should meditate their expulsion by the re-

" establishment of Popery.

"Such men, we hope, will not reign long;

" and if our prayers are heard, his Majesty

" will foon recover; and you, and your vir-

" tuous majorities, will fully refume those

" reins, on which in the Regency you will

" only have a check.

Lincoln, of January, 1789."

ROBINSON.

ROBINSON.

This exceeds even my conception of impudence. However, it may properly prepare us for the Universities. You have passed an awkward compliment through the cities of Oxford and Cambridge: why are the Universities silent? It would be a curious proof of supple depravity, to hear the language of republicanism from Oxford; which has ever been tenacious of Tory and Jacobite principles.

PITT.

Lord North retains fome influence as Chancellor—and the University is too opulent for sudden and rapid revolutions. At Cambridge it is otherwise; and the Masters of colleges are as importunate with Ministers and Patrons, as the venal members of the most corrupt boroughs.

ROBINSON.

I have often smiled at the sanctity of your behavior, and the reproaches of your scriblers, on the subject of gaming and gaminghouses. The petty injuries on private fortunes in St. James's-street, are only the folding

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lies of idle children, compared with that impious traffic you carried on at Cambridge.

PITT.

I never faw a clergyman, who thought that species of traffic a crime. The early habit of implicit subscription, and adopting propositions or doctrines for interest, render the clergy very managable in that way.

ROBINSON.

In a hafty tour I formerly made, I was accompanied by a clergyman of distinction in the literary world, and of known latitude in religious opinions. In Paris and Rome; his letters were principally to the Esprits Forts—Free Thinkers: and I was astonished to observe, they consisted principally of clergy; and that they were generally distaissted with him, for retaining prejudices concerning a God. This they considered, not only a proof mental imbecility; but a folly—as it left embarassing foruples, and prevented that unlimited conformity which his interest and ambition might

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on ht might require. What, faid I, are the clergy divided into stupid enthusias and concealed Atheists? With his usual candor, he said, I will not pronounce such an opinion:—while ignorance and authority were the parents of religion, subscriptions might be conscientiously adopted: but where knowledge and freedom are encouraged, I see no asylum for ambition besides Atheism. I have borne this hint in my recollection, in all ecclesiastical negociations: and I assure you, Dr. Prettyman, I have never been missed by it.

PRETTYMAN.

You would not hint that the clergy in general are Atheifts?

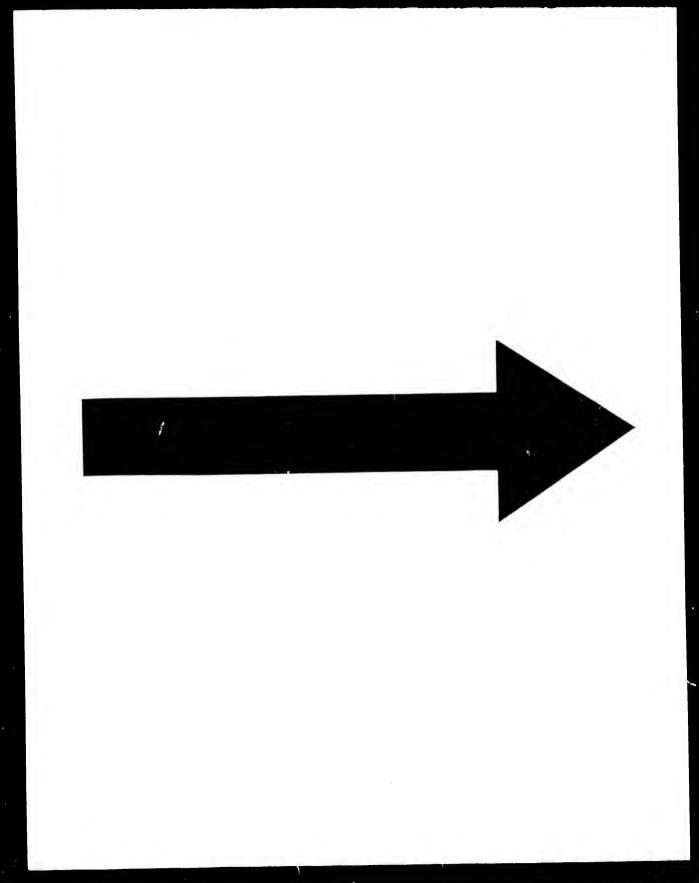
ROBINSON.

I know there are Atheifts among them: and that the necessary effect of requiring affent to metaphysical opinions as the condition of preferment—is to generate Atheism in the very boson of the church.

In Cambridge, you fee, the fcrupulous and confcientious Mr. Friend is expelled the University, by the confidential acquaint-

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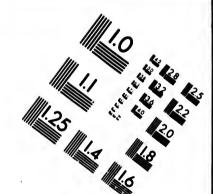
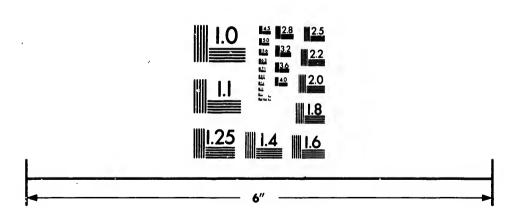


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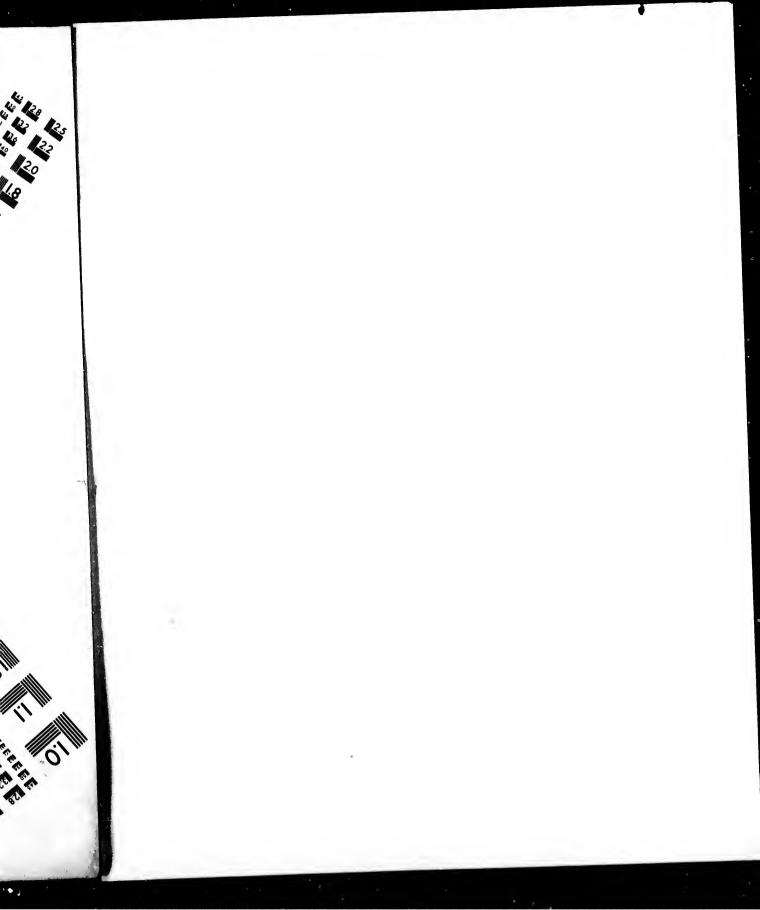


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ance of John Horne Tooke. You banish those who have principles, to retain those who have none.

PITT.

As you are disposed to moralize on ecclefiastical policy—why not have a conference with the Chancellor?

ROBINSON.

That man's behavior has been to infulting to every thing like decency, that, I am told, my Lord North has wished to submit to Parliament, " Instead of leaving " facred benefices to a Chancellor, who " may of all men be the most unsanctified " and indecent, and who may be con-" firmed in the habits of party intrigues; " it be the bufiness of a Council formed for the purpose, and composed of men distinguished for their characters as " well as abilities." The views of Government would then have fome chance of being combined with personal merit; some refistance would be occasionally given to influence and favoritifm; and religion might. have some concern in the distribution of benefices.

PITT.

Instead of assisting us in the purposes of our consultation; you often adopt the ideas of Reformers; and pronounce satires on our proceedings.

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ROBINSON.

I cannot confider them, for your fervice, without fatire. To form an Address for Cambridge, I should fully understand the effects of your operations there.

PRETTYMAN.

Ay—but you break out in general and illiberal reflections.

ROBINSON.

Is it illiberal, my Lord, to employ the intervals furnished by the occupation of the Secretaries, in observing to your Lordship—that the rapid progress of clerical fortunes, in the cases of those who find good patrons, is injurious to morals as it is dishonorable to religion? When a man has served a Minister, or a Chancellor, in the dirty offices of Election, or in corrupting the

the Press;—we must not expect to behold him in the heart of his diocese maintaining order and union; calming scrupulous consciences; assoly propagating the consolations of religion; slying to relieve missortune; and exercising all the functions of a pious guardian of the poor. Is this affecting object to be seen at St. David—at Durham—or at Lincoln! Or are ecclesiastical dignities to be conferred, as well as accepted, without the apprehension of an account to the Deity?

TE OF PITT

Steele has prepared the Address.

ADDRESS

To the Right Honourable William Pitt, &c.

- "We, the Vice Chancellor, Doctors,
- "Masters, &c. of the University of Cam-
- "bridge, join the general applaule of
- " your wife and disinterested conduct in de-
- " termining that the executive Govern-
- "ment is at your disposal, and decoded
- This determination is particularly interesting to us, as its oftensible author is
 - " a pupil

a pupil of our ancient and excellent in-

"We propose the cultivation of his " genius, and the purity of his morals, " as exemplary effects of our education "and discipline. And we regret a provi-" dential event, has interrupted, for a " time, the beneficial confequences, of the " intimate connection of this pious Uni-"versity, and the Minister of Great Bri-"tain. The current of ecclefiastical favors " was directed here; and all precautions " were taken against such external impro-" prieties in their distribution, as might " occasion scandal and injury to religion. " Here the mathematics arife as from " their native fpring; and here the float-" ing ideas on national burthens and re-" lief, have been concentrated into that " aftonishing plan, which pays by borrow-" ing, and removes apprehensions of fu-

"Here alone the demonstrations of sci-"ence are harmoniously incorporated with "the

" turity, by multiplying present and cer-

"the inexplicable dogmas of faith—and here may be happily and expeditiously formed, those moral phenomena, which unite scepticism and implicit acquiefucence, and secret indefinite latitude with the severest restraints on imprudent professions.

"Though we are in perfect charity with our brethren of the Catholic Faith; and think their fystem of ecclesiastical policy the wifest that has ever been imagined—We deplore the infatuation of a certain high Personage, who may be feduced to think favorably of it, on trifling motives.

"It is our happiness to perceive, that pious lessons and salutary discipline, have extirpated from you, and your immediate connections, the very principles of amorous infirmities—and we rejoice to fee you leading a band, which possesses all the faculties of the State; assumes at pleasure the authority of Constituents, the powers of Legislation, and the prerogatives of the executive Magistrate.

" That

"That this faithful band may be pre"ferved compact; while it feems to yield to
"an adverse power; that it may retain the
"real, while others have the ostensible go"vernment of the country—and that it
"may speedily recover its situation and
"effect—is the hourly prayer of, Sir, &c.

"Given in full, Senate, &c."

PITT.

We must now think of Birmingham, Manchester, and Sheffield.

ROBINSON.

You cannot have the impudence—

What would a minister be, without impudence?

ROBINSON.

All public men are impostors, from Julius Cæsar down to Doctor Graham, Katterfelto, and William Pitt. But have they sought detection by inviting the eye of knowledge, or submitting to the test of facts?—When Pitt first exhibited himself, he perceived his danger from the press, by

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a species of intuition. He affected to despife it; and the public opinion, of which it is the organ. To a few discerning minds, it was an indication of shallow parts; and a proof that at heart he was afraid of its decisions, or did not chuse to be fairly accountable to the public: but to Drake and Macnamara, and such heralds of his same, it seemed astonishing magnanimity—and how many Drakes and Macnamara's to one man of good sense?

STEELE.

I differ from you on this part of the sub-sect. I think Mr. Pitt will soon perceive, literature is not to be offended without danger. If men of talents may be held down by poverty and negligence, because they will not hew wood and draw water for the emolument of Mr. Rose;—we have seen ministers covered with public contempt by the efforts of literature; and that contempt has occasioned their fall.

ROBINSON.

I mean not to dispute your opinion—I think the arrogance of our Minister, is equalled

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equalled only by his ignorance—and would you have that ignorance placed in broad day light? Did the priest who humbled an Egyptian multitude before a Calf or an Onion, to influence the flood of the Nile, propose an investigation of its sources in Abysfinia? Whence that mighty stream of affluence; which, at this time, distinguishes Great Britain, and aftonishes the worldwhich bore the immense expenditure of the American war: and which, restored by peace to its channel, fustains the enormous pressure of political follies, and fertilizes and bleffes the land? Ignorance and stupidity may refer them to Pitt—He is therefore our Anubis.— But are we to expose him, where his divinity will be matter of ridicule; and at once to lose all the advantages of the imposture? To fpeak plain language—place Pitt by the fide of Arkwright, Bolton, Watt, Dundonald, &c. he finks into total infignificance. The aftenishing industry and prosperity arising from the inventions of fuch men, we may attribute to Pitt or to any other impostor in the hearing of a London mob, or a Court of Aldermen N 2

Aldermen; in a tumultuous affembly at Exeter, or in the Caput at Cambridge.—But if we approach Birmingham, Manchester, and Sheffield—we approach the springs of the Nile; and the influence of the idol on its waters disappears.

PITT.

Who are Arkwright, Watt, and Bolton ? [They are all startled.

ROBINSON.

Have you never heard of the Cotton-

PITT.

I believe I have.

ROBINSON.

And have you heard of the Steam Engine?

PITT.

I have heard it is a ciever invention.

ROBINSON.

Have you no idea of the advantages given to our general industry by these inventions, or the torrents of wealth they generate in the country?

PITT.

PITT.

They are not in my way.

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ROBINSON.

To give you my opinion of the matter—if, at this moment, both Houses of Parliament (including even your majorities) were hovering on a precipice, anticipating their future fate—and they could be faved at the expence of the cotton mill, or the steam engine—by G— they should go down—and with inestimable advantage to the country.

DUNDAS.

Suppose the vanity of those inventors were attempted—Arkwright has sullied his fame by Knighthood—Bolton has his weak side; and Dundonald his soible.

ROBINSON.

Send Pretcyman with fome proposal of the kind to Wedgwood—on condition that he ascribe to the genius of Pitt all the industry and wealth produced by the Staffordshire pottery.

PITT.

PITT.

You are laughing at us—the places you allude to are not destitute of fools.

ROBINSON.

True-and by cautious artifices you may have addresses; but you should diversify their objects-let fome of them be to the Regent for the continuance of the present Administration, on the idea that we are friends to peace.—I doubt, however, after the offences wantonly committed on our manufactures, that no testimonies of approbation can be obtained from any people of Birmingham. Manchester and Sheffield.—The abfurdities of those places are chiefly religious -and I think Wilberforce would have the best chance, if he were to assume the profession of a Presbyterian Parson, for which his father and nature originally defigned him; and pronounce his fermons among their fectaries.

PITT-WITH: WARMTH.

When Mr. Robinson talks of offences against manufacturers, he seems out of his province.

ROBINSON.

ROBINSON.

Provoke me not into a view of your administration—if any thing can be called yours.—In finance, your principal confitlants, have been purfers of ships, swindling bankers, and revenue officers; who rung in your ears, every thing was right; for the taxes were paid: - Meaning, the money was in their possession. If the possibility or impossibility of collection, be the only limit to the argumentation of taxes—the Minister would be right in attending only to collectors: for they would have the most accurate knowledge of the extent of augmentations. But who is to attend to the fituation of the country, when the payment of taxes has been enforced? Is this no concern of Government? Or is it to be known only from the rapacious appetite of Rose, the unfeeling arithmetic of Jenkinson and Chalmers; or from revenue officers, whose wealth and luxury are aggravations of general fuffering?

ROSE.

You feem to be particularly irritated by my good fortune.

ROBINSON.

ROBINSON.

Not I—It is not the man but the abuse : leading to no advantage. To fecure a borough is an object. But I see no reason, villages, towns, and counties, should be haraffed by Tax-gatherers and Excifemen, to make the fortunes of Pitt, Rofe, and Steele. What an impression does it make on the mind, when industry is obstructed, that you may partake of the spoil? Compare the grants to a Thurlow with his character, and the use of his sonorous and shallow talents. Compare the painful labor of the peasant, who contributes to this bloated tool of party, with the wants of his numerous family: and-I had almost faid, Mr. Rofe would relent—every feeling mind must execrate the pretentions of rapacity, masked by the artifices of finance; and defiructive of the happiness of society.

STEELE.

A few minutes ago, you celebrated the prosperity of the nation.

ROBINSON.

ROBINSON.

Where the Excise laws are extended, the condition of the country is altered for the worse; notwithstanding the extension of commerce, and a spirit of industry, apparently unconquerable. The necessity of collecting high and numerous imposts, requires exactness and severity; the odious authority of Excisemen is augmented; the Magistrates become insensible to complaints: and the usual encouragements of agriculture, the operations of ingenious diligence, and the effects of invention are gradually extinguished.

PITT.

We have no murmurs or complaints.

ROBINSON.

The liftlessers and apathy, with which you have been suffered to extend the Excise laws, is a melancholy symptom. The prisons have been long filled with wretches, whose first knowledge of their offence, is in the punishment: one class of subjects is perpetually watching and warring against the O other;

other; and inares are laid for those who are devoted to wretchedness from their birth, and who are martyrs to the wants of the moment.

WILBERFORCE.

Would you invalidate the general opinion of Mr. Pitt's Administration?

ROBINSON.

The present Administration, seems destitute of all great and general views. With the affectation of Reform, they combat a few infignificant practices; are embarafied by particulars; and exhauft their strength on the regulation of abuses which should be wholly removed. I am not to be informed, Sir, that every thing will yield to the efforts of a Government possessing consistency and stability, and understanding the public interest. Let me also hint—there is a puerile insclence, in the present exultation the state of public affairs. Our power is principally founded on the weakness of our enemies: but we are not politively wife, because France is indecisive. The circum**ftances**

stances of France will change; and ours which are relative, must also change.

DUNDAS.

The attempt on the national debt you will allow to be popular.

ROBINSON.

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The minister's ideas on it were undigested. You may wonder at my declaring, to pay the national debt, the fources of parliamentary corruption should have been drained; and the taxes moderated, instead of being increased to a degree inconfistent with the tolerable subsistence of the people. Industry would then have been encouraged; aud the debt lightened, without the inconveniences of ministerial efforts, or the injury of treasury speculations. No numerical fum; calculating the utmost advantages of compound interest-will be worth in twenty years what it is at present. The plan of accumulating the public burthens, in order to discharge them is as ineffectual, as it is destructive of patriotism and the attachments of society. But your friends, Mr. Pitt,

both in the City and in the India-house, are persons who have an interest directly contrary to the welfare of the country. Annuitants, speculators, adventuring bankers, and gambling secretaries, regard nothing but the extent of the taxes and the riches of the Exchequer. I rank your project for the discharge of the national debt, with the shop-tax—the judicature of your India bill without a jury; and the extension of the excise laws.—But I allow you are popular: and the most insidious enemies of society have been popular.—Avail yourself instantly of the folly: and if the Prince dismiss you, apply to public generosity.

PITT.

I was afraid to hint any fuch defign to you—I have suffered many valuable things to pass me; not apprehending this sudden interruption.

to the care robinson. The influence

My thoughts and opinions are not rules for my actions. All great officers have the indecency to fecure pensions for themselves and and families, on dismission or disgrace. Though you have possessed a fortune; though you have no claims on public gratitude: you have rights from public folly, and you should affert them at this time.

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As you determine on alms, either from parliament or the people-let me conclude my exercifes on your patience, by expressing my wonder, that the family of Pitt, which has ever been on the charity of the public, should have been remarkable for inattention to the distresses of the poor. It should be written on the heart of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, that oppressions, occasioning the diminution of earnings, and augmenting expences in the poor, preclude those fcanty favings with which they formerly cheered the hours of repose or fickness and plunge them into the prisons of parishes, under the fangs of harpies.—But I will defift-Power is paffing into other hands; rad though they are my enemies, I will bear my testimony to their taients and humanity.

manity. The voice of pity to the diffressed, never penetrated the bosom of a Pitt, or influenced any councils suggested by Thurlow, Jenkinson, and Dunday.

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