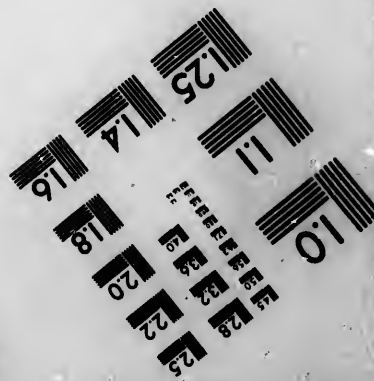
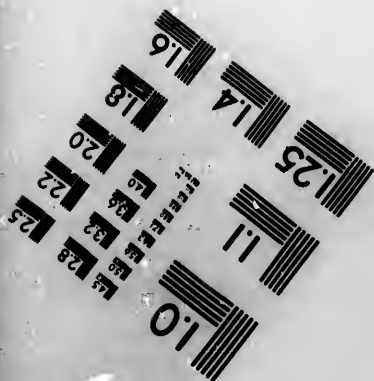
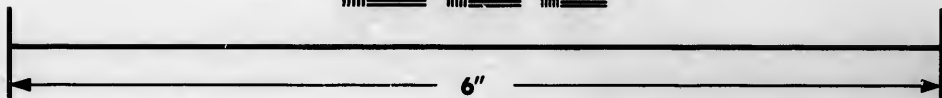
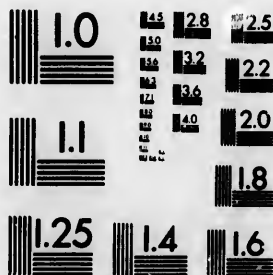


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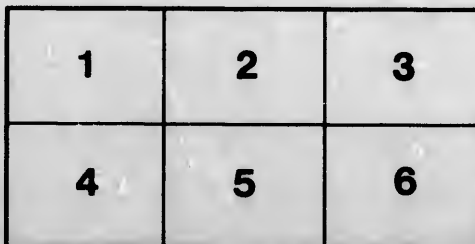
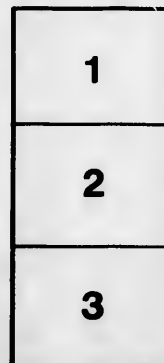
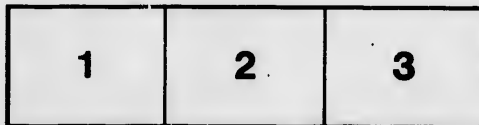
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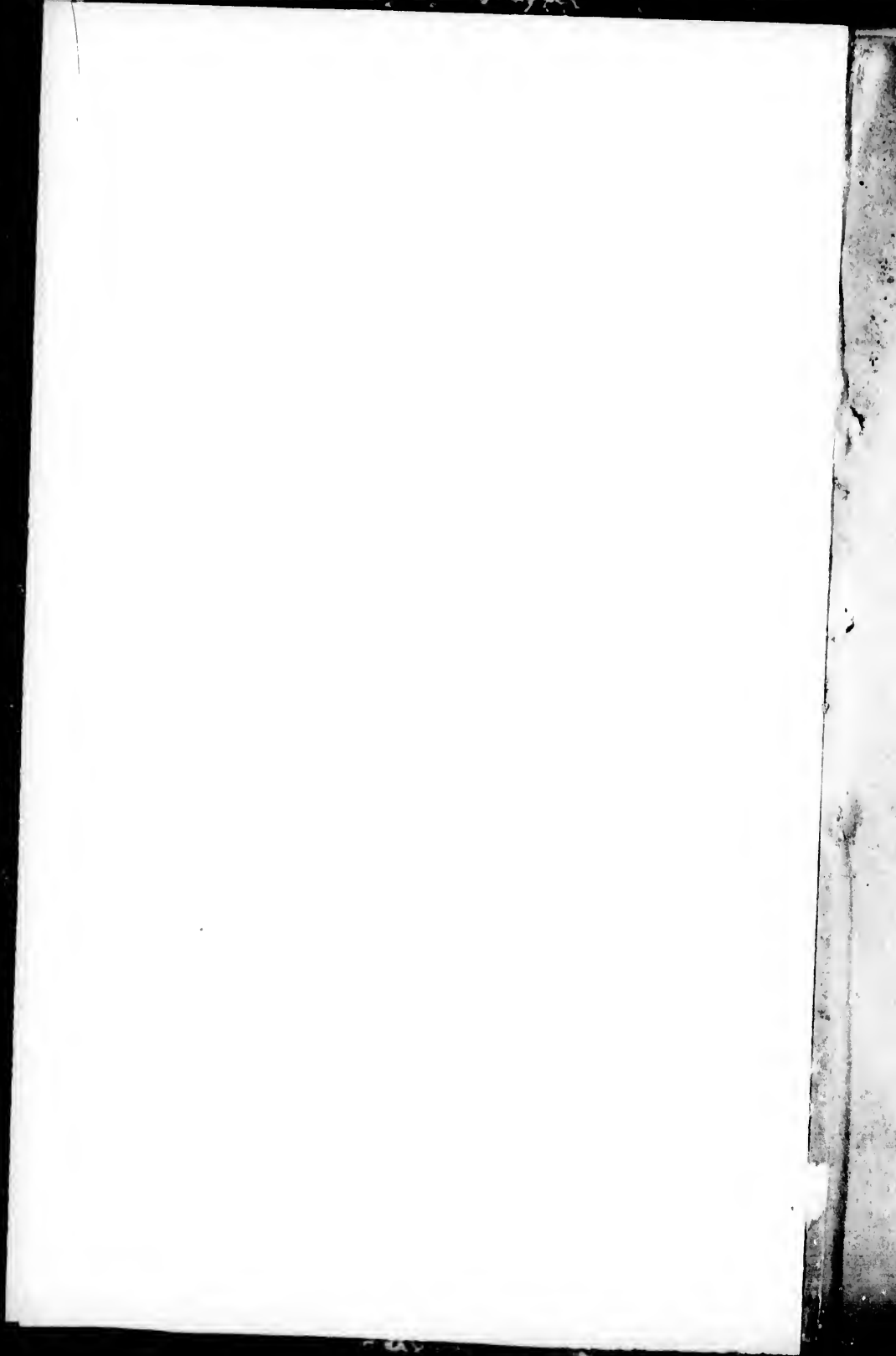
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A
LETTER

TO THE

MARQUIS OF LORN,

Esq. Esq.

[Price One Shilling and Sixpence.]



A
LETTER
TO THE
MARQUIS OF LORN,
ON THE
PRESENT TIMES.

BY
DONALD CAMPBELL, Esq.
Of Barbreck.

TO WHICH IS NOW PREFIXED,
AN ATTACK ON THE SAID LETTER,
WITH
AN ANSWER TO THE SAME.

THE SIXTH EDITION.

“ Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice.”

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. CHAVASSE, NO. 10. DORSET STREET,
PORTMAN SQUARE.

1798.



HAVING neither time nor inclination to enter into the endless warfare of a newspaper, I am induced to adopt this mode of answering, once for all, the attack made upon the following Letter in the Morning Chronicle, by a person who dates his letter from Edinburgh, and signs himself "A Friend to the Fair Sex." In order that the nature of my defence may be better understood by those who have not read that attack in the Chronicle, I think it expedient to state it: it runs thus—

" TO THE EDITOR.

" *Edinburgh, March 27, 1798,*

" IN this free country, Mr Editor, it is
" so natural for differences of opinion to
" arise upon political subjects, that we con-
" sider it as a thing of course; as little are
" we surpris'd to see political combatants
" last

“ last with all their wit those who embrace
“ an opposite party. This is all very fair.
“ If the argument is bad, the wit may be
“ keen, and the ridicule entertaining. In
“ the lists of contest, scarce any weapons
“ are forbidden, provided the champion exer-
“ cises them only against those who refuse to
“ acknowledge his opinion to be just, or per-
“ tinaciously deny the perfections and merits
“ of his political principles.

“ Even in this age, however, when chi-
“ valry has so much decayed, I hope the
“ privileges of the fair sex are not to be
“ quite abrogated. A lady ought always to
“ be treated with respect, to whatever side
“ she belongs; but if the political gladiator
“ so far forgets the privileges of the fair sex,
“ as to go out of his way to attack, mangle,
“ and destroy any female, to whom, in poli-
“ tical rage, in personal vanity, or in pri-
“ vate malice, he may take a dislike, he
“ ought to be branded as a calumniator, as
“ an enemy to every thing gallant in con-
“ duct and polished in society. I am led
“ into these observations, Sir, by a pam-
“ phlet which has lately appeared among us,
“ written by a Traveller through unknown
“ tracts

“ tracts to India, addressing himself to a certain Marquis.

“ This Gentleman, not contented with the men against whom he has a spleen, descends to calumniate a lady of high rank, in a style of scurrility so vulgar and disgusting, as was never heard even in London out of the purlicus of Billingsgate or St Giles’s. Unfortunately, the attack is so adroitly managed, as not to fall within the letter of the law ; it comes therefore properly under your province. Exclusive of the malignity of the attack, it is a violation of good manners, which are necessary in society to support good morals : be so good then, Sir, as to express your indignation against this scandalous outrage ;—draw it forth to public view ;—ask the writer what can be his motive for such conduct, and tell him that if he does not recant, he deserves no quarter from any man who is, like me,

“ A FRIEND TO THE FAIR SEX.”

In answer to this, I sent the following letter to the Morning Chronicle :

“ MR

MR EDITOR,

“ IT is a misfortune peculiar to the great to be surrounded by a host of parasites, pandars, and sycophants, who will do more homage to a peer, for a smile, than to their God, for salvation; who think it a reproach to their understanding to lose the most trivial opportunity of testifying their servility, and in the indiscriminate lust of their hearts will prostitute their spirit, their honour, and their conscience, to any and every bribe—to a nod—to a smile—to a fortune, or to a dinner: like ivy, they kill and sap the column to which they cling, and, to use the words of Junius, are the worst enemies of their friends; intermeddling, officious, yet incapable of any worthy office, they do evil because they cannot rest, and, rather than be idle, will rake the jakes to recommend themselves to notice. Those men may be called the nightmen of fashionable life. If your correspondent of Edinburgh, who signs himself “ A Friend to the Fair Sex,” intends to reprobate my late pamphlet addressed to the Marquis of Lorn, I must certainly consider him one of this pernicious

cious herd : his gallantry, I apprehend, is not purely sentimental nor very general; and when he calls himself a friend of the fair sex, he means that he loves to promote his interest and indulge his vanity. What reason his patroness will have to thank him for forcing the fool's cap which I threw up upon her head, I leave to her own sagacity to determine; as to myself, I have no reason to be displeas'd, since he affords me an opportunity of being more explicit than I should otherwise have been. I agree that it is the province of the press to correct those minor vices and offences in society which the laws do not reach, and I implicitly subscribe to the doctrine that the sex ought to be respected: but, Sir, I maintain that a woman waves her privileges, and throws off that winning softness which at once adorns and shields her sex, when she travels out of her proper road, and voluntarily walks in the paths of malevolence, moroseness, and detraction. I will suppose a case.—Suppose that I had been for a long time on a footing of intimacy with the nearest relations of the husband of a certain lady of high rank, that on that account I had always felt and shown a predilection in his favour, and wherever occasion offer'd, spok

in a manner to court for him the good opinion of others :—suppose that, upon a particular occasion, I had stepped forward and prevented a young gentleman, a very near relation of the said lady, from being insulted ;—suppose that, so far from having, in thought, word, or deed, offended her, I had been respectful, attentive to, and interested in, the welfare of her family ; and then, Sir, suppose that the said lady of high rank had used every means in her power to wound my feelings, and had applied that influence in society which unfortunately rank alone often bestows on the unworthy, to injure my character, to tarnish my honour, to taint my fame, to render me odious in society, and to raise up enemies against me : I say, suppose the case I put were true, are the privileges of sex to be pleaded against the public exposure of a woman who could so far lose sight of delicacy, decorum, and justice ? Few have they been in this life who have walked so uprightly as not to have furnished some ground for detraction to build upon. It has been peculiar to me that not only a domestic disagreement, which I reckoned the greatest misfortune of my life, has had the share of scandal and exaggeration to which such affairs

affairs are ordinarily subject; but that I have for years been scanned and traversed by the blood-hounds of calumny, and that an affair which may be supposed to have sufficiently wounded my heart, and which lapse of time might have put at rest in the hearts of all others, is incessantly brought to view, and sifted and examined, and told, with a thousand wilful falsehoods, to embitter the tale, in circles where detraction is allowed most to flourish, the want of novelty might be hoped to make it unfashionable. My error of thirteen years standing is the only old-fashioned thing that will go down with a certain description of ladies of the haut ton. The injuries I am supposed to have done find pity in that heart where pity never entered; and the frailties of a man bred from infancy not in the cloisters of a college, but in the bustle of a camp, are hypocritically lamented and outrageously condemned by thousands whose rank would make you blush, and whose vices would make you shudder. The dice cease to rattle, the shuffle stops—the trump is forgotten; and burning vice simulates astonishment and abhorrence at the wickedness of Mr Campbell. The adulteress tosses up her eyes to heaven, while her face

crimsons

crimsons, and with the flame lit by the hidden contact of the foot or knee under the table, with that of the adulterer, vows that she blushes with shame for Mr Campbell. Two frail sisters sitting on the right and on the left of their incestuous paramour, and flaming with jealousy of him and of each other, have called an offended God to witness, that they burned with indignation against Mr Campbell. In short, were Messalina or the Duke of Orleans to come from the grave, they need not blush for their hypocrisy, if they censured Mr Campbell in some circles where Mr Campbell is censured.

“ Am I to be blamed then, Sir, if in a pamphlet, written with honest intentions, to show that the ruin to which the realm strides with rapid step, has arisen from the daily increasing depravity of manners and morals in the great, I have made use of the knowledge and information I am possessed of respecting particular individuals, to draw a picture of general character? If a lady of superior rank so far forgets her debt to truth and decorum as to say, that I went abroad, and left my wife without either protection or the means of support, and was thereby
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the cause of my own misery, when, in fact, the protection in which I left her was the house of her father, and the means of her support no less than the entire disposal and management of my whole fortune without limitation or control, which trust I have always declared she discharged with prudence and discretion : and if, on a certain person's observing to that great lady, that though my temper was, and had been allowed by myself to be on some occasions unduly warm, I had yet many good qualities, and that my sufferings and misfortunes had been of so uncommon a kind, as to excite pity and interest in the minds of all who heard them, she was so hardened as to say, that she cared not, for I deserved them all.—Am I to consider such a woman as shielded from satire by those privileges which the sex derive only from the softness and mildness of their nature, their inoffensive disposition, and unprotected circumstances ? But if, in addition to the system of unprovoked malevolence by which she has governed her conduct to me, I understood such a person is remarkable for hating the unfortunate, is active and indefatigable in her persecutions—unforgiving in her disposition—mean and mercenary in pecuniary

cuniary concerns—offensive in her temper, and disgusting in her person, am I not justified, when I am describing human depravity, to glance at such a character, in order to reprobate such vices—to render their calumnious efforts abortive, and deter others from similar practices?

“ All this, with the addition of the deepest ingratitude, is applicable to more than one Marchioness not a thousand miles from the Tweed; and, in drawing them, I meant to draw the characters of many other women of elevated rank.

“ Female influence, Mr Editor, is powerful in society, more particularly that of ladies in exalted situations; and the injury they do to individuals is often irreparable. Many a virtuous man and woman have been precipitated, with a broken heart to an untimely grave, by the active malignity of a Right Honourable Jezabel. In short, when their virtues do not equal their influence, they are among the worst curses of society. A hundred royal tigers, let loose in this populous metropolis, could not do so much mischief as one ill-natured unprincipled woman of rank: as the only remedy in one case is either to chain, or draw the teeth and the
claws

claws of the tiger, so, in the case of the lady, if the law allow not the wholesome infliction of Bridewell, or the ducking-stool, we must draw her teeth, and pare her claws, or, in other words, expose her vices in such a manner that she herself may feel the correction, and thereby be shamed into a change of conduct, and others be deterred and disgusted from following such an example, and disgracing themselves by yielding to such abominable propensities.

“ Upon the whole, Mr Editor, in sketching characters, I did not confine myself to any individual; I attempted and imagined I had accomplished to embrace the vices and follies of a variety of people in each character I drew; and I am not sorry to find that the allusions I have made are so natural, that they are supposed to apply to persons whom I really never saw or heard of in my life, for therein I have completely accomplished my purpose of making conscience speak within some bosoms, where it was too silent, or never spoke before—and of showing, however they may plume themselves on their skill in hypocrisy, they cannot escape detection. I have thrown up a few fool’s caps, and if conscious guilt, or the pandar
 offici-

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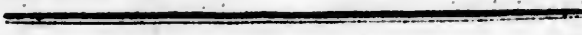
officiousness of parasitical friends, will put them upon the heads of individuals, I am right, if they fit; if they do not fit, I am not wrong.

“DONALD CAMPBELL.”

LONDON, }
16th April 1798. }

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MY LORD,

WE are arrived at a crisis when ceremony must give way to business, and men are called upon to act rather as they ought, than as they please; when private ease and indulgence must be changed for public energy and exertion, and the feelings of the man must yield to the duties of the patriot and the citizen. Nothing less than a conviction of this truth could justify me to my own heart for offering such violence to your feelings, as I am aware I shall do when I address you in this public manner. Modest and unobtrusive, you court

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that obscurity which your talents, your rank, and your duty forbid you to embrace; and postpone the fair claims of your country upon your exertions, with a diffidence, which, however amiable it might be in common cases, becomes blameable in men of your condition, and in times of danger like the present: Modesty, like every other good quality, recedes from virtue, when it travels within the limits of excess, and is therefore too often found to be the bane of those endowments, of which it is allowed to be a symptom. Abstractedly speaking, humility is an excellent virtue; but when it retards the progress of great talents, chills the ardour of public exertion, and casts its magic circles round the soul, to chain it down to inaction, its power produces ruin—like the gems and trappings of an unthinking female, it at last betrays what it at first adorns; and if allowed to predominate, robs the public of its rights, to give repose to the individual. Far from me be the thought of imputing to your Lordship such a blameable excess. Whenever the time shall arrive that the demands of the exalted rank to which you are heir shall press upon you the discharge of a great public duty, I am sure you will step forward

forward with the vigour appropriate to your blood, and the dignity characteristic of your illustrious family ;—but as that period is probably remote (and that it may be far, far distant, is my wish, not less than I know it to be your own), the claims of your country upon your exertions ought not in the mean time to be lost, nor the share which you are able to bring to the aggregate stock of national strength and national wisdom, to be withheld from it. I well know, my Lord, this is a language which you will be among the last to approve or understand. If the world thought as humbly of you as you do of yourself, I should incur only censure for this attempt—but as I am persuaded I shall have every one besides yourself on my side when I exhort you to come forward, I will not suffer even the superior respect I feel for your Lordship to interfere with a paramount duty, nor sacrifice my sentiments at the altar of that worthless idol, Ceremony. But before I proceed in my design, let me assure your Lordship, that in what is to follow, as well as in that which I have said, I am influenced by no one principle but that of zeal for the public good, and anxiety for the safety and welfare of the country in which every

every thing I possess and every thing I value are rooted. Of flattery even my enemies will acquit me.—It is a vice, I believe, not less foreign to my temper than inconsistent with my circumstances.

My fortune, thank God, is fully adequate to my occasions; and if it were not so, I would take care to proportion my desires in such a manner as to render me independent of the world, and above hopes or wishes from any man or set of men; and natural taste, as well as habit, have ever made me abhorrent of that vile and ignoble prostration of spirit which dictates adulation. But indeed, my Lord, I cannot help feeling anxiety, if not dismay, at the view before us—regardless, I believe, as most men of my own solitary risk. I have objects far dearer who press upon my attention, and tell me I must look beyond my own personal interest.—I have sons, whose future success, perhaps whose lives, depend upon the cause now at issue, and whose welfare forbids me to be at peace while I consider the tremendous state of public affairs. I have one whom, at a tender age, I have devoted to the military service of his country, and who will, I trust, justify the partial good opinion which

which those less interested in him than a fond father must be, have bestowed upon him—and I wish the cause in which I have thus embarked my best treasure to be conducted with honour and with wisdom. But I see that not only Great Britain is environed with danger, but that the state machine daily deviates farther and farther from its accustomed track.—I see our constitutional system sinking under symptoms of rapid decay, the skeleton only of that vigorous frame which once bestrode the earth: the best blood no longer pours in a full torrent to the heart, to be thence sent to the extremities for the support of the whole; but every channel is clogged—every duct is palsied—every function is nearly suspended for want of due energy and animation in the greater sources of action and of life; while the heart itself, obstructed and gangrened with corruption, secreted from abuse, daily beats with less vigour, converts that which it receives to putrescence, and returns it back into our system, to generate new disease, and increase the morbid debility of the state. My Lord, it is because I see and lament this, and at the same time think the cure is only to be found in the vigorous exertions of persons of your
 Lordship's

Lordship's description, that I take upon me, in this public manner, to address you; to call in the name of Britain upon you, and all who are in the same situation with you, to come forward, and to assert those rights to act, and that efficiency in the state, to which your rank, your virtues, your endowments, and, above all, the great interest you have in the preservation of the country, entitle you. I have endeavoured to trace this disorder to its legitimate source, and I apprehend much of it will be found to arise from that diffidence and backwardness in the substantial proprietors of the soil, which I could wish to correct, or rather totally extinguish in your Lordship.

When I look through the history of our best times, and find that the reigns of our different kings were happy and glorious, in proportion as they suffered themselves to be guided by men of plain dignified sense and untainted honour, and rejected the counsel of charlatan orators and fungous deskmen, I cannot help feeling, there is nothing we have more to lament, than our present deviation from that good old practice. The great ascendancy which mere oratory, without wisdom or virtue, has of late obtained, is nearly extinguishing the first vital principle of integrity

tegrity and security in the state; and seems, in fact, to have for ever resigned the whole power of government into the hands, not of the wise, not of the virtuous, not of those whose stake in the country must be a pledge for their fidelity, but of that man, whoever he may be, who can launch the fatal bolt of eloquence with most powerful effect; who has the talent, by bold and seditious speeches, to inflame the multitude against our executive government, and then to cajole them into an opinion, that he alone, being the most eloquent, can best shield them from oppression. The needy, unprincipled adventurer, thus rises to the demagogue, the demagogue to the commoner, the commoner to the minister; and, in perfect congruity with this progressive elevation, the minister becomes the tyrant and plunderer of his country. My Lord, I do not put this as a case of positive fact in all its parts, but as one which may, to that extent, and even worse, occur from the abuse into which our system has fallen. We are not to suppose the worse will not happen, because it has not yet happened. But upon the principles on which our state affairs have for some time been managed, is it at all impossible that the very worst men in the country
 may,

may, in spite of those whom it most concerns, be intruded into the direction of our state? If, indeed, fluent speaking, now called eloquence, were the test of wisdom, it would still remain to be shown, that it is a proof of integrity, before we should allow it to be the sole title to the most important trust in the world. Integrity, or at least a pride that mimicked it, was happily united with eloquence in the late Lord Chatham; but no one will deny, that Sir George Saville, who was not very eloquent, possessed the ability of being much more useful, without the power to be half so dangerous, and was, therefore, a much better statesman: however, as he was extremely honest, and extremely wise, though not extremely eloquent, he could not hope to be a minister,—and he never was one. Mr Pitt, and Mr Fox, have, between them, pretty nearly exemplified my theory; and if they, and Mr Sheridan, (all of them mortal men, though great orators), were swept off in this fatal frenzy, this fanatical idolatry, this cullibility to public swindling, in the shape of public speaking, what would there be to prevent your Lordship, the whole gentry of the land, and all the property, virtue, and talents they inherit,
from

from sinking beneath the administration of Mr Tooke, or Mr Thelwall? I do not mean to insinuate that either Mr Pitt, or Mr Fox, are deficient in private honour and integrity, or totally destitute of wisdom; but the perverted ambition of both has given perfect maturation to the system I condemn, and made a wound in the state, which nothing but a material change of system can heal. Party, which was once only a salutary jealousy of the increasing predominancy of a certain part of the constitution over the others, is now sunk into an interested scuffle for power between two factions, headed by those two gentlemen; the latter of whom has put the charge beyond all question, by declining to attend Parliament while he became hopeless of power; — when the former, having obtained possession of power, proceeds forward to his own ends, with the most shameless disregard of the means, and most gross violation of the principles upon which he rose*. My Lord, it is to this deplorable and fatal system, arising from the fraudulent allurements, and pernicious ascendancy of public speaking, that we owe the ruin of these kingdoms. Both the gentlemen, who thus bestride the coun-

B try,

* His professions of supporting a Parliamentary reform.

try, have lost the confidence of the people, though not in the same degree. The nation looks round in dismay, and viewing the horrid prospect on every side, seeing a ferocious and powerful enemy menacing them from abroad,—sedition and disaffection threatening to disorganise all at home,—finances deranged, or, as the wicked and disaffected would insinuate, totally exhausted,—imbecility at the helm,—and corruption making rapid progress through the whole system, naturally exclaim—Why does not his Majesty change his ministers? But for whom? For Mr Fox?—No, say they—we are badly circumstanced with the present ministers, but certainly should not mend ourselves by changing them for Mr Fox, or Mr Sheridan. It does not fall within the scope of my present purpose to discuss the comparative merits of those two gentlemen; it is enough for me to state the fact as it stands, and then to conduct your Lordship to my leading inference, which is, that this abominable system of rhetorical deception having gradually crept into the state, and descended rapidly from the higher to the lower orders of the community, encouraged by the torpor and unpardonable neglect of the legitimate guardians of the state to fit
them

themselves for the discharge of public office, has completely excluded, from even the contemplation of the people, as candidates for administration, all others, except the two rival orators, and their subordinate prize-fighters of the tongue; so that wishing the Pittites out of office, and setting their faces against the whole party of Mr Fox, the nation never cast one look at all, good or bad, beyond them, but patiently submit to the yoke they now bear, because they know of none that are fit or likely to relieve them.

Is it possible, my Lord, that all the wisdom, all the sagacity, all the political knowledge, all the integrity, and all the deliberative talents in the country, are confined to the principles of our two factions? Surely there must exist some efficient powers of mind in the great number of lords, commons, and men of property! For my part, I can conceive a man to be very wise, very honest, very sagacious, and very active, without the fluent verbiage of Mr Pitt, the argumentative force and dexterity of Mr Fox, or the wit of Mr Sheridan. How comes it then, that the people, gasping for a change of administration, never look abroad in search of others? I will tell your Lordship. Because

cause the whole mass of their thoughts and opinions is ingulphed and absorbed by those two men; who, if they were liable to no other positive objection, are at least thrown into the shade of suspicion, if not disqualification, by the very fact of their being statesmen by trade, or trading statesmen. Why does not our gracious sovereign form a new administration, out of the virtue and sound sense of the proprietary of this kingdom? Because having too severely felt, he well knows, the fatal effects of this pernicious power; because he knows that a third party, particularly if erected upon honest independent principles, would now be looked upon as an interloper in the trade, and be driven away; that is to say, voted out of office directly. Would not one be led *prima facie* to imagine, that the greater part of our statesmen, in and out of power, were in league with those abominable monsters who have conspired to bring our constitution first into contempt, and then to ruin? Not only have they usurped to themselves the whole business of public discussion, but prevailed upon our legislators to resign into their hands the whole power of thinking. The free agency of members of parliament, in matters
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of public importance, seems to be not only lost, but utterly forgotten, as if it never had existed. With the exception of a road, a canal, or a turnpike bill, what member, on either side, is hardy enough to propose any measure of his own, except in way of humble suggestion, or private hint, to the minister, or his great adversary? If, asserting the right of a legislator, any other gentleman give notice of a new measure, what is the consequence? Empty benches!—Why? Because he only can speak plain common sense in plain words; and has not learned to fill the ears of an auditory with a volume of turgid declamation; because he cannot round a period with the stage effect of a player; and because, though he informs, he cannot divert the House. My Lord, this is not an overcharged description: in reality, if we were to judge of the nature of the business done there, from the number and attendance of members, we must suppose it to be a place rather of amusement, than business: a kind of theatre, to which, not the importance of the drama, but the names of the performers, bring full benches. There, so long as the great intellectual gladiators on both sides continue to cut and hack, and scar each others

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faces, and begrime one another with nastiness, not a man will budge, and the plaudits, "Hear, hear!" resound throughout the House. As soon as they have done, if a plain, upright country gentleman, one who, instead of having spent his time in learning this histrionic cant to cheat and delude the nation, has devoted his youth to the acquirement, and his manhood to the practice, of substantial, useful knowledge and industry; if he, I say, attempts to speak, though he speak to the purpose, yet shall he not be heard, but indecently forced to sit down by coughing and hemming, the parliamentary mode of hissing off a performer, as "Hear, hear!" is the plaudit of approbation. Meantime the question, so far as the opinions of those present, remains the same as at first; it is enough to be amused; it would be too much in conscience to be convinced.

Thus the mischievous system that has arisen out of the universal passion for fine speechifying gradually reduced the grave, important deliberations of a senate-house to the mummery of an Italian opera, where sound only draws attention, and two or three half-male exotic animals with two legs, by the mere modulating of a sweet voice, fill the benches

benches of a vast amphitheatre with gaping admirers, who sacrifice their time and most important concerns in listening to a succession of delusive melody without meaning, and words, which, if they have any serious sense couched beneath them, are not intelligible by one in a hundred of the audience.

My Lord, this is of itself a fore evil. How many questions of magnitude and ultimate importance to the state may thus be for ever lost? How many of bad tendency may thus unobserved pass into laws? In fine, what measure is attended to, if Mr Pitt, Mr Fox, or Mr Sheridan, do not appear in the bills of the day? And is this being members of parliament? Did the Pelhams, the Pulteneys, or the Stanhopes, prostitute their talents, or insult the dignity of Parliament, by introducing faction within its walls? for it is the very essence of faction to make the contests of individuals, and not the merits of measures, subjects of parliamentary discussion. Did the great men, whose names I have mentioned, mispend the time, delude the minds, and exhaust the attention of the House with saucy squabbles about themselves? No—no such thing;—
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they would not have been permitted; nor would they have done so, if they were; for their only emulation was in wisdom, gravity, and patriotism: while they guarded the rights of the people with more disinterested solicitude than any of our modern demagogues, they never stooped to the mean artifice of letting loose the mob to hunt after power, or of dividing the sovereignty of the country between the legal magistrate and the multitude.

But, my Lord, these are not the only mischiefs which the country has experienced from the leaders of our two great factions. They have divested the character of the statesman of its sanctity and respect. Their repeated apostacy, their at one time adopting, and at another rejecting the very same principle, as it happened to suit their interest or conveniency; skipping like baboons in an orchard, from branch to branch, as they saw the prospect of fruit; springing, with the eagerness of indiscriminate prostitution, from the arms of prerogative to the embraces of faction; from the lap of wild democracy to the sty of court corruption; have so warped the hearts of the people, that all professions of purity in statesmen are now derided as insincere;

ceres ; opinion, the corner-stone of our system, is in decay ; every cobbler or tinker, as he quaffs his can of beer at the ale-house, pays a side-wind compliment to his own integrity by inveighing against the profligacy of statesmen, and puts his own impotence in comparison with their immorality ; and every Billingsgate wench may now claim the sanction of her betters for her vilest invective, since our two parliamentary leaders, in the vehemence of their personal abuse, and desire to vilify each other's fame, reveal the deformities they ought in decency to hide, just as those female enragées tear the covering from off each other's backs, and expose those parts which, in regard to the decorum of the sex, they are mutually interested to conceal.

My Lord, when the fountain is impure, the stream will for some time be muddy : there is this difference, however, between the natural and political stream, that the former often depurates, and deposits its impurities as it recedes from the fountain ; while the latter, meandering in a thousand serpentine channels, and passing generally through a filthy soil, collects new feculence in its descent : sluggish and sordid, it creeps

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downward, tainting the atmosphere with its putrid exhalations, poisoning as it passes, and corrupting, instead of fertilizing, the land. Cast your eyes round, my Lord; view things in their naked shape, not in that robe of concealment which your good-nature throws over the imperfections of others; examine every arrangement; every department of our civil and military establishments. badly designed, badly executed, and composed of materials that it is easy to see were furnished by contract, and procured at the very cheapest rate. But this is not all: society itself, even down to its subordinate classes, seems to be infected with the reigning vices of the great: the most remote parts of the empire have a sympathy with the head; and some of the dependants of the Scotch nobility can emulate the court dependants of the metropolis of the empire in ambition, avarice, and insolence, and can sneak to their patron, and swagger to their inferior; can cabal and intrigue, sooth and insult, flatter and betray, with as ready a grace as any pander in the purlieu of St James's. My Lord, it were devoutly to be wished, that those who, lamenting, as I do, the univer-

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fally increasing depravity of the country, would endeavour to trace it up to its source, and look around them for moral analogies from which to reason; they could hardly fail of finding, in an hour's contemplation; abundant instances to prove that depravity may spring from the court while the Sovereign himself is virtuous, and that the Monarch may be instrumental to the designs of the court against his own honour and the happiness of his people. Turn your eyes, my Lord, to the seats of the nobility of Scotland, long the mansions of virtue and hospitality; the illustrious proprietors, like your august and venerable sire, at once the pride and delight of their domestic families, and the idols of the surrounding country, attached to their tenants and peasantry as to so many relatives, the fathers and the friends of every individual within the sphere of their action or influence, and willing nothing but beneficence to man; yet how often are the fruits of their benevolence blasted by the creatures who surround them! If age, infirmity, or avocations of a more public kind, prevent them from directing their own affairs in minute detail, obliged by necessity to

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depute to others the administration of their bounty, they too often err in their choice of a person, appointing him who, by hypocrisy, plausibility, and a specious affectation of zeal, probity, and fidelity, has continued to gain an undue ascendancy over their minds. Taking a fellow, perhaps from the dregs of the people, sometimes from the dregs of the law, a profession, the practice of which often tends to harden the heart, to narrow the mind, to deprave and debase the intellect into low-meaning cunning, and to unfit the man for the conception of any expansive principle, or the practice of any generous feeling; such men are but ill qualified to become the proxies of such noblemen, or to execute, even at second-hand, the suggestions of their enlarged and benevolent hearts, and too often convert into a curse that which their masters intend to be a blessing. In those cases the very wickedness of the sinner becomes his security from detection; the consciousness of his guilt urges him to a more sedulous hypocrisy; and, fearing the power of the petty tyrant, none will dare to complain of him. In the presence of his master, he throws off his proper self, and, with an address that is
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astonishing, assumes the manner, and takes the complexion of his superior's speech and habit of thinking, apes his deportment, and, for the time, seems all mildness, kindness, and gentleness. He goes forth, and, being out of the sphere of awe and rebuke, the Proteus falls back into his own shape, and the crouching sycophant at once becomes the haughty, overbearing, purse-proud ruffian; boisterous in his address, brutal in his deportment, and tyrannical in his conduct: while the people suffer, in fact, the master's fame is injured, unless it should happen that his character, like that of the venerable Duke, has been already established, and rivetted in the hearts and opinions of the people, by the practice of all the manly as well as milder virtues, by public spirit, charity, hospitality, generosity, and benevolence: in that case, ample justice is done to both; the master gets the credit he deserves, while every thing unpleasant or improper is entirely ascribed to the man of business.

My Lord, is not all this true? and is not this a model in little of the abuses of our government by bad ministers?—But I can go much farther. Look to the distribution
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of rank in the armed force of your country ; see the shameful farces performed on that stage ; factors, stewards, and others of that class of servile dependants upon great men, raised to the command of corps, and having whole districts under their direction, to the exclusion of men of birth, rank, and property, many of whom were old and experienced officers, and have rendered to their king and country essential public services. But do you not know, or has it been concealed from your Lordship, that the country at large feel in the highest degree ashamed and indignant at such abuse, and would give vent to their feelings, if they were not restrained by veneration and love for some excellent noblemen who are at the head of their counties?

I assure you, my Lord, I speak the sense of the country, when I say that the few gentlemen of property and long military services, who accept of inferior stations under such inferior men, give up their own dignity, and can therefore be hardly supposed to have such regard for the dignity of their patron, as in the hour of danger would prompt them to support him and his honour

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at any hazard. This then, my Lord, is a great evil. I think I have a right to be acquitted of any undue leaning to an aristocracy—in my account of my Journey overland to India, I have given a confession of my political faith in that respect. If then I inveigh against the admission of that class of dependants into offices of honour and trust too generally, it is not because I would willingly exclude the people from a laudable emulation and ambition; but because, in the direction of national defence, property should be put in trust, as the surest pledge of fidelity; and still more, because those men often combine in themselves all the mischievous principles of aristocracy and democracy, without one ray of the virtue of either. The very slough and offscouring of the vices of the great, with the meanness and baseness of the worst of the plebeians—slaves and tyrants—in displaying their vanity prodigal, in their hearts and habits penurious and peculating, affecting attachment to the nobility to serve their own ends, but privately panting for the day of revolution, when, in the general wreck of things, the keel may float alongside the main-mast, and they beard the masters

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to whom the base adulators now cringe and bend the supple hinge of the knee. If it were compatible with your Lordship's pursuits to drop down a little into the general miscellany of men, you would see in this class much to disgust and much to alarm you:—while they plod forward in their own dirty furrow, they scatter abroad the seeds of subordinate profligacy; round them cluster the worst part of the clergy of the country, than whom there exist not men more dangerous, or more insidious; and, as friends can harmonize, these agree.

The bad man of business has his hatred of the moderate proprietors, who justly despise him; and the bad clergyman also hates the moderate proprietor from political motives; and both join to depreciate the character of those gentlemen. Your Lordship knows that the Scotch clergymen may be divided into two classes—the extremely good and the extremely bad; the latter, though by no means equally numerous with the former, are, universally speaking, unqualified Jacobins, who vainly endeavour to conceal their deep and inveterate designs against the state, against rank, order, and property, under the most servile adulation

to the very great ones ; and not having access to the principals, lay their unworthy offerings at the feet of their agents and low subordinate factors. Difficult indeed would it be to analyze or describe in the compass of a letter, a set of men, who, concealing the sternness and rancour of democracy, and the bitterness of fanaticism, under the garb of piety and humility, with a degree of industry and zeal that would do honour to a better cause, indefatigably bend the whole force of their mental powers to depreciate in the public opinion, in order ultimately to destroy, that particular class of men, who constitute the true strength, and comprise within them the bulk of the virtue and substantial worth of the country.—I mean the gentlemen of moderate property. What deliberate wickedness must theirs be, who work for the attainment of evil with such fervid zeal, and can patiently pursue, by means of unremitted activity and unabated vigilance, an object detestable in itself, and remote, or rather, I hope, utterly impracticable in the end? However, my Lord, as they are so earnest in their diabolical intentions, and carry with them into the field no despicable force, they ought to be watched with a jealous eye ;

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and they will be easily known from the good clergy by the marks in the front of the French brand, and by the tenour of their conduct, the whole of which, to a single act, is collected in the focus of jacobinism. They will be found, as I have said, continually depreciating the moderate proprietors, who stand intermediately between, and connect, the highest and lowest ranks of society; for they know very well, the moment they have removed that barrier which serves at once a link to join, and a fence to protect each other from the encroachments and abuses of the other, the highest order will sink like a shadow before the superior physical strength of the multitude, whose power those pious gentlemen endeavour to increase, and whose minds they strive to stimulate to the highest pitch of malignity, envy and abhorrence of their superior, and to disaffection and rebellion against the state and constitution. Against the designs of men like these, actuated by the frenzy of a barbarous democracy, and with strong intellect, and filled with craft, treachery, and dissimulation, the vigilance, the energy, and the activity of all men should be exerted. In these the shepherd becomes the wolf, who preys upon the
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the fold. And the preacher, while he comes in the name of the Lord of Heaven and of peace, comes fraught with worse than the fire and brimstone of Hell, and inculcates the chosen doctrines of the enemy of mankind.

Before I quit this topic I must say a few words upon the subject of the Scottish clergy in general. I had been absent from Scotland for many years; I had left it with a well-founded reverence for that body—learned, meek, and pious; charitable, sober, and diligent; they deserved, and they enjoyed, the veneration of all good men. I returned with strong prejudices in their favour, and intending to pass the greatest part of my life in that country, indulged the hope of finding them exactly what I left them. Let not what I am about to say to your Lordship be supposed to include the whole body; for, on the contrary, I declare the greater part of it emulate in every virtue, the best clergymen of the best days of Scotland. But I must avow my disappointment was great and mortifying, to find, on my return, so many exceptions to that character which before was without an exception. In a part of that body I found a sad reverse; a total revolution

tion seemed to have taken place in their habits, their morals, their manners, and their professional conduct. In some of them the meek sanctity of the sacerdotal office was exchanged for the rancour of the republican; the furious enthusiasm of the democrat or Jacobin, and the restless, turbulent deportment of the factious politician. The mild precepts of religion were laid aside for the petulant invective and self-sufficient dogmas of the new philosophy; and the piety, truth, and sincerity of the Christian were abandoned for the craft, dissimulation, and treachery of the French Jacobin. Instead of doing the office of conciliator and peace-maker, and, in imitation of the great Author of their religion, teaching the benevolent doctrine, "Love one another," they practise the reverse, fomenting quarrels, unhinging the public opinion, and disturbing public and private tranquillity; at the same time they almost entirely neglect one of the most important parts of their duty, that of affording the sick and the dying the last and best consolation our wretched nature can receive upon earth, omitting to visit them or pray with them in their last moments.

I remember the time when it was considered part of the business of our clergy-
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men to instruct children ; but there are amongst them now who scorn to cast away a moment of their time in that way, choosing rather to dispose of it in the, to them, more pleasing task of sowing dissensions among their neighbours, promoting litigation, and carrying on lawsuits against the proprietors for an increase of stipend for a duty which they never fulfil. My Lord, take this from me ; you will, perhaps, recollect it hereafter—if the practices and pursuits of the bad part of the Scotch clergy are not kept in correction, and reduced to a nearer resemblance to those of the good, the morals, the happiness, the social order, and the property of the people of Scotland will be endangered, perhaps destroyed. Even among the French they manage their remaining clergy better : there each man pays the priest who he thinks most contributes to his happiness, and affords him the best spiritual consolation. Indeed, my Lord, something ought to be done ; for those men have, in many instances so alienated the affections of the people, that the latter are building churches, and paying ministers of their own, although they are at the same time obliged to pay the established ministers, who are really, in
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some instances, so many scourges to their respective parishes. While this is the posture of their morals, it is incredible with what fanatical rancour they affect to prop their reputation for faith by decrying that of others. A certain gentleman, who had read and taken great offence at Tom Pane's *Age of Reason*, thinking that such a book would be more forcibly resisted by ridicule and contempt than by argument, undertook to show, that, with scarcely an effort, the most serious and sacred things might be treated as that bad man treated Christianity; and to prove it, took pen and ink, and in a short time produced about a dozen of lines in that style. The design was obvious. But one of those pious gentlemen who think they can compound for any excess of bad works by a supererogatory faith, took upon him to assert, as a positive fact, that that gentleman was writing a book against the Bible. A gentleman who was present, replied, he was very much surprised to hear such an allegation, as he had read a book, written a short time before by that very gentleman, in which the most orthodox doctrines were strenuously maintained.—“ Yes, yes,” replied the worthy churchman, “ that is
“ true;

“ true ; but he had his own reasons for that, “ and is now certainly writing against the “ Bible.” My Lord, the best comment that it is possible to make upon this speech of the churchman was directly made in reply to him by the gentleman present—“ There is not “ much charity in the observation.” My Lord, I hope you will not think me tedious in my way of elucidating this important point ; and I must intreat you to give me your patience still further, as I purpose to pursue the analogy between the abuses in the state, and the subordinate abuses of private confidence in the smaller circles, for a double purpose.

My chief object is to prevail on you to take your part in the great drama that is now acting on the stage of Europe, by pointing out to you the mischiefs that result from men of high rank, property, and responsibility, absenting themselves from our public deliberations. And while I illustrate this by analogies from private cases, I point out to you a scene that invites you to act upon it, by taking many of those analogies from Scotland, and the concerns of persons not very remote from your own estate ; showing you at one view the propriety of your exerting yourself on the part of the British nation at
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large, and of your own country in particular.

In the constitution of the army, as I have already stated, there appears to me to be a radical defect, to which the present commander in chief has not been able yet to apply a corrective, although his is the praise of having done more for the army than any commander who has preceded him. The defect to which I allude, is the admission into it of men of very low birth, breeding, and education. Mere animal courage is so common, and so few are found deficient in it, that it gives no specific title to military promotion. If it did, the claims of the private would be as good as those of the commissioned officer: but there is a refined sense of honour, a sentimental delicacy of conduct, which, in my opinion, is a *sine quâ non* in the military gentleman. To inculcate these sentiments in my son, to fit his soul and his mind for the profession, and to accomplish him to the utmost extent of my view of the character, I have devoted my whole time, and spared neither pains nor expence. Sterne, in my Uncle Toby, has given the most perfect delineation of what an officer ought to be. But the qualities to
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which I allude, are rarely, if ever, found in those who want the early advantages of good breeding. If my position be denied, I desire to have the question decided by facts; and in proof of it, I maintain that the military records of the last few years afford more instances of courts martial for low, mean, petty offences; for embezzlements, exactions, and ungentlemanly conduct, than the preceding half century. Till lately, vulgar disputes, abusive language, boxing, or gutter-buffing, were unknown among military gentlemen; now they are frequent; and some mess-rooms of officers might be mistaken for tap-rooms, or gin-shops, filled with cobblers, tinkers, or porters. Nay, do we not see put upon the staff, men who are utterly unworthy of such distinguished rank, either as soldiers or men, to the exclusion of others of acknowledged abilities, experience, and honour? I have my mind's eye upon one, and such a one as reflects no small discredit on those who have appointed him; and one who serves as no inconsiderable illustration of my original hypothesis, that the feebleness and corruption at the head has descended to all parts of our system. Raised, supported, and pushed forward, by the gra-

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tuitous liberality of others, this man arrived at a rank which gave him an opportunity to put in practice all those unworthy arts, so degrading to the gentleman and the soldier ; but, in the present constitution of things, so useful to the man of the world. He rose by playing the part of the sycophant, though the tyrant was his natural character ; and, lest his personal indulgences should be at war with his private interest, he made a kind of dishonourable composition for the debt he owed to society ; reprising himself for the homage and gross adulation he offered to the great, by exacting and enforcing, wherever he dare, the most abject submission from others. Forty times in the four-and-twenty hours did Proteus change his shape, and shift his character to the humour of his audience ; this moment Scapin, that Timurkan ; now the Ajax, now the Pandarus of the piece. At length the staff graced his hand—God bless the mark!—and fortune put it into his power to discard, at least, one of his vices ; and to be, in some sort, consistent with himself. But, alas ! Habit, which usurps a control equal to that of nature, over our hearts, would not suffer herself to be robbed of her dominion
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In this instance; for whether it was that the good man was too old to combat her, or that he felt a sense of gratitude for the services rendered him by this Habit, which he never before had felt for all his other friends put together, he could not find it in his heart to leave off the sycophant, any more than in his power to leave off the tyrant. So that, now the slave at once of a bad nature and a vicious habit, his temper is fawning and furious, unequal and capricious; and possessing the means of free agency, he chequers the tyrant with frequent intermixtures of the slave; the terrour of those who depend on him; the humble, puling, fawning lacquey of every boy of rank or fortune.

My Lord, I might well be ashamed, if I indulged in drawing so disgraceful a picture from motives of personal rancour, or general slander; mine, I know, is a purer motive. Bred from infancy a soldier, and trained up in substantial and arduous service, and in advancing the interests of my country, under circumstances which nothing but the testimony of some of the most respectable characters now living could rescue from the imputation of fiction and romance, I cannot help feeling more than common

mon indignation to see such grievous abuses introduced into my favourite profession ; to see such a dangerous dereliction of the purity of the military spirit informing the British army, at a time when she has the whole military force of France to oppose : a military, cast in the very mould of heroism, and led by the greatest general, the modern world, I might perhaps with truth say, the ancient too, has produced. I wonder the very name of Buonaparte does not flutter our ministers into a more anxious care, and more just discrimination in the distribution of military office. But, exclusive of this unprecedented pressure of our affairs, are such things justifiable ? or can one of your Lordship's sagacity fail to prognosticate the mischiefs that must necessarily arise from a system, which admits such men as I have described, into the highest offices, in exclusion of the many gailant veterans who have given undeniable proof of their claims to the confidence of their country ?

My Lord, the mischief is not confined to the defalcation in the solitary office the being himself fills : it extends as far as the influence of his command reaches. Under such a man all subordination must be lost—and under him it is lost. Drunkenness and dissipation
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prevail; an anomalous sensation, composed of fear and derision, is produced: and not only the service is injured, but the name of military officer is brought into disrepute. In reprobating such abuses too much cannot be said. Of such individuals I am aware I have said more than they are worth. First apologizing, therefore, to your Lordship, for having introduced you into such company, I shall here dismiss them, and leave them to the indulgence of their toothpicks. It is, however, a subject of melancholy reflection, that, in an hour of danger like the present, those whose business it is to recommend officers to his Majesty, are not better informed of their characters, or more alive to the awful circumstances of the times. And here a thought flies across, so whimsical, I cannot refrain from giving it vent:—It is an old saying, when two persons are eminently bad, it is a pity two houses should be spoiled by them. I cannot help thinking it would be a felicitous circumstance, if a certain *Marchioness*, not a thousand miles from the *Tweed*, were coupled with the gallant General, whose picture I have just attempted to sketch; it would be an era in the history of both their hearts; since they would, probably for the first time

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In their lives, feel something like sympathy, Nothing excites his anger so much as weakness—nothing her hatred so much as distress. Go to then ; *there's sympathy*. He is haughty, proud, and ill-natured ; so is she—*there's sympathy*. He loves to smell a stink, and she has always one at hand—*there is more sympathy*. She always looks at her fellow-creatures, as if she smelled something offensive ; he, and his toothpick, are ready to furnish an excuse for her looks—*would you desire better sympathy ?* What a pity it is that two such standing offences should be allowed to live asunder, and separately poison two distinct portions of atmospherical air, while, by living together in one mansion, they might abate one nuisance, and mutually increase the quantum of each other's olfactory enjoyment.

My Lord, this is a time when all men are called upon to attend to matter of a higher kind than the petty detail of private self-interest ; when glory and ambition should take place of intrigue and avarice ; when we must fight for the ground, not fall to work to build. It is a fact well known, that the fox, and other beasts of prey, when they find themselves enclosed in a snare, become regardless

gardless of the bait that entrapped them. In like manner one would be led to hope, the different offices of Government, civil as well as military, would, for a time at least, disregard pecuniary views, and bend their whole powers, and devote their emoluments, to the defence of the country. I grant the emoluments of one man, or of fifty, would in the public expence be no more than a drop of water in the sea; but it would be something as an example, as it would serve to lead the way to others, as it would point out the propriety of such a step, and evince the sincerity and resolution of the person who came forward in so honourable and disinterested a manner. If your Lordship, for instance, were to begin, conjointly with a number of others who command regiments, your example would probably be followed; and incalculable would be the salutary effects arising from such conduct. For my own part, I declare, there is nothing I more desire than to devote my time and labour, or, if necessary, my life, to the gratuitous service of the country. My son, too, should be among the first of his rank to follow the example. Indeed, my Lord, it is a time that calls upon men to act a little out of the ordinary track
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of life ; it is a time, when nothing but purity and disinterested patriotism should be seen to emanate from the better sort, as a substantial example to the lower order ; who, let us say what we will, only err, and fall into discord with the state, when they take their tone from their superiors : and I assure you, my Lord, I have never reflected without astonishment and disgust, upon the conduct of those rich and great families, who, possessing wealth, even beyond the most capricious appetite, can yet be so mercenary, and so foolish, as to receive pay, and grasp at emoluments for commanding new regiments, which are intended for the defence of the country only in case of invasion or necessity ; for the defence of themselves, their altars, their hearths, their property, and their lives. This is not all : these military offices are, for the sake of their pecuniary advantages, greedily fought for by the base and avaricious part of the aristocracy ; by men, “ who never set a squadron in the field, nor the division of a battle know more than a spinster :” while men of approved courage and distinguished ability, gallant, disinterested soldiers, who have no spur to push them on, but the love of their country, and a jealousy
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of the rising glories of France, would cheerfully and gratuitously serve if they were allowed. My Lord, if you wanted any other spring than that which flows from your own heart, any other motive to set you in motion, and stimulate you to glory, I might call upon you to look back to the history of your ancestors: think what they would have done, and go thou and do likewise: endeavour to paint to your imagination what the illustrious John Duke of Argyle would do, if he were living at such a crisis as this! Think of the example he would set to the aristocracy of the country! he, whose martial genius, and senatorial eloquence, were equalled only by his patriotism and political integrity. My Lord, a nobleman of your Lordship's rank and virtues could not fail, if you would but rouse yourself from inactivity, and, treading in the paths of your forefathers, would seek glory through the rough and thorny wilds of the present day, to call into your company that vast mass of talents, virtue, and probity, which exist in the country, not only totally independent, but abhorrent; of both Administration and Opposition; who look with astonishment and horror upon two factions, that are destroying the country.

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Let me ask you, my Lord, what title has Lord Moira to that distinction, paid him by a great part of the members of both Houses of Parliament, that the house of Argyle cannot lay equal claim to it? His Lordship's virtues I subscribe to; and so deeply impressed was I with them long ago, that I felt shame and mortification at the situation in which he suffered himself to be placed by ministers, in the affair of the Southampton army. I was, indeed, astonished his Lordship did not foresee so much quackery, foppery, and parade, so much of the tinsel circumstance of war, was not likely to end in any substantial or glorious exploit. After playing him there to the public, as the leader of a magnificent enterprise against France, his Lordship was, all at once, left without an army, and the men who were to have courted glory on the plains of France, against French heroes, were all at one sweep carried off to fight barbarians, and feed, one after another, the hungry maw of Pestilence, to the number—great God! can it be thought of without horror and amazement?—to the number of near 50,000 men. The ridicule which naturally fell upon such a piece of mock parade, was much heightened by the mistaken partisans of his Lordship, who drew

drew the public attention to his situation, by ill-judged puffs in the public prints, and by their creating as great a bustle about the enterprise, even in its incipient stage, as could have been made about the Duke of Marlborough, after all his victories and glories had been accomplished. I wish those creatures could be convinced how deeply they injure, while they affect to serve his Lordship. Since I am upon the subject, I may here, as well as in any other place, make a few observations upon his Lordship's late political conduct, as displayed in his letter to Col. Macmahon; and in his speech upon Irish affairs. It would be wronging the opinion I entertain of Lord Moira, to say, the publication of his letter to Col. Macmahon at a time like this, and at a period so remote from the transaction to which it alludes, was done by him, or by his desire, or with his consent; its being kept so long unpublished, and brought forth just at the moment one of the most important measures, which had ever passed through Parliament, was pending before the House, and when every factious artifice was used to raise the public voice against the executive government, surely was not Lord Moira's act. It was evidently the device of some of that wily

wily herd of half statesmen, half insurgents, who so industriously and zealously ply about through all parts of the metropolis, the pretended partisans, yet, in fact, the crafty enemies, or bosom traitors of Mr Fox; perhaps some of those demi-jacobins, whom that great, deluded man, is raising up to tread upon his neck. No, my Lord, that musty, cat-gnawed goose-bone, could not have been snatched out from the dust and cobwebs of the political trash corner, with any other than pernicious intent: but, like all ill-done dishes, it had few admirers. Having neither meat nor marrow, it was not calculated to solicit the appetite of honest John Bull, whose palate has not yet been rendered entirely depraved by French seasoning. As a private letter, containing a statement of mere matters of fact, and of his Lordship's personal motives, it is well enough; but I believe it would puzzle the most zealous and ingenious partisans of Lord Moira, to find any decent pretext or apology for the manner in which the Duke of Portland is mentioned in it. That his Grace should be particularly the object of Jacobin abhorrence and animadversion, and should be infinitely more reviled and abused by that abominable description of
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men, than the other members of the cabinet, is not surprising, because his sterling integrity, his independent spirit, and the generous sincerity of his excellent heart, sanctified the cause to which he devoted himself, and gave it a credit and support, which it could not have attained without him. It therefore appears irreconcilable with the ideas I had formed of his Lordship, that he should mention the Duke of Portland in such terms. I know much has been said of his Grace's dereliction of the cause of Ireland, and his remaining coalesced with a set of men, who had broken the most solemn pledges on that subject, and brought that country to ruin by their baleful politics. Might not good sense and candour, less than what is attributed to Lord Moira, have stopped to consider the motives of his Grace? If he had, he might have discovered that of which I am persuaded, namely, the Duke staid in power to give vigour, cohesion, and credit, to the administration of the only men who seemed to be really disposed to pursue such measures as he thought were most likely to save the empire. To save England was, and ought to be, his Grace's first object: that effected, there is nothing to prevent justice being done

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to Ireland, as far as irrevocable injuries will allow of justice and retribution. And this naturally leads me to Lord Moira's speech in the House of Peers, upon Irish affairs: to judge in the most favourable terms of which, I can only say, a more mistaken or imprudent speech in its first conception, or a more mischievous one in its ultimate tendency, could not possibly at this time have been uttered. I am sure his Lordship is not one of those who would willingly play a wild or adventurous game in the world of politics; his ample and unincumbered fortune is a security against the intrusion into his mind of such schemes: besides, his loyalty and his honour stand unimpeached. But, upon my honour, my Lord, if such a speech had been made in Parliament by some men, who do make speeches there, I should have been unalterably convinced, it was spoken with no other intent than to bring about a revolution in Ireland. Perhaps his Lordship's cooler judgment will tell him, he might, with more advantage to Ireland, been less active lately, and more active at first, than he has been. For myself, I declare, no one views with more abhorrence than I do, any system of rigorous or unjust coercion. But it is not a
time

time to make concessions to men in arms in that country, when the hosts of France are hovering over our shores. Let us first repel the enemy; let him be taught his expectations are arrogant and visionary; let us make an honourable and secure peace with France; and then let the grievances of Ireland be redressed: and if the system set on foot there shall be found to have been vicious, and the enormities committed under it shall be satisfactorily proved, nothing will give me more satisfaction than to see the ministers who advised it brought to punishment.

I never considered his Lordship's public talents in any other point of view than in that of his profession, a good officer, a man of spirit and activity; it was only in the transaction related in his letter to Col. Macmahon, I found him, for the first time, a great statesman. Neither his eloquence in the senate, nor his wisdom at the council-board, were ever the topics of public applause; and, if I do not mistake, his Lordship has not any great public civil service to boast of, which entitles him to the consequence, the gentlemen alluded to in that letter, would confer on him. My Lord, will not this serve to rouse you to exertion? will you do
nothing

nothing to emulate and obtain that distinction, which you see may be acquired without any very extraordinary depth of wisdom or knowledge? I am sure I as little mean to flatter you, as to depreciate Lord Moira, when I say, your claims to the confidence of the public, and of the gentlemen to whom I allude, ought to be as great as his: personal exertion alone is wanting. If your Lordship wants a proof of the singular and certain efficacy of mere exertion and perseverance, you have only to turn your eyes to a certain Scotch Baronet, who, without one spark of talent or genius, one hook in his head upon which to hang an inference, had, by straining every nerve he possessed, and bringing into action all he could collect from the intellect and exertions of other men, jumbling them together in the cavities of his skull, contrived for a long time to pass for a man of useful knowledge, good sense, and business. But, after a long course of cautious diffidence, in which he showed great prudence, vanity, or, as some say, resentment at not being treated by the minister as he expected, prompted him to move forward occasionally in opposition on subjects where all extrinsic aid, all friendly assistance, was out of reach: and see

see the consequence ! He was, in a few slight flimsy rencounters with the minister, plumped down into that depth of nothingness from which he had contrived, with the indefatigable exertions of so many years, to emerge ; and he is now so much the subject of ridicule as to be considered by the lower ranks of people to be liberally paid for exhibiting himself as a foil to the minister in the house of Commons.

With talents and influence such as yours then, what might not your Lordship, in a day like this, effect for your country, your family, and your own fame ? In your own part of this island, you might, merely by your personal presence, by being among them, and making one of them, bring to the uses of the state, every heart, hand, and mind of every rank and every description : and indeed, my Lord, if a man of consequence finds himself indisposed to mix in the tumult, and partake of the labours of the great metropolitan scene of action, he ought, at least, to reside where his influence gives him means to be useful ; that is his post, and there is his duty ; shaping the opinions, and guiding the propensities, and controlling the errors of those, who, in this perilous storm,

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will want a pilot ; and, not finding one, will run astray. Depend upon it, my Lord, you, and every man in your state, have, at this time, an awful responsibility imposed upon you. Suppose that, while your Lordship, with good intentions, no doubt, yet not innociously, are whiling away your time in a crowd of idle, useless men of rank, dawdling about St James's Street ; an energetic, active, wicked crew of Jacobin atheistical men, clad in canonicals, should be poisoning the minds, and perverting the hearts of your tenantry, for whose loyalty you are morally and religiously responsible, because you might, if you would only go among them, direct them as you please : suppose, that, for want of that attention, the uninformed and ignorant, who are subject to be moved by every gust, should, in the crisis of danger, be prevailed upon to rebel, how could you answer to your king, or to your country, for the consequences of your neglect ? And is such a thing impossible ? lay not that flattering unction to your soul.

My Lord, in Kantlyre alone your family possesses eight or ten thousand a-year. Is not the security of that property, are not the morals of the people who inhabit it, is not
 their

their satisfaction even worth the tribute of your Lordship's occasional presence? My Lord, it requires little more than to be convinced of the insipidity of St James's Street, and of the degradation that a lounging city life is to a man of your important rank, to find ten thousand beauties in Kantyre, and ten thousand genuine delights in improving and meliorating the condition of your people there, and in cultivating their affections. How much more honourable in the eyes of the world, more gratifying to your private feelings, and more advantageous to your country in this struggle, would it be to have a number of brave, attached, and faithful followers, who would pour, like ten thousand torrents down the mountain sides of your estate, and line the shores of Great Britain with a host of warriors that would stand firm as the rocks that defend our coasts, and strike dismay to the hearts of our enemies, than to exist, painfully to exist, the slave of fashion, the martyr of ennui, and the victim of inglorious, corrosive languor!

When it came to my turn to visit and reside in the country which now calls with irresistible claims upon your attention, I wondered how a rational man could barter such

such charms for such deformity, or how, putting the *physical good* of the country out of the question, he could exchange the fidelity, probity, virtue, generosity, truth, and sincerity of Argyleshire, for the perfidy, fraud, vice, selfishness, falsehood, insincerity—in one word, for the *ton* of St James's Street. Much less acquainted than your Lordship ought to be with that delightful country, and my whole life spent in travels, and viewing the finest parts of the globe, I confess I feel myself so attached to it, and to its people, that I shall think every hour I am obliged to spend away from it so much detracted from the sum of my happiness.

There are few men, my Lord, to whom, valuing their good opinion as I do yours, I should have written in this style of freedom; but, in the few and short opportunities I have had of conversing with you, I have made it my business, and exerted the little sagacity a long experience has given me, to develop the character of the person who is to represent a long and unspotted line of heroes and statesmen, and to support the character of chief of the name of *Campbell*; and I was convinced I saw in you that which might be spoken to with honest freedom and
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bold zeal. I thought I could perceive candour, good-nature, and sound sense, without a shade of arrogance or affectation ; and I am willing to believe you belong to neither of the parties or factions whose conduct I reprobate. Let me then repeat it to your Lordship, you ought to appear much in Scotland ; you are not sufficiently known there, and it is your duty to be both known and respected in that country ; for, if you are not known, you cannot be respected ; and, if you are not respected, you will so far degenerate from your illustrious family, who were, to a man, known, beloved, and respected. Consider, my Lord, what a pity it will be for you to give up the palm of your country's preference : you have no very formidable rival there ; the whole number of your competitors is confined to two : a certain Duke of a neighbouring county will hardly stand a moment's competition. I know there are few Lavaters in this life ; but every man has in his nature a degree more or less of the physiognomist, and his Grace's face must be decisive in your favour. The young nobleman whom I consider as the second, has some sprightly and amiable qualities, and *condescends* to make himself agreeable.

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His Lordship, however, does not want penetration, and I understand has had the sense to discover the *Brompton parasite*, and to say that he was playing him off, and making a fool of him. You are called upon, then, by every public principle, as well as every private motive, to reside a great deal in that country, of which you are, one day, in the course of nature (if the active energy of Jacobinism, and the unjustifiable indolence and supineness of the proprietary of the land, do not overturn all property), to be chief; or else you are bound to bear an active part in the great drama of the court and parliament. I look to your conduct with the earnestness of a friend anxious for the honour of yourself and of your family, and I wish you not to cast away moments so precious to yourself, your family, and your country, in a course of vacuity and inactivity, which, if much longer indulged, would discredit the fair claims which you derive from nature as well as from rank and property, and would at length end in a nothingness almost equal to that produced by the snivelling pomposity, the priapismal lostness, the wisewood levity, the superficial gravity, and silly importance of the Scotch Baronet I have already alluded to.

Surely,

Surely, my Lord, you are not uninformed that the spirit of revolt has been alive and busy in Scotland, and that it is in a great measure owing to the wise and spirited conduct of the Court of Session that it has hitherto been suppressed. Those things could not well happen, if every great man remained upon his estate, by his presence and counsel to give a proper direction to the sentiments and opinions of his people. Such men have, therefore, no excuse to offer for their absence, unless they can say they are employed in some duty of a superior importance to the nation at large.

A word at parting, my Lord, respecting the war. Although it is now of little consequence how the war began, we cannot shut our eyes against a truth which every day brightens into greater effulgence—that we were compelled to go to war; that is to say, France was guilty of the aggression; and if we had not gone to war, there must have been a revolution in England. Hardly does a packet arrive from the continent of Europe, or from the continent of America, that does not unfold some new fact in evidence of the designs of France against the government and existence of this country having been conceived

ceived previous to any semblance of disagreement on the part of England: so far, then, Mr Pitt and his colleagues have done their duty; but how will he or they be able to account for their manner of conducting it?

What just object could England have in view, except the extinction of that doctrine which threatened her existence? And was it by fighting with Maroons, negroes, and savages, in the West Indies, we were to hope to extinguish it? Was it by abandoning the cause of the emigrants, ex-nobles, and monarch of France, and entering into a peculating dismemberment of the French dominions, we were to conciliate the tempers, and acquire the confidence, of the majority of France, who desired to crush that principle? Was it by leaving the brave and loyal men of La Vendée, to perish for want of arms, we were to animate the anti-jacobins and royalists, who far outnumbered their enemies in that country? Did not the mode of warfare pursued by the rulers of that country point out to ministers the only plan of operation that possibly could succeed against them? Our ministers conducted the war as if they were fighting for a colony or an island; the rulers of France, like men contending for the empire
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of the world. Oh, what a perpetual stain upon the character of Britain will result from a comparison of the magnificent plan of the usurpers of France with the contemptible, petty, conniving, tricking, peculating conduct of England! it cannot, perhaps, be more happily exemplified than by Buona-
 parte, who hurls terror from France to the extremity of Europe, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, who very sagaciously refused to employ him at Corsica in the humble situation of a lieutenant? It would be unfair if I omitted to observe, that it is said, much to the honour of Mr Windham, that, while for the safety of England he supported the ministers who counteracted his and his friend Burke's plans of operation, he never failed to deprecate their mode of proceeding, and to urge the propriety of attacking France in France. Had that been done; had the La Vendéens been supplied with arms; had the royal family of France, and the long list of gallant ex-nobles, been put forward; had the conquests of the allies been instantly garrisoned by emigrant troops, in the name of the King of France; and every practical pledge been given of the sincerity of the intentions of the allies, the danger of England would not, this day, be

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great. The brave men of La Vendée, who, without arms, killed more of the Jacobins than all the allies taken together, would, if supplied with ammunition and artillery, and strengthened by those gallant British soldiers who died of the plague in the West Indies, have at least divided that portion of France, and with it *Brest*, for ever from the Republic.

Indeed, my Lord, the conduct of Mr Pitt and *his* party (for to that part of the King's ministry are generally attributed all the miscarriages of the war) has been such, that a good man could hardly lament those miscarriages, if they were not pitched against an enemy, whose views are so utterly irreconcilable with the political existence of Great Britain, and the peace and safety of mankind. We must, therefore, support while we abominate the men who oppose France, though feebly, while they oppress England greatly, until we have a chance of an administration who would not at once plunge us fathoms deep under the despotism and control of the present five tyrants of France—those monsters, who, like all upstarts invested with unexpected power, exert it in abuse; and, having in their hands the means of imparting peace and felicity to the world, invoke the
spirit

spirit of the Devil to their aid, and scatter terror, torment, and ruin through the world. How it will end, it would be arrogant to predict.—We cannot say what will happen, but we know what it is our duty to do.—It is our duty to resist the encroachments of France to the last shilling of our principal, and the last drop of our blood. Mean time, the hope of redemption from this French tyranny must dawn and rise in France itself: for, until the French people shall be able to cut off their present usurpers, and obtain a government that will submit to some control from reason and humanity, neither France itself, nor the rest of the world, will be able to obtain the inestimable blessings of security and peace.

F I N I S.

