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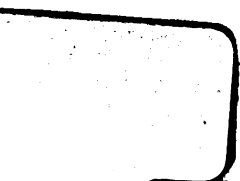
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. Wm. EDWARDS,





THE

SPEECHES

OF

JOHN WILKES,

One of the Knights of the Shire for the

COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX,

In the Parliament appointed to meet at

Westminster the 29th day of November 1774, to the

Prorogation the 6th day of June 1777.



With notes by the Editor.

VOL. II.

LONDON.

1777.

270. g. 374. Digitized by Google

Votes of April 16, 1777.

The House was moved, "That the Order
" made upon Wednesday last, for referring
" the several Accounts [*respecting the Civil*
" *List*] which were then presented to the
" House, by the Lord North, by His Ma-
" jesty's Command, to the Committee of
" the whole House, to whom it was refer-
" red to consider further of the Supply
" granted to His Majesty," might be read.

And the said Order being read accordingly ;

A motion was made and the Question being
put, "That the said Order be *discharged*;"

It passed in the Negative.

Mr. Wilkes said,

Mr. Speaker,

THERE is not a Gentleman in this
House, or in the kingdom, more anxious than
I am that the splendor and dignity of the crown
of England should be maintained in its truest

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lustre,

lustre, although for above a course of fifteen years I have received from the Crown only a succession of injuries, and never in any moment of my life the slightest favour. I had the honour, sir, of a seat in this House, when the affair of the Civil List was first agitated in Parliament in the beginning of his present Majesty's reign, when every good subject hoped to have *more than the idea of a Patriot King*. I then acquiesced in the proposed grant. The acceptance of an annuity of 800,000*l.* and the giving up to the public the ancient, hereditary revenues of the crown, originated from the Throne. It was proposed to this House in the usual mode by Mr. Legge, then chancellor of the Exchequer. Parliament adopted the proposition, and it was accepted with gratitude by the King. The ministers of that time declared to this House the King's *entire satisfaction*, and that his Majesty should be happy to be delivered from the disagreeable necessity of ever applying to Parliament, like his predecessors, to make good the deficiencies of the Civil List. It was admitted that the allowance was *competent*, ample, most fully adequate to the wants, and even to the splendour

dear of the crown. Parliament granted all the Sovereign asked, and made the grant in the very mode proposed by the minister. The Civil List Act expressly declares in the preamble, that 800,000*l. per annum*, "was a certain and competent revenue for defraying the expences of his Majesty's Civil Government, and supporting the dignity of the crown of Great Britain." The nation thought themselves assured of not paying more than 800,000*l. per annum* to the Civil List, and gave that sum cheerfully for the *trappings of royalty*. In the Speech at the close of that session our gracious young Monarch told us from the Throne, that *he could not † sufficiently*

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thank

† The same dull, threadbare, vulgar expression, "I cannot sufficiently thank my faithful Commons," is repeated in the King's Speech at the end of the last session, June 6, 1777. "I cannot sufficiently thank my faithful Commons for the zeal and public spirit with which you have granted the large and extraordinary supplies, &c. &c." Will there never be a sufficiency of money from his faithful Commons to the King, or of thanks from the King to his faithful Commons, or are they both to proceed *pari passo* till the poor people of this country find their unfaithful representatives have given away the very power of giving? The sufficiency of 1760 did not suffice to 1769.

thank us, and that he thought himself much obliged to us for what more immediately concerned himself. By this bargain, fir, with the public it was generally understood, and indeed admitted at that time, that his Majesty would be a gainer of near 7,000*l.* *per annum.* The noble Lord with the blue ribband has unfairly drawn his calculations from only the *last eight* years of the late King's reign. He ought to have taken the whole of that reign together. In some years the Civil List was very deficient; in others it greatly exceeded the sum of 800,000*l.* As this is peculiarly a day of dry calculation, I will observe that from the accounts delivered in to Parliament, it appeared, that in the 33 years of George the Second's reign, from Midsummer 1727 to Midsummer 1760, the Civil List produced only 26,182,981*l.* whereas 800,000*l.* for 33 years amounts to 26,400,000*l.* so that, there is a deficiency of 217,019*l.* The gain therefore on a net-revenue

The *sufficiency* of 1769 did not *suffice* to 1777. How long will the *sufficiency* of 1777 *suffice*? When will be the next demand, and of consequence the next grant of money from his *faithful* Commons, and of consequence the next "I cannot *sufficiently* thank my *faithful* Commons?"

venue of 800,000l. is on an average above 6,576l. a year. The sum of 800,000l. was at that time thought abundantly sufficient to support the splendor of the crown, and the Majesty of this great people. His Majesty has received besides 172,605l. the arrears of the late King's Civil List, 100,000l. on account of Somerset-house, and an additional grant of 513,511l. in the year 1769, to discharge all incumbrances. The death of the Princess Dowager of Wales was a saving of 60,000l. a year, and the Duke of York 12,000l. a year. Yet, sir, we are now told of another debt of 618,340l. and called upon to pay that likewise, notwithstanding the *former bargain with the public*. The very proposal implies *another violation of public faith*. Sir, I will venture to say, if we are indeed just trustees for the people, if we conscientiously reflect that their wealth is intrusted to our care, that we are the guardians of the public purse, we ought to stop this *growing evil*, and reprobate the idea of suffering their money to be thus squandered, as well as the country drained by a variety of taxes. I must add, sir, taxes imposed to supply a pro-

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fusion,

fusion, which arises from a violation of a solemn compact with the nation, and renders the limitation of the expences of the crown by Parliament the most vague and absurd of all propositions. The power of controul of the expences of the crown is the being and life of Parliament. What traces do we now find of the existence of this power? Are the accounts on our table proofs of our boasted *economy*? and is meanness thus nearly allied to prodigality?

There is at present, sir, a peculiar cruelty in thus endeavouring to fleece the people, when we are involved in a most expensive, as well as unnatural and ruinous, Civil War, and burthened with an enormous load of national debt, the interest of which even we are scarcely able to stand under. Is there no feeling for the sufferings of this impoverished country? *Are the people really nothing in the scale of government?* The principal of the national debt is stated to us at Midsummer 1775 to amount to the astonishing sum of 135,943,051*l.* and the interest to 4,440,821*l.* Is this the time, sir, that a minister can with an unembarrassed countenance come to Parli-
ment

ment to lay additional loads on an exhausted nation, and to ask more of the people's money? When the greatest sources of our commerce and wealth are destroyed by the folly and wickedness of administration, when we have already spent in this unjust war above nineteen millions, when above half our empire is lost, and those American friends, who have assisted us so frequently and so powerfully, are forced by our injustice to become determined enemies, and for their own safety to endeavour our humiliation, are we at such a moment as this to talk of the greatness of the crown, *a crown scorned of half its beams*. Are we to hear of the happy state of the nation, when we have lost more than we have retained of this divided empire, when new taxes and additional burdens on the people, are the most important objects of government? Is the *Civil List* to increase in proportion to the loss of all those resources of trade and riches, by which it is fed and nourished? Is the nature of the *Civil List* in the body politic analogous to what Lord Bacon says of the *Spleen*, that it increases in proportion to

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the waste, decay, and rapid consumption of the other parts of the human body ?

Sir, we ought to look back to what former Princes and Parliaments have done. I will take the consideration only from the glorious æra of the Revolution, and it shall be stated fairly and fully. The Civil List was not granted to King William for life till the year 1698, when 700,000*l.* a year was settled on him. The distractions of his government, and of all Europe at that period, are well known. His most generous views for the public were thwarted at home during the greatest part of his reign by the **Tories*, as the friends of liberty are now harrassed by them

* His Excellency General Washington strictly forbids all the officers and soldiers of the Continental Army, of the Militia, and all recruiting parties, plundering any person whatsoever, whether *Tories* or others. *The effects of such persons will be applied to public uses in a regular manner; and it is expected that humanity and tenderness to women and children will distinguish brave Americans, contending for liberty, from infamous mercenary ravagers, whether British or Hessians.*

G. WASHINGTON.

Trenton, Jan. 3, 1777.

Did

them in America, according to the late orders of General Washington to the Continental army, and his spirited letters to the Congress. Queen Anne had the same revenue settled upon her. She did not ask the additional sum of 100,000*l.* to her Civil List, but she gave unasked out of it yearly 100,000*l.* towards carrying on the war, *a war against France*, besides 200,000*l.* at least towards the building of Blenheim-house, and above 100,000*l.* for the support of the poor Palatines. We have a resolution of this House, sir, on a report from a Committee, which states this very fully. It is on the Journals of May 13, 1715, and in the following

Did any *Monarch* in Europe begin this year with such a glorious act of humanity, and regard to the public, as *Dictator* Washington in America?

Greenwich, March 16, 1777.

“ The bearer hereof, Nehemiah Liscome, being an
 “ infamous *Tory*, and *profest enemy to the United States*
 “ *of America*, and consequently having no right to a
 “ residence or dwelling on this Continent, is hereby
 “ ordered to remove himself immediately to Long
 “ Island, &c, &c, &c.

By order of Major Gen. *Wooster*,
Jno. Coffin Ogden, Aid-de-Camp.

lowing words, "Resolved, that the sum of
 " 700,000*l. per annum* was settled upon his
 " late Majesty King William during his life,
 " for the support of his Majesty's household,
 " and other his necessary occasions; and, at
 " the time of his Majesty's demise, after the
 " deduction of 3,700*l.* a week, that was ap-
 " plied to the public uses, was the produce of
 " the Civil List revenues, that were continued
 " and settled upon her late Majesty Queen
 " Anne, during her life." The deduction
 for public services of 3,700*l.* a week, or
 192,400*l.* a year, from that part of the Civil
 List revenue called the "Hereditary and Tem-
 porary Excise" was first made in the last year
 of King William. Notwithstanding this de-
 duction the Civil List Funds produced in that
 very year 709,420*l.* In the first of Queen
 Anne the same Funds with the same deduc-
 tions were settled on her for life, and declared
 to be for raising 700,000*l.* for the support of
 her household, and the dignity of her govern-
 ment. In the 9th of her reign the old Post-
 office act was repealed, and a new General
 Post-office with higher rates was established,
 in consideration of which another deduction
 was

was made from the Civil List revenue of 700l. a week, or 36,400l. a year. Both these deductions have ever since been continued.

George I. had the same revenue settled upon him as Queen Anne, but if 300,000l. paid him by the Royal Exchange and London Assurance Companies, and a million granted in 1726, towards paying his debts, are included, his income will appear to have been nearly 800,000l. *per annum*. In the first speech to his Parliament he took notice, "That it was his happiness to see a Prince of Wales, who may, in due time, succeed to the throne, and to see him blessed with many children." Yet the establishment of the Civil List at the beginning of that reign was only settled at 700,000l. a year. It was not till after the great expences consequent on the rebellion of the Earl of Mar, and the other *perjured Scots*, who, although they had taken the oaths to his government, traitorously waged open and impious war against a mild and just Sovereign, that the Parliament paid the King's debts. In the reign of George I. the

the Prince of Wales had an establishment of 100,000*l.* *per annum.*

George II. had a very numerous family, and 800,000*l.* was at first settled upon him, with whatever surplus might arise from the duties and allowances composing the Civil List revenues. In 1736, that part of the hereditary and temporary excise, which consisted of duties on Spirituous Liquors, was taken from the Civil List, in consideration of which 70,000*l.* was transferred to it from the aggregate fund. The income of George II. including 115,000*l.* granted in 1729, and 456,733*l.* in 1747, towards making good the deficiencies, which had arisen in the Civil List duties, was 810,749*l.* *per annum,* for 33 years. His late Majesty likewise had in his reign a *Scottish* rebellion, carried on by many of the same traitors, who had been pardoned by his father. The expence of that rebellion to the King and kingdom was enormous, for it was not confined to the extremities of the island, but raged in the heart of the kingdom, and the rebels advanced to within a hundred miles of the capital. Such an event, *fir, not unforeseen, because foretold,* was a just ground for

for the Parliament's discharging a debt contracted by securing to us every thing dear to men and Englishmen.

The establishment of the present King, at the yearly rent charge to the nation of 800,000*l.* was a measure at the time equally pleasing both to the Prince and people. The minister boasted that there was not a possibility of any future dispute about the hereditary revenues, or concerning accounts suspected to be false, wilfully erroneous, or deceitful, kept back, or anticipated, to serve a particular purpose. I am aware, sir, that the Civil List revenues have been increasing for many years. The mean annual produce for the last five years of George II. was 829,150*l.* and for the first six years of his present Majesty, it would have been, had the establishment in the late reign continued, 894,000*l.* In 1775, it would have been 1,019,450*l.* Near 90,000*l.* *per annum* of this great increase has been produced by an increase in the Post-office revenue, occasioned chiefly by the late alteration in the manner of franking, and by the falling in of the cross posts to the public by the death of Mr. Allen; but these profits would proba-

bly,

bly, at least certainly ought to, have been reserved to the public, had the establishment in the late reign been continued. At the foot of one of the accounts on our table it is stated, "The amount of 800,000*l.* granted to his Majesty from the 25th of Oct. 1760; to the 5th of January 1777, is 12,965,517*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$. The produce as above exceeds the annuity by 2,381,241*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$. But Parliament granted to pay off the Civil List debt, on the 5th of Jan. 1769, out of the supplies for the year 1769, 513,511*l.* which being deducted shews the gain to the public to be, 1,867,730*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$." The bargain concluded for the public was of an annuity to the King of a clear 800,000*l.* subject to no deductions, or contingencies for his life; on a solemn promise of that being made to bear all the expences of the Civil List; and the Royal household. It was a fair compact of finance between the King and the subject; ratified by both parties. The most explicit assurances were given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the King's name, that no more should be asked; and that now his Majesty could never be under the disagreeable ne-

cessity of importuning this House with messages of *personal concern*.

I have, sir, carefully examined the accounts laid before this House, by his Majesty's command, the eight folio books, as well as the other papers. I will venture to say they are as loose, unsatisfactory, perplexed, and unintelligible as those delivered in by the noble Lord with the blue ribband in 1770, *a year after* the former demand to pay the debts on the Civil List. I am sure, sir, more loose, unsatisfactory, perplexed, and unintelligible no accounts can be. Their defectiveness and fallacy is highly culpable. The coming to Parliament at that time with such a demand, but without any account whatever, was an insult to this House, and the now laying before us such accounts as those on the table is a solemn mockery. Many gentlemen in the House declared the last week their opinion, that, after the strictest examination, they could make nothing of those former accounts; It was not intended they should. One particular only fixed my attention as an individual. Under the head of *secret and special service*, I find that between Oct. 1762, and Oct. 1763, *a most*

memorable

memorable year, there was issued to *Samuel Martin, Esq;* 41,000*l.* We have indeed, sir, had a week allowed to go through these accounts, but I will venture to affirm that a year would not be sufficient to clear them from their studied perplexity, to give order and light to such a chaos. The most able accountants do not pretend to understand them. They would puzzle a *De Moivre*. Ægyptian darkness hangs over the whole. There is not one friendly ray of light to lead us through this labyrinth.

No account, sir, whatever is given Parliament of the other considerable revenues of the crown, besides the annuity of 800,000*l.* I do not mean the income of the Electorate of Hanover, or Bishoprick of Osnabrug, but what his Majesty enjoys as King of England. That is a fair consideration with us, when the House are providing for the support of the lustre of the crown, at present, I fear, a little *tarnished*. The extraordinary revenues of the Crown are, the revenue of Ireland, the Duchy of Cornwall, the land revenue within the principality of Wales, the revenue of Gibraltar, American quit-rents,

now

now generally *lost, irredeemably lost*, the Plantation duties of 4l. $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* from the Leeward islands, fines, forfeitures, and many other particulars, which certainly carry the Royal income to much above one million a year. We may form some guesses from the grants we find made. From the revenue of the Duchy of Cornwall it appears that 17,000l. issued to Mr. *Bradshaw* in one year, and 11,000l. in another. From the 4l. $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* in 1769, for his Majesty's *special service*, 14,742l. to Sir Grey Cooper. In 1771, John Robinson, Esq; received 10,000l. of the Virginian quit-rents, the *last* payment I believe of that nature. Sir Grey Cooper in 1769 received 2,144l. from the revenue of Gibraltar, and in 1765 the sum of 13,804l. was issued thence for *special service*. Such copious streams must flow from rich and abundant fountains. The Plantation duties of 4l. $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* produced in 1753, the sum of 27,377l. Fines and forfeitures are a very considerable addition to the Royal revenue. I was plundered in one year of 1000l. by two fines, one of 500l. for a pretended libel, and another of the same sum, because I had a

A laughable poem locked up in my bureau,
which.

† The late Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir John Cust, the weakest as well as the most abject of all ministerial tools even in that House, who by betraying the rights of the *Commons* expected to become a *Lord*, contrived in conjunction with a Mr. Filmer, Clerk of the *King's Bench* Treasury, to hold out a laughable poem to the nation as "*blasphemy*." When Mr. Wilkes was a prisoner at the bar of the House on the 31st of January 1769, he complained of this injustice.

Mr. Speaker,

I am sorry to be obliged by the regard I have to truth, and the vindication of my honour, to take notice in this public manner of an injury repeatedly done me by you, sir, in the *Votes* of this House, published to the nation by your authority, and in your name. I find it is asserted *three* times, in the *Votes* of last November, that there is a record of "*blasphemy*" against me. I am sure that no such record ever existed. The assertion is entirely void of truth. I am therefore necessitated to make my appeal to the House against you, sir, for having charged me with being convicted of a crime, of which I am innocent, and spread an unjust accusation throughout the kingdom, under the sanction of the *Speaker's* authority. In the good old *Speaker's* [*Onslow's*] time, when any mistake accidentally, and none ever but by accident THEN appeared in the *Votes*, the error was not only always acknowledged with candour, but speedily rectified. The false charge against me in so unjustifiable a manner still remains on your *Votes* in full force. I feel it, sir, as I ought; but I sub-

which administration hired a rascal of a servant to steal, and then they contrived to have published.

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The

submit to the wisdom and justice of this House the mode of separation of my injured honour.

Journals. Jan. 31, 1769, vol. 32. page 169.

Ordered, That the Entries in the *Votes* of the Titles of the Copies of the Records presented to this House upon the 23^d day of November last, be so altered, as particularly to express, that the words "for a libel" and for "*blasphemy*," contained in the said Entries, were part of the titles indorsed by the *Officer*, [*Mr. Filmer*] who presented the said Copies, and no part of the said records; *nor intended to convey any opinion of the House concerning them.*

In the first debate on the Middlesex elections, in the present Parliament, Feb. 22, 1775, Charles Van, Esq; Member for Brecon, mentioned this record as for "*blasphemy*." Mr. Wilkes immediately called him to order, and desired the above extract from the Journals might be read. Mr. Van very ingenuously confessed his mistake.

‡ *Michael Curry*. Not a printer, nor a printer's *devil*, would afterwards associate with this fiend. He ran away from the capital first to Norwich, and afterwards to Bristol, where he delivered the world from one of the most wretched, as well as wicked, of the human race. On the 3^d of August 1768, he made an affidavit at the Mansion House before the Lord Mayor Harley, which has been printed in all the papers. He was frequently with the peer, who is commonly called *Jemmy Tawit-*

The business of this day, sir, is naturally branched out into two parts, both which certainly claim our strict attention. His Majesty's message points them out to us. The first is the outstanding debts, the second the increase of the establishment of the Civil List.

Before

cher. In the affidavit he swears, "that when he told his Lordship of the robbery he had committed on his Master, Lord Sandwich answered, *You have saved the nation, and you may depend on any thing that is in my power*, that the inducement to him to commit the robbery was the money offered him, and the large promises from *those in power*" His Lordship was then Secretary of State. The affidavit likewise states, "that Faden, and Hassall, two known ministerial agents, desired him to name any sum, and that he might depend on being supported from any injury he might apprehend, and firmly rely on being protected by *those in power*." Curry was afterwards examined at the bar of the House of Commons on the 31st of January 1769. He then declared, that he "lived for some time at the house of Philip Carrington Webb, Esq; Secretary to the Treasury, that he was *confined* there, that Webb sent him to Carrington, one of the King's messengers, who regularly every week supplied him with money, that Webb said he might depend upon being taken care of, that *government would take care of him for surrendering the copy, and giving the evidence against Wilkes*, that Carrington declared he was *accountable to government* for the money he paid him, that Lord

"Saul-

Before we proceed, fir, to take into consideration the payment of the King's debts, we ought to enquire in what manner they have been contracted. The King has enjoyed ever since his accession the greatest unappropriated revenue of any prince in Europe, and the ex-

C 3

pences

“ *Sandwich* told him, *he might depend on any thing in his power*, that he had lost his character, that no one would afterwards employ him, &c, &c.”

There was not a man of honour in Europe acquainted with this black transaction, who did not blush for the conduct of the court of England on this occasion. Every liberal idea was sacrificed to a personal pique of the Prince. The infamy of corrupting a servant to rob his master, the baseness of confining a gentleman for a year in prison, and the meanness of picking his pocket of 500*l.* because he had a loose poem locked up in a private closet, had not been known in the most despotic countries, and betrayed a spirit of injustice, revenge, and cruelty. The fittest agent was employed for such a business, *Jemmy Twitcher*, then Secretary of State, *homo post homines natos turpissimus, sceleratissimus, contaminatissimus*. Even Lord Le Despencer, one of the first and most eager court vassals, who vowed *unconditional submission* to the *Tbane*, and swore fealty at the shrine of *Bute*, even he condemned the breach of honour and convivial friendship, without the pretext of any injury, or even previous quarrel, in his brother peer towards Mr. Wilkes. At the conclusion of the Secretary's speech in the House of Lords, Lord Le Despencer exclaimed

loud,

pences of the whole Royal Family have never exceeded 160,000l. a year. A Committee should be appointed for both the purposes mentioned, and papers very different from those before us ought to be submitted to Parliament. It is impossible for us now to form the slightest conjecture from these accounts in what way so enormous

said, " that he never before heard the devil preach a sermon against sin."

A great writer observes, that *every man has a right to have poisons in his closet. The crime is in the vending.*

The conduct of Henry IV. of France on the publication in 1605. of the famous libel called *L'Isle des Hermaphrodites*, was worthy of that great King.

Ce petit libelle (qui étoit assez bien fait) sous le nom de cette Isle imaginaire, découvroit les moeurs et façons de faire impies et vicieuses de la Cour, faisant voir clairement que la France est maintenant le repaire et l'asyle de tout vice, volupté, et impudence, au lieu que jadis elle étoit une academie honorable et seminaire de vertu. *Le Roi* le voulut voir et se le fit lire ; et encore qu'il le trouvât un peu libre et trop hardi, il se contenta néanmoins d'en apprendre le nom de l'auteur, qui étoit Arthus Thomas, lequel il ne voulut qu'on recherchât, faisant conscience, disoit-il, de jâcher un homme pour avoir dit la vérité.

Journal du regne de Henri IV. Par M. Pierre de l'Etoile, Grand Audiencier en la Chancellerie de Paris. vol. III. p. 278, 279. Ed. La Haye 1741.

enormous a debt as 618,340l. has been contracted. It is astonishing that there should remain in cash in the Exchequer on the 5th of Jan. last only 35,640l. The Queen has indeed 50,000l. a year very regularly paid; but the expence of the prince of Wales and the Bishop of Osnabrug is charged from 1769 to 1777 only 42,242l. Prince William Henry and Prince Edward, for the same period 5,017l. The King's message, sir, leads us to consider the state of the whole Royal Family. His Majesty has two brothers, universally beloved by the nation. I find no trace of any debts contracted by the crown on their account; no princely grants to either of the King's *own brothers*. As an Englishman I regret the scantiness of their incomes. The Duke of Gloucester seems doomed to pass his life abroad; and it is certainly neither from choice, nor from the ill state of his health. The Duke of Cumberland is happier, and lives in England. He possesses all the virtues, and supports with dignity the rank, of a private, benevolent, amiable Nobleman. His income is by no means adequate to the splendor of a Prince of the Blood, of a Prince of the blood:

blood so near to the King as his Majesty's own Brother. How then, sir, has this enormous debt been contracted? No outward magnificence has dazzled our eyes; no internal, domestic profusion has been imputed to the † Lord Steward of the household, who almost alone has continued in office this whole reign. We have scarcely the appearance of a Court, even in the capital. Former Kings of England with very inferior revenues were generous and splendid, their courts pompous and brilliant.

† With the greatest unappropriated revenue of any Prince in Europe, have we not seen you reduced to such vile and sordid distresses, as would have conducted any other man to a prison? Is it not notorious that the vast revenues, extorted from the labour and industry of your subjects, and given you to do honour to yourself and to the nation, are dissipated in corrupting their representatives?

Junius. Preface, p. 29.

In the debate in the House of Lords on the debts of the Civil List, April 16, 1777, Earl Talbot, Lord Steward of His Majesty's Household, the tear starting from his eye, told many a piteous tale of the distresses of the royal household, kitchen, and stables, of half-starved nurses, skulions, and grooms. His Lordship said, "he would finish those scenes of *unutterable woe*" with a fact, which had happened very lately. The King's coal-merchant declared, that he was so distressed for money, he was ready to turn his Majesty off."

brilliant. All princely and royal visitors were lodged in their palaces, and splendidly entertained. § His Majesty's residence at Windsor the last summer did not quite revive all the ideas of the magnificence, and even hospitality, of the Plantagenets, nor efface all the glories of our Henries and Edwards. No stately buildings, or proud palaces, no *imperial works*, and *worthy Kings*, have excited the public wonder, or called foreigners from the continent to our island to admire the royal taste and magnificence. An †honourable gentleman, sir, tells us of the King's *houses*. The former Kings of England, sir, lived in *palaces*, not in *houses*. His Majesty has *not yet* had a *Scottish* rebellion to quell. The Royal revenues have not been expended *against the Scots*, but surrendered *to them*, an idea little suspected by the people of England, when they gave at first with such a liberal, and even prodigal hand. How then, sir, has this debt been contracted? There
are

§ When the King's Sister, the Princess of Brunswick, paid the last visit to the court of England, Her Royal Highness was in *ready furnished lodgings* in Pall-Mall.

† Sir Grey Cooper, Bart. Member for Saltash, Joint Secretary to the Treasury.

are no *outward and visible* signs of grandeur and expence. I will tell the House what is said without doors, what the nation generally suspects, and therefore it becomes our duty to investigate. The nation, sir, suspects, that the regular, ministerial majorities in Parliament are bought by these very grants; that in one instance we attend to the evangelical precept, *give, and it shall be given unto you*, and that the Crown has made a purchase of this House with the money of the people. Hence the ready, tame, and servile compliance to every Royal edict issued by the Minister. Inward *corruption* is the canker, which gnaws the
vitals.

† Other princes, besides his Majesty, have had the means of *corruption* within their reach, but they have used it with moderation. In former times *corruption* was considered as a foreign auxiliary to government, and only called in upon extraordinary emergencies. The unfeigned piety, the sanctified religion of *George the Third* have taught him to new model the civil forces of the state. The natural resources of the crown are no longer confided in. *Corruption* glitters in the van; --- collects and maintains a standing army of mercenaries, and, at the same moment, impoverishes and enslaves the country.--- His Majesty's predecessors (except that worthy family, from which you, my Lord, [the Duke of Grafton] are unquestionably descended).
had

vitals of Parliament. It is almost universally believed, sir, that the debt has been contracted in corrupting the Representatives of the people; and that this public plunder has been divided among the majority of this House, which is allowed to be the most corrupt assembly in Europe, while the honest and fair creditors of the crown have been reduced to the greatest distress. Compassion to them is only made the pretext of the present message. This, sir, is a fit object of parliamentary enquiry.

The alarm has spread through the country. The charge is taken up by almost every independent man in the kingdom. It is asked, Did the

had some generous qualities in their composition, with vices, I confess, or frailties in abundance. They were Kings, or gentlemen, not hypocrites or priests. They were at the head of the church, but did not know the value of their office. They said their prayers without ceremony, and had too little priestcraft in their understanding, to reconcile the sanctimonious forms of religion with the utter destruction of the morality of their people.---My Lord, this is fact, not declamation.---With all your partiality to the house of *Stuart*, you must confess, that even *Charles the Second* would have blushed at those eager, meretricious careffes, with which every species of private vice and public prostitution is received at *St. James's*.

Junius, vol. 2, pages 249, 250.

the last parliamentary grant of 513,511*l.* so lately as 1769, to pay the King's debts, give satisfaction to the honest tradesmen and inferior dependents of the crown, or was it diverted another way? The majority of this House, sir, ought not to lie under this suspicion, nor will they, if they are innocent. They ought likewise to vindicate the honour of our Sovereign from the foul suspicions, which are gone abroad on this subject. A heavier accusation can scarcely be brought. Mr. Locke, sir, in his chapter on the *Dissolution of Government*, says, "He (the supreme Executor) acts
 "contrary to his trust, when he either employs the
 "force, treasure, and offices of the society, to
 "corrupt the representatives, and gain them to
 "his purposes, or openly pre-engages the electors,
 "and prescribes to their choice, such, whom he
 "has by solicitations, threats, promises, or other-
 "wise won to his designs; and employs them to
 "bring in such, who have promised before-hand
 "what to vote, and what to enact." What, sir, was the case of *Hine's Patent Place* in the collection of the customs at Exeter, publicly sold, and the money given, not to a needy public, but to *General Burgoyne*, to reimburse

him

him the expences of the *Preston* election, and the subsequent prosecution and fine of 1000l. by a court of law, for the outrages committed in Lancashire against the sacred rights of election? *That* instance alone merited an impeachment from parliament against the † profligate minister of that day.

If

† *The Duke of Grafton.*

Junius addresses his Grace in terms almost of inspiration. "Your cheek turns pale; for a guilty conscience tells you, you are undone.---Come forward, thou virtuous minister, and tell the world by what interest *Mr. Hine* has been recommended to so extraordinary a mark of his Majesty's favour; what was the price of the patent he has bought, and to what honourable purpose the purchase money has been applied. Nothing less than many thousands could pay Colonel Burgoyne's expences at *Preston*."

Junius, vol. 2. p. 21.

No sale by the candle was ever conducted with greater formality.---I affirm that the price, at which the place was knocked down (and which, I have good reason to think, was not less than 3,500l.) was, *with your connivance and consent*, paid to Colonel Burgoyne, to reward him, I presume, for the decency of his deportment at *Preston*. Page 23.

Mr. Taylor and George Ross (the Scotch agent and worthy confidante of Lord Mansfield) managed the business. Page 24.

The chaste *Duke of Grafton* had commenced a prosecution against *Mr. Samuel Vaughan*, for endeavouring to corrupt his integrity by an offer of 5000l. for a

patent

If there is, fir, a spark of virtue left among us, we cannot sit down contented with such loose general accounts, that *secret and special service, the Privy Purse, the Treasurer of the chamber*

patent place in Jamaica. A rule to shew cause, why an information should not be exhibited against Vaughan for certain misdemeanours, being granted by the Court of King's Bench, the matter was solemnly argued on the 27th of November, 1769, and, by the unanimous opinion of the four judges, the rule was made absolute. The pleadings and speeches were accurately taken in short-hand, and published. The whole of Lord Mansfield's Speech, and particularly the following extracts from it, deserve the reader's attention.

“ A practice of the kind complained of here is certainly dishonourable and scandalous.---If a man, standing under the relation of an officer under the King, or of a person in whom the King puts confidence, or of a minister, takes money for the use of that confidence the King puts in him, he basely betrays the King,---he betrays his trust.---If the King sold the office, it would be acting contrary to the trust the constitution hath reposed in him. The constitution does not intend the crown should sell those offices, to raise a revenue out of them.---Is it possible to hesitate, whether this would not be criminal in the Duke of Grafton;---contrary to his duty as a privy-counsellor;---contrary to his duty as a minister;---contrary to his duty as a subject.---His advice should be free according to his judgment;---it is the duty of his office;---he has sworn to it.”

Notwithstanding all this the chaste *Duke of Grafton* certainly

Chamber, the Cofferer of the Household, Royal bounties, pensions and annuities, swallow up almost the whole Civil List. There is a general charge of pensions to the amount of 438,000*l.* The † *Pension List* is the great grievance.

certainly sold a patent place to Mr. Hine, for 3,500*l.* and, for so doing, is now Lord Privy Seal to the chaste George, with whose piety we are perpetually deafened. If the House of Commons had done their duty, and impeached the black Duke for this most infamous breach of trust, how woefully must *poor, honest Mansfield* have been puzzled! His embarrassment would have afforded the most ridiculous scene, that ever was exhibited. To save the worthy judge from this perplexity, and the no less worthy Duke from impeachment, the prosecution against *Vaughan* was immediately dropped upon my discovery and publication of the Duke's treachery. The suffering this charge to pass, without any enquiry, fixes shameless prostitution upon the face of the House of Commons more strongly than even the Middlesex election.

Junius, vol. II. p. 27.

† The *Duke of Grafton* during his administration carried the *Pension List* to the extreme of infamy. Junius asks, "Has not *Sir John Moore* a pension of 500*l.* a year? --- This may probably be an acquittal of favours upon the turf; but is it possible to offer a grosser outrage to a nation, which has so very lately cleared away the beggary of the Civil List, at the expence of more than half a million?"

Junius, vol. I. p. 89.

BF

grievance. From 1769 to 1777, there is a single line of 171,000*l.* *secret and special* service, issued to Sir Grey Cooper. In the same period, under the same article, 114,000*l.* to

John

“ If a late pension to a broken gambler [*Sir John Moore*] be an act worthy of commendation, the *Duke of Grafton*'s connections will furnish him with many opportunities of doing praise-worthy actions.” P. 95.

The pension of 1,200*l.* a year to *Paoli* can be accounted for only two ways, either by the courtly principle now established among us, of giving applause and assistance to all those, who have betrayed the public liberty, from the King of Sweden to the late General of the Corsicans, or as hush-money to conceal the share of our court in the sacrifice of Corsica to France. When Baron Van Swieten, the late Minister from the Empress Queen to the King of Prussia, was in London, he saw and conversed with *Paoli*. The Corsican lamented, that in the late war against France *he could not be present every where in his island in every action*. The Baron replied, *that is no reason for your doing nothing where you were*. “ Le Comte de Grand-
 “ maison prit le village d'Olmetta, d'où le Général
 “ *Paoli s'étoit enfuit* dès le premier ébranlement des
 “ troupes.” Histoire des Révolutions de Corse. Par M. l'Abbé de Germanes. Paris, vol. 3. p. 65. “ Il
 “ manquoit totalement de cette bravoure, le soutien
 “ des états naissans, et si nécessaire vis-à-vis d'une na-
 “ tion belliqueuse, qu'elle ne peut être suppléée par au-
 “ cune autre qualité. On ne l'a vu dans aucune action
 “ à la tête de ses compatriotes. Il se tenoit toujours en
 “ arrière, et ne manquoit pas d'être le premier à faire
 “ retraite

§ John Robinson, Esq; exclusive of enormous sums on the same heads to the Secretaries of State, and the Secretary of the Post-office, generally in one short, single line. When

VOL. II.

D

we

“ retraite dès qu’il voyoit le succès douteux. vol 2. p.
 “ 188. *Paoli* ignorant sa victoire *fuyoit* d’une coté,
 “ tandis que *nous nous retirions* de l’autre. vol. 3. p.
 “ 95. There is a remarkable appearance of candour
 and impartiality in this history. The Abbé received
 the solemn thanks of the states of Corsica for the two
 fait volumes. “ Il fut arrêté, que l’on écriroit, au
 “ nom des Etats à M. l’Abbé Germanes une lettre de
 “ remerciement sur les peines et soins qu’il avoit pris,”
 &c. &c. “ *Paoli* tout éperdu, laissa, pour se sauver à
 “ travers les rochers, son cheval et son port-feuille à
 “ Murato. p. 132. Le Général *Paoli*---se hâta de
 “ quitter sa patrie---laissant *Abattucci* à la tête des
 “ Nationaux qui tenoient encore les armes; il se sauva
 “ de *Bastilica* sur *Quinza*, et delà se rendit à *Porto-*
 “ *Vecchio* avec *Clément* son frere, quelques autres chefs,
 “ et une centaine de Corsés attachés à sa personne, ou
 “ à ses richesses. vol. 3. p. 148. l’envie de perpétuer
 “ son gouvernement fut sa premiere raison d’état, et il
 “ préféra toujours sa grandeur personnelle à la liberté
 “ de sa nation---il étoit beaucoup moins capitaine que
 “ politique. Au défaut de bravoure, il substituoit
 “ l’art d’en montrer. Feignant de chercher le peril au
 “ commencement d’une action, il trouvoit toujours des
 “ amis discrets, qui arrêtoient son ardeur- - quoique
 “ timide dans le combat, il étoit hardi dans le conseil, et
 “ ferme

§ Member for Harwich, Joint Secretary to the Treasury with Sir Grey Cooper.

we know, sir, what prosecutions have been carried on, a loose article of 60,000*l.* in one year, as *law charges*, ought to alarm us no less for the liberty of the Press, than for the private property of individuals against unfounded

“ ferme dans ses projets---si ne pouvant plus maintenir son pays dans la liberté dont il pretendoit être le restaurateur, il fût mort les armes à la main à la tête de ses compatriotes, il passeroit pour un héros.” p. 148. Such is the judgment passed by a French Abbé on a republican General! What was the glorious answer of the young Nassau, afterwards our great *Deliverer*, to some courtiers of Charles II, who in the desperate situation of Holland from the conquests of Louis XIV. advised him to accept the splendid offer of being Sovereign of the Provinces under the protection of England and France? *I will not survive the liberties of my country. I will die in the last dyke.* Paoli ought to have died, *sword in hand*, on the last free mountain of Corsica. But he lives, attends regularly, bows low, and smiles eternally, at the levee of a King, by whom he is again smiled upon, caressed and pensioned. With the spoils of his enslaved country, and an English pension, this brave, firm, fierce, independent republican crouches at a court, and consoles himself, far from those vile guns, in a drawing room, in a sweet intercourse of bows and smiles with the ribbanded and titled slaves of power, under the contempt of all Europe. The pension was given him, at the intercession of Lord George Germaine, in the administration of the Duke of Grafton. His treachery recommended him to the Duke: a similitude of character and conduct naturally captivated the heart of Germanicus.

founded claims of the crown. We have seen
 the cruel invasion of both in this reign. Under
 the head of *Contingencies of divers natures*, we
 are lost and bewildered by a rambling account,
 in which it is impossible to guess the least par-
 ticular. We find *Messrs. Amyand and Siebel*
 receive 38,692*l.* to pay bills of Exchange;
 and in another line, *Thomas Pratt, Esq;* 8,139*l.*
 to pay another bill of Exchange. For what natio-
 nal purpose, or public service? Such accounts,
 sir, are only calculated for such a servile Parlia-
 ment. *Pensions, annuities, and royal bounties*, shall
 with much caution be touched by me, even in
 this House. One word only I shall mention of
literary patronage, because it seems to be a favo-
 rite subject. We are, sir, hourly told, that ge-
 nius and learning are now fostered by
 the propitious beams of royal favour, and
 all the polite arts encouraged and patroniz-
 ed. The two famous Doctors † *Shebbeare* and
D. 2
Johnson,

† Dr. Shebbeare was tried in 1758 for printing and
 publishing "A sixth Letter to the People of England."
 The information was exhibited by Lord Camden, when
 Attorney General. It stated, that the libel "tended
 " to traduce the *Revolution*, and to represent it as the
 " foundation of all those imaginary evils and calami-
 " ties, which he, the said Defendant, would falsely
 " in-

† *Johnson*, are in this reign the *state hirelings* called pensioners. The piety of our Sovereign to the memory of his *grandfather*, as well as gratitude to our glorious *Deliverer*, should surely, fir,

“ insinuate the subjects of this kingdom did labour
 “ under; and also to asperse the memory of King
 “ William III, and of George I, &c. and also to as-
 “ perse, scandalize, and vilify King George II, &c.
 “ and to insinuate that King George II. had no con-
 “ cern for the people of England, nor any regard for
 “ the interest, honour, or welfare of this kingdom.”
 Another charge was omitted by the Attorney-Gen-
 eral, Mr. Pratt, from a motive of delicacy, for
 Dr. Shebbeare had *bastardized* the whole royal fa-
 mily in the “ Sixth Letter to the People of Eng-
 “ land.” It was published in the time of the late
 war with France. A jury found the Doctor guilty.
 He was fined, pilloried, and imprisoned. Lord Mans-
 field, who tried the cause, declared, that the “ *Sixth*
 “ *Letter to the People of England*” approached the near-
 est to High Treason, without actually committing it, of
 any paper he ever read. His Lordship’s nice, exquisite
 judg-

† *Pension*. n. s. [*pension*, Fr.] An allowance made to any one without an equivalent. In England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a *state hireling* for treason to his country.

Pensioner. n. s. [from *pension*] 1. One who is supported by an allowance paid at the will of another; a dependant.

2. A slave of state hired by a stipend to obey his master.

A Dictionary of the English Language, in 2 vols. fol. by Dr. Samuel Johnson.

Vide Dr. Johnson’s *False Alarm*, and all his political tracts.

fir, have prevented the names of these two Doctors from disgracing a Civil List, which both of them had repeatedly and publicly declared the King's family had no right to, but ought to be considered as a flagrant usurpation. These two Doctors have in their writings treated the late King, and King William, with the ut-

D 3 most

judgment in such a matter cannot be controverted. The family connection with his own brother, Lord Dunbar, the late *Pretender's confidential secretary*, his early studies at Oxford, the whole cast and colour of his life, make his opinion of value, his testimony unquestionable. In a letter addressed to his Lordship, *Junius says*, "In your earlier days you were but little infected with the *prudence* of your country; you had some original attachments, which you took every proper opportunity to acknowledge. The liberal spirit of youth prevailed over your native discretion. Your zeal in the cause of an unhappy prince was expressed with the sincerity of wine, and some of the solemnities of religion." In a note to this passage *Junius* adds about Lord Manfield, "This man was always a rank Jacobite. Lord Ravensworth produced the most satisfactory evidence of his having frequently drank the Pretender's health upon his knees.

Dr. Shebbeare's character is admirably drawn by the author of the "Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers."

Wretch! that from slander's filth art ever gleaning,
 Spite without spirit, malice without meaning:
 The same abusive, base, abandon'd thing,
 When pilloried, or *pensioned* by a king.

most virulence and scurrility, and they are the known *pensioned* advocates of despotism. The two other instances are ridiculous enough. David Hume was pensioned in this *pious* reign for attacking the Christian religion; and Dr. Beattie for answering him. In this manner is the public treasure lavished; but these, I own, are mean objects, and of trifling concern. The great mass of the debt remains unaccounted for, and is suspected to be contracted for the most criminal purposes. It is necessary to satisfy the people that the enquiry should be made, and therefore I hope the House will instruct the committee to that purpose.

Let me now, sir, suppose, that parliament acquiesces with the present claim, what cheerful ray of future hope have we to comfort us that future demands will not succeed? Will this be the last court job, even of the present minister? No assurances whatever are given, not a hint of *economy*, or frugal management, or the least care of the public treasure in future. Surely such a mode of proceeding is highly unbecoming, indecent, and contemptuous.

May I, sir, pass the invidious streights of Calais, and consider the state of the neigh-

bouring

bouring monarchy with respect to the King's household and debts! By two new edicts for the regulation of the French King's household expences, pensions, and royal bounties, all arrears are to be discharged within six years, and a fixed resolution is declared *pour concilier avec une sage économie les dépenses que l'éclat de sa couronne peut exiger*. From the first of last January all future expences whatever respecting the household are to be paid in the course of the current year. The very first article is, "l'année révolue de toutes les dépenses de la maison du Roi, tant par entreprises que par fournitures, sera à l'avenir payée comptant au Trésor Royal, dans le courant de l'année suivante, à raison d'un douzième par mois." Would to God, sir, such a spirit of justice and reformation crossed the channel to this capital! We, alas! have not a gleam of hope of any reformation. The French King, sir, has likewise two brothers, Monsieur, and the Comte d'Artois. They have found in their sovereign an affectionate and generous brother, not a gloomy tyrant, like——*Louis the XIth.

D 4

They

† Mezeray, historiographer of France, says, "Comme nous le [Louis XI.] depeint *jurieusement*

They are an united and happy family. What the King has given them in important grants, and *en apanage*, as it is called, enables them to support with eclat their high rank. The new regulations of the French King's household expences and debts are founded in justice, and are no extraordinary burden on the people. The *first* Prince of the Hanover line observed the same conduct, for the message of George I. to this House, of July 11, 1721, is “ that being resolved to cause a *retrenchment* to be made of his Civil List expences
 “ for the future, and finding that such a *retrenchment* cannot well be effected, without
 “ discharging the present arrears, his Majesty
 “ has ordered the accounts thereof to be laid
 “ before the House, and hopes he may be empowered to raise ready money for that purpose, on the Civil List revenues; which, to
 “ avoid

“ *souçonneux et jaloux de sa puissance, très absolu dans ses volontés, qui ne pardonnoit point, qui a terriblement joulé ses sujets, et avec cela le meilleur des Princes [the best of Kings] de son tems. QUELS POUVOIENT ETRE LES AUTRES ?*”

Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France, par le Sieur de Mezeray, historiographe de France. vol. vii. p. 212. Ed. Amsterdam. 1759.

“ avoid the laying any new burden on his people,
 “ his Majesty proposes shall be replaced to
 “ the Civil List, and re-imbursed by a de-
 “ duction to be made out of the salaries and
 “ wages of all offices, and the pensions, and
 “ other payments, from the crown.” The
 venal parliament of 1769 gave the money out
 of the current expences of the year, without
 a single line of any account.

When we are repeatedly to'd, sir, of the
 present splendour of the British diadem, of
 the extent of our empire, and the *greatness* of
 our sovereign, I own that the *diminished rays*
 of the crown occur to my painful imagination,
 I am not dazzled, but mortified. It brings to
 my recollection what was said of Philip the
 IVth of Spain, when Louis XIV. was taking
 all the towns, one after another, in the Ne-
 therlands, “ *Sa grandeur ressemble à celle des*
 “ *fossés, qui deviennent grands à proportion des*
 “ *terres, qu'on leur ôte.*”

The * noble lord near me has said, that he
 wished a strict review of the whole establish-
 ment of the crown, as to the Civil List. I
 per-

* Lord John Cavendish, Member for York.

perfectly approve the idea. Almost the whole requires a new regulation. I think the judges in particular ought not to be paid out of the civil list, but by the public. They cannot be now displaced, but they may be starved by the sword. The spirit of their independence ought to extend as well to their salaries, as to their commissions. I observe, sir, in the Civil List accounts on the table, an article, "Lord Howe and Sir William Howe Commissioners, for restoring peace in America 100l. per week each, arrears 1,742l." The noble Lord with the blue ribband has just called them *Ambassadors*. Have we then already acknowledged the *United Colonies* of America as a sovereign state, like the *United Provinces* of Holland? If we have not, that event must happen. The peaceful mode adopted by the brothers, according to my calculation, will not soon restore peace in America. It may possibly be the period of the Trojan war, ten years at least, so that the nation may compliment the *Howe* family with above one hundred thousand pounds free gift, at the rate of 100l. per week each brother, besides the settled pay and perquisites, as officers. But, sir, what connection has

such

Such an article as this with the Civil List, with his Majesty's household?

Let us not now, sir, rashly proceed in the iniquitous method of deciding on these two important questions, the expéndice, and the increase of the Civil List, without hearing the evidence, or hearing it only in part. We have not sufficient *Data* to proceed. By such injustice we lost America. We proscribed the inhabitants of Boston without hearing them, and in the same manner adopted coercive and sanguinary measures against the other colonies. Let us not now advance a single step but with caution, with fear and trembling. We are asked to furnish the ministers with weapons, which may be employed to our destruction, against the liberties of our own country. An increased undue influence must necessarily be created, and the overgrown power of the Crown enlarged. Ministers only want what are called *the sinews of war*. The doctrine is now avowed of the legality of introducing foreign troops into the British dominions. The minister has the power of the sword, when we give him that of the purse. How many nations have totally lost their liberties by

internal corruption, and by mercenary armies? There is an affected *false alarm* about faction and civil discord, disturbances and † insurrections, but it is well known, that civil dissensions have often among us been even favourable to freedom. Montesquieu observes of England, “ *On voit la liberté servir sans cesse des feux de la discorde et de la sédition, le Prince toujours chancelant sur un trône inébranlable.*”

I desire, sir, to submit to the noble Lord near me, whether, in point of form and precedent, instead of *discharging* the order for referring the King's message to the committee of supply, which his Lordship has moved, it would not be more proper to instruct the committee on the two important points of the message, the paying his Majesty's debts, and the addition to the standing revenue of the Crown. If his Lordship and the House adopt that mode, I shall then move, “ That it be an
“ instruction

† *Wise and good Kings*, being taught by reason and experience, that nations delight in the peace and justice of a good government, will never fear a *general insurrection*, whilst they take care it be rightly admitted, and *find themselves by this means to be safe.*

“ instruction to the said committee, that, before
“ they proceed to consider of his Majesty’s
“ most gracious message, they do consider of
“ the causes of the debts due on account of the
“ Civil List, and likewise what further pro-
“ vision may be necessary to support the splen-
“ dor and dignity of the Crown of Great-
“ Britain.”

The PROTEST of the LORDS,

On the 16th of April 1777.

Dissentient,

FOR the reasons contained in the amendment proposed and rejected, viz. in lieu of the Address, to substitute the following :

To assure his Majesty of the inviolable affection and loyalty of this House; and that it is with the sincerest affliction we find our duty to his Majesty, and our country, entirely incompatible with our compliance with the request made to us in his Majesty's name.

That at a time when the increase of Public Debt, attended with a decrease of the British empire, manifestly required the utmost economy in the management of the Revenues of the Crown, we cannot behold, without astonishment and indignation, a profusion in your Majesty's ministers, which the greatest prosperity of our affairs could scarcely excuse.

That

That this House, with the most zealous devotion to your Majesty's true interests, beg leave to represent to your Majesty, that we humbly apprehend the clear revenue of 800,000l. a year, which supported the government and court of your Majesty's grandfather of happy memory in great authority and magnificence, is fully sufficient (if managed by your Majesty's servants with the same integrity and oeconomy) to maintain also the honour and dignity of your Majesty's Crown, in that reverence in which we wish, as much at least as those who have squandered away your revenues, to see it always supported.

Parliament has already in consideration (we suppose) of some expences at the beginning of your Majesty's reign, discharged the debts and incumbrances on the Civil List to a very great amount. Again to exceed the revenue granted by Parliament, without its authority, and to abuse its indulgence in paying one debt, by contracting, in so short a time, another, and a greater, is, on the first view, a criminal act. Your Majesty's ministers ought to have laid some matter before this House, tending

The PROTEST of the Earl of RADNOR.

On the first of May 1777.

Dissentient.

BECAUSE, though I admit, and zealously contend, that the splendor and dignity of the Crown of Great Britain, and the credit of the royal household, ought for his Majesty's personal satisfaction, no less than for the honour of the nation, to be maintained by liberal grants of Parliament, (liberal beyond the charge of parsimony, or a minute calculation of the demands on government) yet, when no consideration is had, and no account whatever given in of various productive funds, of which his Majesty's servants are in the receipt, and which are never accounted for in Parliament, I must insist that all calculations of a deficiency in the assumed sum of 800,000l. only, are fallacious and absurd.

Because these funds produce either the exact sum of 78,000l. or more, or less. If they
pro-

produce that sum, the produce more than liquidates the present stated debt. If they produce less, but yet produce something, the accounts upon the table cannot be true; for such produce would then either have been accounted for in diminution of this debt, or such produce is still in hand, and the means of discharging such debt remain; or there has been some secret expenditure to which it has been applied, and which administration have not thought fit to mention. If they produce, as I cannot but think they do produce, considerably more, it surely rests upon ministers to shew the application, rather than becomes the credulity of Parliament to accept these accounts as complete, or its generosity to supply with such readiness, and consequently encourage the wantonness of their profusion, as to the amount, and perhaps their criminality in the destination of the sums.

And because when (exclusive of the enormous sums stated to be lodged with certain persons who are members of the House of Commons, for secret and special services, words calculated to perplex and not inform) the extravagant amount of salaries and ac-

known pensions (to which parliamentary jealousy claims a right of making a large addition on account of the general belief, amounting with many persons to an internal conviction of considerable disbursements for secret and unacknowledged purposes) is considered; I hold it my duty, as a member of the legislature, to withhold the additional means, afforded by this bill, of corrupting the integrity of Parliament.

R A D N O R.

VOTES of M y 7, 1777.

Ordered, *Nemine contradicente,*

That Mr. *Speaker* be desired to print the Speech made by him to His Majesty, in the House of Peers, this day, upon his presenting to His Majesty the Bill for the better support of His Majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown of Great Britain, which then received the Royal Assent.

The S P E E C H of the Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir *Fletcher Norton.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,

“ The Bill which it is now my duty to
“ present to your Majesty, is intituled, *An*
“ *Act for the better support of his Majesty's house-*
“ *hold, and of the honour and dignity of the*
“ *crown of Great Britain:* to which your
“ Commons humbly beg your Royal Assent.

“ By this Bill, sir, and the respectful cir-
“ cumstances which preceded and accompanied
“ it, your Commons have given the fullest
“ and clearest proof of their zeal and affection

“ for your Majesty. For in a time of public
 “ distress, full of difficulty and danger, *their*
 “ *constituents labouring under burthens almost too*
 “ *heavy to be borne*, your faithful Commons
 “ postponed all other business; and, with as
 “ much dispatch as the nature of their pro-
 “ ceedings would admit, have not only grant-
 “ ed to your Majesty a large present supply;
 “ but also very great additional revenue;—
 “ *great beyond example; great, beyond your*
 “ *Majesty’s highest expence.*

“ But all this, sir, they have done, in a
 “ well-grounded confidence, that you will
 “ apply *wisely* what they have granted *liberally*;
 “ and feeling what every good subject must
 “ feel with the greatest satisfaction, that, un-
 “ der the direction of your Majesty’s wisdom,
 “ the affluence and grandeur of the Sovereign
 “ will reflect dignity and honour upon his
 “ people.”

VOTES of May 9, 1777.

Resolved, That the *Speaker* of this House,
 in his Speech to his Majesty, at the bar of the
 House of Peers on Wednesday last, and which

was desired, *Nemine contradicente*, by this House, to be printed, did express, with just and proper energy, the zeal of this House, for the support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, in circumstances of great public charge,

Ordered, That the thanks of this House be returned to Mr. *Speaker* for his said Speech to His Majesty.

VOTES of Feb. 21, 1777.

A Petition of the *Trustees of the British Museum* was brought up and read.

Ordered, That the said Petition be referred to the consideration of a Committee of the whole House,

VOTES of April 28, 1777.

Ordered, " That the Account of Annual
 " Expence and Income of *The British Museum*,
 " from the first of January 1768, to the 31st
 " of December 1776, be referred to the said
 " Committee [*to consider further of the Supply*
 " granted to His Majesty]."

Mr. Wilkes said,

Mr. Speaker,

Before the *Petition* of the *Trustees of the British Museum* is referred to the consideration of the Committee of Supply, I beg the indulgence of the House to submit a few general ideas on that subject, entirely independent of party and politics. The encouragement of all useful knowledge, and the protection of the arts and sciences, with a particular attention to our own manufactures, appear to me, sir, just objects of public regard, and highly deserving parliamentary consideration, especially in this great commercial country. Among the many proofs of the improvement of our national taste, and love of polite literature, the establishment of the *British Museum* claims the pre-eminence. It rose under the favourable auspices of this House, has been carefully watched over by us, and I hope will still continue to receive our friendly protection and support. Various branches of learning have already derived singular advantages from that rich repository, and I think it may be made yet more extensively useful to

this

this kingdom. This, sir, can only be done by this House, by parliamentary assistance. I shall at present confine myself to general ideas, and only throw out some hints for a future day's consideration.

It seems to me, sir, highly expedient that the Trustees of the *British Museum* should not only be enabled adequately to fulfil the objects of their public trust, by making what is already collected as useful as possible to the nation, but still farther to extend the laudable purposes of their institution. Their present funds we find by their Petition are incompetent even to the contracted plan now pursued, It is a general complaint that the *British Museum* is not sufficiently accessible to the public. This must necessarily happen from the deficiency of their revenues. The trustees cannot pay a proper number of officers and attendants. This will to-day be in part the consideration of the committee, into which the House will soon resolve itself. But, sir, I wish their plan much enlarged, especially on two important objects, *Books* and *Paintings*. This capital after so many ages remains without any considerable public library. Rome has the im-

mensure

menſe collection of the *Vatican*, and Paris ſcarcely yields to the miſtreſs of the world by the greatneſs of the *King's Library*. They are both open at ſtated times, with every proper accommodation, to all ſtrangers. London has no large public Library. The beſt here is the *Royal Society's*, but even that is inconſiderable, neither is it open to the public, nor are the neceſſary conveniences afforded ſtrangers for reading or tranſcribing. The *British Muſeum*, ſir, is rich in Manuſcripts, the *Harleian collection*, the *Cottonian Library*, the collection of *Charles I.* and many others, eſpecially on our own hiſtory, but it is wretchedly poor in printed books. I wiſh, ſir, a ſum was allowed by parliament for the purchaſe of the moſt valuable editions of the beſt authors, and an Act paſſed to oblige every printer, under a certain penalty, to ſend a copy bound of every publication he made to the *British Muſeum*. Our poſterity by this, and other acquiſitions, might perhaps poſſeſs a more valuable treaſure than even the celebrated *Alexandrian collection*, for notwithſtanding that ſelfiſhneſs, which marks the preſent age, we have not quite loſt ſight of every beneficial proſpect for futurity. Conſiderable

Considerable donations might likewise, after such a sanction of parliamentary approbation, be expected from private persons, who in England, more than in any country of the world, have enlarged views for the general good and glory of the state.

The *British Museum*, sir, possesses few valuable *paintings*, yet we are anxious to have an *English school* of painters. If we expect to rival the Italian, the Flemish, or even the French, school, our artists must have before their eyes the finished works of the greatest masters. Such an opportunity, if I am rightly informed, will soon present itself. I understand that an application is intended to parliament, that one of the first collections in Europe, that at *Houghton*, made by Sir Robert Walpole, of acknowledged superiority to most in Italy, and scarcely inferior even to the Duke of Orleans's in the Palais Royal at Paris, may be sold by the family. I hope it will not be dispersed, but purchased by parliament, and added to the *British Museum*. I wish, sir, the eye of painting as fully gratified, as the ear of music is in this island, which at last bids fair to become a favourite abode of

the polite arts. A noble gallery ought to be built in the spacious garden of the *British Museum* for the reception of that invaluable treasure. Such an important acquisition as the *Houghton collection*, would in some degree alleviate the concern, which every man of taste now feels at being deprived of viewing those prodigies of art, the *Cartons* of the divine Raphael. King William, although a Dutchman, really loved and understood the polite arts. He had the fine feelings of a man of taste, as well as the sentiments of a hero. He built the princely suite of apartments at Hampton-Court, on purpose for the reception of those heavenly guests. The English nation were then admitted to the rapturous enjoyment of their beauties. They have remained there till this reign. At present they are perishing in a late * *Baronet's smoky house at the end of a great smoky town.* † They are entirely secreted from the public

* Sir Charles Sheffield's *house* in St. James's Park, now called the *Queen's Palace*.

† The royal *Procrustes*, who has founded an Academy of Painting, after an exact admeasurement, observing very sagaciously, that "the *Cartons* were too long, and ought to be cut shorter," a sacrilegious

public eye; yet, sir, they were purchased with public money, before the accession of the Brunswick Line, not brought from *Herrenhausen*. Can there be, sir, a greater mortification to any English gentleman of taste, than to be thus deprived of feasting his delighted view with what he most desired, and had always considered as the pride of our island, as an invaluable national treasure, as a common blessing, not as private property? The kings of France and Spain permit their subjects the view of all the pictures in their collections, and sure, sir, an equal compliment is due to a generous and free nation, who give their prince an income of above a million a year, even under the greatest public burthens.

A remarkable opportunity, sir, of improving the national taste in *painting*, which was lately lost, I hope may now be recovered. The incomparable † Sir Joshua Reynolds, and some other great painters, who do honour to

our

hand was found, which---*borrefio referens!*---mangled the divine works of the most divine artist, that they might exactly fit their present improper, ignoble situation.

† Sir *Joshua Reynolds* has given this island a fair claim to the following beautiful lines of Mr. Tickell,

See

our country, generously offered the late * bishop of London to adorn the cathedral of St. Paul's, that glorious monument of the magnificence of our ancestors, with some of their most valuable works; but the proposition had to encounter the absurd, *gothic* prejudices of a tasteless and ignorant prelate, which were found to be insuperable. We have the satisfaction at present of having in the † see of London a gentleman

See on her *Titian's* and her *Guido's* urns
 Her falling arts forlorn *Hesperia* mourns;
 While Britain wins each garland from her brow,
 Her wit and freedom first, her painting now.

* Dr. Richard Terrick.

† If I may be indulged a conjecture, it should be that not the *solid piety*, nor the *sound learning*, nor the *classical taste*, nor the merited correction, which, in the cause of polite literature, the present Bishop of London gave the *mitred cynick of Gloucester*, captivated *Mr. Wilkes* so much as that love of liberty, and detestation of tyrants, which are conspicuous in the writings of our excellent Diocesan. In his lectures "De sacra Poesi Hebræorum," a wonderful work from the *Clarendon Press at Oxford*, with the *imprimatur* of the Vice-Chancellor Browne in 1753, this worthy Prelate quotes with distinguished praise the *inspired verses* sung at all the public festivals of the Athenians in honour of the Greek heroes, Harmodius and Aristogiton, who slew the tyrant Hipparchus. The good Bishop declares the verses to be "*ingenioi certe poetæ, et valde boni civis.*"

Num

† gentleman, not only of solid piety, but of the soundest learning, and of exquisite, classical taste. I hope at such a favourable moment the proposition will be renewed and accepted.

As

Num verendum erat, ne quis tyrannidem Pisistratarum Athenis instaurare auderet, ubi in omnibus conviviis, et æque ab infima plebe in compitis, quotidianè cantaretur Σχολιον illud Callistrati nescio cujus, sed ingeniosi certe poetæ, et valde boni civis?

Εν μυρτῆ κλαδί το ξίφος φορησῶ,
Ὡσπερ Ἀρμόδιος κ' Ἀριστογείτων,
Ὅτε τοι τυραννοῦ χτανετῶ,
Ἰσοτομῆς τ' Ἀθῆνας ἐποιήσατῶ.

Φιλταδ' Ἀρμόδι, ἔτι πῆ τεθνηκῆς,
Ἥησοις δ' ἐν μακάρων σε φασιν εἶναι,
Ἰνα περ ποδωκῆς Ἀχιλλῆς,
Τυδεΐδην τε φασιν Ἰδιομῆδα.

Εν μυρτῆ κλαδί το ξίφος φορησῶ
Ὡσπερ Ἀρμόδιος κ' Ἀριστογείτων,
Ὅτ' Ἀθηναίης ἐν θυσίαις
Ἄνδρα τυραννοῦ Ἰππαρχοῦ ἐκαινετῶ.

Ἄει σφῶν κλέος εἴσεται κατ' αἶαν,
Φιλταδ' Ἀρμόδιε κ' Ἀριστογείτων,
Ὅτι τοι τυραννοῦ χτανετον,
Ἰσοτομῆς τ' Ἀθῆνας ἐποιήσατεον.

Quod si post *Idus illas Martias*, e Tyrannocætonis quispiam tale aliquod carmen plebi tradidisset, inque Suburram, et fori circulos, et in ora vulgi intulisset; æctum profecto fuisset de partibus deque dominatione Cæsartum; plus mehercule valuisset unum Ἀρμόδιου μέλος quàm Ciceronis Philippicæ omnes.

Another

† Dr. Robert Lowth.

As almost all arts and sciences, as well as some of the most useful manufactures, have a connection with each other, they will likewise give each other a mutual assistance. The beautiful

Another important circumstance on this great occasion was neglected by the Roman heroes, Brutus and Cassius. The dead body of the usurper ought immediately to have been thrown into the Tiber. Mark Antony's eloquent, but seditious and pestilent, funeral oration had not in that case been pronounced, nor the multitude driven to madness by his insidious artifices, and the affecting spectacle of the corpse of Cæsar, mangled with many wounds. The republic perhaps had survived, at least during the life of Brutus. The name, and family of the tyrant, might after the *ides of March* have been rendered odious by popular songs, and the Bishop blames the Romans for not copying from the Greeks in this respect. Liberty might have triumphed, and so general a horror of tyranny been diffused through the republic, that *Suetonius* could never have shocked all posterity by a detail, ridiculously minute and disgusting, of the monstrous crimes of the usurper's successors, when no longer controlled by fear, or any legal restraints. That writer however argues in my opinion against despotic power better than Sydney, Locke, or Price.

The idea in the Greek verses, which the Bishop so justly admires, of the two heroes *bearing their daggers in branches of myrtle* was taken from what happened at the feast of Panathenæa. The Athenians carried large *myrtle branches* in all their great solemnities and sacrifices. Among these were the

beautiful art of *engraving*, which is now carried among us to an astonishing degree of perfection, will come to the aid of her sister *painting*.

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the patriotic *daggers* of Harmodius and Aristogiton concealed. Undoubtedly they thought with all antiquity, that those, who trample on the equal rights of mankind, and rise superior to the laws of their country, so that they cannot be brought to a formal trial, nor made to expiate their crimes by the *sword of justice*, may be righteously punished by the *dagger of patriotism*. The Greeks and Romans not only *spoke daggers*, but *used them* in the cause of liberty, for they believed that the most acceptable sacrifice to the Gods was an usurper, or human tyrant.

*Victima haud ulla amplior
Potest, magisque opima maectari Jovi
Quam rex iniquus.*

SÆNECA,

When the City of London in 1772 voted a *silver cup* to Mr. Wilkes for his defence of freedom in the case of the printers, and left the design and ornaments to his direction, the *Death of Cæsar* in the Roman senate was the subject of his choice. It is certainly one of the greatest sacrifices to public liberty recorded in history. The *dagger* in the first quarter of the City Arms, which of course were to be embossed on the *vase*, does not seem to have suggested to him either the idea of the *dagger*, with which Sir William Walworth, a Lord Mayor of London in the reign of Richard II, killed Wat Tyler, or of the "curtana," the "short sword" of St Paul, according to the idle disputes of

ing. We have shewn our attention to that art this very session. I hope hereafter, even in this cold, raw climate, to be warmed with the glowing colours of our own *gobelins* tapestry, and I wish encouragement was given by parliament

of dull antiquarians, but probably it furnished the hint of

The *dagger* went to pierce the tyrant's breast.

POPE.

Julius Cæsar is represented in the bas-relief on the *vase*, as he is described by all historians in that important moment, gracefully covering himself with the toga, and falling at the base of a pedestal, which supports the statue of Pompey the Great. Brutus, Cæsius, and the other noble Romans, who conspired to restore freedom to their country, form a circle around the body of Cæsar. Their *daggers*, after the *godlike stroke*, seem reeking with the tyrant's blood, and are raised to heaven. Every eye is fixed on Brutus, who is in the attitude of congratulating Cicero on the recovery of the public liberty, and pointing to the prostrate and expiring usurper. The figure of Brutus stands out in very bold and high *relievo*, is particularly striking, and the capital of the whole groupe. At the bottom of the vase is the following inscription, encircled with *myrtle* and *oak* leaves.

May every tyrant feel

The keen, deep searchings of a patriot steel!

CHURCHILL.

liament to that noble manufacture, which in France almost rivals the powers of *painting*. The important advantages of such a commerce too we may learn from our neighbours.

I am not alarmed, sir, at the great expence, which some gentlemen seem to dread as the inevitable consequence of what I have mentioned. The treasures of a state are well employed in works of national magnificence. The power and wealth of ancient Greece were most seen and admired in the splendour of the temples, and other sublime structures, of *Pericles*. He boasted, that every art would be exerted, every hand employed, every citizen in the pay of the state, and the city, not only beautified, but maintained by itself. The sums he expended on the public buildings of *lettered Athens, in the most high and palmy state of Greece*, after the brilliant victories over the Persians, diffused riches and plenty among the people at that time, and will be an eternal monument of the glory of that powerful republic. The *Parthenon* only, or Temple of *Minerva*, acknowledged to be the most beautiful piece of antiquity now remaining in the world,

F 2

which

which is of the purest white marble, cost, with its statues and sculptures, above a thousand talents, near 200,000l. †

One observation here, sir, naturally occurs, which justice to the *Trustees of the British Museum* demands. No public money has ever been more faithfully, more frugally applied to the purposes, for which it has been given, than what they have received. Perhaps the *Trustees of the British Museum* are the only body of men, who have never been suspected of want either of fidelity or œconomy. I think therefore we may safely trust them farther, not penuriously, but largely, on a great, national concern, especially when their accounts are so frequently submitted to the examination of parliament.

Learning, sir, and the polite arts, have scarcely more than three enemies, ignorance and stupidity always, superstition often. The noble ‡ Lord with the blue ribband, who is at
the

† In the Tables of the learned Dr. Arbuthnot the *Attick Talent* is valued at 193l. 15s.

‡ Lord North, First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

the head of the finances of this country, possesses wit, genius, a great deal of true taste, and a very cultivated understanding. The most important establishment of this kingdom in taste and literature now supplicates the assistance and protection of this *House*. The fine arts have in his Lordship a judicious admirer, and of consequence a generous benefactor, a powerful protector.

VOTES of April 29, 1777.

A Motion was made, and the Question being put, “ That the Resolution of this House, “ of the 17th of February 1769, *that John “ Wilkes, Esquire, having been in this Session “ of Parliament, expelled this House, was, and “ is, incapable of being elected a Member to “ serve in this present Parliament, be ex- “ punged from the Journals of this House, “ as being subversive of the Rights of the “ whole Body of Electors of this kingdom.*”

Mr. Wilkes said,

Mr. Speaker,

The important Rights of Election in the people are so deeply interested in the Question, which I think it my duty to move again to this House, that no apology can be necessary for my embracing this, and every, opportunity, which the forms of parliament permit, of bringing this business again to our consideration.

Every Elector in the kingdom, sir, was injured by the resolution of the last parliament in the case of the *Middlesex Elections*. A fatal precedent is thereby created of making an *Incapacity* by a *Vote* of this House, where the law of the land, and common right, rendered the party eligible. The words of the Resolution of the 17th of February, 1769, are, " That John Wilkes, Esquire, having
 " been, in this Session of Parliament, expelled
 " led

“ led this House, WAS, and IS, incapable of
 “ being elected a Member to serve in this
 “ present Parliament.” By this arbitrary and
 capricious *Vote* the House established an *In-*
capacity unknown to the laws of the land.
 It is a direct assuming of the whole legislative
 power, for it gives to the Resolution of one
 House the virtue of an act of the entire legis-
 lature to bind the whole. The King, the
 Lords, the Commons of the realm, suffer
 alike from this usurpation. It effectually
 destroys both the form and essence of this free
 constitution. The right of representation is
 taken away by this vote. It is difficult, sir, to
 decide, whether the despotic body of men, which
 composed the last rotten parliament, intended
 by the whole of their conduct in the Middle-
 sex Elections to cut up by the roots our most
 invaluable Franchises and Privileges, or only
 to sacrifice to the rage of an incensed court
 one obnoxious individual. In either case the
 rights of the nation were betrayed by *that*
 Parliament, and basely surrendered into the
 hands of the minister, that is of the crown.

We are, sir, the guardians of the laws. It
 is our duty to oppose all usurped power in

the King or the Lords.* We are criminal,
 when

* The following extract from the speech of Mr. Wilkes to the Livery of London, when he quitted the office of Lord Mayor, Nov. 8, 1775, gives a remarkable instance of an attack on the liberty of the subject by the *House of Lords* in the preceding February.

“ The last year, gentlemen, has passed without any attack on our rights and privileges from the House of Commons. *That* arbitrary and unprincipled body has been almost wholly employed, with the industry and spirit of fiends, in the vain and wicked attempt of perfecting their plans to establish *despotism in New England*, and *Popery in Canada*. They have stained the British laurels with the *guiltless* blood of our fellow-subjects in America. But the *House of Lords* early in the present year made a direct attack on the rights of every Commoner in England, and the essential privileges of this city. They ordered a citizen, Mr. Randall, *unheard*, into custody, without any appeal to a *Jury*, only for disrespectful words against a Member of their House [Lord Lyttelton.] Although parties, they endeavoured to establish themselves judges in their own cause, in equal violation of the dictates of common sense and justice, and in the first instance, not by an appeal from an inferior court to them, as the supreme judicature of the kingdom. *The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod* [Sir Francis Molyneux] came repeatedly with his assistants here to seize a citizen, but notwithstanding the express assertion in the order of the peers, that he should find it a *sufficient warrant* for the attachment of the body of a freeman, Mr. Randall remained safe in his own house under the protection of the laws, and your Chief Magistrate. The officer of
 the

when we consent to the exercise of any illegal

the *House of Lords* preferred an ignominious retreat to Westminster to the certainty of his own commitment in the city by a *really sufficient* warrant, which I would have issued, if he had persevered. He made a report of what *he had not done*, and that disgraceful entry in the *Journals* of the House of Lords gives us another demonstration, that in this *free* country all usurped authority must in the end yield to law and the constitution, for Mr. Randal has ever since remained among us in perfect security, as unmolested from the illegal attacks of the *Lords*, as Mr. Miller has been from the late similar outrages of the *Commons*, &c.

From the pre-eminence, gentlemen, to which your favour raised me, I now return with pleasure to my former state of one of your magistrates, and to mingle with the mass of my fellow-citizens, &c, &c, &c."

Junius in the letter of May 28, 1770, says, "The arbitrary power they [*the Lords*] have assumed of imposing fines and committing during pleasure, will now be exercised in its full extent;" and in a note he adds, "The man who resists and overcomes this iniquitous power, assumed by the LORDS, must be supported by the whole people. We have the law, of our side, and want nothing but an intrepid leader. When such a man stands forth, let the nation look to it. It is not HIS cause, but OUR OWN."

Junius, vol. 2. p. 98.

In an Address to the Livery of London from the Sheriffs Wilkes and Bull, dated April 6, 1772, it is said, "we may congratulate our countrymen that the number of these unfortunate persons has not been attempted to be increased this session by any illegal

gal power, much more, when we either exercise,

Royal Proclamations, or commitments *during pleasure*, made by *either of the two Houses of Parliament*. Their late usurpations on the personal rights and privileges of the people seem to be given up and surrendered. The *Lords* have not dared so unconstitutional an order of imprisonment, nor to impose any fines at their arbitrary will for offences cognizable by *Juries*. No man has been committed at their bar for what their *Votes*, not the laws, declare seditious, nor for what they so readily find a libel on a brother Peer, nor have they ventured to *condemn any person on the first original hearing of a cause, which ought to come before them only by appeal from the inferior Courts after the verdict of a Jury*. The House of Commons have tacitly acquiesced in the claim made by many of our worthy fellow-citizens for *the people at large*, that the constituents have a right to be fully informed of the proceedings of their servants in Parliament. Their *Votes* indeed assert, "that it is an indignity to, and a breach of, the privilege of this House for any person to presume to give, in written or printed newspapers, any account, or minutes of the Debates, or other proceedings, of the House, or of any Committee thereof," but the usurpation was apparent, as well as the indignity to their masters, and the breach of the *privileges* of their constituents. Their other *Resolution* in consequence fell into contempt, "that upon discovery of the authors, printers, or publishers of any such written or printed newspaper, the House will proceed against the offenders with the utmost severity." Several honest printers in defiance of their illegal orders gave the public all

cise, or solicit it ourselves. This the †late
House

the particulars of their proceedings during the last Session, proceedings which the House prudently endeavoured to hide in a darkness suited to their deeds. The most natural effect followed, a general abhorrence of them through the nation. The same persons, who asserted our right the last winter, have through the present session continued the exercise of it in its fullest extent. Notwithstanding the *Report* of the "Committee to examine into the several facts and circumstances relative to the late obstructions to the execution of the orders of the House, and to consider what further proceedings may be requisite to enforce a due obedience thereto," was, in express terms, that *the House should order, that the said J. MILLER be taken into custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending the House, the said MILLER is still at large, still continues*

† That their practice might be every way conformable to their principles, the House proceeded to advise the Crown to publish a *Proclamation* universally acknowledged to be illegal. Mr. Moreton [Chief Justice of Chester, and Attorney-General to the Queen] publicly protested against it before it was issued; and Lord Mansfield, though not scrupulous to an extreme, speaks of it with horror. It is remarkable enough that the very men, who advised the *Proclamation*, and who hear it arraigned every day both within doors and without, are not daring enough to utter one word in its defence, nor have they ventured to take the least notice of *Mr. Wilkes* for discharging the persons apprehended under it.

Letters of *Junius*, vol. 2. p. 166.

House of Commons did in the Address to his
Majesty

gives the severest attack upon them by faithfully publishing their proceedings, still braves their indignation, and ---sleeps secure in the city. Among the number of daily offenders of this kind, the corrupt majority in the House of Commons have not presumed to commit a single printer, although by the late *Royal Marriage Bill* they have invaded the primary inherent rights of human nature, and the divine institutions, in the persons of the descendants of the late most excellent King, and, regardless of the cries of the starving poor, employed themselves this whole Session only to enslave the family of a Prince, whose memory becomes every day more dear and sacred to all true Englishmen. The people are now made the judges of the conduct of their representatives, and the full exertion of the *liberty of the press*, that great bulwark of all our liberties, in support of the constitution, with the other acquisitions for the public, will render this æra ever memorable in our annals. These triumphs over the ministerial faction we hold more important at this period, because they have been gained, when the Chief Magistrate of the capital [*William Nash, Esq;*] had betrayed the rights he was chosen to defend, and trampled upon the known privileges of all the electors of this great city, which his upright predecessor [*Brass Crosby, Esq;*] vindicated with true spirit and courage, &c, &c."

Mr. Wilkes in the first Parliament of this reign had the honour of being ordered to be taken into custody by the *Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod* attending the *House of Lords*---when their Lordships knew he was at Paris. In his letter, dated Oct. 22, 1764, from Paris, to the

Electors

Majesty to dispense with the laws by issuing
a Pro-

Electors of Aylesbury, whom he formerly represented, the ground of the complaint against him to the *Lords* is stated. The complaint originated from Lord Sandwich. By an unnatural *Alliance between Church and State*, between that lay Lord, and the Right Reverend Father in God, Dr. William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, a complaint of privilege had been made to the *House of Lords*, that the name of Warburton had been put to some notes on the *Essay on Woman*, which the Bishop disclaimed, I believe with truth, certainly with great warmth. The pious Earl and meek Bishop helped each other to put on their *spiritual armour*, and joined their forces in this *holy war*, which they carried on with *religious rage* and *priestly cruelty*. In the letter from Paris it is said, "After the affair of the North Briton, the government bribed one of my servants to steal a part of the *Essay on Woman*, and the other pieces, out of my house. Not quite a fourth part of the volume had been printed at my own private press. The work had been discontinued for many months, before I had the least knowledge of the theft. Of that fourth part only twelve copies were worked off, and I never gave one of these copies to any friend. In this infamous manner did government get possession of this new subject of accusation, and, except in the case of *Algernon Sydney*, of this new species of crime; for a *Stuart* only could make the refinement in tyranny of ransacking and robbing the recesses of closets and studies, in order to convert *private amusements* into *state crimes*. After the servant had been bribed to commit the theft in his master's house, the most abandoned man of the

" age,

a *Proclamation* for the apprehending of two
persons,

“ age, [*the Earl of Sandwich*] who in this virtu-
 “ ous reign had risen to be Secretary of State, was
 “ bribed to make a complaint to the *House of Lords*,
 “ that I had *published* an infamous poem, which no
 “ man there had ever seen. It was read before that
 “ great assembly of *grave Lords* and *pious prelates*,
 “ excellent *judges of wit and poetry*, and ordered to
 “ lie on the table, for the clerks of the House to copy,
 “ and to *publish* through the nation. The whole of
 “ this proceeding was, I own, a public insult on order
 “ and decency; but it was committed by the *House*
 “ of *Lords*, not by the accused Member of the *House*
 “ of *Commons*.”

Journals of the House of Lords, Nov. 15, 1763.
 vol. 30, p. 415.

Complaint was made to the House of a printed Paper, intituled *An Essay on Woman*, with notes, to which the name of the Right Reverend Dr. Warburton, Lord Bishop of Gloucester, a Member of this House, is affixed, in breach of the Privilege of this House, &c.

And some passages in the said printed papers being read.

It was resolved, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, that a printed paper, intituled. “ *An Essay on Woman*,” with the notes, &c, highly reflecting upon a Member of this House, is a manifest breach of the privilege thereof, &c, &c.

Journals of the House of Lords, Jan. 23, 1764.
 vol 30. p. 456.

The Lord *Mansfield*, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, sat Speaker.

Ordered,

persons, not felons, but honest laborious
Printers,

Ordered, That *John Wilkes*, Esquire, of Great George Street, Westminster [*known to be then in Paris*] do attend this House *to-morrow*, [*in Westminster*].

Journals of the House of Lords, Jan. 24, 1764.
 vol. 30, p. 458.

“The Lord *Mansfield* sat Speaker.

The Yeoman Usher, being called upon to give an account of the service of the Order of this House for the attendance of *Mr. Wilkes*, acquainted the House, “that he went, with their Lordships said order, yesterday evening to *Mr. Wilkes's* house in Great George Street, Westminster; and that *Mr. Wilkes's* servant told him, he believed his Master was *in France*, for that he saw a letter from him on Tuesday last from *Paris*, that he could not tell the date of it; but as he was told it was six days in coming, he supposes it was dated about the 11th of this month.”

Resolved, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, That it appearing to this House, that *John Wilkes*, Esquire, of Great George Street Westminster, is the *Autor* and PUBLISHER of the “*Essay on Woman*,” with notes, &c, he be, for the said offence, taken into the custody of the *Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod*.

Accordingly, Ordered, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, that the *Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod* attending this House do FORTHWITH [*at Paris*] attach the body of the said *John Wilkes*, and bring him in safe custody to the Bar of this House, to answer for his said offence: And *this shall be a sufficient warrant* in that behalf.

T.

Printers, Wheble and Thompson, in 1771. Yet I have heard this day, and frequently of late, that very House of Commons, notwithstanding this and

To Sir Septimus Robinson, Knight, *Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod* attending this House, his Deputy or Deputies, and every of them.

Dominus Mansfield, Capitalis Justiciarius Banci Regii, declaravit præfens Parliamentum continuandum esse usque ad et in diem Mercurii, vicesimum quintum diem instantis Januarii, hora undecima Auroræ, Dominis sic decerentibus."

This unconstitutional power of the *Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod*, an iron rod, by which the Lords have frequently and sorely chastised the nation, was destroyed by *Mr. Wilkes* in 1775. Although it may continue a rod of anger, it will be no longer a rod of strength or oppression, a sceptre to rule the people. It is broken, and like unto a reed.

The Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, resolving, on the motion of Lord Sandwich, that *Mr. Wilkes* had published a poem, which he concealed from every friend, and they gave to the world, demonstrated a tolerable share both of folly and falsehood in their Lordships. It was properly indeed moved by the father of all fraud and treachery, but mankind deemed it in their Lordships a retaliation without the least colour of justice, very unbecoming the Supreme Court of Judicature in the kingdom, very becoming the Old Bailey. I shall conclude this disgraceful business with the words of *Mr. Wilkes* at the Bar of the Court of King's Bench April 20, 1768.

"As to the other charge against me for the publication of a poem, which has given just offence, I will assert

and many other violations of freedom, spoken of here with great applause. Gentlemen, sir, look much displeas'd. There is not, however, sir, I am satisfied, one Gentleman of the law, who will now get up in his place, and justify that illegal *Proclamation*, which

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sert that such an idea never entered my mind. I blush again at the recollection that it has been at any time, and in any way, brought to the public eye, and drawn from the obscurity in which it remained under my roof. Twelve copies of a small part of it had been printed in my house at my own private press. I had carefully locked them up, and I never gave one to the most intimate friend. Government, after the affair of the *North Briton*, bribed one of my servants to rob me of the copy, which was produced in the *House of Peers*, and afterwards before this honourable Court. The nation was justly offended, but not with me, for it was evident that I had not been guilty of the least offence to the public. *I pray God to forgive, as I do, the Jury, who have found me GUILTY OF PUBLISHING a Poem I concealed with care, and which is not even yet PUBLISHED, if precise meaning can be affixed to any word in our language.*"

The deepest guilt was Lord Mansfield's, for the Jury were partly insnared by the subtleties and pretended legal distinctions, partly cajoled by the nods, winks, and smiles, of that *arch* enemy of freedom, the artful Scottish Chief Justice, who hurried on, and tried this cause, while *Mr. Wilkes* was dangerously ill in his bed at Paris from the consequences of an affair of honour.

was protested against in this House by some of the ablest Lawyers among us before it issued, and has since been universally condemned. It was by me set aside judicially, and a man apprehended under that *Royal Proclamation* discharged. †

I observe

† The attack of the late *House of Commons* on the poor *Printers*, who were protected by *Mr. Wilkes* and two other magistrates, is of so remarkable a nature, and has been attended with such happy consequences to the public, that it ought to be given at large. Since the beginning of that contest to the present time, *the people* have regularly been informed of the proceedings of *their servants* in the *House of Commons*, in the making of laws to bind them. Almost every newspaper has during the Session of *Parliament* given us in a formal manner the *Minutes* and *Debates* of both Houses, under their respective heads, *House of Lords*, and *House of Commons*. This is an acquisition of no small importance to the public in a state, where the people have so considerable a share in the government. It was a victory obtained in the cause of liberty, not indeed so glorious as that of *Minden*, nor so important as that of *Culloden*, but meriting *civic crowns* to three magistrates. The following Resolution of the *House of Commons* however still continues on their Journals.

Journals of April 13, 1738, vol. 23, p. 148.

Resolved, “ That it is an high indignity to, and a
 “ notorious breach of the privilege of, this House, for
 “ any News writer, in letters, or other papers, (as
 “ *Minutes* or under any other denomination) or for
 “ any

I observe, fir, on all occasions a † Tender-
 mels for the proceedings of that Parliament,
 G 2 which

“ any printer or publisher of any printed Newspaper,
 “ of any denomination, to presume to insert in the
 “ the said letters or papers, or to give therein, any
 “ account of the *debates*, or other proceedings of
 “ this House, or any Committee thereof, as well dur-
 “ ing the recess, as the sitting of Parliament; and that
 “ this House will proceed with the utmost severity
 “ against such offenders.”

Did the court of Inquisition even at *Goa* ever endeavour
 to throw a more *Stygian* gloom over their horrid proceed-
 ings than the representatives of a free people did by the
 foregoing resolution? The glorious triumph of the
 friends of the people over the *last* corrupt House of
 Com-

† This is happily accounted for in those incompara-
 ble lines of the “ Epistle to Dr. Shebbeare” published
 the last month, where the poet apostrophizes the pre-
 sent House of Commons.

Thrice has the sun commenc'd his annual ride,
 Since full of years and praise, thy *mother* died.
 'Twas then I saw thee, with exulting eyes,
 A second phœnix, from her ashes rise;
 Mark'd all the graces of thy loyal crest,
 Sweet with the perfume of its *parent* nest.
 Rare chick! how worthy of all *court* *caresses*,
 How soft, how echo-like, it chirp'd *addresses*.
 Proceed, I cry'd, thy full-fledg'd *plumes* unfold,
 Each true-blue feather shall be tipt with gold.
 Ordain'd thy race of future fame to run,
 To do, whate'er thy *mother* left undone.
 In all *her* smooth, obsequious paths proceed,
 For, know, poor *opposition* wants a head.

which is in no respect merited. If however they had been guilty of no other outrage
against

Commons shall be given from their own Journals. The chace of a brace of Printers, by the bounds of Lord North, and the grey-bounds of the King, as his Majesty's messengers are called, with all the doublings and turnings, will perhaps be amusing. Lord North's pack of bounds are acknowledged to be the most staunch, and the best-fed in Europe, as well as to have the most expert whipper-in.

Journal of Feb. 8, 1771, vol. 33, p. 139.

Complaint being made to the House, of the printed Newspaper, intituled, "*The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, Friday February 8, 1771*, printed for R. *Thompson*;" and also of the printed Newspaper, intituled, "*The Middlesex Journal, or Chronicle of Liberty, from Tuesday, February 5, to Thursday, Feb. 7, 1771*," printed for *J. Wheble*; as misrepresenting the speeches, and reflecting on several of the members of this House, in contempt of the order, and in breach of the privilege, of this House.

Ordered, That the said R. *Thompson* do attend this House upon Monday morning next.

Ordered, That the said *J. Wheble* do attend this House upon Monday morning next.

Journals, Feb. 11, 1771, vol. 33, p. 154.

Ordered, that the said R. *Thompson* and *J. Wheble* do attend this House upon Monday morning next.

Journals, Feb. 14, 1771, vol. 33, p. 162.

Ordered, That the said R. *Thompson* and *J. Wheble* do attend this House upon Tuesday morning next.

Journals, Feb. 19, 1771, vol. 33, p. 183 & 184.

The Order of the day being read, for the attendance of R. *Thompson* and *J. Wheble*; and the said R.

Thompson

against the freedom of the subject, this alone respecting the Middlesex Elections, by which

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the

Thompson and *J. Wheble* not attending; the messenger to whom the orders of the 8th day of this instant February were delivered, being called upon to give an account of the service thereof, acquainted the House, That he had served the orders of the said 8th day of February, for the attendance of the said *R. Thompson* and *J. Wheble*, upon Monday the 11th day of this instant February; but that he has not served them with any further order for their attendance, on this day, &c, &c.

Ordered, That *R. Thompson* do attend this House upon Thursday morning next.

Ordered, That *J. Wheble* do attend this House upon Thursday morning next.

- Journals, Feb. 21. 1771, vol. 33. p. 194.

The several orders of the day being read, for the attendance of *R. Thompson* and *J. Wheble*;

And the said *R. Thompson* and *J. Wheble* not attending, according to order; the messenger, to whom the said orders were delivered, being called upon to give an account of the service thereof, acquainted the House, That he went to the House of the said *R. Thompson* on Tuesday Evening last; and being informed by his servant, that he was not at home, he left a copy of the order for the attendance of the said *R. Thompson*, with the said servant, and desired him to give the same to his master when he came home; that he, the said messenger, went again on Wednesday morning to the house of the said *R. Thompson*, and was again informed, that he was not at home.

the constitution is overturned, was sufficient for their full disgrace in the annals of our country.

The messenger also acquainted the House, That he went on Tuesday evening last to the house of the said *J. Wheble*; that he was told he was not at home, but was expected every minute; that he waited at the house of the said *J. Wheble* some time, but he not returning, he, the messenger, left a copy of the order for the attendance of the said *J. Wheble* at his House, and desired it might be given him on his return; and that on calling again on Wednesday morning at the house of the said *J. Wheble*, he was again informed that he was not at home.

Ordered, That *R. Thompson* do attend this House upon Tuesday morning next.

Ordered, That the service of the said Order, by leaving a copy of the same at the usual place of abode of the said *R. Thompson*, be deemed equal to personal service, and be good service.

Ordered, That the service of the said Order, by leaving a copy of the same at the usual place of abode of the said *J. Wheble*, be deemed equal to personal service, and be good service.

Journals, Feb. 26, 1771, vol. 33. p. 208.

The several orders of the day, for the attendance of *R. Thompson* and *J. Wheble*, being read;

And the said *R. Thompson* and *J. Wheble* not attending, according to order, the messenger, to whom the said orders were delivered, being called upon, to give an account of the service thereof, acquainted the House, that he went to the house of the said *J. Wheble*, in Pater-noster Row, on Thursday evening last; and being

country. The present question has been fully debated twice in this Parliament, many times

G 4

in

ing informed by his servant that he was not home, he shewed the said servant the original order for the attendance of the said *J. Wheble*, and left a copy thereof with the said servant, and desired him to give the same to his master when he came home; which the said servant promised to do.

The said messenger also acquainted the House, that he went to the house of the said *R. Thompson* in Newgate Street, on Thursday evening last; that he was told he was not at home; and that then he shewed the original order for the attendance of the said *R. Thompson* to, and left a copy thereof with, his servant, and desired him to give the same to his Master, which he likewise promised to do.

Ordered, That the said *John Wheble* be, for his contempt, in not obeying the order of this House, for his attendance on the House this day, taken into custody of the Serjeant at Arms, or his Deputy, attending this House.

Ordered, That the said *R. Thompson* be, for his contempt, in not obeying the order of this House, for his attendance on the House this day, taken into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, or his Deputy, attending this House.

Journals, March 4, 1771, vol. 33, p. 224.

The Deputy Serjeant at Arms attending this House, being called upon to give an account of the service of the orders of the House of Tuesday last, for taking into custody *J. Wheble* and *R. Thompson* acquainted the House, that, though he had been several times at the

in the last House of Commons, and I believe every precedent quoted, which could be produced

respective houses of the said *J. Wheble* and *R. Thompson*, and had made diligent search after them, in order to take them into custody, he had not yet been able to meet with either of them.

Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, That he will be graciously pleased to issue His Royal *Proclamation*, for apprehending the said *J. Wheble* and *R. Thompson*, with a promise of a reward for the same.

Journals, March 7, 1771, vol. 33, p. 234.

Mr. *Onslow* reported to the House, That their Address of Monday last (that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to issue His Royal *Proclamation*, for apprehending *J. Wheble* and *R. Thompson*, with a promise of reward for the same) had been presented to His Majesty; and that His Majesty had commanded him to acquaint this House, that he will give directions accordingly.

His Majesty's *Proclamation*, issued in pursuance of the said Address, is as followeth:

By the KING.

A P R O C L A M A T I O N,

For apprehending John Wheble and R. Thompson.

G E O R G E R.

Whereas on the eighth day of February last, complaint being made to the House of Commons of the printed news-paper, entitled, *The Gazetteer and New Daily*

duced, from times the most favourable, as well as the most hostile, to liberty, from the

re-

Daily Advertiser, Friday, February 8, 1771, printed for R. Thompson; and also of the printed news-paper, entitled, The Middlesex Journal, or Chronicle of Liberty, from Tuesday, February 5, to Thursday, February 7, 1771, printed for J. Wheble, as misrepresenting the Speeches, and reflecting on several of the members of the said House, in contempt of the order, and in breach of the privilege, of the said House; it was ordered, that the said J. Wheble and R. Thompson should attend the said House of Commons; and they not having obeyed the said order, it was thereupon ordered, by the said House of Commons, that the said J. Wheble and R. Thompson should be taken into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending the said House, or his Deputy. And whereas the said Deputy Serjeant having informed the House, that he had not been able to meet with the said J. Wheble and R. Thompson, or either of them, though he had been several times at their respective houses, and had made diligent search after them, to take them into custody, an humble address hath been presented to us by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, and the Commissioners for Shires and Burghs, in Parliament assembled, that we would be graciously pleased to issue our Royal Proclamation, for apprehending the said John Wheble and R. Thompson, with a promise of a reward for the same; we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby requiring and commanding all our loving subjects whatsoever to discover and apprehend, or cause the said

John

remarkable case of Wollaston in the reign of King William, to that no less celebrated of Walpole,

John Wbeble and *R. Thompson*, or either of them, to be discovered and apprehended, and to carry him or them before some of our Justices of the Peace, or Chief Magistrate, of the county, town, or place, where he or they shall be apprehended, who are respectively required to secure the said *John Wbeble* and *R. Thompson*, and thereof give speedy notice to one of our principal Secretaries of State, to the end he or they may be forthcoming, to be dealt withal and proceeded against according to law. And for the prevention of an escape of the said *John Wbeble* and *R. Thompson*, or either of them, into parts beyond the seas, we do require and command all our officers of the customs, and other our officers and subjects of and in our respective ports and maritime towns and places within our kingdom of Great Britain, that they, and every of them, in their respective places and stations, be careful and diligent in the examination of all persons that shall pass or endeavour to pass beyond the seas; and if they shall discover the said *John Wbeble* and *R. Thompson*, or either of them, then to cause him or them to be apprehended and secured, and give notice thereof as aforesaid. And we do hereby strictly charge and command all our loving subjects, as they will answer the contrary at their perils, that they do not any ways conceal, but do discover him or them, the said *John Wbeble* and *R. Thompson*, to the end he or they may be secured. And for the encouragement of all persons to be diligent and careful in endeavouring to discover and apprehend the said *John Wbeble* and *R. Thompson*, we do hereby further declare, that whosoever shall discover and apprehend

Walpole, in the latter end of Queen Anne.
An Archangel descending among us would
scarcely

hend the said *John Weble* and *R. Thompson*, or either of them, within three weeks from the date hereof, and shall bring him or them, the said *John Weble* and *R. Thompson*, before some justice of the peace or chief magistrate as aforesaid, shall have and receive, *as a reward for the discovery, apprehending, and bringing the said John Weble and R. Thompson, or either of them, before such justice of the peace or chief magistrate as aforesaid, the sum of Fifty Pounds for each: which our Commissioners of our Treasury are hereby required and directed to pay accordingly.*

Given at our Court at St. James's, the eighth day of March, 1771, in the eleventh year of our reign.

G O D save the K I N G.

John Weble was apprehended, and discharged by Mr. Wilkes, March 15, 1771. If administration had wished to have tried the legality of the *King's Proclamation*, they had the fullest evidence against Mr. Wilkes under his hand, for he wrote *the same day* an account of his conduct on that occasion to *Lord Halifax*, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. This was certainly the *speedy notice* required to be given to a Secretary of State by the *Proclamation*. Mr. Wilkes took this opportunity of *renewing his correspondence* with the Earl of Halifax.

Guildhall of London, March 15, 1771.

My Lord,

I had the honour of officiating this day as the Sitting Justice at Guildhall. *John Weble*, the Publisher of the *Middlesex Journal*, a freeman of London,

(6)
scarcely give a new, c
ject. I shall therefore

don, was apprehended and
ward Twine Carpenter, w
Constable, nor Peace-Offic
ed of what crime Wheble
had been made of his havin
breach of the peace, or
strong enough to justify hi
Carpenter answered, that h
any crime, but had appreh
quence of *His Majesty's* .
claimed the reward of 50l.
legal cause of complaint a
clearly my duty to adjud
bended in the City *illegally*
rights of an Englishman,
leges of a citizen of this r
him. He then made a for
upon him by Carpenter.
to prosecute in a recogni
to appear and answer the
Sessions of the Peace for
40l. himself, with two fur
each. I am, My Lord,

Your

*Right Honourable the
Earl of Halifax.*

Extract from the

*John Wheble, the Pub
nal, was this day brought*

[Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

support of his Majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, there was granted to his Majesty, during his life, out of the Aggregate Fund, the clear yearly sum of 100,000l. to commence from the 1st of January 1777, over and above the yearly sum of 800,000l. granted by an act made in the first year of his Majesty's reign." The sum of 800,000l. was competent to these great purposes, we had no right to vote more of the people's money. We were *improvident*, and *prodigal* Trustees for the nation, not to use a more harsh expression. Let us hear no more of the amazing depth in finance of any modern †*Sully*, or of a pretended *oeconomy* in the management of the public, or the royal,

re-

† Henry IV. and *Sully*, his great Minister of Finance, were sacrificed by all the mercenary writers of the court in 1763 to George III. and the Earl of *Bute*, the first Lord of the Treasury, with his incomparable *quipier*, *Sancho*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, then *Sir Francis Dashwood*, now *Lord Le Despencer*. The moonshine beams of the two last satellites only shined on our *excised* Cyder and Perry, and then they sunk to all appearance beneath our horizon at the same moment, on the lamented 16th of April 1763. But the glorious luminary round which they moved, continues to warm us on this side the Atlantic with his resplendent rays, although perhaps he scorches our American brethren with his fierce beams.

scarcely give a new, original idea on this subject. I shall therefore reserve myself, sir, for the

don, was apprehended and brought before me by Edward Twine Carpenter, who appears to be neither a Constable, nor Peace-Officer of this City. I demanded of what crime Wheble was accused, and if oath had been made of his having committed any felony or breach of the peace, or if he lay under a suspicion strong enough to justify his apprehension or detention. Carpenter answered, that he did not accuse Wheble of any crime, but had apprehended him merely in consequence of *His Majesty's Proclamation*, for which he claimed the reward of 50*l.* As I found there was no legal cause of complaint against *Wheble*, I thought it clearly my duty to adjudge, that he had been apprehended in the City *illegally*, in direct violation of the rights of an Englishman, and of the chartered privileges of a citizen of this metropolis, and to *discharge* him. He then made a formal complaint of the assault upon him by Carpenter. I therefore bound him over to prosecute in a recognizance of 40*l.* and Carpenter to appear and answer the complaint at the next Quarter Sessions of the Peace for this City in a recognizance of 40*l.* himself, with two sureties in recognizances of 20*l.* each. I am, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
 Right Honourable the humble Servant,
 Earl of Halifax. JOHN WILKES.

Extract from the Guildhall Rota Book.

Guildhall, March 15, 1775.

John Wheble, the Publisher of the Middlesex Journal, was this day brought before Mr. Alderman *Wilkes* at

the reply, if I hear any material objections to the motion, which I shall have the honour
of

at Guildhall, by Edward Twine Carpenter, a Printer, being apprehended by him in consequence of a *Proclamation* in the London Gazette of Saturday the 9th of March instant; but the said Edward Twine Carpenter not having any other reason for apprehending the said Mr. *Wheble* than what appeared in that *Proclamation*, the said Mr. *Wheble* was discharged; and then the said Mr. *Wheble* charged Carpenter for assaulting and unlawfully imprisoning him, and on his making oath of the offence, and entering into a recognizance to prosecute Carpenter at the next Sessions in London, Carpenter was ordered to find sureties to answer for this offence, which he did, himself being bound in 40l. and his two sureties in 20l. each, and was thereupon discharged.---Carpenter requested a Certificate of his having apprehended *Wheble*, which was given him.

Guildhall, March 13, 1771.

This is to certify, that *Jahn Wheble*, the Publisher of the Middlesex Journal, was this day apprehended and brought before me, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the City of London, by Edward Twine Carpenter, of Hosier-Lane, London, Printer.

JOHN WILKES, Alderman.

On the application of *Carpenter* to the Treasury for the reward of 50l. promised in the King's *Proclamation*, and producing the above certificate, he was dismissed with insolence, and *that*, with many other royal debts, is still unpaid. *R. Thompson*, the other person, described in His Majesty's *Proclamation*, was afterwards

of submitting to the House. I can foresee only one objection, which I shall endeavour to obviate

wards apprehended, and carried before Mr. Alderman Oliver, who discharged him.

The circumstances of the whole business of *Miller*, and the *commitment* of Mr. William Whitham, one of the messengers attending the House of Commons, are given in the "Report from the Committee appointed to examine into the several facts and circumstances relative to the late obstructions to the execution of the Orders of this House," published by order of the House of Commons. I shall however add some other particulars not given at large in the Journals.

Copy of the Warrant for apprehending J. Miller, the Printer of the London Evening Post.

WHEREAS the House of Commons did, on Thursday the 14th of this instant March, adjudge and order, that J. Miller (for whom the news-paper intituled the London Evening Post, from Thursday March 7, to Saturday March 9, 1771, purports to be printed, and of which paper a complaint was made in the House of Commons on the said fourteenth day of March) be, for his contempt in not obeying the order of the said House upon Thursday the fourteenth day of this instant March, taken into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, or his Deputy, attending the said House.

These are therefore to require you forthwith to take into your custody the body of the said J. Miller, and him safely keep, during the pleasure of the said House, and all Mayors, Bailiffs, Sheriffs, Under

obviate, and I hope the House will think that delicacy ought to yield to justice.

Gen-

Under Sheriffs, Constables, and Headboroughs, and every other person are hereby required to be aiding or assisting to you or your Deputy in the execution thereof. For which this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given under my hand, the fifteenth day of March one thousand seven hundred and seventy-one.

FLR. NORTON, *Speaker.*

To Nicholas Bonfoy, Esq; Serjeant at Arms, attending the House of Commons, or John Clementson, Esq; his Deputy, or to William Whitham, one of the messengers attending the House of Commons.

To all and every the Constables and other Officers of the Peace for the City of London, and the Liberties thereof, whom these may concern, and to the Keeper of Wood-Street Compter.

London to wit,

These are in his Majesty's name, to command you, and every of you, forthwith safely to convey and deliver into the custody of the said Keeper, the body of William Whitham, being charged before us, three of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the said City and Liberties, by the oath of John Miller, Henry

Gentlemen I observe have scruples of re-
 vinding former Resolutions, not knowing
 they

ry Page, John Topping, and Robert Page, for assault-
 ing and unlawfully imprisoning him the said John
 Miller, in breach of his said Majesty's peace; whom
 you, the said Keeper, are hereby required to receive,
 and him in your custody safely keep, for want of sure-
 ties, until he shall be discharged by due course of law;
 and for your so doing this shall be to you, and to each
 of you, a sufficient warrant. Given under our hands
 and seals this 15th day of March, 1771.

BRASS CROSBY, Mayor, L. S.

JOHN WILKES, L. S.

RICHARD OLIVER, L. S.

Journals, March 20, 1771, vol. 33. p. 275.

The Order of the day being read, for the attend-
 ance of Morgan, Clerk to the Lord Mayor of the
 City of London, with the Minutes, taken before
 the Lord Mayor, relative to the messenger of this
 House giving security for his appearance at the next
 General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the City of
 London to answer to such indictments as may be pre-
 ferred against him, for the supposed assault and false
 imprisonment of J. Miller.

And James Morgan, Clerk to the Lord Mayor,
 attending accordingly, he was called in; and the
 Book, containing the said Minutes, being produced
 by the said James Morgan, was brought up to the
 Table; and the Entry of the said Minutes, therein
 contained, was read;

Ordered, That James Morgan, Clerk to the Lord
 Mayor, do at the Table *expunge* the said Entry.

And

they say where such a practice may stop. It is a scruple in my opinion very ill founded.

VOL. II.

H

The

And the said James Morgan *expunged* the said Entry at the Table accordingly.

Junius observes, *By mere violence, and without the shadow of right, they have EXPUNGED the record of a judicial proceeding. Nothing remained but to attribute to their own Vote a power of stopping the whole distribution of criminal and civil justice. Lord Gbatbam very properly called this the ACT OF A MOB, not of a Senate.*

Junius, vol. 2. p. 160.

Journals, March 20, 1771, vol. 33, p. 276.

Ordered, "That no other prosecution, suit, or proceeding, be commenced, or carried on, for or on account of the said pretended assault, or false imprisonment."

Notwithstanding this Order, *Mr. Wilkes* on the 8th of April 1771 delivered in to the Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace at Guildhall the two following *Recognizances*, together with those of *John Wheble* and *Edward Twine Carpenter*, and another for a felony committed by *Sarah Ferrand*.

London to wit,

John Miller, of Pater-noster Row, London, Printer, 201.

Upon condition, that if the above bounden *John Miller* shall personally appear at the next Sessions of the Peace to be holden for the City of London, and then and there prosecute the law with effect, and give evidence on his Majesty's behalf, upon a bill of indictment to be exhibited to the Grand Jury against *William Whit-*
ham,

The first great object is truth, and we ought to follow where that leads. It is a duty, fir, which

ham, for assaulting and falsely imprisoning him the said *John Miller*, in breach of his said Majesty's peace: And in case the same shall be found and returned by the said Jury to be a true Bill, then if the said *John Miller* shall personally appear before the Jurors that shall pass on the trial of the said *William Whitbam*, to be holden for the said city at the Guildhall of the same city, then and there to prosecute and give evidence upon the said indictment, and not depart the Court without leave. Then this Recognizance to be void, or else to remain in full force.

Acknowledged at the Mansion House, London, the
15th day of March 1771, before us

BRASS CROSBY, Mayor,
JOHN WILKES,
RICHARD OLIVER.

London to wit,

William Whitbam, of College-Street in the city of Westminster, Gentleman, 40l.

William Hurford, of the City of London, Coal Merchant, 20l.

Robert Withy, of Islington in the County of Middlesex, Gentleman, 20l.

Upon condition, that if the above bounden *William Whitbam* do personally appear at the next Sessions of the Peace to be holden for the City of London, then and there to answer such matters and things as shall be objected against him on his Majesty's behalf, and in particular for assaulting and falsely imprisoning *John Miller*, and in the mean time to keep the peace of our
So-

which we owe in this case more particularly to the people, but alas! their happiness, their
 H 2 security,

Sovereign Lord the King and to be of good behaviour, and not depart the Court without licence; that then this Recognizance to be void and of none effect, or otherwise to be and remain in full force and virtue.

Taken and acknowledged at the Mansion House, London, this 15th Day of March, 1771, before us
 BRASS CROSBY, Mayor,
 JOHN WILKES,
 RICHARD OLIVER.

The Grand Jury at Guildhall found the Bills of Indictment against *William Whitbam*, and *Edward Twine Carpenter*.

All the proceedings were afterwards moved by *Certiorari* into the King's Bench. The scene of the House of Commons and the Printers was finally closed by the Attorney-General's, *Tburlow's*, grant of the *Noli Prosequi*.

Mr. Wilkes received the following Order to attend the House of Commons on the 20th of March 1771.

House of Commons, Martis 19^o die Martii, 1771.

(C O P Y)

The House of Commons having yesterday received information that one of the Messengers of this House, after he had arrested J. Miller, by virtue of the warrant of the Speaker of the House

security, their very lives are no longer the objects of consideration with our inhuman rulers,
 nor,

of Commons, to answer for a contempt of the said House, was carried by a constable upon a charge made against the said Messenger by the said J. Miller, for an assault and false imprisonment made upon the said J. Miller in the said arrest, before Brads Croft, Esq; Lord Mayor of the City of London, where *John Wilkes, Esq;* Alderman, and Richard Oliver, Esq; were present; when the Deputy Serjeant at Arms, attending this House, acquainted the said Magistrates that the said arrest of the said J. Miller was made by the said Messenger under a warrant signed by the Speaker of the House of Commons; which warrant was then produced and shewn to the said Magistrates, and demanded of them that the said messenger should be discharged, and the said J. Miller delivered up to the custody of the said messenger; and that the said Lord Mayor, *John Wilkes, Esq;* and Richard Oliver, Esq; after such information and demand as aforesaid, signed a warrant for the commitment of the said messenger to the Compter for the said supposed assault and false imprisonment of the said J. Miller, and obliged the said messenger to enter into a Recognizance for his appearance at the next quarter sessions of the peace to be held for the city of London, to answer to such indictments as should then be found against him for the said supposed assault and false imprisonment.

Ordered

nor, as we have experienced, even of attention with the majority in this House. § If

H 3

the

Ordered that *John Wilkes, Esq;* do attend this House to-morrow morning.

J. HATSELL, Cl. Dom. Com.

London, March 20, 1771.

S I R,

“ I this morning received an order commanding my attendance this day in the House of Commons. I observe that no notice is taken of me in your order as a Member of the House, and that I am not required to attend in my place. Both these circumstances, according to the settled form, ought to have been mentioned in my case, and I hold them absolutely indispensable. *In the name of the Freeholders of Middlesex, I again demand my seat in Parliament, having the honour of being freely chosen, by a very great majority, one of the representatives for the said county. I am ready to take the oaths prescribed by law, and to give in my qualification as Knight of the Shire.*

When

§ The last Session gave a most indecent proof of the truth of this observation, as to the conduct of the present *Majority*. The honourable Temple Luttrell, Member for Milbourne Port, stated in a most masterly manner to the House the illegality of the *Press Warrants* then in force against the subject, and painted in all the colours

of

the last parliament have acted wrong, let us reform their errors. If they have established
a wicked

When I have been admitted to my seat, I will immediately give the House the most exact detail, which will necessarily comprehend a full justification, of my conduct relative to the late illegal proclamation, equally injurious to the honour of the Crown, and the rights of the subject, and likewise the whole business of the printers. I have acted entirely from a sense of duty to this great City, whose franchises I am sworn to maintain; and to my country, whose noble constitution I reverence, and whose liberties at the price of my blood, to the last moment of my life, I will defend and support.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

JOHN WILKES."

Rt. Hon. Sir Fletcher Norton,

Speaker of the House of Commons.

Journals,
of horror and despair, the cruelties of the *Press-Gangs* let loose upon the people. He spoke with a perfect knowledge of the subject, with warmth and energy, but he spoke to an audience grown callous to all feelings for the public, to a set of men dead to every sentiment of humanity and love of their country, alert only to seize its plunder. He convinced the judgment by the clearest proofs before he made an appeal to the passions.

Among

a wicked precedent, we ought to reverse it.
If we have ourselves committed injustice, let us

H 4

afford

Journals, March 20, 1771, vol. 33. p. 275.

Ordered, That *John Wilkes*, Esquire, do attend this House upon Monday morning next.

Journals, March 25, 1771, vol. 33. p. 286.

Ordered, That *John Wilkes*, Esquire, do attend this House upon this day fortnight, *the 8th day of April next*.

Journals, March 30, 1771, vol. 33. p. 297.

And then the House *adjourned till Tuesday sevensight, the 9th day of April next*.

Junius

Among the variety of facts, by which he supported his motion, one only was sufficient to unite all the sharers of the national spoil against the humane Bill, which he proposed on principles strictly just and constitutional. The single article of perquisites, extorted from the public, to the Board of Admiralty, and their *disinterested* first Lord, for *protections* during an *impress*, was stated to amount to above 14,000l. a year. The Bill would have been highly beneficial to the sailor, by *augmenting his wages, limiting his time of service, and providing for him under the infirmities of age*, but the Board of Admiralty and Lord Sandwich would have lost annually 14,000l. Mr. Luttrell was ably supported by Governor Johnstone, an officer

afford all the reparation in our power. We have given the world a remarkable instance of our

Junius says, "upon their own principles, they should have committed *Mr. Wilkes*, who had been guilty of a greater offence than even the Lord Mayor or Alderman Oliver. But after repeatedly ordering him to attend, they at last *adjourned beyond the day* appointed for his attendance, and by this *mean, pitiful evasion, gave up the point*. Such is the force of conscious guilt."

Junius, vol. 2. p. 163.

officer of distinguished merit in the Royal Navy, a wise and spirited Senator, and a friend to the liberty of the subject. Sir George Savile, Sir Edward Astley, the right honourable Thomas Townshend, Sir George Yonge, and several other gentlemen, spoke in favour of the motion, but the majority refused even to receive the Bill, and to give it a *first* reading. The generous hopes of Mr. Luttrell to serve the cause of the constitution and the Royal Navy were at that time blasted by the pestilential breath of corruption. The public however look up to his firm virtue, and the Navy hope protection, from his future efforts at a favourable moment, when the people may have it in their power to vindicate all their rights.

Votes

our repentance this very session in the case of Mr. Rumbold and Mr. Sykes. On the 22d of November

Votes of March 11, 1777.

A Motion was made, and the Question being put, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill, for the more easy and effectual Manning of the Royal Navy, in times of war, and for giving encouragement to seamen and sea-faring persons to enter *voluntarily* into His Majesty's service."

It passed in the negative.

The late *Penfioner David Hume* observes, " 'Tis a maxim in politics, which we readily admit as undisputed and universal, *That a power, however great, when granted by law to an eminent magistrate, is not so dangerous to liberty, as an authority, however inconsiderable, which he acquires from violence and usurpation.* — The exercise of an *illegal* power is in the *pressing of seamen* tacitly permitted in the crown; and though it has frequently been under deliberation, how that power might be rendered legal, and granted under proper restrictions to the sovereign, no safe expedient could ever be proposed for that purpose, and the danger to liberty always appeared greater from law than from usurpation — [Mr. Hume did not live to see Mr. Luttrell's plan] A continued and open *usurpation* of the crown is permitted, amid the greatest jealousy and watchfulness in the people; nay proceeding from those very principles: Liberty, in a country of the highest liberty, is

left

vember last the Order to the Attorney-General to prosecute Thomas Rumbold, Esq; and Francis Sykes, Esq; as *principal promoters and suborners of corrupt and wilful perjury at the Election for Shaftesbury*, was discharged, on the motion of as respectable a ¶ Gentleman as ever sat in parliament. The Order however was made by ourselves in the very last session, on the 14th of February preceding the reversal.

I have not yet, sir, an inclination to quit the company of Messieurs Sykes and Rumbold. Their case will serve me farther in my reasonings. It is a strong argument against *Expulsion* necessarily including *Incapacitation*. I will suppose, sir, that instead of the House having de-

left entirely to its own defence, without any countenance or protection : The wild state of nature is renewed in one of the most civilized societies of mankind : And great violences and disorders among *the people, the most humane and the best natured*, are committed with impunity ; while the one party pleads obedience to the supreme magistrate, the other the *sanction of fundamental laws.*

Essays and Treatises on several Subjects.

By David Hume, Esq; vol. 1. p. 408.

¶ Sir George Savile, Baronet.

determined, in April 1775, in the first session of the present parliament, that neither of those two gentlemen, on account of their notorious bribery and corruption at Shaftesbury, were duly elected, it had then been voted that they were guilty of *being the principal promoters and suborners of wilful and corrupt Perjury*, a Resolution the House did actually come to in Feb. 1776, and in consequence of so black a crime they had been *expelled*. *Subornation of wilful and corrupt Perjury* is surely a more atrocious sin, and more merits *expulsion*, than the writing a Libel. Afterwards let me likewise suppose the House change their opinion, and find that they proceeded without sufficient evidence, a Resolution the House did actually come to in November 1776. By the courtly, but unparliamentary, doctrine now pretended to be established, that *Expulsion* means *Incapacitation*, you would not have it in your power to restore them to their seats, although you were perfectly convinced of their innocence. Justice would call aloud upon you to do it, because it appeared that no *legal proof*, no *sufficient evidence*, was given, on which you had founded so rash, so unjustifiable a
 judg-

judgment. The cries of justice however would little avail with a venal senate against ministerial despotism, or a *royal edict* in the form of a *parliamentary resolution*. My first expulsion, sir, in January 1764, was for being the *Author* of the *North Briton*, No. 45. Where is to this hour the *legal proof, by the oaths of twelve of my countrymen*, to be found of that charge? I have never even been tried upon that accusation. A court of law determined on a different charge, that of the *republication*, a charge, which might have been brought against five hundred other persons.

As little delicacy, sir, has been shewn by us to the *acts* of former parliaments, as to our own *resolutions*. Have we manifested any tenderness to the memory of the first parliament, which was called in his present Majesty's reign? That parliament declared, and declared truly, in the Civil List Act, that 800,000*l.* was "a *competent* revenue for defraying the expences of his Majesty's Civil government, and supporting the dignity of the crown of Great Britain." Within these few days we declared that 800,000*l.* was not a *competent* sum, and "that for the better
" support

“ support of his Majesty’s household, and of
 “ the honour and dignity of the crown, there
 “ be granted to his Majesty, during his life,
 “ out of the Aggregate Fund, the clear year-
 “ ly sum of 100,000l. to commence from the
 “ 5th of January 1777, over and above the
 “ yearly sum of 800,000l. granted by an act
 “ made in the first year of his Majesty’s reign.”

If the sum of 800,000l. was competent to these
 great purposes, we had no right to vote more
 of the people’s money. We were *improvident*,
 and *prodigal* Trustees for the nation, not to
 use a more harsh expression. Let us hear no
 more of the amazing depth in finance of any
 modern †*Sully*, or of a pretended *economy* in
 the management of the public, or the royal,

re-

† Henry IV. and *Sully*, his great Minister of
 finance, were sacrificed by all the mercenary writers of
 the court in 1763 to George III. and the Earl of *Bute*,
 his first Lord of the Treasury, with his incomparable
troupiier, *Sancho*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer,
 then *Sir Francis Dashwood*, now *Lord Le Despencer*.
 The moonshine beams of the two last satellites only
 soured our *excised* Cyder and Perry, and then they
 sunk to all appearance beneath our horizon at the
 same moment, on the lamented 16th of April 1763.
 But the glorious luminary round which they moved,
 continues to warm us on this side the Atlantic with his
 resplendent rays, although perhaps he scorches our Ame-
 rican brethren with his fierce beams.

revenues. We likewise voted the last week above 600,000*l.* as the last parliament had above 500,000*l.* much above a million in all, on the same pretext of paying the *debts* of the King, when his Majesty had enjoyed a *competent* revenue of 800,000*l.* clear of all deductions and contingencies, and those *debts* were of the most suspicious nature, even as to the independency of this House. Let us not therefore, sir, affect more tenderness for the last parliament in so flagrant an instance of injustice, as the case of the Middlesex Elections, than we have shewn to them, and to ourselves too, in other respects. We ought, if we are men of honour and principle, to do justice to all the Electors of this kingdom, and by a formal repeal to make satisfaction to those zealous defenders of liberty, the spirited freeholders of this injured and insulted county.

I desire, sir, to recall to the memory of many gentlemen, what passed in this House in the last parliament on one of the great debates respecting the Middlesex Elections. A noble Lord, the darling of his country, as well as the favourite of our army, whose memory is dear to every Englishman, for he joined to the

bravery of Cæsar all the mild and gentle qualities of our English hero, Edward the Black Prince, that noble Lord, sir, stood up in his place here, and solemnly asked pardon of his country for having, as he said, wounded the constitution, and violated the rights and privileges of this kingdom by voting as he had done in this House in the business of the Middlesex Elections. He did not stop there. He was anxious to make public †preparation for a mistaken opinion—but of such moment—and he afterwards joined the *Opposition* in an important question respecting the discontents of the people on this very subject. We may all, sir, imitate the love of justice and candour, if we cannot reach the high *courage* of that illustrious, immortal character, the late *Marquis of Granby*.

While the Resolution, which I have mentioned, is suffered to continue on our Journals, I shall believe, sir, that the elective
rights

† *Lord Granby* himself thought proper to condemn, retract, and disavow, by a most solemn declaration in the House of Commons, that very system of political conduct, which *Junius* had held forth, to the disapprobation of the public.

rights of the nation lie at the mercy of the Minister, that is in fact of the Crown, and that the dignity and independency of parliament are in danger of being entirely destroyed. It is evident, that no gentleman now holds his seat by the choice of his constituents, but only by the good-will, and at the pleasure, of the Minister, or by the Royal permission. The tenure is equally precarious, and unjust, for the constitution has clearly lodged in the people the right of being represented in this House, by the man, who is the object of *their* choice. A committee can never have but that single question to determine, provided the party is by law eligible, and has pursued only those methods, which are warranted by law. I will seize every opportunity of importuning, of conjuring the House, if they have any reverence for the laws, utterly to rescind this unconstitutional and iniquitous resolution. We owe it to the present, and to every future, age, and therefore I move, “ that the Resolution of the House of the 17th of February 1769, *that John Wilkes, Esquire, having been, in this Session of Parliament, expelled this House, was, and is, incapable of* “ being

“ *being elected a Member to serve in this present*
“ *Parliament, be expunged from the Journals*
“ *of this House, as being subversive of the*
“ *rights of the whole body of Electors of*
“ *this kingdom.*”

Extract from " A Report from the Committee appointed (upon the 27th day of March 1771) to examine into the several facts and circumstances relative to the late obstructions to the execution of the Orders of this House; and to consider what further proceedings may be requisite to enforce a due obedience thereto; and to report their proceedings, together with their opinion, from time to time, to the House."

The Committee appointed to examine into the several facts and circumstances relative to the late obstructions to the execution of the orders of this House, and to consider what further proceedings may be requisite to enforce a due obedience thereto, and to report their proceedings, together with their opinion, from time to time, to the House, have, in obedience to the Order of the House, begun by examining into the facts and circumstances relating to the late obstructions to the Orders of the House; and, in order thereto, called before them,

Williams

William Whitbam, one of the messengers attending this House; who said, " That he had had no other warrant but that for taking *J. Miller* into custody, on the 15th of *March*, 1771: It was directed to *Mr. Bonfey*, *Mr. Clementson*, and himself, with orders to go and take *Miller* into custody; and he proceeded, and came to *Miller's* house about a o'clock; and he asked if *Miller* was at home, and was informed he was above stairs, and would be down in a little time; that he waited about a quarter of an hour, when *Miller* came down, and went into his counting-house; that he (*Whitbam*) followed him, and told him, he hoped he would not be surprized, that he had the Speaker's Warrant for taking him into custody, and offered to shew the warrant to him; and that he (*Miller*) just cast his eye upon it, and said, that the Messenger had no authority to take him, and he should take no notice of it; whereupon he (the Messenger) laid his hand upon *Miller's* arm, and told him he was his Prisoner, and that he must go with him. *Miller* said, that he had assaulted him in his own house; and there-

upon told one of the persons present to go
 and fetch such a one, but does not remem-
 ber the name of the constable, who came
 in a few minutes, and *Miller* charged the
 constable with him for the assault, and re-
 quired the constable to carry him before
 the sitting alderman; that as he (*Whit-*
ham) was going into the court where
Miller lives, he saw a man, whom he takes
 to be the constable, come out of *Miller's*
 house, and go into a house near the open-
 ing into the court; and, by the shortness of
 the time, which was about three or four
 minutes, he judged the constable might
 come from that house; that the constable
 came into the compting-house, and *Miller*
 charged him to take the Messenger (*Whit-*
ham) into custody; the constable charged
 all present to assist him, and the Messenger
 gave the like charge to all present on his
 behalf; that he is not sure the constable
 laid his hands on him; but, finding they
 were determined to arrest him, he made no
 resistance; that he apprehends a coach was
 ready by order, as there was not time to
 call one from the stand: the constable, and

one

“ one *Clarke*, and *Miller*, and he (the Mes-
 “ senger), went into the coach, which was
 “ ordered to drive to *Guildhall*, and did so.

“ That, when they arrived at *Guildhall*,
 “ they went up stairs, and were informed that
 “ the Sitting Alderman was gone; that as
 “ soon as they arrived at *Guildhall*, *Clarke*
 “ went for *Mr. Clementson*; that he did not
 “ hear any one in particular directed to go to
 “ the *Mansion House*; but that several persons
 “ followed *Miller* to *Guildhall*; and in about
 “ a quarter of an hour, word was brought that
 “ the Sitting Alderman was at the *Mansion*
 “ *House*; whereupon they went thither, and
 “ were taken into the room where business is
 “ usually done: They staid there about a
 “ quarter of an hour, when word was brought
 “ that he (*Miller*) could not be examined till
 “ six o'clock:—That he (*Whitham*) desired
 “ he might not be examined before *Mr. Cle-*
 “ *mentson* came; that they staid a short time,
 “ when a gentleman came and desired *Miller*
 “ and him to follow him, who shewed them
 “ into a room where people were dining;
 “ they dined, and then went into another
 “ room, where he and *Miller* staid till they
 “ were

“ were called to the Lord Mayor, who was
 “ in his bed-chamber with Aldermen *Oiver-*
 “ and *Wilkes*, and several other persons; that
 “ he met *Mr. Clementson* as he was going in-
 “ to the room to the Lord Mayor. The
 “ Lord Mayor began by asking *Miller* con-
 “ cerning his being taken into custody by the
 “ messenger, and *Miller* gave an account of
 “ it; then the Lord Mayor asked him (the
 “ messenger) By what authority he took
 “ *Miller*? He answered by the authority of
 “ the Speaker’s warrant, which the Lord
 “ Mayor ordered him to produce; he did so;
 “ and was ordered by *Mr. Clementson* to read
 “ it, but not to deliver it out of his hands;
 “ that as he was going to read it, the Lord
 “ Mayor said, he must have the inspection of
 “ it, or no notice could be taken of it;
 “ that he then delivered it to the Lord-
 “ Mayor upon his promise it should be re-
 “ stored to him; that the Lord Mayor
 “ took and read it; and he on *Mr. Morris*,
 “ but rather thinks the latter, ordered a copy
 “ to be taken of it, and a copy was taken
 “ accordingly:—That the Lord Mayor asked
 “ him, if he had applied to any Civil Magis-
 “ trate

“trate to back the warrant, or whether he
 “was a Peace-Officer? To both which he
 “answered in the negative:—The Lord
 “Mayor then asked, By what authority he
 “could take a Citizen into custody? That he
 “(the messenger) answered, By the Speaker’s
 “warrant, which he thought sufficient; and
 “the Lord Mayor then said, He had no autho-
 “rity to take up any one in the City, without
 “his or the authority of some city magistrate.

“Then three witnesses were sworn to the facts
 “which passed at *Miller’s*; and that thereupon
 “Mr. *Clementson* informed the Lord Mayor,
 “that he was come by the Speaker’s order to
 “demand the messenger and his prisoner:
 “he does not recollect the answer which was
 “given to this demand; but some arguments
 “passed, and Mr. *Morris* spoke a good deal:
 “Then the Lord Mayor said, that he (the
 “messenger) must be committed to the *Comp-*
 “ter, and *Miller* must be discharged; and
 “ordered a *Mittimus* to be drawn, and that
 “he saw the Lord Mayor sign it: That Mr.
 “*Morris* then said, it would be proper that
 “the other two Aldermen should sign it, who
 “did so, in the presence of him the messenger:

“ The Lord Mayor then said, he did not de-
 “ sire them to be concerned, but would take
 “ it upon himself: That, before the warrant
 “ was quite completed, the Lord Mayor or
 “ Mr. *Morris* said, there was bail in the room,
 “ if it was liked of; and one Mr. *Hurford*,
 “ Mr. *Wisby*, and Mr. *Reynolds* an Attorney,
 “ offered to be bail, before the Lord Mayor
 “ said, I must give bail; that he thanked
 “ them, but did not know whether he should
 “ have occasion for it; and said that he never
 “ had applied to them for it.

“ That he declined giving bail, Mr. *Cle-*
 “ *mentson* saying it was not proper; and the
 “ warrant was signed and sealed: Mr. *Clement-*
 “ *son* then said, that he was ready to give
 “ bail; whereupon the Lord Mayor grew
 “ warm, and said he was tricked with; and
 “ that he then said, that he, or we, would not
 “ then take bail, or words to that purpose; up-
 “ on which, there was some noise and clapping
 “ of hands in the room; and there followed some
 “ discourse between the Lord Mayor, Mr.
 “ *Clementson*, and Mr. *Morris*; and he thinks,
 “ in consequence, it was agreed to take bail;
 “ and

“ and *Hurford* and *Witby* gave bail, and Mr.
 “ *Clementson* agreed to it.

“ That Mr. *Clementson* and he (the messenger)
 “ ger) were afterwards sent back from the
 “ Speaker’s to the *Mansion House*, for a copy
 “ of the warrant of commitment; and were
 “ refused it, being told, it was not to be
 “ found, but, if it should, they might have
 “ it in the morning.—That he (the messenger)
 “ went a second and third time; and
 “ was told the last time, he might have a
 “ copy of the Recognizance a little before
 “ the Quarter Session, if he desired it; but
 “ that the copy of the warrant was of no
 “ use after bail was given.”

The Committee then proceeded to examine
 Mr. *Clementson* the Deputy Serjeant at Arms,
 —who said, “ That he went to the Speaker’s
 “ house on *Friday* the 15th of *March* to see if
 “ the warrant was signed for taking *Miller*
 “ into custody; that the Speaker’s secretary
 “ had prepared it, and the Speaker signed it,
 “ and delivered it to him (*Clementson*) who gave
 “ it to the messenger, and told him, that if
 “ he found any difficulty, to send for him,
 “ who should be at home.—That he heard
 “ nothing

“ nothing more, till half an hour past three
 “ o’clock ; then a person came to him, and
 “ told him, he must come, for that the mes-
 “ senger was taken up by a Constable, and
 “ charged with an assault.—That he went
 “ to the Speaker’s, and told him of it, who
 “ gave him directions to go and demand the
 “ messenger, and his prisoner ; and that if
 “ bail was necessary, he must give it ; but
 “ that he must see him committed first.—That
 “ he went first to *Guildhall*, about five o’clock,
 “ but found nobody there, and was told, he
 “ should hear of them at the *Mansion House*.
 “ —That he went there, and was introduced
 “ to the Lord Mayor, in his bed-chamber.
 “ —That he told the Lord Mayor, he
 “ understood, that the messenger, to whom
 “ the warrant was directed for apprehending
 “ *Miller*, was taken up by a Constable, and
 “ charged with an assault ; that he therefore
 “ desired to know, if the messenger had been
 “ brought before him.—That the Lord Mayor
 “ said, he had been told, that a person, who
 “ was called a messenger of the House of
 “ Commons, had been brought there, and
 “ charged with an assault.—That he (*Clement-*

“ *son*) waited in an anti-room till six o'clock.—
 “ That the messenger then came, and *Miller*
 “ and a Constable (*John Downe*) and a large
 “ concourse of people.—Then they went in,
 “ to the Lord Mayor; Alderman *Wilkes* and
 “ Alderman *Oliver* were there with him.—
 “ The Lord Mayor asked, what was the pur-
 “ pose of their coming thither? *Miller* said,
 “ he charged *Whitham*, the messenger, with
 “ an assault. On this Mr. *Robert Morris* ap-
 “ peared, and said he was counsel for *Miller*
 “ the prosecutor.—He said; that *Miller* had
 “ been violently assaulted, and falsely impri-
 “ soned, by an illegal warrant.—*Downe*, the
 “ Constable (who was asked for by the Lord
 “ Mayor) said, *Miller* had applied to him,
 “ about one or two o'clock, and had com-
 “ plained of an assault on him, in his own
 “ house, by the messenger, and charged him
 “ to take the messenger into custody; he
 “ therefore took him into custody, in order to
 “ carry him before a proper magistrate.

“ *Miller* was then called upon; who said,
 “ That a person who called himself a mes-
 “ senger of the House of Commons came to
 “ him, and took him into custody, by virtue

“ of a pretended warrant.—That *Miller* was
 “ then sworn by the Lord Mayor, and said
 “ upon his oath, that what he had before said
 “ was true. He went on, and said, he had
 “ refused to go with the person.—That the
 “ person had used violence, and had seized
 “ hold of him, and was pulling him along.—
 “ That the Lord Mayor asked the messenger,
 “ what offence *Miller* had committed, or what
 “ authority he had for assaulting *Miller* in
 “ this manner? The messenger said, he had
 “ the Speaker’s warrant, directed to him, to
 “ take *Miller* into custody. The Lord Mayor
 “ asked where the warrant was? That he
 “ (*Clementson*) told *Whitham* to open it, and
 “ read it himself.—That the Lord Mayor or
 “ Mr. *Morris* (he can’t say which) said it
 “ must be produced.—That he (*Clementson*)
 “ objected to it for some time; but the Lord
 “ Mayor saying it could not be taken notice
 “ of, if not produced, he delivered it to the
 “ Lord Mayor, on his promising to deliver it
 “ back to him; that he waited till this time,
 “ to see the nature of the assault charged on
 “ *Whitham*; and finding that it was for exe-
 “ cuting the warrant for taking *Miller* into

custody,

“ custody, he then told the Lord Mayor,
 “ that he appeared before him as Deputy
 “ Serjeant at Arms of the House of Com-
 “ mons ; that he came there by the Speaker’s
 “ directions, and had his commands to de-
 “ mand not only *Whitham* the messenger, but
 “ likewise *Miller* his Prisoner ; and he made
 “ that demand in the most solemn manner he
 “ was able.—That Mr. *Morris*, on this, de-
 “ fired he (*Clementson*) might be sworn as an
 “ evidence :—But he (*Clementson*) declared he
 “ would not be sworn, and said, he did not
 “ come as an evidence, but as an officer of the
 “ House of Commons, to execute the com-
 “ mands given him by the Speaker.—The Lord
 “ Mayor said, he could not take notice of
 “ any thing in his magisterial capacity, that
 “ was not given upon oath.—That he was
 “ then asked by *Morris*, if he refused to be
 “ examined to any of the facts or circum-
 “ stances within his knowledge.—That he
 “ doubted at first what answer to give to that ;
 “ but, on recollection, he said, if there was
 “ the least doubt either of the warrant being
 “ signed by the Speaker, or of his (*Clement-
 “ son’s*) having the Speaker’s commands to

“ de-

“ demand *Whitbam* the messenger and *Miller*
 “ his prisoner, he was ready to be sworn to
 “ the truth of those matters; but would not
 “ be sworn generally.—Finding that to be his
 “ resolution, Mr. *Morris* declined swearing
 “ him as to those matters; but he (*Clement-*
 “ *son*) again repeated, that if there was any
 “ doubt as to those matters, he was ready to
 “ swear to them.

“ That the Lord Mayor asked *Whitbam* if he
 “ was a Peace-Officer or a Constable? he said
 “ he was not;—if he had applied to any City
 “ Magistrate to back his warrant? he said, he
 “ had not:—Upon this, the Lord Mayor de-
 “ clared, That it was very extraordinary for
 “ any Citizen to be taken up in the City of
 “ London, without the knowledge or autho-
 “ rity of the Lord Mayor, or some other ma-
 “ gistrate of the City; and if this was per-
 “ mitted to be the case, it would be trampling
 “ on the laws, and there would be an end of
 “ the constitution of this country.

“ Then *Miller* was examined, as to his be-
 “ ing a Liveryman of the City of *London*.—
 “ The Lord Mayor said, it was his opinion,
 “ that no warrant, but from him or some
 “ other

“ other magistrate of the city, was good and
 “ valid to take up any citizen ; that he thought
 “ himself bound, so long as he held the great
 “ Office of Chief Magistrate of the City of
 “ *London*, to take notice of a proceeding of
 “ this sort ; and that it was his duty to de-
 “ fend the Citizens, and their Rights and
 “ Liberties, to the last extremity.—He said,
 “ he was of opinion, the messenger had no
 “ right to take up *Miller*, who was a Citi-
 “ zen, not being charged with any Felony,
 “ Trespass, or Breach of the Peace.

“ That Mr. *Morris* then took four objec-
 “ tions to the warrant :

“ First, that the words [“House of Com-
 “ mons”] was not a sufficient description of
 “ the power which had passed the Vote.—
 “ That it should have been, [“The House
 “ of Commons in Parliament assembled.”]

“ Secondly, That [“*J. Miller*”] was no
 “ sufficient description of the Person.

“ Thirdly, That the Offence was not in-
 “ flicted ; and therefore that it was illegal,
 “ and without colour of law.

“ Fourthly, That it did not appear, that
 [“*Fletcher Norton*, Speaker,”] who signed the
 warrant,

“ warrant, was the Sir *Fletcher Norton*, who
 “ is Speaker of the House of Commons.

“ That the Lord Mayor asked *Whitham*,
 “ whether he intended to carry *Miller* away as
 “ his prisoner? *Whitham* said, he did.—The
 “ Lord Mayor then said, he thought the war-
 “ rant was illegal ; and therefore he discharged
 “ *Miller* out of the custody of the messenger ;
 “ and said at the same time, This Citizen
 “ comes here to claim a citizen’s protec-
 “ tion of me, and I think he is entitled to it.

“ That then the Lord Mayor proceeded on
 “ the assault.—*Miller* proved that *Whitham* had
 “ laid hold of his arm and pulled him ; and
 “ that about five minutes afterwards, the con-
 “ stable came. After this, Three persons
 “ were produced to prove the assault :

“ *Henry Page*, of *Newgate-Street*, Printer.

“ *John Topping*, of the *Old-Baily*, Printer.

“ *Robert Page*, of *Newgate-Street*, Printer.

“ They proved, That *Whitham* laid hold of
 “ *Miller*’s arm, and said, he was his prisoner ;
 “ and that *Miller* said, he should not go, or did
 “ not chuse to go. That *Whitham* said, You must
 “ go ; and *Miller* said, he should not ; and then
 “ *Whitham* charged every body present to assist
 “ him.

“ him. After this, the Constable was brought ;
 “ and the Constable charged all present to assist
 “ him.

“ That the Lord Mayor, on this, gave it
 “ as his opinion, that the assault was fully
 “ proved ; and that *Whitham* must give securi-
 “ ty to appear at the next Session for the City
 “ of *London*, to answer such indictments as
 “ should be then found against him for the
 “ assault and false imprisonment, himself in
 “ Forty Pounds, and Two Securities in
 “ Twenty Pounds each ; and that *Miller* was
 “ to be bound to appear and make out the
 “ charge.—*Mr. Morris* and many others pre-
 “ sent were ready to be bail for *Whitham* :
 “ That *Whitham* was very much frightened,
 “ and was ready to offer Bail ; but he (*Cle-*
 “ *mentson*) insisted he should not give Bail.—
 “ The Lord Mayor desired it might be noticed
 “ that bail was offered ; but not accepted by
 “ *Whitham*.

“ Then the Lord Mayor directed a warrant
 “ to be made out ; and the person who had
 “ these directions he saw fill up what he sup-
 “ posed was the warrant ; and the Lord Mayor
 “ declared, it was a warrant for commit-

“ ting *Whitham* to the *Compter*.—That he saw
 “ the Lord Mayor sign that paper.—On this,
 “ Mr. *Morris* desired the other two Aldermen
 “ might sign the warrant; as well as his Lord-
 “ ship; else it might be supposed, that they
 “ did not concur in opinion with his Lord-
 “ ship.—The Lord Mayor said, he did not
 “ desire any body else to sign it, though the
 “ two Aldermen declared themselves ready to
 “ do it; and he particularly said to Alderman
 “ *Wilkes*, *I think you have enough upon your*
 “ *hands already*.—The warrant however was
 “ directed to be altered by the Clerk into the
 “ plural number; and he saw that paper signed by
 “ the other two Aldermen, *Wilkes* and *Oliver*.
 “ —That he asked the Lord Mayor, if it was
 “ signed by them all; and he said, it was; and
 “ directions were given by the Lord Mayor,
 “ and Mr. *Wilkes*, to the Constable, that *he*
 “ (*Whitham*) *might be used kindly in prison*.
 “ —That just before they were going to take
 “ him away, he thought that, this being a
 “ Commitment, he had gone far enough;
 “ and then he offered Bail.—That the Lord
 “ Mayor grew warm at this, and said, that
 “ he found that this proceeding meant to ex-
 “ aggerate

“aggrate the Offence or Business, or the
 “Proceeding; he could not recollect exactly
 “the word he made use of.”

“That, after this was done, he came back
 “immediately to the Speaker; and upon his
 “relating what had happened, he desired him
 “to go back and try to get a copy of the
 “warrant of Commitment.—The Lord Mayor
 “said, he could not tell where to find it then,
 “every body being gone away; but that if
 “it was not destroyed, being now of no use,
 “he should have a copy; but that I knew he
 “had signed it alone first, and that afterwards
 “Alderman *Wilkes* and Alderman *Oliver* de-
 “sired to sign it too; and that he and Alder-
 “man *Oliver* should, in their places in the
 “House of Commons, admit their having
 “signed such a warrant; but that he should
 “have a copy of it in the morning if it
 “could be found.—That he applied again on
 “Saturday morning to the Lord Mayor for
 “a copy of the warrant; he said he could
 “not yet find it; that some of them had
 “taken it away, and he knew not where it
 “was, but that if it could be found, *Whit-*
 “*ham* should have a copy of it; that it did

“ not signify, for that he did not mean to deny
 “ what had been done, or make use of any
 “ subterfuge; and that this was all that he
 “ (*Clementson*) had done.—That he did not
 “ go to execute the warrant himself; and that
 “ it was not sealed.

“ And he further added this circumstance,
 “ that he recollects, when the Lord Mayor
 “ had signed the *Mittimus*, and he the Depu-
 “ ty Serjeant had offered Bail, the Lord Mayor
 “ grew warm, and made use of some expres-
 “ sion, that he should not take Bail then, or
 “ words to that purpose; saying that this pro-
 “ ceeding meant to exaggerate the offence, or
 “ words to that effect; but he soon afterwards
 “ said, he must take bail.

“ That he endeavoured to serve the order
 “ of the House on *J. Wheble*; and went on
 “ *Thursday* the 28th of *February*, to his
 “ (*Wheble's*) shop, and enquired for him, and
 “ the servant said, he was not at home, but
 “ would be in an hour's time; that he call-
 “ ed again, and received the same answer;—
 “ that he called again, and was answered by
 “ a lad in the shop, who said he was an ap-
 “ prentice, that he was not at home, being
 “ gone

“ gone to the other end of the town; and
 “ that his master had waited all the day
 “ before, expecting him.---That he (*Clement-*
 “ *son*) then said, that he would call again in
 “ an hour, and bid him tell his master.—
 “ That he did so; and was told, he (*Wheble*)
 “ had been in, and was gone out again; but
 “ if he would let him know where he (*Cle-*
 “ *mentson*) might be found, he would wait on
 “ him.—That he went to a Coffee-house,
 “ and waited; then called again, and was
 “ told, *Wheble* was expected to dinner at
 “ three o’clock.—That he called at half
 “ an hour past three, and was told that *Wheble*
 “ was not at home, but would be soon.—
 “ That he called again at four and five o’clock,
 “ and received the same answers.—That he
 “ left word he was the Deputy Serjeant at Arms,
 “ and would be there again at half an hour
 “ past nine in the morning; which he ac-
 “ cordingly was, and was told by the same
 “ person, that *Wheble* was not at home, but
 “ said, he had delivered the message he had
 “ left with him, and that his master said, he
 “ was very sorry he was obliged to go out,

“ and he left no word when he would be
 “ at home.—That he called again at eleven
 “ o’clock, and he was not at home ; but was
 “ answered, he might be in, in half an hour.
 “ —That he went again on *Saturday* at Ten
 “ o’clock, and the apprentice said, he was not
 “ at home, but would be in the afternoon ;
 “ and said it with a smile, as if laughing at my
 “ frequent calling ; and said, if he would
 “ leave word where he might be found, we
 “ will send you word when he is at leisure.—
 “ That he (*Gementson*) said, he would be
 “ there at seven o’clock, which he accord-
 “ ingly was, but was told, he (*Wheble*) was
 “ not at home, and had sent for his linen,
 “ and therefore was not expected till *Monday*.
 “ That he did not go to *Thompson* till *Fri-*
 “ *day* the First of *March*, because there were
 “ two *R. Thompsons*, one *Richard*, the other
 “ *Robert*.—That he found, at the Stamp-
 “ Office, that *Thompson* had been summoned
 “ before the Commissioners to give security
 “ and said his name was *Robert*:—That he
 “ sent a messenger to enquire in the neigh-
 “ bourhood, and found there was but one:—
 “ That he went to *Thompson’s* house, and was

“ told by a man he was not at home, nor could
 “ tell when he would be, or whether he was in
 “ town; that he had seen him two or three
 “ days before; that nobody knew more about
 “ *Thompson* than himself, and if he (*Clement-*
 “ *son*) would leave a message, he would deliver
 “ it:—That *Williams* the messenger then said,
 “ You know our business; to which he made
 “ no answer:—That he went again at eleven
 “ o’clock; and the servant said, *Thompson* was
 “ not at home; for he had not seen him, and
 “ nobody knew better than he; and said, that
 “ if he (*Clementson*) had business with *Thomp-*
 “ *son*, it was usually left with him first and
 “ that no time was more likely to meet with
 “ him than that day or to-morrow.

“ That he (*Clementson*) went again on *Sa-*
 “ *turday*; and the same person told him *Thomp-*
 “ *son* was not at home, but would be in half
 “ an hour, but had no reason for thinking so:
 “ —That he went twice afterwards, and he
 “ was not at home, nor had been, and that
 “ he did not know when he would be:—
 “ That he (*Clementson*) said, Then he will
 “ not see me; and received for answer, he
 “ could not tell.”

And he farther said, “ That there had been
 “ one more attempt since, to execute the
 “ warrants on *Wheble* and *Thompson* ; that Mr.
 “ *Speaker* had made an alteration in the direc-
 “ tion of the warrants, by inserting the name
 “ of *Wood* the messenger ; that *Wood* took
 “ the warrant, and he (*Clementson*) followed
 “ after, to endeavour to find *Wheble* and *Thomp-*
 “ *son* ; that he (*Clementson*) waited at a Cof-
 “ fee-house in *Wheble*’s neighbourhood ; that
 “ *Wood* went and endeavoured to find them,
 “ but without effect.”

Your Committee then proceeded to examine
Charles Williams the messenger ; who said,
 “ he attended the Serjeant, in endeavouring
 “ to serve the warrants on *Wheble* and *Thomp-*
 “ *son*, on *Thursday* the *Twenty-eighth* day of
 “ *February* : — That he went six or seven
 “ times to *Wheble*’s house ; that he did not
 “ find him at home, but was told he would
 “ be at home soon.

“ That he went to *Thompson*’s several times,
 “ and received the same sort of answers ; that
 “ the business they came upon was known at
 “ both

“ both places ; and that he had read Mr. *Clementson's* minutes at the time, which he
 “ found were right.”

The Committee then proceeded to examine *Guy Wood* the messenger ; who said, “ He had
 “ the Speaker's warrant, about the Tenth or
 “ Eleventh of *March*, to arrest *Thompson* and
 “ *Wheble* ; that he received it from the De-
 “ puty Serjeant ; that his (*Wood's*) name was
 “ inserted in the warrant ; that he went with
 “ one Mr. *Lee* to *Thompson's* house ; that *Lee*
 “ went in and enquired for *Thompson* ; that
 “ they had agreed, that, if *Lee* staid above a
 “ minute, he (*Wood*) was to come in after
 “ him ; but *Lee* not finding him at home,
 “ came out immediately.

“ That they went from thence to *Wheble's*,
 “ and proceeded in the same manner. *Lee*
 “ went in, and was told *Wheble* was gone into
 “ the country : They then went to the *Green*
 “ *Dragon* in *Fleet-Street*, where *Wheble's* Even-
 “ ing Papers are delivered, and staid some
 “ time, to try if they could see him come af-
 “ ter his Papers, or about his business, but

“ could see nothing of him : That they have
“ made several enquiries since, and can hear
“ nothing of him.”

Your Committee having thus stated the evidence of the Facts and Circumstances relative to the late Obstructions to the Execution of the Orders of this House, as it appeared before them, &c.

VOTES

VOTES of May 9, 1777.

A Motion was made, and the Question being proposed, “ That, an humble Address be
 “ presented to His Majesty, to express the
 “ just sense this House entertains of His
 “ Majesty’s regard for the lasting welfare
 “ and happiness of His People; and, as
 “ this House cannot omit any opportunity
 “ of shewing their zeal and regard for *His*
 “ *Majesty’s honour*, and the prosperity of His
 “ Family, humbly to beseech His Majesty,
 “ that, in consideration of the High rank
 “ and dignity of their Royal Highnesses the
 “ *Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland*, He
 “ would be graciously pleased to make some
 “ addition to their annual income, out of
 “ the Revenues cheerfully granted His Ma-
 “ jesty, for the expences of the Civil Go-
 “ vernment, and better supporting the Ho-
 “ nour and Dignity of the Crown; and to
 “ assure His Majesty that this House will
 “ enable his Majesty effectually to perform
 “ the same, as nothing will more conduce
 “ to the strengthening of His Majesty’s go-
 “ vernment,

“ vernment, than honourably supporting the
 “ Dignity of the different branches of the
 “ Royal Family.”

And the previous Question being put,
 “ That that Question be now put ;”

It passed in the negative.

Mr. Wilkes observed, that the † *two* honourable gentlemen with the *blushing ribbands*, who opposed the Motion, declared that they did it chiefly from what they thought *a want of delicacy to the Crown*, but that in his opinion the real honour and *delicacy of the Crown* were essentially and deeply wounded by the present unhappy situation of our Sovereign's *own brothers*, which was of the most universal notoriety, and highly to be lamented; that the *elder* had been driven into a kind of honourable

† Sir John Griffin Griffin, Member for Andover, and Sir George Howard, Member for Stamford, have *both* regiments in his Majesty's service, *both* of cavalry, are *both* Lieutenants-General, and *both* Knights of the Bath.

Fortunati *ambo*—

*Ambo animis, ambo insignes præstantibus armis.
 Hic pietate prior.*

able exile at *Rome*, and the *younger* was not enabled to support the dignity of his high birth and rank among us ; that as to the case of the late Duke of Cumberland, which had been mentioned, although he enjoyed an income of above 40,000*l.* a year, he lived with his royal† Father, that great patron of *liberty*, by whom all
the

† So excellent a King, that was to this-----

SHAKESPEARE.

Long his loss shall England weep,

Ne'er again his likeness see ;

Long her strains in sorrow steep,

Strains of immortality.

GRAY.

This humane Prince on many occasions ventured his life in the cause of *liberty*. His distinguished bravery at the battles of Oudenarde and Dettingen was the frequent subject of the unsuspected praise of our inveterate enemies, the French. He was always a steady friend to the liberties of mankind, and like the former princes of his house, and of the *Nassau* line, kept a watchful eye over the House of Bourbon, well knowing their determined enmity to this free government, and their long meditated schemes for grasping at *universal monarchy*. He often checked the restless ambition of France in its mad career, by the most firm, wise, and successful measures. At his death he left England in possession of the capitals of the French in Asia and America, and of many other important conquests there, as well as in Europe and Africa. The most valuable of these conquests were lost soon after by a stroke of his *grandson's* pen, which proved

the expences of his household were defrayed, and that he died unmarried, whereas the present King's Brothers were both married, and had, with very *incompetent* revenues, separate families and establishments, which constituted no part of his Majesty's household arrangements or expences. He added, that we ought not to be prodigal to the Sovereign, and penurious to his Brothers; that the whole illustrious House of Brunswick claimed our regard and gratitude; that the wisdom of Parliament

more fatal to England than all the swords of all our enemies.

It is justice to the memory of the late King to declare, that he no less endeavoured to make his people free and happy at home, than to carry the glory of the British arms to the highest pitch every where abroad. During his reign the *laws* were respected and obeyed. *Liberty* and *justice* sat with him on the throne. The execution of *Earl Ferrers* impressed all foreign nations with the greatest idea of the sacredness of our laws, and the protection they afford the meanest subject, under a firm and mild sovereign. It was likewise believed, that if the *Court-Martial* on Lord George Sackville had pronounced the sentence, which was expected by all Europe, the *justice* of his late Majesty would have ordered it to have been carried into execution.

The *penioned* Doctors, Shebbeare and Johnson, and all the other ministerial writers of the court, have been indefatigable for many years in vilifying the memory of our late Sovereign, and tearing the laurels from

his

liament should carry the House into a view of futurity, and of possible contingencies, to provide in all events for the public safety, good order, and tranquillity; that what the honourable † gentleman, who made the motion, had mentioned with due horror, of our *being obliged to fetch from Rome a Sovereign born and educated there*, was not so wild and absurd an idea as it had been represented by other gentlemen; that purple fevers, and various epidemical diseases, had sometimes in a very short period swept away whole families;

his tomb. The *first* address of the *House of Lords* to the present King, on Nov. 18, 1760, is the best confutation of all the volumes of a *legion* of these hirelings.

“ The long experience which we had of his royal virtues, the *benignity* of his government, and his *uniform care of our laws and liberties, not interrupted in any one instance*, during the course of so many years, demand from us the most grateful acknowledgements; and will make his memory as dear to us as the height and splendor to which *he* had raised the greatness of these kingdoms will render it glorious to all posterity.”

After the demise of the crown, will there be found any *Lord* prostitute enough, will there be a *Sandwich*, to move such a paragraph in the *first* Address of the *House of Lords* to his present Majesty's *Successor*?

† Sir James Lowther, Baronet, Member for Cumberland.

milles; that towards the beginning of this century several Dauphins of France had died within a few months of each other, and the Bourbon line was believed to be in some danger of being extinct; that the † numerous, immediate posterity of George II. had been reduced to a very small number; that all families might suffer these most cruel losses, but in cases of this great national concern, we could not be too provident, too vigilant for the general safety. *Mr. Wilkes* farther remarked, that it was impossible to misunderstand this business; that it was, “Will you drive the King’s own Brothers into exile?” or “degrade them to the rank of private noblemen?” or “will you shew your duty to the King, whose heart glows with all the tenderness of true fraternal affection, and testify your regard to the honour of the nation, by making a princely and competent provision

† Every true friend of the House of Brunswick sees with affliction, how rapidly some of the principal branches of the family have dropped off.

Junius, vol. 2. page 82.

“ provision for your Sovereign’s *own Brothers*,
“ the two Royal Dukes, the children of Eng-
“ land?” He concluded with expressing a
pleasing hope, that the vote of every gentle-
man in the House would be governed by that
liberality of sentiment, which ought to carac-
terize the representatives of a great, power-
ful, and free people.

S P E E C H E S.

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END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

ERRATA IN THE FIRST VOLUME.

Page 125. in the note, line 1. after "Persian," add "Armenian." Line 2. after "Gentoo, &c, &c," add, "and above all in the *Erse*." Line 17. after "neither," add, "His Grace's idea of *liberty* comprehends every thing that is *wild and lawless*. The monster is of his own creation, and then he comes in a rage, like the *Saturn* of the heathen mythology, to destroy his own offspring."

Page 132. line 11. of the note, for "A short Account of a late Administration," read "A short Account of a late *short* Administration."

Page 179. line 12. for "148," read "150."

ERRATA IN THE SECOND VOLUME.

Page 7. line 14. for "its beams," read, "its beams?"

Page 34. note, line 13. for "I will die in the last Dyke," read, "I will die *on* the last Dyke."

Page 63. line 2. for "exquisite," read, "exquisite."

Page 81. note, line 17. for "if precise meaning," read, "if *any* precise meaning."



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