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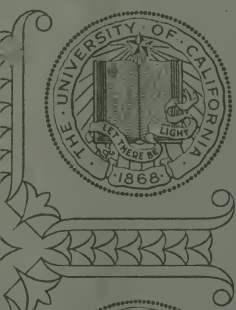
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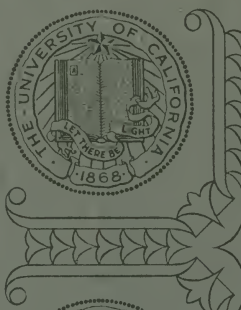
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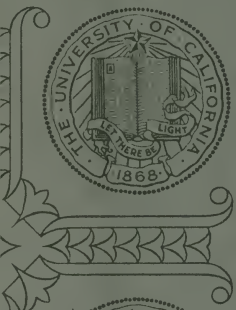
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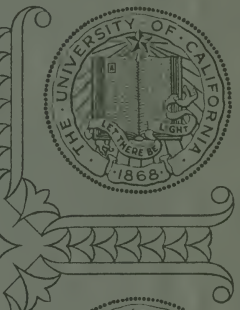
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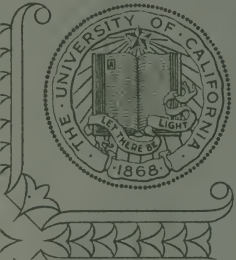
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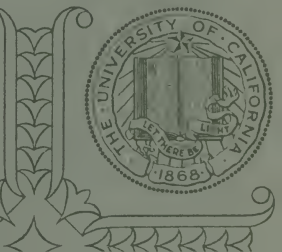
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A
DISCOVERY
OF
THE AUTHOR
OF
THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS,
FOUNDED ON SUCH
EVIDENCE AND ILLUSTRATIONS
AS EXPLAIN
ALL THE MYSTERIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES
AND APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS
WHICH HAVE
CONTRIBUTED TO THE CONCEALMENT
OF THIS
" MOST IMPORTANT SECRET OF OUR TIMES "

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR TAYLOR AND HESSEY, 93, FLEET-STREET.

1813.

T. Davison, Whitefriars,
London.

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F8T34

A

DISCOVERY,

&c.

THE late republication of the letters of JUNIUS has again drawn the attention of the public to the discovery of the author. The additional information it contained was expected to lead to the developement of the secret. Inquiry was accordingly renewed with even more zeal than ever: many conjectures were revived that were long ago proved to be groundless; and some new ones offered which appear to be as little entitled to attention. Whether the opinion we maintain, resting, as it does, on circumstantial evidence, be deserving of more consideration, must be left to the decision of the public. We can only say that if it fail, it will not be for want of reasons in its favour, far stronger than any that have yet been offered in support of other opinions.

We did not sit down to the perusal of JUNIUS with any expectation of discovering the author.

The idea we have formed was suggested by some of the letters at the end of the work; and, when once entertained, so many other reasons offered in its support, that we were induced to extend our inquiry. One circumstance after another added strength to the conjecture, till at length we were compelled to believe it was correct. Subsequent information tended to confirm the first impression, and to produce in our minds so entire a conviction, as led us to think a statement of the evidence would not be unacceptable to the public.

It may be one recommendation of the following pages, that the discovery they profess to make has novelty in it. We attribute the production to *two gentlemen*, neither of whom, as far as our knowledge extends, has ever been surmised to be the author. The death of the one, and the absence of the other, by removing them from the public eye, might be the reason of their not being suspected. As politicians, indeed, they were not at that time so conspicuous as to excite general attention. The father was in the decline of life, unaccustomed, under his own name, to appear as a political writer; and though the son was speedily distinguished for talents and virtues of the first order, yet they were displayed at such a distance from his

native country, that no one appears to have recognised in them any traces of the character of JUNIUS.

In attributing the letters to these gentlemen, we beg to remark, that every mystery in the conduct and character of JUNIUS will be explained by proofs adduced from documents already before the public. We have no opportunity of acquiring secret intelligence. Our biographical accounts are extracted from works which were written, of course, without any design to give currency or weight to the opinion we have formed. We lament that our materials are in consequence so scanty; but while, on the one hand, this was a subject of regret, it conduced, on the other, to strengthen our suspicions. For almost every fact that has come to our knowledge has been decidedly favourable to our conjecture; and in no single instance have we met with a circumstance that in the least militates against it.

When a correct opinion has been formed, every little incident tends to its confirmation. Thus, the apparent contradictions in the character of JUNIUS, which have been utterly irreconcilable with any supposition that has hitherto been formed of the author, are of material service in the present case. That JUNIUS ap-

pears, at various times, to be an Old Man, an Irishman, a Lawyer, a Soldier, a Courtier, a Statesman, a Divine, and again not one of all these, has been sufficient to baffle the most pertinacious inquirer. Yet all these seeming inconsistencies may be satisfactorily explained; and if upon the meagre evidence which is accidentally contained in books these things may be accounted for, how much more may not be expected from the disclosures of those, who had the honour and the happiness to be intimately acquainted with the parties?

That JUNIUS was a fictitious character, as well as a fictitious name, has been remarked by Dr. Girdlestone. The remark is ingenious. It is supported by the motto to the work, as well as by the express declaration of JUNIUS. Our author was not accustomed to employ words lightly. "I weigh every word, and every alteration, in my eyes at least, is a blemish*." There is a latent force in many of his expressions that is still more severe than their obvious meaning; and it might be expected, that a motto selected by himself would contain some secret allusion—some indirect application to the author, which, when the secret was disclosed, would be

* Woodfall's edit. of JUNIUS, vol. i. p. 240.

strikingly apparent. The fictitious character, the absolute non-entity of the man, was the circumstance hinted at in the words "*Stat nominis umbra.*" It was idle, and beneath JUNIUS, to tell the world that he employed a great name merely as a stalking-horse—the fact was evident. Besides, he would then have given the entire phrase, *stat magni nominis umbra*, but the omission shews that this was not his purpose. It is not *magni*, but *umbra*, which is the emphatic word; and thus the *shadow of a name* has another meaning attached to it. The word *umbra* proves that the secret JUNIUS was himself a shadow, an ideal character, hidden beneath a fictitious name—in fact, the shadow of a *shade*; for a name is but the shadow of a substance, and *our* JUNIUS was himself but the shadow of a *name*.

The supposition of a fictitious character receives support from various passages in our author's correspondence.

"I have faithfully served the public *without the possibility of a personal advantage*. As JUNIUS, I can never expect to be rewarded."

*Letter to Wilkes, v. i. p. * 295.*

"As to JUNIUS, I must wait for fresh matter, as this is a *character* which must be kept up with credit."

*Letter to Woodfall, v. i. p. * 198.*

“ He asserts that he has traced me through a variety of signatures. To make the discovery of any importance to his purpose, he should have proved, either that the *fictitious character* of JUNIUS has not been *consistently supported*, or that the author has maintained different principles under different signatures. I cannot recall to my memory the numberless trifles I have written ; but I rely upon the consciousness of my own integrity, and defy him to fix any colourable charge of inconsistency upon me.”

Letter to Horne, v. i. p. 307. ;

There are several passages in the letters of JUNIUS which have always been supposed to be directly contradictory to each other. Were this in fact the case, it might admit of an excuse in a writer whose life perhaps depended on the concealment of his name. But to the noble mind of JUNIUS falsehood was a stranger ; and so far from resorting to such meanness for protection, he defies his enemies to fix upon him “ any colourable charge of inconsistency,” even in any of the trifles he had written.

An author so jealous of his honour is not likely to have been guilty of unnecessary prevarication : yet if we imagine that JUNIUS was some *single* person, how can he escape the charge? If, on the contrary, we admit that *two* persons were concerned in the formation of this *one fictitious character*, the difficulty is removed. There is then no inconsistency in expressions

which in any other view it is impossible to reconcile with each other.

Thus, when the *mystical* JUNIUS declares in his dedication, "I am the sole depositary of my own secret, and it shall perish with me," we can acknowledge that under that name he speaks the truth; and yet that the following extracts from his letters to Woodfall are in perfect consistency with such a declaration.

"The gentleman who transacts the conveyancing part of our correspondence tells me there was much difficulty last night."

Vol. i. p. *246.

"The last letter you printed was idle and improper, and I assure you printed against my own opinion. The truth is, there are people about me whom I would wish not to contradict, and who would rather see JUNIUS in the papers ever so improperly than not at all. I wish it could be recalled. Suppose you were to say,—*We have some reason to suspect that the last letter signed JUNIUS, in this paper, was not written by the real JUNIUS, though the observation escaped us at the time; or if you can hit off any thing yourself more plausible, you will much oblige me; but without a positive assertion. Don't let it be the same day with the enclosed.*"

Vol. i. p. *198.

The letter in question was clearly written by only one of the persons composing the character of JUNIUS, without the assistance or concurrence of the other. He might therefore,

without any inconsistency say, it “ was not written by the *real Junius*,” to whose existence the united minds of both the writers were essential.

With this explanation the veracity of JUNIUS stands unimpeachable. If under other signatures expressions are used which appear inconsistent with each other, the slightest consideration will serve to explain them.—Thus the epithet, “ We soldiers,” in the following extract, is conformable to the signature affixed to that letter.

“ My Lord, the rest of the world laugh at your choice; but *we soldiers* feel it as an indignity to the whole army, and be assured we shall resent it accordingly.”

Vol. iii. p. 424.

It is no inconsistency in *Veteran* to use this phrase, though *Lucius* (vol. iii. p. 154.) says to Lord Hillsborough, “ I am no soldier, my Lord.”—The *character*, whatever it be, must be supported, and the inconsistency would be justly chargeable on the writer, if this were neglected to be done.

In the like manner, *Scotus* (vol. iii. p. 447.) is correct in saying, “ I am a Scotchman.” But no one, surely, can think it necessary to object to phrases such as these.

Having made these few preliminary remarks, we now proceed to shew that all the circumstances of *time* and *place*, *talents* and *character*,

conspire to prove that DR. FRANCIS, and his son the present SIR PHILIP FRANCIS, were the authors of the LETTERS OF JUNIUS. And though the style of one person, when corrected and qualified by the taste of another, must vary in some degree from other specimens of that writer's usual manner, we shall, in addition to our other proofs, exhibit some remarkable coincidences of expression in the writings of these gentlemen and of JUNIUS.

The circumstances most material to be first determined are those of time and place. We shall therefore shew, that DR. FRANCIS and his SON were in London, or its immediate neighbourhood, during the period in which these letters were written; and that they were in situations favourable for obtaining that information which JUNIUS was so remarkable for possessing.

The Miscellaneous Letters ascribed to JUNIUS in Mr. Woodfall's last edition extend from April 28, 1767, to May 12, 1772; the letters signed JUNIUS, from January 21, 1769, to January 21, 1772; the Private Letters to Mr. Wilkes, from August 21, to November 9, 1771; and the Private Letters to Woodfall commence on April 20, 1769, and close on January 19, 1773.

Thus the whole of the letters attributed to JUNIUS were written between the dates of April 28, 1767, and January 19, 1773.

DR. FRANCIS died at Bath on the fifth of March, 1773. For several years previous to his death he had resided in or near London.—His son was born about the year 1748 *. In 1773, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the Government of India. He sailed from England in the spring of 1774.

There is nothing, therefore, in the *time* when these Letters were written that opposes the opinion we have expressed. DR. FRANCIS lived three months after the date of the last private communication of JUNIUS, and ten months after the appearance of his last miscellaneous letter. The latest of the *acknowledged Letters* of JUNIUS was published fourteen months before his death. SIR PHILIP FRANCIS did not leave England until a twelvemonth after the date of the last communication, of any description, that can be traced to JUNIUS.

But while there is nothing in this evidence that contradicts our assertion, we must be allowed to remark, that the sudden and total disappearance of JUNIUS at this crisis is no light

* Pub. Char. 1809.

presumption in its favour. Had JUNIUS written after the death of DR. FRANCIS, and the departure of SIR PHILIP, there would be an end of our present inquiry. Or if SIR PHILIP had continued in England, and DR. FRANCIS had lived any considerable time after JUNIUS had ceased to write, appearances would not have been so strongly in our favour. Under all the circumstances, we may certainly consider the time and place as affording some proofs of the correctness of our suggestion.

But JUNIUS not only continued to write for the space of five years, and then ceased altogether: his labour was incessant during that period. "From January, 1769, to January, 1772, he uniformly resided in London, or its immediate vicinity, and never quitted his stated habitation for a longer period than a few weeks." —*Prel. Ess.* p. *47. We have reason to believe, from various circumstances, that DR. FRANCIS, during all this time, lived in or near town.—That his son was an inhabitant of the metropolis for the same term may be inferred from the following account. "He was born about the year 1748, and was bred at St. Paul's school, under Mr. Thicknesse, the brother of the governor of the same name, who was allowed to be a man of great learning and talents. *At an early period*

of his life, in consequence of the influence of his father, Philip was patronized by the late Lord Barrington, who at that time presided at the War-Office, and by whom he was first introduced into public business in that department." *

Lord Barrington was appointed Secretary at War in 1765. As SIR PHILIP was introduced into the War-Office at *an early period of life*, it probably took place soon after the appointment of his patron, at which time he was seventeen years of age. He continued in this department until he was expelled by Lord Barrington in March 1772.—*Junius*, v. iii. p. 445.

— We have great reason then to conclude, that so long as JUNIUS was known to be confined to London, or its immediate vicinity, MR. PHILIP FRANCIS held a situation at the War-Office, which necessarily required his constant residence in town. When the latter was released from this constraint, the Letters of JUNIUS immediately evince that he himself indulged in a correspondent relaxation. So completely, indeed, does the parallel hold between the situation and peculiar circumstances of JUNIUS and MR. PHILIP FRANCIS, that when the latter finally quitted the War-Office, the former entirely gave up his political lucubrations.

* Pub. Char. 1809.

Favourable as these coincidences are to our general supposition, the connection of SIR PHILIP with the War-Office affords still stronger evidence of its truth.

JUNIUS was remarkably distinguished for his particular knowledge of the minor concerns of the army. Malone mentions this fact as a reason why Mr. Secretary Hamilton could not have been the author of the Letters. "He had none of that minute *commissarial* knowledge of petty military matters which is displayed in some of the earlier papers of JUNIUS."—*Prel. Essay*, p. *117.

These expressions very happily designate that species of knowledge which a chief clerk in the War-Office would naturally acquire.—Let us see how this applies to the Letters of JUNIUS.

In his first Letter, JUNIUS animadverts on the conduct of the Commander in Chief, for "neglecting the merit and services of the rest of the army, to heap promotions upon his favourites and dependents."—"If the discipline of the army be in any degree preserved, what thanks," he asks, "are due to a man, whose cares, notoriously confined to filling up vacancies, have degraded the office of Commander in Chief to a broker of commissions?"

In reply to Sir William Draper's vindication of Lord Granby, the second Letter of JUNIUS contains the following passages :

“ You say, he has acquired nothing but honour in the field. Is the Ordnance nothing? Are the Blues nothing? Is the command of the army, with all the patronage annexed to it, nothing? Where he got these *nothings* I know not; but you at least ought to have told us when he deserved them.

“ As to his bounty, compassion, &c. it would have been but little to the purpose, though you had proved all that you have asserted. I meddle with nothing but his character as Commander in Chief: and though I acquit him of the baseness of selling commissions, I still assert that his military cares have never extended beyond the disposal of vacancies; and I am justified by the complaints of the whole army, when I say that, in this distribution, he consults nothing but parliamentary interests, or the gratification of his immediate dependents. As to his servile submission to the reigning ministry, let me ask, whether he did not desert the cause of the whole army, when he suffered Sir Jeffery Amherst to be sacrificed, and what share he had in recalling that officer to the service? Did he not betray the just interest of the army, in permitting Lord Percy to have a regiment? And does he not at this moment give up all character and dignity as a gentleman, in receding from his own repeated declarations in favour of Mr. Wilkes?”—

“ The last charge, of the neglect of the army, is indeed the most material of all. I am sorry to tell you, Sir William, that in this article your first fact is false: and as there is nothing more painful to me than to give a direct

contradiction to a gentleman of your appearance, I could wish that, in your future publications, you would pay a greater attention to the truth of your premises, before you suffer your genius to hurry you to a conclusion. Lord Ligonier *did not* deliver the army, (which you, in classical language, are pleased to call a *palladium*) into Lord Granby's hands. It was taken from him much against his inclination, some two or three years before Lord Granby was Commander in Chief. As to the state of the army, I should be glad to know where you have received your intelligence. Was it in the rooms at Bath, or at your retreat at Clifton? The reports of the reviewing generals comprehend only a few regiments in England, which, as they are immediately under the royal inspection, are, perhaps, in some tolerable order. But do you know any thing of the troops in the West Indies, the Mediterranean, and North America, to say nothing of a whole army absolutely ruined in Ireland? Enquire a little into facts, Sir William, before you publish your next panegyric upon Lord Granby; and believe me, you will find there is a fault at head-quarters, which even the acknowledged care and abilities of the adjutant-general cannot correct."

Vol. i. pp. 74, 75, 76.

The subsequent Letters of JUNIUS to Sir William Draper display many more proofs of this "minute *commissarial* knowledge."

"In exchange for your regiment, you accepted of a colonel's half-pay, (at least 220l. a year,) and an annuity of 200l. for your own and Lady Draper's life jointly. And is this the losing bargain which you would represent to

us, as if you had given up an income of 800l. a year for 350l.?"

Junius, vol. i. p. 97.

"When you receive your half-pay, do you, or do you not, take a solemn oath, or sign a declaration upon your honour, to the following effect? *That you do not actually hold any place of profit, civil or military, under his Majesty.*

Junius, vol. i. p. 98.

"You were appointed (greatly out of your turn) to the command of a regiment, and, during that administration, we heard no more of Sir William Draper."

Junius, vol. ii. p. 7.

The rescue of Major General Gansel is the next subject whereon the Letters of JUNIUS display any minute knowledge of military matters.

It may readily be imagined that a clerk in the War-Office must know every particular of this transaction; and it is highly probable that he would himself behold it, as it took place at the Horse-Guards.

JUNIUS details the affair with a minuteness that proves he was an eye-witness of it. Every little circumstance is marked in his account with the precision of a picture painted on the spot.

"A major-general of the army is arrested by the sheriff's officers for a considerable debt. He persuades

them to conduct him to the Tilt-yard in St. James's Park, under some pretence of business, which it imported him to settle before he was confined. He applies to a serjeant, not immediately on duty, to assist with some of his companions in favouring his escape. He attempts it. A bustle ensues. * An officer of the guards, not then on duty, takes part in the affair, applies to the † lieutenant, commanding the Tilt-yard guard, and urges him to turn out his guard to relieve a general officer. The lieutenant declines interfering in person; but stands at a distance, and suffers the business to be done. The other officer takes upon himself to order out the guard. In a moment they are in arms, quit their guard, march, rescue the general, and drive away the sheriff's officers, who in vain represent their right to the prisoner, and the nature of the arrest. The soldiers first conduct the general into their guard-room,—then escort him to a place of safety with bayonets fixed, and in all the forms of military triumph.”

Junius, vol. ii. p. 37.

In commenting upon this transaction JUNIUS thus proceeds.

“ A lieutenant upon duty designedly quits his guard, and suffers it to be drawn out by another officer, for a purpose, which he well knew (as we may collect from an appearance of caution, which only makes his behaviour the more criminal,) to be in the highest degree illegal. Has this gentleman been called to a court-martial to answer for his conduct? No. Has it been censured? No. Has it been in any shape enquired into? No. Another

* Lieutenant Dodd.

† Lieutenant Garth.

lieutenant not upon duty, nor even in his regimentals, is daring enough to order out the King's guard, over which he had properly no command, and engages them in a violation of the laws of his country, perhaps the most singular and extravagant that ever was attempted. What punishment has he suffered? Literally none."

Junius, vol. ii. p. 40.

"I know, indeed, that when this affair happened, an affectation of alarm ran through the ministry. Something must be done to save appearances. The case was too flagrant to be passed by absolutely without notice. But how have they acted? Instead of ordering the officers concerned (and who, strictly speaking, are alone guilty,) to be put under arrest, and brought to trial, they would have it understood that they did their duty completely, in confining a serjeant and four private soldiers, until they should be demanded by the civil power. So that, while the officers who ordered or permitted the thing to be done escape without censure, the poor men who obeyed those orders, who in a military view are no way responsible for what they did, and who for that reason have been discharged by the civil magistrates, are the only objects whom the ministry have thought proper to expose to punishment. They did not venture to bring even these men to a court-martial, because they knew their evidence would be fatal to some persons whom *they* were determined to protect."

Junius, vol. ii. pp. 42, 43.

Under the signature of X. X. in the Miscellaneous Letters, JUNIUS again shews his acquaint-

ance with every circumstance connected with this adventure.

“Is Captain Garth, who deserted his guard at noon-day, an equerry to the Duke of Cumberland? Did he not leave the command of his guard to a person who had as little right to take it as Buckhorse, and is he, or is he not, protected by his Royal Highness?—Is not Captain Dodd the old friend of Henry Lawes Luttrell, and the son of the oldest and most intimate crony of Lord Irnham? Have either of the parties denied any one of the facts stated by JUNIUS?—Has not Colonel Salter been ordered to hold his peace?—Has not William Viscount Barrington, Secretary at War, most infamously neglected his duty, in not moving the king to order a court-martial for the trial of these offenders? And has not the Adjutant-general publicly and repeatedly, though in vain, represented that they ought to be cashiered? What will the flat general contradiction of an anonymous writer avail against circumstances so particular, so well vouched, that the parties most concerned are ashamed or afraid to deny them? How is JUNIUS to prove his facts, but by such a particularity and precision in the state of them, that no man, who knows any thing of the matter, will venture to dispute the truth of them?”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 240.

The fact next stated by JUNIUS is the sale of a patent place in the collection of the customs at Exeter. The place was given by the Duke of Grafton to Colonel Burgoyne, who sold it, according to JUNIUS, for 3,500*l.* which sum he

affirms was paid to Colonel Burgoyne with the connivance and consent of the Duke.—In the same letter JUNIUS announces the promotion of the Colonel to a military government, the government of Fort St. George; which promotion, it seems, took place “only a few days before the date of this letter.”—*Vide* vol. ii. p. 58. note.

The statement given by JUNIUS of the appointment of Lieut. Colonel Luttrell to be Adjutant-general to the army in Ireland is as minute as any of the preceding.

“This infamous transaction ought to be explained to the Public. Colonel Gisborne was Quarter-master-general in Ireland. Lord Townshend persuades him to resign to a Scotch officer, one Fraser, and gives him the government of Kinsale.

“Colonel Cuninghame was Adjutant-general in Ireland. Lord Townshend offers him a pension to induce him to resign to Luttrell. Cuninghame treats the offer with contempt. What’s to be done? poor Gisborne must move once more. He accepts of a pension of 500*l.* a year, until a government of greater value shall become vacant. Colonel Cuninghame is made Governor of Kinsale, and Luttrell at last, for whom the whole machinery is put in motion, becomes Adjutant-general, and, in effect, takes the command of the army in Ireland.”

Junius, vol. ii. p. 156.

But the intelligence that Colonel Luttrell had accepted this appointment was unconfirmed.

And JUNIUS felt himself a few days after compelled to announce, that the minister had “meanly rescinded this detestable promotion.”—From his peculiar sources of information, JUNIUS appears to have had knowledge of this appointment before it had received the royal sanction.—Perhaps he founded his opinion upon the changes which were known at the War-Office to have taken place, and which, it might be supposed, were made for no other purpose than to provide for Colonel Luttrell. This conjecture receives some support from the manner in which JUNIUS speaks of the appointment, and from the apprehension he entertained lest the entire design should be disavowed. “As very few forms concurred to this appointment, except private commissions to a Lord-lieutenant, we shall not be surprised at that effrontery which may hereafter deny the whole transaction: it is not, however, lost in ignorance, because the royal fiat had purposely delayed its progress through the offices of the Secretaries of State. It never, perhaps, was intended that this circumstance should have been made public, till the destruction of our rights had been at least more easily to be accomplished than it is at present.”

As the Miscellaneous Letters afford many more instances of this *commissarial* knowledge of military matters than the regular letters of JUNIUS contain, Mr. Malone's remark is still more entitled to our attention than he himself imagined.

The very particular account which JUNIUS gives of the dismissal of Sir Jeffery Amherst from the government of Virginia,—his statement, “that Colonel Hotham is now Colonel of the 13th Regiment, and that the commission of Commandant of the Royal Americans only waits until it shall be determined whether General Gage shall be recalled or not,”—the exact estimate he makes of Sir Jeffery's income, from the government of Virginia, and his two regiments,—the hint he gives to Lord Hillsborough, that, “*the ostensible defence he has given to the public differs widely from the real one, intrusted privately to his friends; and that the most distant insinuation of what that defence is would ruin his Lordship at once**,”—and his note to Woodfall—“By way of intelligence, you may inform the public, that Mr. De la Fontaine, *for his secret services in the Alley*, is appointed *Bar-rack Master to the Savoy*,”—are all specimens

* Junius, v. iii. p. 139.

of intelligence very similar in their kind to those we have before adduced.

Even his personal knowledge of the *cream-coloured* Bradshaw, and the *blushing* Rigby, may have proceeded from the former being at one time a clerk in the War-Office; and the latter a paymaster of the Forces.

But the most complete proofs of the connection of JUNIUS with the War-Office, and of his identity or connection with SIR PHILIP FRANCIS, are to be found in the letters addressed to Lord Barrington. They are introduced to the publisher by the following note.

Jan. 25, 1772.

“Having nothing better to do, I propose to entertain myself and the public, with torturing that ***** Barrington.* He has just appointed a French broker his deputy, for no reason but his relation to Bradshaw. I hear from all quarters that it is looked upon as a most impudent insult to the army.—Be careful not to have it known to come from me. Such an insignificant creature is not worth the generous rage of JUNIUS.”

Junius, v. i. p. 247.*

* (Note by the Editor.) The letter that accompanied this is numbered 105 in the Miscellaneous Collection, and the signature of JUNIUS will be found to be exchanged for that of *Veteran*.

Junius, vol. i. p. 247.

Accordingly in Letter 105, of the Miscellaneous Collection, JUNIUS, under the name of *Veteran*, attacks Lord Barrington for having appointed Mr. Chamier his deputy. Mr. Chamier was successor in the War-Office to Mr. D'Oyly, who was discarded to make room for him.

In this letter JUNIUS introduces a conversation-piece between a General Officer and the new deputy, with these words: "Let us suppose a case, which *every man acquainted with the War-Office* will admit to be very probable."

The incidents throughout this letter are far beneath the notice of JUNIUS; yet they are commented upon with a severity and resentment which shew that they very seriously displeased the writer.

"There is no other way to account for your late *frantic resolution* of appointing *Tony Shammy** your deputy Secretary at War.

"My Lord, if I remember right, you are partial to the spawn of Jonathan's; witness the care you took to provide for Mr. De la Fontaine in the military department.—

"This last resolution, however, approaches to madness;—and remember what I seriously tell you, this measure will, sooner or later, be the cause, not of your disgrace,—(that affair's settled) but of your ruin. What demon possessed you, to place a little gambling broker at the

* Anthony Chamier.

head of the War-Office, and in a post of so much rank and confidence as that of deputy to the Secretary at War?"

Junius, vol. iii. pp. 423-4.

From whom were these sentiments and expressions so likely to proceed as from a clerk in the War-Office, who had been disappointed by seeing another man unexpectedly placed over his head?

It is, perhaps, to obviate this conclusion, and escape discovery, that he assumes the character and signature of a military man.—“*We soldiers* feel it as an indignity to the whole army, and, be assured, we shall resent it accordingly.”

The 2d Letter to Lord Barrington contains a hasty sketch of his Lordship's political career; and concludes with a conversation, which it is insinuated passed between his Lordship and the King.

“MY LORD,

“In my last letter I only meant to be jocular. An essay so replete with good humour could not possibly give offence. You are no enemy to a jest, or at least you would be thought callous to reproach. You profess a most stoical indifference about the opinion of the world, and above all things make it your boast that you can set the newspapers at defiance. No man indeed has

received a greater share of correction in this way, or profited less by it than your Lordship. But we know you better. You have one defect less than you pretend to. You are not insensible of the scorn and hatred of the world, though you take no care to avoid it.—When the bloody Barrington, that silken fawning courtier at St. James's,—that stern and insolent minister at the War-Office, is pointed out to universal contempt and detestation, you smile indeed, but the last agonies of the hysteric passion are painted in your countenance. Your cheek betrays what passes within you, and your whole frame is in convulsions.—I now mean to be serious with you.—

“ By garbling and new modelling the War-Office, you think you have reduced the army to subjection.—*Walk in, Gentlemen, business done by Chamier and Co.*—To make your office complete, you want nothing now but a paper lanthorn at the door, and the scheme of a lottery pasted upon the window.—With all your folly and obstinacy, I am at a loss to conceive what countenance you assumed, when you told your royal master that you had taken a little Frenchified broker from Change Alley, to intrust with the management of all the affairs of his army. Did the following dialogue leave no impression upon your disordered imagination? You know where it passed. . .

“ K. Pray, my Lord, whom have you appointed to succeed Mr. D'Oyly?

“ B. Please your M——, I believe I have made a choice that will be highly acceptable to the public and to the army.

“ K. Who is it?

“ C. *Sire, il s'appelle Ragosin.* Born and educated in Change Alley, he glories in the name of broker: and, to say nothing of Lord Sandwich's friendship, I can assure

your M—— he has always kept the best company at Jonathan's.

“K. My Lord, I never interfere in these matters; but I cannot help telling your Lordship, that you might have consulted my honour and the credit of my army a little better. Your appointment of so mean a person, though he may be a very honest man in the mystery he was bred to, casts a reflection upon *me*, and is an insult to the army. At all events, I desire it may be understood that I have no concern in this ill-judged, indecent measure, and that I do not approve of it.”

“I suppose, my Lord, you thought this conversation might be sunk upon the public. It does honour to his Majesty, and therefore you concealed it.—In my next I propose to shew what a faithful friend you have been to the army, particularly to old worn-out officers.”

Junius, v. iii. p. 430, &c.

At the beginning of his 3d Letter to Lord Barrington, JUNIUS notices, in severe terms, his Lordship's “opinion, solemnly and deliberately expressed before the House of Commons, that there is not a single man in the profession who is in any shape qualified for Commander in Chief.”

This letter concludes with a conversation-piece, which is introduced in the following manner.

“After treating the most powerful people in the army with so much unprovoked insolence, it is not to be sup-

posed that field officers, captains, and subalterns, have any chance of common justice at your hands. But that matter shall be the subject of another letter, and every letter shall be concluded with a conversation-piece. *The following dialogue is not imaginary.*

SCENE.—WAR-OFFICE.

Enter BARRINGTON, meeting WADDLEWELL.

“ *B.* My dear friend, you look charmingly this morning.

“ *W.* My dearest Lord—the sight of your Lordship!—
(*Here they embrace, Waddlewell's thoughts being too big for utterance.*)

“ *B.* When did you see my *Pylades*, our dear *Bradshaw*?

“ *W.* Ay, my Lord, there is a friend indeed!—Firmness without resistance—sincerity without contradiction—and the milky way painted in his countenance. If I could ever reconcile my mind to the distracting prospect of losing your Lordship, where else should we look for a successor! But that event I hope is at a great distance. *Late, very late, Oh may he rule us!*

“ *B.* Ay, my dearest Waddlewell, but we are sadly abused notwithstanding all our virtues.

“ *W.* Merit, my dear Lord, merit will for ever excite enmity.—I found it so in the Alley. I never made a lucky hit in my life, that it did not set all Jonathan's in an uproar. If an *idea* succeeded, my best friends turned against me, Judas and Levi, Moses and Issachar.—People with whom I have been connected by the tenderest ties—could not endure a sight of my prosperity. The ten tribes of Israel united to destroy me, and for two years together were malicious enough to call me the *lucky little*

Benjamin. Friendship, among the best of men, is little better than a name.

“ *B.* Why, my dear deputy, it is not that I regard the contempt and hatred of all mankind.—I never knew it otherwise. No man’s patience has been better exercised. But what if the King should hear of it?—

“ *W.* Ay, there’s the rub!

“ *B.* If the best of princes, who pretends to be his own Commander in Chief, should hear that the name of Barrington is opprobrious in the army;—that even he himself is not spared for supporting me——

“ *W.* (*Weeping*). Oh fatal day!—Compared with this what is a riscounter!—Alas, my dearest Lord! you have unmanned your deputy.—I feel myself already at 10 per cent. discount, and never shall be at par again.

“ *B.* Something must be done.—Let us consider.

“ *W.* Ay, my dear Lord, for heaven’s sake let us speculate! (*Exeunt, disputing about precedence.*)”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 437, &c.

The 4th Letter of JUNIUS to Lord Barrington is not concluded with a dialogue, though one had been promised. He appears to be upon his guard, as if he thought himself suspected. Some person, under the signature of *Novalis*, had replied to his former letters; and from one passage in this reply, if JUNIUS was indeed a clerk in the War-Office, we may infer that he had some cause of alarm.

Novalis challenges a comparison between the experience of Lord Barrington and that of *his clerks*. JUNIUS repeats the passage, and com-

ments on it, but with a reserve that is not usual with him. As for the challenge, it is altogether neglected; and not a word appears in favour of the *clerks*.

“MY LORD,

“I am at a loss for words to express my acknowledgment of the signal honour you have done me. One of the principal purposes of these addresses was to engage you in a regular public correspondence. You very justly thought it unnecessary to sign your name to this last, elegant performance. *Novalis* answers as well as *Barrington*. We know you by your style.

“You intimate, without daring directly to assert, that *you did not fix* that odious stigma upon the body of general officers. Have you forgot the time when you attempted the same evasion in the House of Commons, and forced General Howard to rise and say he was ashamed of you?—These mean, dirty, pitiful tricks are fitter for Jonathan’s than the War-Office.

“*You have more experience than any of your Clerks, and your great abilities are acknowledged on all sides.*—As for your experience, we all know how much your conduct has been improved by it. But, pray, who informed you of this *universal acknowledgment* of your abilities? The sycophants whose company you delight in are likely enough to fill you with these flattering ideas. But if you were wise enough to consult the good opinion of the world, you would not be so eager to establish the credit of your understanding. The moment you arrive at the character of a man of sense you are undone: you must then relinquish the only tolerable

excuse that can be made for your conduct.—It is really unkind of you to distress the few friends you have left.”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 439, &c.

The real grievance again appears at the latter end of this Letter. It stands almost as the acknowledged motive of these addresses to Lord Barrington.

“For shame, my Lord Barrington! send this whiffling broker back to the mystery he was bred in. Though an infant in the War-Office, the man is too old to learn a new trade.—At this very moment they are calling out for him at the bar of Jonathan’s,—Shammy! Shammy! Shammy!—The house of *Israel* are waiting to settle their last account with him. During his absence things may take a desperate turn in the Alley, and you never may be able to make up to the man what he has lost in half-crowns and sixpences already.”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 444.

Although the writer had threatened Lord Barrington with *sixteen Letters** on the subject of the War-Office, and had numbered them as if he actually meant to keep his word, the fourth concludes the series. Mr. FRANCIS was expelled, and not Mr. Chamier: the purpose, therefore, of their publication was probably at an end.

* Vide JUNIUS, vol. iii. p. 427.

The letter next in order to those addressed to Lord Barrington announces *the expulsion* of MR. FRANCIS from the War-Office. This fact forms the sole subject of the letter. It is mentioned in strong language of reprobation, and we are even told that it is a fit subject of investigation by the House of Commons.—We insert the *whole*.

“ *To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.*

“ SIR,

“ I desire you will inform the public that the worthy Lord Barrington, not contented with having driven Mr. D'Oyly out of the War-Office, has at least contrived to expel Mr. Francis. His Lordship will never rest till he has cleared his office of every gentleman who can either be serviceable to the public, or whose honour and integrity are a check upon his own dark proceedings. Men who do their duty with credit and ability are not proper instruments for Lord Barrington to work with. He must have a broker from Change-Alley for his deputy, and some raw ignorant boy for his first clerk. I think the public have a right to call upon Mr. D'Oyly and Mr. Francis to declare their reasons for quitting the War-Office. Men of their unblemished character do not resign lucrative employments without some sufficient reasons. The conduct of these gentlemen has always been approved of, and I know that they stand as well in the esteem of the army, as any persons in their station ever did. What then can be the cause that the public and the army should be deprived of their service?—There must certainly be something about Lord Barrington which

every honest man dreads and detests. Or is it that they cannot be brought to connive at his jobs and underhand dealings? They have too much honour I suppose to do some certain business *by commission*. They have not been educated in the conversation of Jews and gamblers,—they have had no experience at Jonathan's,—they know nothing of the stocks; and therefore Lord Barrington drives them out of the War-Office. The army, indeed, is come to a fine pass, with a gambling broker at the head of it! What signifies ability, or integrity, or practice, or experience in business? Lord Barrington feels himself uneasy while men with such qualifications are about him. He wants nothing in his office but ignorance, impudence, pertness, and servility. Of these commodities he has laid in a plentiful stock, that ought to last him as long as he is Secretary at War. Again, I wish that Mr. Francis and Mr. D'Oyly would give the public some account of what is going forward in the War-Office. I think these events so remarkable, that some notice ought to be taken of them in the House of Commons. When the public loses the service of two able and honest servants, it is but reasonable that the wretch, who drives such men out of a public office, should be compelled to give some account of himself and his proceedings.”—

Junius, v. iii. p. 444, &c.

This is the last of the letters signed “*Veteran* :”—it is dated March 23, 1772.

On May 4, 1772, JUNIUS recommences his attack on Lord Barrington in a letter signed *Scotus*. But there is not one word about the War-Office in it. It is, however, very probable

that the following lines allude to the late dismissals.

“ It is the coward who fawns upon those above him. It is the coward that is insolent wherever he dares be so. You have had *some lessons* which have made you more cautious than you used to be. *You have reason to remember, that modest humble merit will not always bear to be insulted by an upstart in office.*”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 448.

Our author's next letter is dated the 8th of May, 1772, and narrates the history of Bradshaw of the Treasury. He is described as having been one of Lord Barrington's domestics. He then *pimped* himself into a pension of 1500*l.* a year, and was lastly appointed a Lord of the Admiralty. This appointment called forth JUNIUS's present letter, which is addressed to the Lords of the Admiralty.—As there is nothing very important in this short letter, we shall not make any extracts from it. The order in which it stands, being the last but one of all the letters of JUNIUS, is the reason it is now mentioned.

We are now come to the last public letter known to have been written by JUNIUS. It appeared under the signature of *Nemesis*, and is dated May 12, 1772. On its first publication it was called, “*Memoirs of Lord Barrington,*” in compliance with the request of the writer.

“ I am just returned from a visit in a certain part of Berkshire, near which I found Lord Barrington had spent his Easter-holidays. His Lordship, I presume, went into the country to indulge his grief ; for, whatever company he happened to be in, it seems his discourse turned entirely upon the hardship and difficulty of his situation. The impression which he would be glad to give of himself, is that of an old faithful servant of the crown, who on one side is abused and vilified for his great zeal in support of Government, and at the same time gets no thanks or reward from the King or the Administration. He is modest enough to affirm in all companies, that *his* services are unrewarded, that *he* bears the burthen, that other people engross the profits; and that *he* gets nothing. Those who know but little of his history may perhaps be inclined to pity him; but *he and I have been old acquaintance*, and considering the size of his understanding, I believe I shall be able to prove, that no man in the kingdom ever sold himself and his services to better advantage than Lord Barrington.—Let us take a short review of him from his political birth.”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 451, &c.

After enumerating the different particulars of Lord Barrington's political life, our author adds :

“ At his very outset, the blundering orders he sent to Gibraltar might have occasioned the loss of that important place. When the fate of Gibraltar was at stake, we had a Secretary at War who could neither write plain English nor common sense. But he compensated for his own blunder by ruining the worthy General Fowke, whom he and a certain Countess (taking a base advantage

of the unhappy man's distress) prevailed upon to write a letter, the recollection of which soon after broke his heart."

"Sometimes his folly exceeds all bounds: as, for instance, when he traduced the whole body of General Officers, which I presume they will not readily forget. In the *War-Office* he has made it his study to oppress all the lower part of the army by a multitude of foolish regulations, by which he hoped to gain the reputation of great discipline and economy; but which have only served to make him as odious to the military, as he is to every other rank of people in the kingdom.

"Such are the services which, in his lordship's opinion, can never be sufficiently rewarded. He complains that he gets nothing; although, upon a moderate computation, he has not received less of the public money than fifty-three thousand pounds: viz.

| | | |
|--|---|----------|
| Ten years Lord of the Admiralty. | - | £ 8,000 |
| Eighteen years either Secretary at War, Chancellor of the Exchequer, or Treasurer of the Navy, at £ 2,500 per annum. | | |
| | - | £ 45,000 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | £ 53,000 |

It is not possible to ascertain what farther advantages he may have made by preference in subscriptions, lottery-tickets, and the management of large sums lying in his hands, as Treasurer of the Navy. Mr. Chamier, if he thought proper, might give us some tolerable account of the matter. When a Secretary at War chooses a broker for his deputy, it is not difficult to guess what kind of transactions must formerly have passed between them. I don't mean to question the honour of Mr. Chamier.

He always had the reputation of as active a little fellow as any in Jonathan's. But, putting all things together, I think we may affirm that when Lord Barrington complains of getting nothing from government, he must have conceived a most extravagant idea of his own importance, or that the inward torture he suffers from knowing how thoroughly he is hated and despised is such as no pecuniary emoluments can repay."

Junius, vol. iii. p. 455, &c.

From that time to the present we hear no more of JUNIUS, with the exception of a private letter to Woodfall, dated Jan. 19, 1773.

"I have seen the signals thrown out for your old friend and correspondent. Be assured that I have had good reason for not complying with them. In the present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle that run mad through the city, or as any of your wise aldermen. I meant the cause and the public. Both are given up. I feel for the honour of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike, vile and contemptible."

Junius, vol. i. p. *255.

That MR. FRANCIS was suspected of being the author of the letters signed *Veteran*, may be inferred from some expressions in these letters, as well as from his expulsion from the War-Office. Lord Barrington introduced him into that department.—Lord Barrington expelled him. And as there are no more attacks upon his Lord-

ship from the same quarter after that expulsion, he must have been confirmed, if he previously entertained a doubt, in the opinion that MR. PHILIP FRANCIS was the writer.

JUNIUS himself appears to have dreaded, that if he were known to be the author of the letters signed *Veteran*, it might be discovered that he was also concerned in the *Letters of JUNIUS*. His private letter to Woodfall, on the 10th of May, 1772, is as follows—“ Pray let this be announced, *Memoirs of Lord Barrington* in our next. *Keep the author a secret**.” And in the letter which accompanied the first of those signed *Veteran*, he says—“ Be careful not to have it known to come from me †.”

The real name of the author not being known to Woodfall, all that could be intended by this injunction was, that *Junius* should not be known to have written them. He foresaw that if Lord Barrington should ascertain that *Junius* and *Veteran* were the same, his *grand secret* would be discovered. But had his Lordship entertained no suspicion of the author, it must have been perfectly indifferent to JUNIUS whether the letters of *Veteran*, *Scotus*, and *Nemesis*, were traced to *him* or not.—He shews no such appre-

* *Junius*, vol. i. p. *255.

† *Ib.* p. *247,

hension as this on any other occasion. Yet he had before this time written under different signatures.—It is fair, therefore, to conclude that he had betrayed himself by his warmth in this instance, and was afraid lest, by means of the clue he had dropt, his enemies should track him up to JUNIUS himself.

It may excite surprise, that MR. FRANCIS, if he were indeed JUNIUS, should be so extremely severe in his attacks upon Lord Barrington, who was his earliest patron, and had introduced him into the War-Office.—Without attempting to account for the fact, by the political conduct of Lord Barrington, which is the cause assigned in Woodfall's edition, we have only to appeal to the evidence of the letters before us. They expressly say that Lord Barrington expelled MR. FRANCIS, because "*his honour and integrity were a check upon his Lordship's dark proceedings;*" because "*men who do their duty with credit and ability are not proper instruments for Lord Barrington to work with; they cannot be brought to connive at his jobs and underhand dealings;*" and, among other reasons, because "*Lord Barrington feels himself uneasy while men with such qualifications are about him.*"

It is unnecessary to pursue this portion of our proofs any further. MR. FRANCIS and JUNIUS are by these last letters completely identified. The reader will observe, that during the whole period of the publication of the letters of JUNIUS, MR. FRANCIS was a chief clerk in the War-Office;—that for a considerable time Lord Barrington was the constant subject of attack from the pen of JUNIUS; that several of his last letters are solely occupied in addresses to his Lordship; and that *from the time of MR. FRANCIS's quitting the War-Office, neither Lord Barrington nor the public have heard any thing more of JUNIUS.*

We shall now consider such other particulars of the *character* of JUNIUS as are known to the public, and shew how exactly they apply to those gentlemen who are the subject of our present investigation.

One of the persons composing the character of JUNIUS possessed a considerable degree of legal knowledge; and numerous phrases might be cited, to evince his familiar acquaintance with the language of the profession. Yet JUNIUS expressly declares, without elsewhere contradicting or qualifying the assertion—“*I am no lawyer by profession*; nor do I pretend to be more deeply read than every English gentleman should be, in the laws of his country. If, therefore, the principles I maintain are truly constitutional, I shall not think myself answered, though I should be convicted of a mistake in terms, or of misapplying the language of the law.”

Junius, vol. i. p. ii. Preface.

Again, in a private letter to Wilkes.

“Though I use the terms of art, do not injure me so much as to suspect I am a lawyer.—I had as lief be a Scotchman.”

Junius, vol. i. p. 312.

But while he declares his aversion to the profession, and his contempt for the practice of the law, it is evident, from his works, that he was

profoundly acquainted with its principles. And in a letter to Woodfall, on the subject of his trial for publishing the Letter to the King, he expresses his opinion with an air of legal authority.

“ I have carefully perused the Information. It is so loose and ill drawn, that I am persuaded Mr. De Grey could not have had a hand in it. Their inserting the whole, proves they had no strong passages to fix on. I still think it will not be tried. If it should, it is not possible for a jury to find you guilty.”

Junius, vol. I. p. *209.

We may collect from these extracts, and from the whole tenor of his writings, that though JUNIUS was certainly no lawyer by profession, he was deeply versed in the science of jurisprudence; and, as he himself declares, “ well knew the practice of the Court, and by what rules it ought to be directed.”

Junius, vol. ii. p. 409.

MR. FRANCIS was no lawyer by profession. But his abilities, as a civilian and a statesman, may be estimated from the following account. It fortunately affords a testimony of his uncommon talents and attainments, at the very time when the Letters of JUNIUS were written.

It was resolved by Parliament that some attempt should be made to reform the abuses in the government of India.—

— “Accordingly, Lord North, then in the zenith of his power, introduced a bill for this purpose, in 1773, containing a variety of regulations, by which the civil government of Bengal was to be vested in a governor-general and council, while the juridical administration was to be confided to a supreme court of judicature.

“In conformity to the first of these plans, it was determined to send out three persons of known integrity and talents, not only to enforce the act in question, but also to constitute a majority in the council; by means of which the improvident expenditure in the revenue might be controlled, the grievances of the country powers redressed, the interests of the company benefited, and the honour of the English name, which was supposed, not without truth, to have been tarnished by malversation and oppression, restored to its wonted lustre.

“For the completion of these honourable purposes, two soldiers and one civilian were selected. Sir John Clavering, the commander in chief, was a man of some military reputation, and possessed a high character for integrity.—Colonel Monson, the second, who had served and distinguished himself in India, possessed an unimpeachable reputation;—and MR. PHILIP FRANCIS, then in the bloom of manhood, had at once the merit and good fortune of being selected as the last of this respectable triumvirate. Young, however, as he might be, he was the *man of business selected to organize the plans, direct the proceedings, and regulate the conduct of the whole*.*”

If, on this head, further evidence were necessary, we might quote the words of Mr. Burke,

* Pub. Char. 1809.

when he describes the situation of MR. FRANCIS on his return to England in 1781.

“ This man, *whose deep reach of thought, whose large legislative conceptions, and whose grand plans of policy* make the most shining part of our reports, from whence we have all learned our lessons, if we have learned any good ones; this man, from whose materials those gentlemen, who have least acknowledged it, have yet spoken, as from a brief; this man, driven from his employment, discountenanced by the directors, has had no other reward, and no other distinction, but that inward “ sunshine of the soul, which a good conscience can always bestow upon itself.”

Burke's Works, vol. IV. p. 101.

From these testimonies, and a multitude of others that might be adduced, it is apparent that SIR PHILIP FRANCIS, even at that early period, was, in all the requisites of *legal* knowledge, fully competent to the production of the Letters of JUNIUS.

JUNIUS was so universally suspected to be an *Irishman*, or of Irish descent, that any attempt to prove it from his writings would be unnecessary for our present purpose.

A writer, who signs himself *Oxoniensis*, mentions some of JUNIUS's Hibernicisms, and endea-

vours to prove, from these expressions, that Mr. Burke was the author. We shall quote one paragraph of this letter, chiefly for the sake of the proof it brings, that JUNIUS, whoever he might be, was a member of the University of *Dublin*.

“ Edmund received his education amongst the Irish Jesuits at St. Omer’s, and finished his studies in Ireland. If any one will take the trouble of reading over the Letters of JUNIUS, he will find that Edmund, notwithstanding all his ‘ care and pains,’ sometimes falls into *Hibernicisms*. In one place he says, ‘ make common cause:’ this is not English, though, to be sure, the phrase is common enough in Dublin. In JUNIUS’s Letter of the 13th of August, he talks of ‘ the sophistries of a collegian:’ this expression is not English; and the word *collegian* is never used in this sense, except in the college of Dublin, and (perhaps) of St. Omer’s. We say, indeed, fellow-collegian; but at the great schools here, those of the college are called *collegers*: and at our two Universities the members of a college are called *gownsmen*; at Dublin they are called *collegians*.”

Though Oxoniensis was wrong in his suspicions of Mr. Burke, his arguments to prove that JUNIUS was, in his sense of the word, a *collegian*, are worth our notice.

Baker, in his biography of DR. FRANCIS, affords us very few particulars of his life; but what he says is strictly consistent with the preceding inferences:

“ This gentleman is of Irish extraction, *if not born in that kingdom*. His father was a dignified clergyman, being dean of some cathedral, and also rector of St. Mary’s, Dublin, from whence he was ejected by the court, on account of his Tory principles, after he had enjoyed the living eighteen years. His son was also bred to the church, and had a doctor’s degree conferred on him.”

We are further told, by the biographer of SIR PHILIP, that DR. FRANCIS “ received his education *at the University of the Holy Trinity, Dublin*, and obtained the degree of D.D. there*.”

These accounts tally so exactly with the conclusions attempted to be drawn in the preceding letter, that we cannot but regard them as material corroborations of our general opinion. The editor of JUNIUS, in his Preliminary Essay, at the same time that he notices the currency of the charge, inclines to the belief that JUNIUS is not proved by internal evidence to belong to any particular country. His words are as follow :

“ Of those who have critically analyzed the style of his compositions, some have pretended to prove, that he must necessarily have been of Irish descent, or Irish education, from the peculiarity of his idioms;—while, to shew how little dependence is to be placed upon any such observations, others have equally pretended to prove, from a similar investigation, that he could not have been a native of either Scotland or Ireland, nor have studied in any

* Pub. Char. 1809.

university of either of those countries. The fact is, that there are a few phraseologies in his Letters peculiar to himself; such as occur in the compositions of all original writers of great force and genius, but which are neither indicative of any particular race, nor referable to any provincial dialect."

Junius, v. i. p. *88.

This same conclusion may, with almost as much propriety, be drawn from an examination of the avowed works of DR. FRANCIS, as there is scarcely one peculiar expression in the whole of his Demosthenes and Horace, of which an example cannot also be found in the last edition of the works of JUNIUS. These expressions abound in some letters more than in others; but this may be owing to the superior care bestowed upon the composition of those pieces wherein they are less frequent, and to the critical powers of that duplex character displayed in the ostensible productions of JUNIUS. But even these latter are not totally free from singular forms of expression, many of which may, with ease, be traced in the undoubted writings of the DOCTOR. Let us not be understood to affirm this universally; for we are persuaded that more than one person was concerned in the production of these Letters. Internal evidence supports this opinion. But whether they were the compositions of

the Son, strengthened by the profound remarks, the sarcastic wit, and the happy expression of the Father: or whether the Father dictated, while the Son held the pen, enlivening and illustrating the work as it proceeded, with his own sprightly and pertinent suggestions, it is not for us to determine. Be this as it may, there certainly appears, throughout the work, a variety of style, irreconcilable with the idea, that only one person was the author. This difference is especially apparent in the use of the relative pronoun. Sometimes it is inserted as frequently as it can be: at others, it is omitted to so great a degree as to form a remarkable character in the style of this great English classic. We cannot therefore assert, that every singularity in the language of JUNIUS is to be paralleled by passages from the works of DR. FRANCIS. But with *very few* exceptions we may make this declaration. And, with still fewer, we may venture to affirm, that all the peculiarities of language in the writings of DR. FRANCIS, are discernible in some part or other of the works of JUNIUS. The quotations we shall bring forward under the head of internal evidence, will tend both to illustrate and justify this position.

In consequence of the extensive range of his subjects, and the boldness with which he attacked every kind of political delinquency, when JUNIUS overlooked a flagrant case of malversation, it was supposed to proceed from his secret partiality for the man. His forbearance towards Lord Holland was so uniform that it could not pass unnoticed; and inferences were accordingly drawn from the fact to prove, that the writer was in some degree connected with his Lordship. *His* was a case indeed which might naturally be expected to call forth all the "generous rage of JUNIUS." But on this subject he was inflexibly silent.

This reserve on the part of JUNIUS could not proceed from his ignorance of the particulars of an affair which was so generally known to the public. Nor was he so unacquainted with his lordship and his family as not to be able to make the attack in his usual caustic manner. Suspecting that his lordship's son, the late Mr. Fox, was the author of some remarks which appeared under the signature of "*an old Correspondent,*" JUNIUS concludes his answer to this gentleman in the following words.

"This my pretty *Black Boy* calls a retraction of JUNIUS's first concession, and applies to his aged father

for an old woman's proverb.—JUNIUS speaks of *softening the symptoms of a disorder*. The *Black Boy* changes the terms again, and destroys the allusion. The rest of his letter is of a piece with these instances; a misrepresentation of JUNIUS, equally pert, false, and stupid. *Ex his disce omnia*.

“ I know nothing of JUNIUS, but I see plainly, *that he has designedly spared Lord Holland and his family*.— Whether Lord Holland be invulnerable, or whether JUNIUS should be wantonly provoked, are questions worthy the *Black Boy's* consideration.”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 410.

As Lord Holland did not owe his safety to our author's ignorance of his history, it is not very likely that it proceeded from any general esteem that he might entertain for his public character. Men whose conduct and principles were far more likely to win the regard of JUNIUS, were not without the utmost difficulty able to obtain and preserve it. As long as a doubt remained of the rectitude of their intentions, he examined their proceedings with a watchful eye; and at the first appearance of impropriety, he interfered, and expressed his warmest resentment.

The jealousy of JUNIUS in all that concerned the public good, made him at one time regard

even Lord Chatham as a traitor to his country.*

As long as he was thus suspected, his Lordship felt the full force of our author's indignation. When, at a subsequent period, JUNIUS arrived at a better understanding of that Nobleman's character;—when he saw him “galantly throw away the scabbard”† and stand up in defence of the rights of the people, a decided change took place in his opinions. But the manner in which he avows this alteration in his sentiments, shews with what care and deliberation it was made.

“I did not intend to make a public declaration of the respect I bear Lord Chatham. I well knew what unworthy conclusions would be drawn from it. But I am called upon to deliver my opinion, and surely it is not in the little censure of Mr. Horne, to deter me from doing signal justice to a man, who, I confess, has grown upon my esteem. As for the common sordid views of avarice, or any purpose of vulgar ambition, I question whether the applause of JUNIUS would be of service to Lord Chatham. *My* vote will hardly recommend him to an increase of his pension, or to a seat in the Cabinet. But, if his ambition be upon a level with his understanding,—if he judges of what is truly honourable for himself, with the same superior genius which animates and directs him to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, even the pen

* *Junius*, vol. ii. p. 458.

† Vol. i. p. *231.

of JUNIUS shall contribute to reward him. Recorded honours shall gather round his monument and thicken over him. It is a solid fabric, and will support the laurels that adorn it.—I am not conversant in the language of panegyric.—These praises are extorted from me, but they will wear well, for they have been dearly earned.”

Junius, v. ii. p. 310.

The same disposition to censure those men whose principles were in reality not at any time very different from his own, is observable in his conduct to Lord Camden. He was once “Judge Jefferyes,” with “the Laws of England under his feet, and before his distorted vision a dagger which he calls the Law of Nature, and which marshals him the way to the murder of the constitution.”—V. ii. p. 472.

After a lapse of five years, during which Lord Camden had sufficiently evinced his attachment to the genuine principles of the constitution, his public virtue drew from JUNIUS the following acknowledgment of esteem.—“I turn, with pleasure, from that barren waste, in which no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens, to a character fertile, as I willingly believe, in every great and good qualification.”—V. ii. p. 441.

While such men as these were hardly forgiven, we cannot but wonder that Lord Hol-

land should escape. It was certainly no common cause that could produce so decided a partiality. Nor was it any consideration of a public nature, for that would have operated in other instances. The reasons, whatever they were, that led to this mysterious behaviour, must have been wholly of a private kind.— JUNIUS must have been secretly attached to Lord Holland by the closest ties. In such a cause as this it was not possible for *him* to be indifferent, and as he evidently was not a foe, it is fair to presume that he was a friend.

But we are not left to doubt of the attachment of JUNIUS to the late Lord Holland. In his private letters to Woodfall he expressly says, “*I wish Lord Holland may acquit himself with honour. If his cause be good, he should at once have published that account, to which he refers in his letter to the Mayor.*”—V. i. p.*174.

Let us then proceed to consider how far this partiality for Lord Holland and his family affects that gentleman to whom we attribute an important share in the production of the Letters of JUNIUS.—We must again refer to his biographer.

DR. FRANCIS'S Translation of Horace made his name known in England about the year 1743. Some time after its publication he appears to have come over to England; where in

1753 he published the first vol. of his Translation of Demosthenes.*—In 1752 appeared the Tragedy of Eugenia. And in 1754 that of Constantine.—He published the 2d vol. of Demosthenes in 1755.†

“ Towards the beginning of the present reign DR. FRANCIS entered the lists as a political writer; and, *among other persons of distinction*, lived in *great intimacy* with *Lord Holland*, the father of the late Mr. Fox, who was then a *great favourite at court*, and *consulted by his Majesty on many trying occasions*.

“ How far this circumstance may have been accompanied by any beneficial consequences, we are not prepared to decide. As to himself, he was promoted to the rectory of Barrow, in Suffolk, a living of considerable amount, and this he held along with the Chaplaincy of Chelsea Hospital, the latter of which he appears to have retained from 1764 to 1768.”

Pub. Char. 1809.

DR. FRANCIS was also the Chaplain of Lord Holland; and his translation of Demosthenes was dedicated to his Lordship. In expectation of a refusal, if he had applied for permission to make this dedication to his patron, he adds, “ but who would bear being much obliged, if he were

* The date prefixed to the work is 1757 and 1758.

† Baker's Biog. Dram. and Biog. Dict.

forbidden to acknowledge the obligation, or why should gratitude be the only virtue you seem unwilling to encourage? But, Sir, I had other motives to this address; I would inform our men of genius and learning that this was the only literary work proposed to the public during your continuance in administration, and that it was in a particular manner honoured with your protection."

But DR. FRANCIS was not only honoured with the friendship and patronage of his Lordship, we are informed that he was also *the tutor of his Son*; and, if DOCTOR FRANCIS was indeed the author of the Letters of JUNIUS, it is a singular and very satisfactory circumstance, that Mr. Fox was indebted to so firm a friend of liberty for any part of his education.

The intimacy of DR. FRANCIS with Lord Holland, his situation in that nobleman's family, and the preferment he had received through his intervention, were circumstances clearly sufficient to produce that silence which in JUNIUS is so remarkable. Attached to Lord Holland by gratitude and friendship, he could not, consistently with honour, arraign his public conduct. Besides, whatever remarks he might think proper to make, would be heard in private with greater prospects of advantage.

These considerations appear to us powerful enough to lay restraint upon the pen of JUNIUS. We think, at the same time, nothing short of these ties could limit his exertions in the service of his country.

By means of the opportunities which were afforded him by his connection with the family of Lord Holland, DR. FRANCIS would unavoidably acquire that peculiar knowledge of the affairs of the Court which is so conspicuous in JUNIUS. We have seen that Lord Holland “was then a great favourite at court, and consulted by his Majesty on many trying occasions.” With this key, we are no longer at a loss to ascertain the source whence JUNIUS might derive his anecdotes of the King—of the Princess Dowager of Wales—of the brutal conduct of the Duke of Bedford towards his Sovereign—of the secret intelligence concerning JUNIUS conveyed by Garrick to Richmond,—and of those changes in the superior departments of Administration, with which he was so promptly made acquainted. But if it appears improbable that from this single channel our author should have derived a knowledge of such various particulars, let it be recollected that he was in other respects intimately connected with high life and the literary world.

He was the Chaplain and intimate friend of Lord Chesterfield, to whom he dedicates his tragedy of Constantine, in terms which shew the mutual regard which subsisted between them. "As I may probably," says our author, "never have another opportunity, certainly not in this kind of writing, of publicly professing my respect, my esteem, I had almost said, my affection for your lordship, may I not be forgiven, if I dedicate, *not the Play, but its Author; not his Poetry, but his Understanding and his Heart?*"

The acquaintance which DR. FRANCIS maintained among eminent literary men may be inferred from various anecdotes which are related of him. Of his fondness for London and literary society, even as early as 1752, Mr. Gibbon, the historian, who was at that time his pupil, accidentally affords the following testimony.— "My unexpected recovery again encouraged the hope of my education; and I was placed at Esher in Surrey, in the house of the Rev. Mr. PHILIP FRANCIS, in a pleasant spot, which promised to unite the various benefits of air, exercise, and study. The Translator of Horace might have taught me to relish the Latin poets, had not my friends discovered, in a few weeks, that he preferred the pleasures of London to the instruction of his pupils."

The circumstances connected with Garrick's interference for the purpose of discovering the author of the Letters of JUNIUS, deserve more particular consideration.

JUNIUS writes thus to Woodfall, in a private letter, dated Nov. 8, 1771:—

“(SECRET).”

“Beware of David Garrick—he was sent to pump you, and went directly to Richmond to tell the King I should write no more.”

Junius, vol. i. p. *228.

Two days after this, he sends the following letter to Woodfall, to be by him transcribed and forwarded to Garrick.

“To Mr. DAVID GARRICK,

“I am very exactly informed of your impertinent inquiries, and of the information you so busily sent to Richmond, and with what triumph and exultation it was received. I knew every particular of it the next day. Now, mark me, vagabond, keep to your pantomimes, or, be assured, you shall hear of it; meddle no more, thou busy informer! It is in my power to make you curse the hour in which you dared to interfere with

“JUNIUS.”

“ I would send the above to Garrick directly, but that *I would avoid having this hand too commonly seen.* Oblige me, then, so much as to have it copied in any hand, and sent by the penny-post ; that is, if you dislike sending it in your own writing. I must be more cautious than ever. I am sure I should not survive a discovery three days ; or if I did, they would attain me by bill. *Change to the Somerset Coffee-House, and let no mortal know the alteration.*”

Junius, vol. i. p. *229, &c.

From an explanation which Woodfall gave him, of the means by which Garrick obtained his intelligence, JUNIUS desires Woodfall to “ drop the note,” adding, “ the truth is, that in order to curry favour, *he made himself a greater rascal than he was.* Depend upon what I tell you, the King understood that he had found out the secret by his own cunning and activity.— *As it is important to deter him from meddling,* I desire you will tell him that I am aware of his practices, and will certainly be revenged if he does not desist. An appeal to the public from JUNIUS would destroy him.” At the end of the same letter he again changes his opinion, and desires Woodfall to send the note. “ Upon reflection,” says he, “ I think it absolutely necessary to send that note to D. G. only say *practices* instead of *impertinent inquiries.*”

For the space of three weeks after, he still continued under the greatest apprehensions of

being discovered by Garrick, occasionally expressing his fears to Woodfall.

If Garrick was at all likely to be acquainted with the *hand-writing* of JUNIUS, or if there was any possibility that he could know the *person* of the messenger employed by JUNIUS, we see at once sufficient causes for his alarm, and for the above precautions. Under no other supposition than that of Garrick's knowledge of him in his proper person, can we account for the excessive fears that were entertained of Garrick by the writer of these Letters.

Supposing DR. FRANCIS to be the author of JUNIUS, he would have had sufficient cause to dread being discovered by these means. Garrick and he were in the habit of meeting at the houses of Lord Holland, of Foote, and of other mutual friends. They were upon terms of intimacy, and even of friendship. Garrick had brought out, at Drury-lane, DR. FRANCIS'S tragedy of Eugenia, in which he performed the principal part, that of *Mercour*. The acknowledgment which the author makes of his exertions upon this occasion, is a proof of the good understanding which subsisted between them. "Mr. Garrick is entitled to my sincerest gratitude for his performance as an actor, and for his punctuality as a manager. But his assistance in a thousand alterations, his strong good sense,

with that spirit of theatrical criticism which is his peculiar natural genius, give him a right to a great share of that applause with which this play was received. The rest is *friendship and esteem.*”

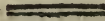
That our author really entertained a favourable opinion of Garrick, and only spoke of him with severity from the extreme apprehensions of being discovered, appears from his readiness to receive as an excuse for Garrick's conduct, the declaration of Woodfall, that the information of JUNIUS having ceased writing was obtained by Garrick from mere accident, and not in consequence of any inquiry made by him into the circumstance.

Indeed from a man of JUNIUS's temper, the remark which he makes, that Garrick “in order to curry favour made himself a greater rascal than he was,” is a proof that he held him in no light estimation. It was customary with JUNIUS to express his displeasure in language so far different from that which he employs on this occasion, that by the comparison, a phrase which elsewhere would seem by no means a kind or a courtly one, almost conveys a compliment.

The next circumstance that we shall notice, is one whereon it will be unnecessary to dwell. It is well known that JUNIUS, from the singular freedom of some of his allusions to religious subjects, was accused, though without foundation, of being an atheist or a deist. It is worth remarking, that Churchill, with as little reason, styles DR. FRANCIS,

“The *atheist* chaplain of an atheist Lord.”

In a note on this passage we are informed, that the circumstances most likely to have occasioned the poet's enmity to DR. FRANCIS, were his having been employed as a writer in defence of Government, at the commencement of the present reign, and his connection with Lord Holland.



Except such evidence as relates generally to the talents and principles of our respective authors, we know not of any circumstance that now remains to be considered. We hasten, therefore, to that portion of our work which regards the conformity of their style and sentiments.

Under the head of internal evidence we propose to consider, first, the peculiar expressions and style of composition, and secondly, the general opinions and principles of the writers.

Remarkable expressions can scarcely be expected to abound in JUNIUS. He prided himself on the extreme care and labour which he had bestowed on his compositions. They were pruned of every unnecessary epithet, in order that its luxuriance being repressed, the language might become more vigorous and expressive. The *character* of his style was exquisitely wrought and polished up to the perfection of ideal beauty. It were no wonder, therefore, if we scarcely discern the lineaments of a family resemblance in the works which we purpose to compare with JUNIUS, allowing they were all the acknowledged productions of the same mind.

There is another reason why the author, whoever he were, would, as far as possible, remove all resemblance between the style of JUNIUS and his other works. He would justly fear that the internal evidence which all compositions, by the same hand, afford of their common origin, especially to those who are accustomed to regard the nicer distinctions in phraseology, would be

an obvious means of discovering that secret, on the concealment of which he thought even his life depended. Under this impression, if he were sensible of any peculiarities, it would be the constant object of his solicitude to remove them.

And if the principal writer were himself unable to detect the varieties of phrase which distinguished his productions, he had in the present instance an able coadjutor, whose critical sagacity would no doubt be unceasingly, and in general successfully exerted to point them out. This is at least probable, according to the view we have taken of the *compound character* of JUNIUS.

Thus carefully guarded from peculiar words and phrases, the pages of JUNIUS cannot be expected to furnish many proofs for our purpose. Yet with the works to which we have compared them, they exhibit so striking a coincidence in some uncommon instances, that, as far as this kind of evidence can prove any thing, we think we may be allowed to claim its suffrages.

We beg to observe that the examples we shall adduce are taken at random, and by no means constitute the whole of each particular class. They are intended rather to serve as specimens of the more remarkable of those peculiarities of

expression which are to be found in the writings of JUNIUS.

The quotations from DR. FRANCIS are carefully selected from the *original pieces* in his editions of HORACE and DEMOSTHENES.

-
1. *To conclude*: in the unusual sense of *to infer*,
to make an inference.

JUNIUS.

I would engage your favourable attention to what I am going to say to you ; and I intreat you not to be too hasty in *concluding*, from the apparent tendency of this letter, to any possible interests or connexions of my own.

Vol. i. p.*264.

Besides the favourable presumption that ought to operate for possession, the whole conduct of the Treasury gives me a right to *conclude* against them.

Vol. iii. p. 55.

DR. FRANCIS.

Thus from the absurdity of the fabulous system, he may *conclude* the falsehood of the Christian religion.

Horace, vol. i. p. 281*.

2. *To pronounce : to affirm solemnly.*

JUNIUS.

As far as the probability of argument extends, we may safely *pronounce*, that a conjuncture which threatens the very being of this country, has been wilfully prepared and forwarded by our own Ministry.

Vol. ii. p. 191.

To *pronounce* fairly upon their conduct, it was necessary to wait until we could consider, &c.

Junius, vol. ii. p. 135.

I may safely *pronounce* that that man knows nothing of the condition of the British commerce.

Vol. ii. p. 510.

DR. FRANCIS.

We can easily *pronounce* upon the ruin of that state, in which corruption and bribery have tainted the administration. The coward may plead his natural temperament, in excuse for deserting the post in which he was placed; the man of ambition may boast a wicked greatness in enslaving his country; but the wretch who sells her is at once wicked and contemptible.*

Dem. vol. i. p. 180.

You, Sir, are capable of *pronouncing* upon the merit of those political maxims, so frequent in his orations, and whether he was really that able statesman the world in general hath allowed.

Dem. Ded. v.

* We quote occasionally more of a passage than is necessary to prove the coincidence of expression, for the sake of shewing the general opinions of the author.

I will not venture to determine what may be the real motive of this strange conduct and inconsistent language; but I will boldly *pronounce* that it carries with it a most odious appearance.

Vol. ii. p. 507.

I too, in my turn, will venture to *pronounce*, that nothing is so ardently desired, &c.

Vol. iii. p. 278.

We only *pronounce* with certainty, from the eighth and fifteenth lines, that the ode was written, &c.

Hor. vol. i. p. 229.

3. *Equally* used with *or*, instead of *as*.

JUNIUS.

O polished language! and *equally* fit for the noble Lord who speaks, *or* for the footman who hears it.

Vol. ii. p. 498,

DR. FRANCIS.

Our poet assures us, that he knew how to reconcile himself *equally* to a frugal, *or* a sumptuous table.

Horace, vol. iv. p. 116.

4. *Matter of, &c.* A very uncommon phrase in composition.

JUNIUS.

Whether it be *matter of honour* or reproach, it is at least a singular circumstance, &c.

Vol. iii. p. 83.

For the *matter of a recompense* equivalent to his Government, he repeatedly told your Lordships that the name of pension was grating to his ears.

Vol. iii. p. 182.

For the *matter of expediency*, an advocate for the present Ministry seems to me to arraign his patrons when he argues against it.

Vol. iii. p. 85.

DR. FRANCIS.

Is it not therefore *matter of indignation*.

Dem. vol. i. p. 320.

As the whole is *matter of conjecture*.

Dem. vol. i. p. 125.

It may be *matter of curiosity* to know the meaning of the expression.

Dem. vol. ii. p. 28.

It is *matter of debate* among the critics, whether our author pronounced this oration to the people.

Vol. i. p. 173.

When you invade the province of the jury, in *matter of libel*, you, in effect, attack the liberty of the press.

Vol. ii. p. 169.

This was always *matter of dispute* among the philosophers.

Horace, vol. iv. p. 158.

I should suspect my own taste if I did not laugh, where Mæcenas, Virgil, and Horace, could find *matter of mirth*.

Horace, vol. iii. p. 92.

5. *Article of, &c.* A more singular expression than the former.

JUNIUS.

If you propose that in the *article of taxation* they should hereafter be left to the authority of their respective assemblies, I must own, I think you had no business to revive a question, which should, and probably would have lain dormant for ever.

Vol. i. p.* 293.

His grace is wonderfully bountiful in the *article of lands*.

Vol. iii. p. 123.

DR. FRANCIS.

That presence of mind, which, with a kind of instinct, supports us in the very *article of danger* he possessed in common with others.

Dem. vol. i. p. 25.

But we must not reckon too exactly with poets upon the *article of vanity*.

Horace, vol. ii. p. 148.

In the *article of firmness*
I think this young man's
character is universally given
up.

Vol. iii. p. 283.

6. *They* used where *those* is generally employed.

JUNIUS.

They who object to de-
tached parts of JUNIUS's last
letter, either do not mean
him fairly, &c.

Vol. ii. p. 223.

They who are acquainted
with the state of politics at
that period, will judge of
them somewhat differently.

Vol. ii. p. 379.

DR. FRANCIS.

They who fancy them-
selves wise and happy be-
cause they appear so to the
public opinion, are here
compared to persons, &c.

Horace, vol. iv. p. 123.

They who have taste for
whatever is delicate and na-
tural in poetry, for whatever
is noble and elegant in style,
or flowing and harmonious
in numbers, must acknow-
ledge, &c.

Horace, vol. ii. p. 170.

They who are conversant
in the language of poets,
know that such transposi-
tions are familiar to them.

Horace, vol. ii. 325.

7. *Oratorial*, for *oratorical*.

The word *oratorial* is not used by any author except JUNIUS and DR. FRANCIS as far as we are able to ascertain. The word itself is not to be found in any dictionary.

JUNIUS.

You will be as well able to judge of his *oratorial* powers, as if you had heard him a thousand times.

Vol. iii. p. 287.

DR. FRANCIS.

Upon this occasion we may suppose them inflamed by *oratorial* descriptions.

Dem. vol. i. p. 3.

It seems a sudden starting to some new matter; or rather an *oratorial* breaking away from his subject, more strongly to catch that attention of his judges which he with earnestness demands.

Dem. vol. i. p. 166.

Tiresias pleasantly means that *oratorial* circumlocution of Ulysses.

Horace, vol. iii. p. 268.8. *Wild*: an unusual epithet in this sense.

JUNIUS.

The author is certainly at liberty to fancy cases, and

DR. FRANCIS.

By this conduct, he left the republic at his death, to

make whatever comparisons he thinks proper ; his suppositions still continue as distant from fact as his *wild* discourses are from solid argument.

Vol. i. p. 222.

One of the ablest, most virtuous, and most temperate men in the kingdom, supported by a steady band of uniform patriots, has made an attempt, in a certain great assembly, to secure the subject, at least for the future, against such *wild* and indefinite claims.

Vol. iii. p. 12.

That the *wildest* spirit of inconsistency should never once have betrayed you into a wise or honourable action.

Vol. i. p. 140.

be governed by the temerity of Cleon, the timidity of Nicias, and the *wild* abilities of Alcibiades.

Dem. i. p. 30.

The liberty both of painters and poets is by nature confined within certain bounds, and all beyond those bounds is the *wildness* of irregular imagination.

Horace, vol. iv. p. 251.

Apprehensive of a tedious uniformity, we run into a *wild* and monstrous variety of images.

Horace, vol. iv. 254.

His imagination is as *wild* and licentious as his numbers are loose and irregular.

Pref. to Hor. p. 12.

9. False Concords.

JUNIUS.

Yet *every one* of the judges, who went the circuit last summer, instead of instructing the several grand juries in the old, legal, constitutional way, *were ordered* to sound the praises of the House of Commons.

Vol. iii. p. 290.

The certainty of forfeiting *their* own rights, when *they* sacrifice those of the nation, is no check to a *brutal degenerate mind*.

Vol. i. *Dedication*, p. 6.

There *is nothing* in your attachments that *savour* of obstinacy.

Vol. iii. p. 433.

DR. FRANCIS.

On the contrary, *every other* state imagined *they had* strength enough to attempt, and wisdom to maintain the universal empire of Greece.

Dem. i. p. 34.

Every word in these lines is of weight, and as exact as if *they* were written in coldness of understanding, not in a warmth of imagination.

Hor. ii. 179.

The *rapidity* of the numbers in the original *are* of inimitable beauty.

Dem. i. 128.

The audience *is* justly afflicted with the calamities of a brave unhappy people,

and *see* with indignation the triumphal feast that celebrates their ruin.

Dem. ii. 88 *

* A party of his cavalry surrounded a detachment of ours, consisting of two complete companies of seapoys, some cannon, and fifty European artillery-men, *every man* of whom *were* cut to pieces.

SIR PHILIP FRANCIS'S *Speeches on the Mahratta War*, p. 16.

10. *Unresponsible, &c.* : not customary expressions.

JUNIUS.

The people of England have seen an administration formed; almost avowedly, under the direction of a dangerous, because private and *unresponsible* influence.

Vol. iii. p. 9.

DR. FRANCIS.

It may not be *unuseful* to point out the particular passages in the last oration.

Dem. ii. 157.

Our poet invites him to return to Rome, and gives him such excellent maxims, as might be useful to a person who, by an *uncheerful* cast of mind, is apt to despair upon every accident or alteration of his fortune.

Hor. i. 92.

11. *Simple*, in the Latin sense of the word.

JUNIUS.

I did never question your understanding. Far otherwise. The Latin word *simplex* conveys to me an amiable character, and never denotes folly.

Vol. i. p. *237.

When it appeared that he had been frequently employed in the same services, and that no excuse for him could be drawn, either from the innocence of his former life, or the *simplicity* of his character.

Vol. i. p. 111.

Innocence, even in its crudest *simplicity*, has some advantages over the most dexterous and practised guilt.

Vol. iii. p. 13.

DR. FRANCIS.

The poet hath chosen, for an example of this truth, three virtues, probity, prudence, and *simplicity*. By the last he understands a frankness in our actions, which frequently passes over the decencies of life, rather through inattention than unpoliteness.

Hor. iii. 46.

Is it not more natural and *simple* to imagine.

Dem. ii. 403.

I have now given my sentiments with freedom; all of them with perfect *simplicity*, and without apprehension of your displeasure.

Dem. i. 77.

But the danger to this country would cease to be problematical, if the crown should ever descend to a prince, whose apparent *simplicity* might throw his subjects off their guard.

I have been entrusted with the direction of more important affairs than any man of this age, and have executed every trust with a religious purity, with integrity, and *simplicity*.

Vol. ii. p. 324.

Dem. ii. 493.

12. The conjunctive verb, *It were*, is constantly found in both authors.

JUNIUS.

It were unworthy of me to press you farther.

Vol. i. p. 97.

DR. FRANCIS.

It were, perhaps, imprudent to inform an English reader.

Dem. i. 44.

If the instance *were* not too important for an experiment, it might not be amiss to confide a little on their integrity.

Perhaps *it were* impossible that two nations, so different in genius and manners, ever should entertain any sentiments of friendship or esteem for each other.

Vol. i. p. 40.

Dem. i. 30.

Fact alone does not constitute right. If it does, general warrants *were* lawful.

It were imprudent, therefore, to have entered farther into this argument.

Vol. ii. p. 215.

Dem. i. 198.

It were much to be desired that we had many such men.

Vol. ii. p. 349.

This assertion *were* absolutely false, and the odes of Pindar and Horace are a proof of the contrary.

Hor. i. 232.

It were to be wished that the parallel held good in all the circumstances.

Vol. iii. 317.

It were not possible to find a comparison more proper to figure to us the character of a poet, always great in his designs, sublime in his sentiments, pompous in his descriptions, rapid in his style, bold in his figures, and strong in his expressions.

Hor. ii. 162.

Mediate : to go between.

JUNIUS.

This *mediating* expedient will, for the present, take in both opinions.

Vol. i. 310.

SIR P. FRANCIS.

Extremities are not to be governed by *mediation*.

Paper Currency, p. 49.

14. *Last*: for *utmost*, by no means a common use of the word.

JUNIUS.

I would pursue him through life, and try the *last* exertion of my abilities to preserve the perishable infamy of his name, and make it immortal.

Vol. ii. p. 91.

His finances were in the *last* disorder, and it is probable that his troops might find sufficient employment at home.

Vol. ii. p. 190.

The bounds of human science are still unknown; but this, assuredly, is the *last* limit of human depravity.

Vol. iii. p. 190.

This, I conceive, is the *last* disorder of the state.

Vol. iii. p. 176.

DR. FRANCIS.

In the *last* excess of corruption.

Dem. i. 140.

Some years afterwards he broke through all restraints, and his incontinence plunged him into the *last* distresses.

Hor. iv. 122.

If criticism, as a great rhetorician asserts, be the *last* effort of reflection and judgment, we shall equally admire the critic as the poet in the following satire.

Hor. iii. 148.

Our author ends the satire with an irony of the *last* malignity.

Hor. iii. 264.

The preceding are some of the most remarkable expressions in the pages before us. There are several others of less importance, in which both our writers indulge to a degree, that makes the words, though not in themselves remarkable, deserve attention.

The epithets, *uniform*, *ridiculous*, and *detestable*, and especially the latter, occur so very frequently in all these productions, that they form a conspicuous feature of identity in an inquiry like the present.—*Whether or no* is a phrase which for the same reason becomes remarkable. *Hardly* is in almost every instance employed instead of *scarcely*; and *enough* constantly takes the place of *sufficient*. *Politics* is a word which abounds in both authors, and is very generally used instead of *policy*. *Forced* is uniformly preferred to its synonymes: and *hath*,* especially in the earlier letters, is sometimes used by JUNIUS instead of *has*. In Demosthenes and Horace it continually occurs.

* “Whose folly or whose treachery *hath* reduced us to this state.”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 75.

“The question is, whether we shall still submit to be guided by the hand which *hath* driven us to it?”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 79.

The Letters of JUNIUS, the writings of DR. FRANCIS, and those of SIR PHILIP, discover that each author was acquainted with the Latin, Greek, Italian, and French languages. They have, all of them, frequent quotations in these languages, and in no other. They all quote Shakespeare and Milton, but, with scarcely an exception, no other English poet. Metaphors and similies taken from the polite arts, the sciences, law, and religion, are found with equal frequency in the works of each of them. They alike excel in those profound pithy remarks or axioms which can only occur to men of strong minds, who have been a long time acquainted with the world. If DR. FRANCIS's notes to Horace and Demosthenes furnish but few passages of this kind, strikingly similar to those of JUNIUS, the number and excellence of his reflections on subjects not of a political nature shew that it proceeded not from want of ability,

“The honourable lead you have taken in the affairs of America, *hath* drawn upon you the whole attention of the public.”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 105.

“By what hints it *hath* been possible.”

— *Junius*, vol. ii. p. 466.

but from the restraint which the confined nature of his undertaking imposed on the commentator.

In the few publications we possess of SIR PHILIP FRANCIS these examples, however, are much more numerous, considering the small compass in which they are contained. He abounds with metaphorical expressions and figurative allusions, delivered with that sententious brevity which is observable in JUNIUS.

As examples of what has been above asserted, we have thrown together the following passages, taken without order from the works of DR. FRANCIS and SIR PHILIP.

“ In JUVENAL the vices of his age are shewn in all their natural horrors. He commands his readers in the language of authority, and terrifies them with images drawn in the boldness of a truly poetical spirit. He stands like a *priest* at an *altar sacrificing to his gods*: but even a *priest*, in his warmest zeal of religion, might be forgiven if he confessed so much humanity, as not to take a pleasure in hearing the groans, and searching into the entrails of his victim.” *

Preface to Horace.

* These were the wretched ministers who *served at the*

“ I confess I mean to praise, for honest praise is not only one of the warmest incitements to virtue, but its most honourable reward. Great minds will receive it with their natural greatness, and only little spirits have an affectation of refusing it. The task, I own, is not without difficulty; but when the original is marked with strong and pleasing lines of life, a meaner hand may preserve the likeness. The integrity of his colouring, if I may be allowed the expression, is of more consequence than the glow and richness of it. Dedications would then be like pictures in miniature, which the future historian might draw out into larger proportion, grace, and dignity.”

Preface to Constantine.

altar, whilst the *high-priest* himself, with more than frantic fury, *offered up* his bleeding country a *victim* to America.”

Junius, vol. ii. p. 510.

“ Mine is an inferior ministerial office in the temple of Justice—I have bound the *victim* and dragged him to the *altar*.”

Junius, vol. ii. p. 443.

“ When a *victim* is marked out by the ministry, this judge will offer himself to *perform the sacrifice*.”

Junius, vol. i. p. 60.

“ Style is genius, and justly numbered among the fountains of the sublime. Expression in poetry is that colouring in painting, which distinguishes a master’s hand.”

Preface to Horace.

“ Tear such a poet in pieces, and every scattered limb is animated with the spirit of poetry. The head of Orpheus, when floating on the water, uttered sounds of music and poetry.”

Horace, vol. iii. p. 69.

“ The arrangement of our thoughts is of more power in an oration than their number or variety. The images in a period, like figures in a painting, owe much of their effect to their harmony and keeping.”

Demosthenes, vol. i. p. 45.

“ With the worst speculative opinions, a man may be morally honest and virtuous.”

Horace, vol. i. p. 168.

“ *Davus* does not absolutely mean, that a man in one constant course of vice is less miserable than he who continually changes from vice to virtue, from virtue to vice; but that he is less sensible of his misery: because the other is per-

petually struggling with himself, and labouring between two extremes."*

Horace, vol. iii. p. 305.

"The theology of the ancients taught, that when a man was dead, *his soul or the spiritual part of him, went to heaven*; that his body continued in the earth; and *his image or shadow went to hell.*"†

Horace, vol. i. p. 116.

* "It is the middle compound charcter which alone is vulnerable: the man who without firmness enough to avoid a dishonourable action, has feeling enough to be ashamed of it."

Junius, vol. i. p. 101.

"I still believe you to consist of that composition, which, without virtue enough to avoid prostitution, has still feeling enough to be ashamed of it."

Junius, vol. iii. p. 401.

"The most contemptible character in private life, and the most ruinous to private fortunes, is that which possesses neither judgment nor inclination to do right, nor resolution enough to be consistent in doing wrong."

Junius, vol. iii. p. 184.

† "Let him resemble the great demi-gods of antiquity, who had also two characters, and whilst *one-half of them*

“ But perhaps we shall better see the variety of our poet’s genius, by considering, *if such an expression may be forgiven, the various genius of lyric poetry**.”

Preface to Horace.

“ Yet far more important to us the reflection, what noble efforts a love of country, a zeal for liberty, a contempt for slavery, and a just detestation of tyranny, are capable of inspiring †.”

Dem. p. 24.

“ Strange expedient, says Plutarch, to represent it honourable and valuable in public, yet expect to make it appear contemptible and worthless in private †.”

Dem. p. 35.

was taken up to heaven, the other half found its way to hell.”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 25.

* “ The first uniform principle, or, *if I may call it, the genius of your life.*”

Junius, vol. i. p. 140.

† Instances of imperfect sentences are found also in
JUNIUS.

“ Liberty is the greatest of all blessings: it gives a relish to all other enjoyments. Mankind are prepossessed in favour of these sentiments, and tell us that they are born for freedom, and consider it as the most glorious privilege of their nature. Yet there is nothing which they so carelessly resign. Among all the slaves in life, they who have engaged themselves in the service of the great, are most to be lamented. Their whole being is one continual servitude; and he whom they call their patron is properly their tyrant.”

Horace, vol. iv. p. 62.

“ In this general servitude, the great, properly speaking, are only *master slaves*; and in proportion to their fortunes and honours, pay a larger tribute to their own ambition and vanity,

“ Lord Granby himself has some emoluments besides his power, and Sir Edward Hawke has his pension. *Nobly earned, I confess, but not better deserved than by the labours which conquered America.*”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 107.

“ The same charges had been made by JUNIUS and others several times before. *Always the same reply.*”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 212.

as well as to the pride and insolence of their superiors. They are only different from the rest of mankind, as *their servitude is of larger extent, and disguised under more specious names* *.”

Horace, vol. iii. p. 313.

“ It is filled with maxims of such political wisdom; with sentiments of liberty so truly honourable to human kind, that it must appear to every free people one of the *noblest, most valuable* remains of antiquity †.”

Dem. vol. i. p. 246.

“ The vicious and corrupted passions of his heart are of *sacred, religious* authority to this man of wealth †.”

Horace, vol. iv. p. 17.

* “ Falsehood is a servile vice, and to the imputation of that vice, people in a slavish condition, *whether low or high* (for *servitude*, as well as hell, *has its ranks and dignities*) will always be subject.”

Junius, vol. iii. p.

† The stringing together of two or three adjectives without a conjunction, is very common in JUNIUS as well as in DR. FRANCIS.

“ Though *urged, insulted, braved* to it, by every stimulus that could touch the feelings of a man.”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 285.

“As if we had converted our whole inheritance into an annuity, and had nothing but a *life interest in the salvation of the country* *.”

Sir Philip Francis on Paper Money.

“With a callous heart, there can be no genius in the imagination, or wisdom in the

“There is one *general, easy way* of answering JUNIUS, which his opponents have constantly had recourse to, &c.”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 427.

“These are your words, given under your hand, as the *solemn, deliberate* opinion of his Majesty’s Secretary at War.”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 447.

* “The minister, perhaps, may have reason to be satisfied with the success of the present hour, and with the profits of his employment. He is the *tenant of the day*, and has *no interest in the inheritance*.”

Junius, vol. ii. p. 133.

“When you leave the *unimpaired, hereditary freehold* to your children, you do but half your duty, &c.—

— The power of King, Lords, and Commons, is not an arbitrary power. They are the trustees, not the owners of the estate. The *fee-simple is in US*. They cannot alienate, they cannot waste.”

Junius, vol. i. pp. 2—5, Dedication.

mind; and therefore the prayer, with equal truth and sublimity, says, ‘Incline our *hearts* unto wisdom *.’”

Sir P. Francis on Paper Money, p. 53.

“A brave man with truth *of his side*, need not wish to be eloquent. Resolute thoughts find words for themselves, and make their own vehicle. Impression and expression are relative ideas. He who feels deeply will express strongly. The language of slight sensations is naturally feeble and superficial †.”

Ibid. p. 54.

“The crimes of individuals, however enormous, are not necessarily mortal to great communities. The death of nations is impunity. Still we are lulled with fine promises and flattering prospects. Hope is a dangerous narcotic, and not only sets the mind asleep, but, like opium to the Turk, furnishes the brain with many delightful visions. Thus it is that a

* “—— if I were not satisfied, that really to inform the understanding corrects and enlarges the heart.”

Junius, vol. ii. p. 448.

† “Whenever he changes his servants he is sure to have the people, in that instance, *of his side*.”

Junius, vol. iii. p. 316.

nation may walk in its sleep, until it reaches the edge of a precipice without the power of turning back. These treacherous delusions are *deadly symptoms*. When nothing but a *drastic* resolution can save the animal, false hope supplies him with *palliatives*, and bars the *last* extremity of its *last* resource, by the exclusion of despair*.”

Sir P. Francis on Paper Money, p. 47.

“ His principle, if he be in earnest, which I should very much doubt of any person in possession of his senses, would oblige him, in many other cases, to maintain that the shadow of a good thing is just as good as the substance; or that water, forced into the system, performs the functions of blood, with equal effect, and greater

* “ After all, Sir, will you not endeavour to remove or alleviate the most dangerous symptoms, because you cannot eradicate the disease ?”

Junius, vol. ii. p. 224.

“ It does not follow that the symptoms may not be softened, although the distemper cannot be cured.”

Junius, vol. ii. p. 354.

“ He advertises for patients, collects all the diseases of the heart, and turns the royal palace into an hospital for incurables.”

Junius, vol. ii. p. 439.

facility. With the help of *tapping* it might do so, as long as the *stamina* lasted: but, in these cases, the patient is apt to give the lie or the slip to the physician, and to die of a dropsy with the panacea in his bowels."

Sir P. Francis on Paper Money, p. 4.

"But granted; war is no longer a calamity; or at worst a necessary evil, incident to the system: it is the physic and phlebotomy that clears the intestines and opens the veins, and saves the body politic from bursting of a plethora."

Ib. p. 27.

"After all, Mr. Printer, these are feverish symptoms, and look as if the disorder were coming to a crisis. Even this last effort is the fore-runner of their speedy dissolution; like the false strength of a delirium, which exerts itself by fits, and dies in convulsions."

Junius, vol. ii. p. 66.

"The disorder must have quitted his head, and fixed itself in his heart."

Junius, p. 109.

"This, I conceive, is the last disorder of the State. The consultation meets but to disagree. Opposite medicines are prescribed, and the last fixed on is changed by the hand that gives it."

Junius, p. 176.

“The sensation of pain is the providential warning against danger, the sentry or out-post, that gives notice of the approach of an enemy. The being who feels none, or who is suddenly relieved from it, or who by intoxication has deadened his senses, knows nothing of his own case, and dies of a mortification below, with a languid flush in his face that looks like a return of health.”

Sir P. Francis on Paper Money, p. 45.

“When all your instruments of amputation are prepared, when the unhappy patient lies at your feet, without the possibility of resistance, by what infallible rule will you direct the operation? When you propose to cut away the *rotten* parts, can you tell us what parts are perfectly *sound*? Are there any certain limits, in fact or theory, to inform you at what point you must stop, at what point the *mortification* ends?”

Junius, vol. ii. p. 448.

“A sick man might as well expect to be cured by a consultation of doctors. They talk, and debate, and wrangle, and the patient expires.”

Junius, vol. ii. p. 491.

“When the poison of their doctrines has tainted the natural benevolence of his disposition; when their insidious counsels have corrupted the *stamina* of his government, what antidote can restore him to his political health and honour, but the firm security of his English subjects?”

Junius, vol. ii. p. 125.

“Most men are ready to admit that plainness and simplicity are good moral qualities, and not at all unwilling to encourage them in others. But it is not so generally known or admitted, that these qualities, instructed by experience or enlightened by reflection, are the surest evidence of a sound understanding. *A cunning rogue may cheat a wiser man of his money*; but in an abstract question to be determined by judgment, it is not possible that skill and artifice can finally prevail over plain reason, which, in the ordinary transactions of life, is called common sense*.”

Sir P. Francis on Paper Money, p. 2.

“If my voice could contribute to his honour, *he should have it without reserve*, for the spirit that prompts him to undertake such a task as I know it to be, and at such a time; and if it were pos-

* “Mr. Horne, it seems, is very unable to comprehend how an extreme want of conduct and discretion can consist with the abilities I have allowed him; nor can he conceive *that a very honest man with a very good understanding may be deceived by a knave*.—Distinguished talents are not necessarily connected with discretion.”

Junius, v. ii. p. 304.

sible to give him support in the execution of it by any effort of mine, *he might be sure of it* *.”

Sir P. F.'s Speeches on Mahratta War, p. 19.

“When a purpose is to be served, it is not very difficult to find a principle to answer it.”

Sir P. F.'s Speeches, p. 46.

“In the perpetual revolutions of human affairs, it often happens that the *forms* of power survive the fact †.”

Speeches, p. 64.

* “I should have hoped that even *my* name might carry some authority with it, if I had not seen how very little weight, &c.”

Junius, v. i. p. 71.

“*My* vote will hardly recommend him to an increase of his pension, or to a seat in the cabinet. But if his ambition be upon a level with his understanding ;—if he judges of what is truly honourable for himself with the same superior genius, which animates and directs him, to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, *even the pen of JUNIUS shall contribute to reward him.*”

Junius, v. ii. p. 311.

† “How long, and to what extent the King of England may be protected by the forms, when he violates the spirit of the constitution, deserves to be considered.”

Junius, vol. p. 42.

“ We go into their country to charge them with lawless ambition ; and we rob them of their property, in order to charge them with insatiable avarice. The day of retribution, I believe, will come, when you are least prepared for it.”

Speeches, p. 69.

“ This is a wide circumference ; but the passage across it shall be short and rapid. A bird’s eye view of the subject will be sufficient.”

Speeches, p. 26.

In the present practice, the wholesome relation of guilt and punishment is inverted. The few escape, and the multitude suffer *.”

Sir P. Francis on Paper Money, p. 46.

“ Do whatever you think right, for its own sake, and never look to popularity for support or reward. Honest fame will follow you, if you deserve it.”

Sir P. F. on Paper Money, p. 48.

“ If it were possible for me to personify the

* “ You have no enemies, sir, but those who think it flattery to tell you that the character of king dissolves the natural relation between guilt and punishment.”

Junius, vol. i. p. 44.

British nation, and if I were at liberty to offer my humble advice to so great a person, the first thing I should recommend to him would be to adopt the maxim of Lord Chatham, to stop for a moment, in order to take a general view of his situation with his own eyes, and to reflect on it himself*.”

Paper Money, p. 3.

“ Believing, as I do, that some internal catastrophe hangs over us, which might possibly be averted or provided for by wisdom at the helm, but which ignorance and folly can only accelerate, I call on the nation to look at their government. Is it an abuse to be endured, that any set of men, with no other title or shelter but the word *prerogative*, should dare to hold and retain the executive power of the state, with a hundred peers protesting against them, without the confidence of the House of Commons, and themselves on their trial at the bar of that House? At the public shame of such a sight, indignation sickens into scorn. Resentment dies of contempt. *Such authors, of such ruin, take away all*

* The above passage will remind the reader of the introduction to JUNIUS's celebrated letter to the king, and of a similar address in the preface to the Letters.

See Junius, v. ii. p. 62, and v. i. p. 42.

dignity from distress, and make calamity ridiculous.*"

Paper Money, p. 46.

The political principles of SIR PHILIP FRANCIS appear to agree exactly with those of JUNIUS, and his whole life has been a practical exposition of the sincerity of his professions.

During his residence in India, his wisdom, his zeal, his spirit, and integrity, were amply manifested. He received such encomiums on his conduct from Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Windham, Mr. Burke, and the whole of the committee for the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, as have seldom fallen to the lot of any man. But with the exception of an empty title,—the commendation of the wise and good, and the *mens sibi conscia recti* are all the rewards this virtuous man has received.

The behaviour of SIR PHILIP throughout the whole of his opposition to that system of ambi-

* "I cannot express my opinion of the present ministry more exactly than in the words of Sir Richard Steele—
 'that we are governed by a set of drivellers, whose folly takes away all dignity from distress, and makes even calamity ridiculous.'"

Philo Junius, v. i. p. 231.

tion, perfidy, and cruelty, which at one time characterized the government of India, is precisely that which JUNIUS himself would have adopted, had he been placed in a similar situation.

“ Engaged in the defence of an honourable cause, I would take a decisive part.—I should scorn to provide for a future retreat, or to keep terms with a man, who preserves no measures with the public. I would pursue him through life, and try the last exertion of my abilities to preserve the perishable infamy of his name, and make it immortal.”

Junius, vol. ii, p. 9.

With unwearied pains SIR PHILIP FRANCIS endeavoured to rectify those abuses which were connived at and encouraged by the Governor-General of India. For seven years he was engaged in a constant personal opposition to a man whose actions were, in the estimation of many persons, injurious to the real interests and honour of this country, and dreadfully oppressive to the miserable natives whom he governed. What SIR PHILIP *performed* in the sacred cause of liberty and humanity is universally known, and has received the approba-

tion it deserved. What he *endured* from the uniform failure of his beneficent plans, and from being compelled to witness the proceedings that his nature shrunk from, is of far more value in the estimation of *Him who knoweth the heart*, though it enters but little into the calculations of mankind, and is followed by no testimonies of public gratitude. In the impeachment of Mr. Hastings SIR PHILIP FRANCIS made a conspicuous figure, and with the purest of all possible motives, took a "decisive part" against him. The following letter from the gentlemen of the committee appointed to conduct the impeachment, will shew in what estimation they held the conduct of SIR PHILIP FRANCIS.

" SIR,

" There is nothing in the orders of the House which prevents us from resorting to your assistance; and we should shew very little regard to our honour, to our duty, or to the effectual execution of our trust, if we omitted any means that are left in our power to obtain the most beneficial use of it.

" An exact local knowledge of the affairs of Bengal is requisite in every step of our proceedings; and it is necessary that our information should come from sources not only competent

but unsuspected. We have perused, as our duty often led us to do, with great attention, the records of the Company, during the time in which you executed the important office committed to you by Parliament; and our good opinion of you has grown in exact proportion to the minuteness and accuracy of our researches. We have found that as far as in you lay, you fully answered the ends of your arduous delegation. An exact obedience to the authority placed over you by the laws of your country, wise and steady principles of government, an inflexible integrity in yourself, and a firm resistance to all corrupt practices in others, crowned by an uniform benevolent attention to the rights, properties, and welfare of the natives (the grand leading object in your appointment) appear eminently throughout those records. Such a conduct, so tried, acknowledged, and recorded, demands our fullest confidence.

“ These, Sir, are the qualities, and this is the conduct on your part, on which we ground our wishes for your assistance. On what we are to ground our right to make any demand upon you, we are more at a loss to suggest. Our sole titles, we are sensible, are to be found in the public exigencies, and in your public spirit. Permit us, Sir, to call for this further service in

the name of the people of India, for whom your parental care has been so long distinguished, and in support of whose cause you have encountered so many difficulties, vexations, and dangers.

“ We have expressed sentiments in which we are unanimous, and which, with pride and pleasure, we attest under all our signatures, entreating you to favour us as frequently as you can with your assistance in the committee; and you shall have due notice of the days on which your advice and instructions may be more particularly necessary. We have the honour to be,

“ With the most perfect respect, Sir,

“ Your most faithful and obliged
humble servants,

“ EDMUND BURKE, Chairman.

Then follow the names of the rest of the committee.

Let us now consider in what other respects the political opinions and principles of SIR PHILIP FRANCIS correspond with those of JUNIUS.

In a letter to Mr. Wilkes JUNIUS speaks with approbation of the "Society of the Bill of Rights." "I think," says he, "the plan was admirable: that it has already been of signal service to the public, and may be of much greater; and I do most earnestly wish that you would consider of and promote a plan for forming constitutional clubs all through the kingdom. A measure of this kind would alarm government more, and be of more essential service to the cause, than any thing that can be done relative to new-modelling the House of Commons."

Vol. i. p. 280*.

We may infer from the above, that JUNIUS either was, or would have been, a member of one of these societies.

In this respect SIR PHILIP FRANCIS followed the conduct which JUNIUS approved.—He was a very active and a principal member of the Society of the Friends of the People. But his ardent love of liberty did not betray him into

the promotion of any plans inconsistent with the established government of the nation. He was a friend to reform; but it was such a reform as JUNIUS recommended,—a reform that should not endanger the *venerable fabric* it was meant to repair. In a spirited letter to Mr. Burke, who had charged him with a bias to the *individual* representation of the people, SIR PHILIP says, “of me, in particular, he must have known, and in candour he ought to have acknowledged, that *it is not possible for any man to go further than I have done, to reject, to resist, and to explode every project of that nature, and every principle and argument set up to support it; a project, however, so chimerical, and so utterly impracticable, that it is superfluous to load it with charges of danger and malignity.*”

That SIR PHILIP, though his ardour is abated, and his hopes are fled, entertains the same sentiments at the present day, is evident from his last publication. “As to parliamentary reform, I have tried it enough to be convinced that it never can be adopted on any sound principle, that would at once be safe in its operation, and effective to its purpose.

“The people are well enough represented. The milk throws up the cream. No change in

the form will mend the materials. I am sure you will find it, as I have done, a vain attempt to build Grecian temples with brickbats and rubbish.”—

“ I am as little sanguine as ever about the success of a reform in the construction of the House of Commons. But, knowing of no other remedy, I cannot answer those who say, that when the exigency leaves you no choice, the *last* chance is to be taken. The opinions of wise and thoughtful men on this great question are changing every day. For myself, I can only say that *I did not abandon my principles with my hopes*; and that, whenever the nation shall be generally disposed to adopt the measure, *I shall be found where I was left, and ready to take part in the execution of it.*”

Sir P. Francis on Paper Money, p. 49.

The sentiments of JUNIUS on this subject are fully developed in his letters to Mr. Wilkes. It is well known that they were not levelling enough for many of those who styled themselves the Friends of the People.

“ That the people are not equally and fully represented is unquestionable. *But let us take care what we attempt. We may demolish the ve-*

*nerable fabric we intend to repair ; and where is the strength and virtue to erect a better in its stead? I should not, for my own part, be so much moved at the corrupt and odious practices by which inconsiderable men get into Parliament, nor even at the want of a perfect representation, (and certainly nothing can be less reconcileable to the theory, than the present practice of the constitution,) if means could be found to compel such men to do their duty, in essentials at least, when they are in Parliament. Now, Sir, I am convinced, that if shortening the duration of Parliaments (which in effect is keeping the representative under the rod of the constituent,) be not made the basis of our new parliamentary jurisprudence, other checks or improvements signify nothing. On the contrary, if this be made the foundation, *other measures may come in aid, and, as auxiliaries, be of considerable advantage.*"*

Junius, vol. i. p. 286*.

The conduct of SIR PHILIP FRANCIS in advocating the abolition of the Slave Trade, is not the least glorious trait in the history of this distinguished patriot and philanthropist. "Every motive by which the conduct of men is usually

determined was united on one side, and powerfully pressed upon him to engage him to take part against his opinion. Connections of every sort, friends who were dear to him, and who thought their fortunes were at stake, solicitations the most urgent, from persons to whom he was bound by many ties, and possibly the prospect of advantage to himself or to his family at a future day to be forfeited or preserved;—all these were in one scale, and nothing in the other but the justice of the cause and the protection of creatures, who would never know that he had endeavoured to serve them, or whose gratitude could never reach him.” But no personal considerations could weigh with SIR PHILIP while the cause of liberty and humanity stood in need of his assistance. He persevered in the discharge of his duty, and had at length the satisfaction of seeing his efforts crowned with success, *though with the loss to himself of a considerable estate in the West Indies.* Whether SIR PHILIP FRANCIS be identified with JUNIUS, or not, the purity of his principles, the disinterestedness of his conduct, and the goodness of his heart, claim for him as high a character as it is possible for truth to confer on any man.

We remark, with much concern, that tone of despondence which occasionally pervades the

language of SIR PHILIP FRANCIS. A good man may express his regret when villany or folly is triumphant; but while he laments his want of success, he should be careful not to seem to repent of his exertions. The example is disheartening when a man whose whole life has been spent in endeavours to benefit mankind publicly expresses his dissatisfaction at what is past, as if he were sorry for the course he had pursued; it is too apt to check the kindling of that patriotism and philanthropy in the breasts of younger men, which would animate them to the performance of all great and good actions. Lest we be suspected of complaining without cause, we subjoin some specimens of this apparent discontentedness from the recorded speeches of SIR PHILIP.

“By endeavouring through all that portion of his life (thirty years) to maintain right against wrong, he had sacrificed his repose, and forfeited all hopes of reward or personal advantage; but he had taken his resolutions, and *would do so no more. He would never more take an active part, much less a lead,* in any discussions of Indian questions.”

“With regard to personal proceedings against any man, *he was resolved to take no part in them,*

The impeachment of Mr. Hastings had cured him of that folly. It was *he*, in fact, who had been tried, and Mr. Hastings acquitted.”

“ *His spirits were exhausted, and his mind was subdued, by a long, unthankful, and most invidious application to one pursuit, in which he had never been able to do any good.*”

Parl. Debates, 10th March, 1806.

In the last publication by SIR PHILIP FRANCIS, we find examples of the same melancholy tone.

“ Not long ago an opportunity came of itself, of stating some new opinions of my own on the subject of a reform of the House of Commons, to a member of Parliament, of whose integrity no man can be better satisfied than I am. I took the liberty of saying to him, ‘ Sir, do whatever you think right, for its own sake, and never look to popularity for support or reward. Honest fame will follow you if you deserve it. The very people whom you serve may be turned at any moment against you, by a cry or a signal, and run you down for your pains. Your own hounds had as lief hunt the huntsman as the hare.’ ”

On Paper Currency, p. 47.

Not that his principles were changed. *He will be found where he was left.* But he was dispirited with the vain endeavours to do good to a world that was determined not to be a friend to itself. Dr. Johnson observes, that the misanthrope is usually a man of a warm heart, who in his early years thought too favourably of human nature. This cause existed in its highest degree in the present instance, and an unbounded goodness of disposition has alone prevented it from leading to the same conclusion.

In noticing this querulousness, at different periods, and the language in which it is expressed, it is impossible to avoid being struck with its conformity to that feeling which appears to have dictated the last letter of JUNIUS to his publisher.

“ I have seen the signals thrown out for your old friend and correspondent. Be assured that I have had good reason for not complying with them. In the present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle that run mad through the city, or as any of your wise aldermen. I meant the cause and the public. Both are given up. I feel for the honour of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it who will unite and

stand together upon any one question. *But it is all alike, vile and contemptible.*

“ You have never flinched, that I know of; and I shall always rejoice to hear of your prosperity.”

Junius, vol. i. p. *255.

This was not a casual expression of disgust: it arose from a feeling natural to the warm and irritable heart of JUNIUS.—In the course of his correspondence with Woodfall he displays frequent instances of a similar dissatisfactions.

“ What an abandoned, prostituted ideot is your Lord Mayor. The shameful mismanagement which brought him into office, gave me the first and an unconquerable disgust.”

Junius, vol. i. p. *250.

“ Surely you have misjudged it very much about the book. I could not have conceived it possible that you could protract the publication so long. At this time, particularly before Mr. Sawbridge’s motion, it would have been of singular use. You have trifled too long with the public expectation. At a certain point of time the appetite palls. I fear you have already lost the season. The book, I am sure, will lose

the greater part of the effect I expected from it.—But I have done.”

Junius, vol. i. p. *249.

“ I really doubt whether I shall write any more under this signature. I am weary of attacking a set of brutes whose writings are too dull to furnish me even with the materials of contention, and whose measures are too gross and direct to be the subject of argument, or to require illustration.”

Junius, vol. i. p. *174.

It is the character of feelings that are so quick and delicate, to subside as suddenly as they are excited. Though JUNIUS complains so freely of the delay in the publishing of a complete edition of his letters, yet what he says in another letter is applicable on this occasion. “ Make yourself easy about me, I believe you are an honest man, and I never am angry.*”

Junius, vol. i. p. 212.

His inclination to relinquish writing under the signature of JUNIUS, was only the ebullition of the moment; and was perhaps entertained without any seriousness. But his disgust at the conduct of the citizens was much more deeply

* JUNIUS, vol. i. p. 212.

rooted. Yet even this impression, unconquerable as he thought it, vanished away in some degree, for in the course of a few days he writes thus to Woodfall:—

“ If I saw any prospect of uniting the city once more, *I would readily continue to labour in the vineyard. Whenever Mr. Wilkes can tell me that such an union is in prospect, he shall hear of me.*”

Junius, vol. i. p. 253.

This declaration is in the very spirit of that with which Sir PHILIP FRANCIS concludes his opinion of a reform.

“ For myself, I can only say that I did not abandon my principles with my hopes; and that *whenever the nation shall be generally disposed to adopt the measure, I shall be found where I was left, and ready to take part in the execution of it.*”

On Paper Currency, p. 49.

We cannot close this part of our subject without expressing our concern that we are so little able to do justice to the character of this most consistent patriot of our time. We feel a respect and a regard for him which not even

the *certainty* that he were JUNIUS could heighten, much as we wish that the circumstance were proved beyond the possibility of doubt, by the addition of that direct evidence which it is not at present in our power to produce.

We shall terminate this part of our work with a quotation from the speech of LORD MINTO on the character of SIR PHILIP FRANCIS. When our readers peruse it, let them reflect on that personification of JUNIUS which the study of his letters has created in their minds, and observe with what peculiar propriety the description here given would apply to *that* exalted character.

“ In delivering my opinion of my honourable friend, I am not so madly vain as to think it can add any thing to his honours ; it is to do myself honour that I say here, what I have often said elsewhere, that of all the great and considerable men whom this country possesses, there is not one in the empire who has a claim so much beyond all question, who can shew a title so thoroughly authenticated, as this gentleman, to the admiration, the thanks, the reward, the love of his country and of the world. If I am asked for proof, I say, the book of his life is open before you ; it has been read, it has been

examined in every line by the diligent inquisition, the searching eye, of malice and envy. Has a single blot been found? Is there one page which has not been traced by virtue and by wisdom?—Virtue, Sir, not of the cold and neutral quality, which is contented to avoid reproach by shrinking from action, and is the best ally of vice—but virtue fervent, full of ardour, of energy, of effect: wisdom, Sir, not the mere flash of genius and of talents, though these are not wanting; but wisdom informed, deliberate, and profound. I know, Sir, the warmth imputed to, nay possessed by that character; it is a warmth which does but bur-nish all his other virtues. His heart is warm, his judgment is cool, and the latter of these virtues none will deny, except those who have not examined, or wish to disbelieve it.”

Speech of Sir Gilbert Elliot (now Lord Minto), Dec. 12, 1787.

To illustrate the political character of DR. FRANCIS, we shall have recourse to the sentiments he has avowed in his editions of Horace and Demosthenes. There are some parts of each of those works, but more especially of the latter, wherein he displays his own sentiments in some fine original disquisitions. It is unnecessary to lay our extracts before the reader in any particular order: separately taken, they will exhibit the conformity of his opinion with that of JUNIUS, on some particular subjects; and altogether they will furnish a complete view of the political principles of the author.

“The true morality of politics, in the subject, is the preservation of liberty; and the safety of the people, whom Providence hath committed to their care, is the first duty of princes. They cannot know any better, they should not acknowledge any other morals.”

Dem. vol. i. p. 304.

“In her political constitution, Lacedemon very nearly resembled that of Britain, while Britain could have boasted her constitution was unviolated.

Her kings, although entrusted, as generals, with that absolute command in war, which is necessary to a prompt and vigorous execution, yet held a very limited authority in peace. Her senate preserved a kind of balance between any apprehensions of tyranny from their monarchs, and of anarchy in the people; while the people themselves maintained their rights of liberty, and had a proper share in the administration, without that confusion to which pure democracies are liable, for they acted by their representatives. To give the senate due influence, all employments and magistracies were exercised by them only: they were the great council of the nation, nor were the kings permitted to undertake any expedition without their consent. They held their station for life, but with a consciousness of being indebted for it to the people, by whom they were elected, and for whose interests they were therefore supposed to have a peculiar concern."

Pref. to Dem. xvi.

"But soon, according perhaps to the lot of our humanity, wealth and happiness begot excess and luxury; dissipation and expence pro-

duced venality and corruption; a total degeneracy of manners ensued, an indolence and inattention to all public affairs. Poverty and probity became equal objects of contempt; while public virtue and love of country were considered as the language of a party, or what we call opposition. They were only not treated with the levity and insignificance of laughing, or as subjects of ridicule. *That hardiness was reserved for another people.*"

Pref. to Dem. xliv.

" They marched under the conduct of Hippias, who, to recover the unjust domination which his father, Pisistratus, had usurped over the Athenians, was not ashamed to debase the honour of the Grecian name in doing homage to a barbarian monarch, but even implored his assistance to lay waste his native country, and enslave his fellow-citizens. Execrable ambition! Detestable and pernicious tyrant! Spite of himself, however, he served the cause of liberty at the battle of Marathon. The Athenians beheld him with indignation among the Persian troops, and his presence very probably inspired them with that impetuosity with which they rushed forward, and ran upon the enemy. This manner of attack was till then unknown to the

Grecian military; and we may therefore believe this first instance of it proceeded even more from the presence of their tyrant, than from the common ardours of liberty, and the horrors of slavery. They had the pleasure of sacrificing him not only as a victim to their own vengeance, but to the rights of human kind, which he had boldly and impiously violated.

Pref. to Dem. xxii.

“These revolutions happened in the compass of a few years. Their periods are not exactly marked. They are brought under one view for the sake of the following reflections. That different sets of men, born in the bosom of liberty, educated in principles of republican equality, and inspired from their infancy with a detestation of arbitrary power, should uniformly pursue the same plan of tyranny and domination, is matter of astonishment. But when we consider that many of them were men of probity, honour, and virtue, before they were chosen by their fellow-citizens to execute the sacred trust of government, and that instantly they threw off all regard to justice, religion, and even to common humanity, we must be tempted to think that nature has implanted in the heart of man an appetite to en-

slave and oppress his fellow creatures. But of greater importance is the conclusion from these and numberless other examples, *that we should never intrust a human creature, even in times of the uttermost distress, with any powers unknown to the constitution*, in hopes of a precarious, uncertain relief. By this kind of confidence, the liberties of Greece and Rome were totally lost; and *what nation now upon earth will presume to say they may not be enslaved in the same manner?"*

Ibid. p. xxxii.

“When a nation is inclined to slavery, at what a little price will it sell its liberty.”

Dem. vol. i. p. 166.

The Character of Philip.

“Equally a politician, as a general, he was temperate in forming his plans, and rapid in the execution;—Impenetrable in his own counsels, and master of those of his enemies;—Sagacious to foresee, and bold to seize the most favourable conjunctures;—Perpetually varying his conduct, without ever varying the principles upon which he acted:—Embassies, negotiations,

treaties, peace, hostilities, compliances, menaces, promises and money, were all employed to the purposes of his ambition. We shall mention only one particular artifice which he invented; and *which hath since been often practised with success*. Under pretence that the treasury of Macedonia was exhausted, he borrowed considerable sums from all the wealthiest citizens of Greece, who from thence became interested in his future fortune; and with an appearance only of receiving interest for their money, were really pensioners of Philip."

Pref. to Dem. p. xxxviii.

"Our orator now appears upon the scene in a character well worthy of his own great abilities; indeed, of all the powers of eloquence. We behold him in personal opposition to, perhaps, the greatest prince that ever sat upon a throne; yet neither awed by his power, imposed upon by his artifices, or corrupted by his gold. Animated by the love of liberty, that noblest of all human passions, he stands forth the guardian and defender of his country. An equal terror to the tyrant, who would enslave her, as to the traitors who would betray. Whatever sentiments, *that* passion can

inspire; whatever arguments good sense can dictate; whatever ideas of highest sublimity, his own great genius could conceive, the reader will find in the following orations, philippics, and olynthiacs. After such a character of them, what modest excuse can be made for the translator? He professes, and surely without suspicion of affectation, his apprehension of sinking under the attempt. *Yet while he feels the influence of the same passions that animate the original, he will not wholly despair of the translation.*"

Dem. i. 47.

"Our orator again reproves the indolence, irresolution, inactivity, the fatal procrastination of his audience. How sincerely does the translator wish that the following proverb could *only* be applied to the Greeks and Romans! *Dum Romæ consulitur, Saguntum expugnatur.* While the senate consults at Rome, Saguntum is besieged and taken."

Dem. i. 135.

"An evil, most pernicious to a free state, had long raged in Athens. *The people, to whom, in the last resort, all administrations must appeal,*

and in whom resides the power, and strength, and majesty of a nation*, were treated with contempt. Advantage was taken of their poverty, to corrupt their honesty, in giving their votes for places and employments. They were intimidated by menaces, or deceived by promises, or seduced by adulation. For they were flattered, even while they were despised. In the *last excess* of corruption, they were debauched in their sobriety and temperance, by drunken riots and luxurious entertainments. From hence, as from a first principle of ruin and dissolution, proceeded the destruction of Athens and Rome. *From the same principle will invariably and for ever proceed the destruction of all future states.*"

Dem. i. 40.

"The wealth brought into Rome, by ravaging and plundering the world, was employed with a wantonness almost incredible, in the *last excesses* of extravagance and luxury. These excesses vitiated the minds, corrupted the understandings, and broke the resolution of a people,

* "The collective body of the people form that jury, and from their decision there is but one appeal."

Junius, vol. i. 165.

not less glorious for their spirit of liberty, than for their conquest of the world. Thus at length they were debased to a vileness of slavery unknown to the nations whom they had conquered, and infamous to all posterity."

Hor. i. 254.

"Let the horrors of this execrable story alarm every free people to an attention to the first attempts against their liberty. For what nation now upon earth can presume to say, they would submit only to any *certain* degree of slavery, when the Roman people could be thus enslaved to the cruelty of Tiberius, the madness of Caligula, the stupidity of Claudius, or the impiety of Nero?" *

Dem. i. p. 168.

* "If an honest and, I may truly affirm, a laborious zeal for the public service has given me any weight in your esteem, let me exhort and conjure you *never to suffer an invasion of your political constitution, however minute the instance may appear, to pass by without a determined and persevering resistance.* One precedent creates another. They soon accumulate and constitute a law. What yesterday was fact, to-day is doctrine; examples are supposed to justify the most dangerous measures, and where they do not suit exactly, the defect is supplied by analogy."

Junius, vol. i. p. 3.

“ The patriot nobly sacrifices the reputation and interests of the orator to the glory and the welfare of his audience. The dignity of his language, the resistless spirit of conviction, the pathetic, the sublime, seem unpremeditated effects of genius, animated by love of liberty and of country.”

Dem. vol. i. p. xlv.

“ His efforts to recover the freedom of his country after the death of Philip and Alexander may appear, as we are now influenced in our judgment by the event, too precipitate and immature: their strength too disproportioned to an enterprize of such importance. Yet if not prudent, they were glorious efforts. They sustain the integrity of his character; they shew that a detestation of tyranny was the actuating principle of his life, and love of liberty the passion that supported him in death, when he nobly

“ The woman who admits of one familiarity seldom knows where to stop, or what to refuse; and *when the counsels of a great country give way in a single instance*—when *once they are inclined to submission*, every step accelerates the rapidity of the descent.”

Junius, vol. ii. p. 186.

refused to survive the ruin of his country, or accept an obligation from its tyrant.”

Dem. vol. i. p.xl .

“The first intention of this essay was to inquire into the principles of political wisdom, upon which the various forms of government in Greece were founded, and to mark the error from which their dissolution proceeded; that, possibly, some hints might arise for the preservation or improvement of our own most excellent constitution. Let the writer therefore be forgiven one reflection here, not wholly foreign to his intention, perhaps not unapplicable to the present conjuncture of public affairs: that, although a republican government be greatly capable of maintaining its liberty, either against the attempts of foreign conquests or domestic tyranny, while it preserves the principles of virtue and equality upon which it is founded, yet when its citizens are enervated by luxury and pleasure, their morals vitiated by avarice and profusion, it is almost impossible ever to recover them to their original severity of discipline and manners. If a citizen should arise of courage enough to attempt their reformation, the people would consider him as their equal. He could

assume no other power over them, than that of persuasion; and the laws he proposed must be passed by their own consent, in opposition to their prejudices, their passions, and their vices. On the contrary, there is a regular subordination of powers and influences in a monarchy, of mighty effect to preserve it in times of imminent danger and distress. The prince impresses his virtues on his nobility. Their example diffuses those virtues among the people, who are generally taught to admire, and who feel almost a natural tendency to imitate the manners of their superiors."

Dem. vol. i. p. xxxvii.

Our author, in this last extract, introduces a reflection, which he says is "not unapplicable to the *present* conjuncture of public affairs." He appears to have been considering at the time he made this remark, in what way our own constitution might be improved or preserved; and by what means, *one of the people* would be best able to recover his fellow-subjects from that state of debasement, into which luxury and avarice had sunk them. From his application of the reflection to the *present conjuncture of affairs*, it would appear that he believed such was the de-

graded state of this country at the time he wrote;—"that its citizens were enervated by luxury and pleasure, their morals vitiated by avarice and profusion." Then comes the reflection—that, in a democracy where all the people are equal it would be *impossible* to reclaim them from their vicious propensities. For, "if a citizen should arise of courage enough to attempt their reformation, the people would consider him as their equal;" and this would defeat all his good intentions, since they would not listen to him with respect, nor obey, against their inclinations, one man, whose influence was tantamount only to their own. "He could assume no other power over them, than that of persuasion; and the laws he proposed must be passed by their own consent, in opposition to their prejudices, their passions, and their vices." It is impossible, therefore, that he could attain his ends.

Under a republican form of government the people would be safer, and more happy, as long as public virtue and the severe simplicity of their primitive manners were preserved; but the moment the great mass of the people was tainted with corruption, the decline of that state would be swift and irremediable.

This reflection was very naturally accompa-

nied by another: that under an opposite form of government, the people might possibly be restored to something like their original purity of morals and behaviour. For, “there is a regular subordination of powers and influences in a monarchy, of mighty effect to preserve it in times of imminent danger and distress.” But the benefit, even then, could only be effected by the prince himself setting the example. He is the first cause of reformation. “The prince impresses his virtues on his *nobility*. Their example diffuses those virtues among the *people*, who are generally *taught to admire*, and who feel a natural *tendency to imitate*, the manners of their superiors.”

The man who sits down to examine the forms of other constitutions, with a view to the improvement or preservation of that under which he lives,—and who endeavours “to mark the error from whence the dissolution” of other governments has proceeded,—does it not with a light mind, but is probably influenced in his inquiry by the most perfect love for his own country. He sees that whenever the vices have taken root in a land, they have gradually multiplied until they overran the whole country,

and destroyed every thing that was wholesome or lovely ;—that under a democracy it was impossible to eradicate the evil, and under a monarchy it was difficult, requiring a chain of favourable circumstances, which rarely, if ever, met together at the time when they were wanted. He looks at his native soil, and sees it abound with those vices which will speedily reduce it to a state of utter worthlessness. It is the first wish of his heart to be of service to his country. In what way can he proceed?—He is a member of that rank in society which has no influence over the public mind :* as far therefore as his opinion goes, it will have no consequence attached to it. He would possess even more power under a democratic form of government, than he does in his present circumstances. For in that case he might have some chance of success from the advantages which public oratory affords, and from the opportunity he would possess of arriving without difficulty at the highest offices in the republic. But, in England he must make his appeal to the public eye through

* “I dedicate to you a collection of letters, written by *one of yourselves* for the common benefit of us all.”

Junius, vol. i. p. 1.

the medium of the press. He must address himself to the reason. His countrymen can neither hear his voice, nor see his action or expression. The passions, which are of the first importance in a cause like his, are either beyond the power of his excitement, or the reach of his control.

But as the country is governed by a King, there would still be one hope left. And as the land is filled with noblemen of great influence, some little good might surely be expected to proceed from them.

If the person we are now considering could be satisfied that his Prince was active and sincere in promoting the practice of virtue, or that the nobility were uniformly zealous in their attempts to amend the morals of the people by the force of good example; it is probable that these considerations would calm his fears. But it is more likely that he who has to complain of the depravity of the age is convinced that no benefit is to be expected from these sources. On the contrary, he may think that the immorality and profligacy of the great are the chief causes of that laxity of morals which has taken place in all the other classes of the community.

With the conviction on his mind that we are hastening to a state of moral and political de-

gradation, from which no hand that is able is also willing to save us; he looks around, and finds, in the midst of his despair, one course still is open to him, whereby he may possibly avert the approaching danger.

The press furnishes an easy mode of appealing to the people, without being personally known to them. He accordingly addresses them on subjects necessary to be well understood by all*.

He sets before them the origin of their liberties; he explains the nature of their invaluable constitution; he shews them the folly of their credulity, the danger of their indifference, the madness of their venality; he tells them what course they must pursue to retrieve their errors, and points out the path which they must take to avoid them for the future; he places before them the glory of their ancestors, the misery and slavery of their posterity; by every argument in nature that can influence the heart

“I do not place the little pleasures of life in competition with the glorious business of instructing and directing the people.”

Letter to Wilkes, vol. i. p. 314.

of man, he endeavours to win them to virtue, to wisdom, to freedom, and to happiness.*

Aware of the fruitlessness of all his efforts, unless he can impress upon their minds a sense of his importance,† he assumes that character in his writings, which is denied to his real situation. He speaks as a man of high rank and the first consequence.‡ As the people are “generally taught to admire the great,” he engages by his dignity their reverence for his person. As they

* “This is not the cause of faction or of party, or of any individual, but the common interest of every man in Britain.”

Junius, Dedication, vol. i. p. i.

† “In my opinion you should not wish to decline the appearance of being particularly addressed in that letter. It is calculated to give you dignity with the public. There is more in it than perhaps you are aware of. Depend upon it, the perpetual union of Wilkes and mob does you no service. Not but that I love and esteem the mob. It is your interest to keep up dignity and gravity besides. I would not make myself cheap by walking the streets so much as you do. *Verbum sat.*”

Letter to Wilkes, vol. i. p. 317.

‡ “Besides every personal consideration, if I were known, *I could no longer be an useful servant to the public.* At present there is something oracular in the delivery of my opinions. I speak from a recess which no

“feel a natural tendency to imitate” their superiors, he stamps on their minds an impression of his character.

Though fortune has denied him the nobility of birth, she has given him an elevation of soul to look down on titles; and though she has deprived him of the influence which attends on wealth, she makes those whom wealth ennobles render homage to his talents, and respect to his authority.

He strives to improve the great by exhortation and praise, by reproof and ridicule, not so much for their own sakes as for the value of their example. He addresses those especially, whose influence in the state* affords them an opportunity of secretly undermining the foundations of our liberty; and when he cannot deter them from attempting to do wrong, he endeavours to deprive them of that power which makes them dangerous.

Lastly, as kings are the chief authors of good and evil to their subjects—the main spring of a

human curiosity can penetrate, and darkness, we are told, is one source of the sublime. *The mystery of JUNIUS increases his importance.*”

Junius, Letter to Wilkes; vol. i. p. 314:

* “To preserve the whole system, you must correct your legislature.”

Ibid. vol. i. p. 6.

machine that is either a blessing or a curse to the nation, he summons all his strength for his last, best work; and since he cannot, as a prince, communicate the impress of his virtues from the highest to the lowest, through all the gradations of rank within the kingdom, he goes directly to the King himself, and by virtue of his invisibility, addresses him in the unexpected language of truth. All that wisdom can dictate, and eloquence express, is urged with irresistible force upon the heart and understanding of the monarch: for he remembers that the improvement of a whole people is the object to be attained, and that "clearing the fountain is the best and shortest way to purify the stream."*

We do not mean to say that such conduct as this we have described would necessarily result from that reflection which gave birth to our theory. But we appeal to the Letters of JUNIUS for proofs, that a similar conduct has been pursued by a *character*, in every minute par-

* JUNIUS, vol. i. p. 293.

"If it were my misfortune to live under the inauspicious reign of a prince, whose whole life was employed in one base contemptible struggle with the free spirit of the people, or in the detestable endeavour to corrupt their moral principles, I would not scruple to declare to him—
 'Sir, you alone are the author of the greatest wrong to your subjects, and to yourself.'"

Junius, vol. i. 42. and vol. ii. 64.

ticular resembling that which has been drawn; and we think that such conduct was more likely to proceed from the author of the foregoing reflection than from any other person.

If we are correct in our opinion, that the *ideal character of JUNIUS* was suggested by the last of our quotations from DR. FRANCIS; and if the theory we have laid down be applicable to the whole of the conduct pursued by JUNIUS; it will necessarily follow, that the *real* author of those letters, to be consistent with his first intention, must for ever remain unknown to the public.—Owing his influence among the people to the impression he has left on their minds, that he was a man of high rank, who had no other opportunity of speaking his real sentiments without danger to himself or his connections; possessing his ascendancy over the Court and the Officers of State only so long as it was suspected that he was himself a great personage in disguise, *he must have resolved that his secret should die with him*, if he sincerely desired that his country should derive benefit from his labours. All his power of doing good would cease, according to his own most excellent observation, as soon as it was discovered that he was only *one of the people*. He must, therefore, resign all hopes of advantage during his

life, and of honour after death. All the vanity of authorship must be suppressed; and the glorious hopes of immortal fame, which have animated other great minds to perform splendid actions, and accomplish laborious undertakings, must be sacrificed at the shrine of public utility.—In the language of DR. FRANCIS, the man who wrote these Letters has dedicated to the nation, not his work, *but its author*; not his eloquence, *but his understanding and his heart!* Other men have offered up their lives for the welfare of their country, but they have felt at the time an inexpressible delight in the reflection, that they should survive for ever in the memory of a grateful posterity. It remained for the present age to produce a patriot who devoted his *fame*, as well as his life, to the service of his fellow creatures.

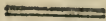
It may naturally be asked, why we so highly commend the endeavour of the author to remain undiscovered, and yet do our utmost to reveal him to the world. We think, and in our own hearts are satisfied, that this noble attempt to leap unseen into the gulph of oblivion, for the preservation of his country, will elevate him in the estimation of the people, far more than the knowledge of his real situation can depress him; and instead of our disclosure tending to detract

from the weight of his authority, we do not know that any act or accident in life can add such value to the sentiments of any man, as a sincere endeavour to die in support of his principles.

The reader is now in possession of all the circumstances which have impressed us with a conviction that DR. FRANCIS and his son SIR PHILIP were the authors of the Letters of JUNIUS. If he entertains a doubt of the validity of our discovery, we request him to take a review of the whole of the evidence we have offered; and since he has formed his judgment of the weight of each individual circumstance in succession, let him now consider and estimate the aggregate value of the mass. Should he still hesitate to admit of our conclusion, we must request his attention to some further evidence which we shall speedily have the pleasure to submit to his inspection.

NOTE.

The edition of Horace, quoted in the preceding pages, is that of 1753, in 4 vols.



We request the reader's attention to the following Errata.

- Page 34. "Least" should be "last," in line 13.
 — 69. "Equally used with *or*, instead of *as*," should be "Equally used with *or*, instead of *and*."
 — 112. "Dissatisfactions" should be "dissatisfaction," in line 11.
 — 127. "Almost" should be "almost," in line 21.
 — 134. "Reverance" should be "reverence," in last line.

I am the agent of his authority, and I believe
that any act he is entitled to his own authority
and to the assistance of his agents, as a general
agent in the business of his authority.

The law is now in possession of all the
power which have been granted to him
by the King, and the King has the power
of the law, and the power of the law
is the power of the law, and the power
of the law is the power of the law.

T. DAVISON, Lombard-street,
Whitefriars, London.

to the power of the law, and the power
of the law is the power of the law, and
the power of the law is the power of
the law, and the power of the law is
the power of the law, and the power
of the law is the power of the law.

THE END.

ca

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