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Constitutional Doubts,

HUMBLY SUBMITTED TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE OF WALES;

ON THE PRETENSIONS OF

THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

TO APPOINT A THIRD ESTATE:

BY THE AUTHOR OF

LETTERS ON POLITICAL LIBERTY,

IN THE YEAR 1782.

Mihi Galba, Otho, Vitellius; nec beneficio nec injuria, cogniti.

TAC.

L O N D O N :

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Constitutional Documents

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

AS REVISED AND CORRECTED

BY THE SECRETARY OF WAR

IN THE YEAR 1790

BY THE SECRETARY OF WAR

IN THE YEAR 1790

Printed and Sold by G. B. RILEY, at the Office of the Secretary of War, No. 15, Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.

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Constitutional Doubts, &c.

S I R,

Dec. 12, 1788.

IT is with reluctance I assume the species of liberty, warranted by the customs of this country; to address your Royal Highness on subjects interesting to your happiness.

Endowed with acknowledged genius; and furrounded by talents of the first order in the estimation of common fame: I had hopes every possible event would find you fully guarded. But though extremely attentive to political occurrences, I could perceive no hesitation or doubt, previous to those of Mr. Fox in the debate of Wednesday the 10th, on the competency of an imperfect Parliament, to dictate the present melancholy duty of your Royal Highness; or

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to determine for the whole body of the people of Great Britain.

When a disposition had been excited to reform the House of Commons, I had the honour of suggesting the first hints* on the absurdity of petitioning an exceptionable body to reform itself; and I extended them into a general view of Political Liberty, as the original object of the English Constitution.

The positions of the pamphlet were thought bold and dangerous; but being at a distance from the principles of any party, they were treated as ingenious impracticable speculations. In France the translation was circulated with great rapidity, by the friends of real liberty; with the hope of influencing the arrangements for provincial delegations. But the translator, in his notes, having descended to personal satire, the whole was ordered to be burnt; and he was lodged for life in the Bastille.

I have not since, sullied my fingers with English politics. But I cannot see your

* In Letters on Political Liberty.

Royal Highness approaching a precipice, without obtruding myself among those who would suggest your danger: nor, while I can hold a pen, shall any power on earth usurp the rights of the British nation, without a protest.

I need not inform your Royal Highness, that in every society, there are two powers—the *dominium eminens*; the *paramount sovereignty*, which appoints and guards the Political Constitution: and the various denominations of delegated faculties, in Kings, Lords, and Commons; in Governors, Senates, and Assemblies, &c. &c. Where any tolerable ideas of liberty have been introduced by science and virtue; not a doubt has been ever entertained, that the arrangement and preservation of the Political Constitution should be in the whole nation; the ordinary legislation in the person or persons appointed for the purpose; and the administration of the laws in the executive power.

The difficulties of Government, and the miseries of nations, have arisen wholly from

the usurpations of the delegated powers, on their reciprocal claims; or on the national rights.

These evils have been so numerous, and recurred so frequently in England, that foreigners have hesitated on the advantages of liberty. But your Royal Highness is apprised they arise from the imperfect construction of the Political Constitution: the theory of which is noble; while its effects and inconveniencies are little short of despotism.

To obey the impulse of my mind, on those inconveniences, would be to write volumes. But the urgency and importance of an impending event, allow little time for interposition to those who, like me, receive the first notices of public proceedings generally from parliamentary debates.

The character of the present Administration is insidiousness and hypocrisy: and when a public injury is in contemplation, it is their practice to diffuse, through venal channels, assurances of opposite tendency.

Previous

Previous to the most atrocious and impudent violation of the Constitution since the days of Charles I. the Minister assured the House of Commons, it might dismiss all apprehensions of dissolution; and in a few days it was dissolved.

On the present occasion, the public anxiety has been soothed by similar artifice. The Minister, who was born with a masque, wore the countenance of disinterestedness and submission: not a word escaped him in council or conversation; the pulse of political venality was felt by deputies; and he was wrapping himself in delusive precedents and forms; when Mr. Fox touched him with the wand of truth, and he sprung up a fiend.

I will not obstruct the career of Mr. Fox, on the ground he has so judiciously taken— That, on the civil as well as natural demise of the King, the Heir Apparent, in England, being of full age and unexceptionable capacity, should exercise the regal power, is a proposition susceptible of demonstration; and

and I know no man so capable of stating it as Mr. Fox.

That the two Houses of Parliament; confessedly incompetent to dispose of an oyster—should have the power of appointing a Regent, is a sophism, which the talents of Mr. Fox's friends are peculiarly adapted to expose and ridicule.

I will, therefore, leave these subjects in the best hands—My purpose is to offer some reasons of doubt, hesitation, and prudence, on the present important occasion; which may not occur to your Royal Highness, or to those who ably defend your rights. If I have been anticipated, I have only lost my labor: and you will have the goodness to excuse an intrusion dutifully designed.

By the declaration prematurely forced from Mr. Pitt, it may be supposed, he will have the indecent assurance to adopt a principle, to which his public conduct has been uniformly hostile—‘ That the origin of political power is in the people.’ The principle, however, seems at this time, to
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be generally adopted by political philosophers ; and Mr. Pitt may be furnished with an oration on the subject, which will guard, or heighten his fictitious fame.

But your Royal Highness cannot have read the History of England so hastily, as to be deceived by pretences of popular power, in public arrangements or determinations. The outline of the English Constitution is said, to have been imagined in the woods of Germany ; and the general organization of the community, by the genius of the immortal Alfred, produced a national opinion and public will. But the admirable fabric was decomposed at the Conquest ; and the feudal system introduced. The steady despotism of the Normans subdued the spirit of the English ; but never silenced the general regret and attachment to the rights of the ancient Constitution.

The conclusions of reason are uniform, in politics, as in other sciences ; and they sanctioned the just and affectionate preference of the laws of the Confessor, and the Saxon institutions. The idea of popular
power

power was thus preserved, in the ashes of the ancient state—Faint gleams of its existence have occasionally animated the public hopes: but they been transitory, and of no general or salutary effect.

The fixed affection of Englishmen for the idea of popular power, has been the general ground of imposture in pretended Statesmen, from the Conquest to this time. I am as well acquainted with the History of England, as Mr. William Pitt:—I had almost said, as the numerous association, who collect materials for his speeches: and in making a solemn assertion, I have a stake to hazard, which I hold as dear, though it may not be as profitable, as the conduct of an irresistible phalanx on the Treasury Bench. I affirm, on the faith of history, and on the credit of every public record, that from the Conquest to this day, the people of England, have not pronounced a judgment; expressed a will; or performed a single national action. I do not offer this opinion, from enmity to popular rights. I am an enthusiast in their favor.

But

But I wish to undermine meditated impof-
ture; to cut under the ground, on which
pretended patriotifm, has repeatedly effect-
ed its deceitful purpofes.

The Reformation and Revolution are the
events which have the ftrongeft pretentions
to popular authority. Mr. Pitt alone will
bring into competition with them, his own
acceffion to power. Though I may fubmit
to the literary difadvantage of an anti-cli-
max, I will confider the events in their order.

The origin of the Reformation, as a legal
eftablifhment, is to be diftinctly and indis-
putably traced to the defpotic caprice of
Henry the Eighth. The Revolution had
more the appearance of a national act; and
its peculiar advantages and bleffings, have
unquestionably obtained the general affent
and approbation. But no man, defining
the word People, fo as not to exclude per-
fons even of Mr. Pitt's defcription at his
acceffion to places and power, will affirm the
Revolution was fanced by popular au-
thority. The members of the Convention,
glorious and dear as their names are to

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Englishmen,

Englishmen, had not even the slight pretence of popular assent, which is furnished by parliamentary election.

The accession of Mr. William Pitt; the last great epoch in our history; may bear a longer discussion: as, according to the language of venality, it is of superior importance to the occurrences already mentioned; according to that of fact and reason, it is much below the point of insignificance.

I know I tread on hazardous ground: and I think this the moment, to prefer the only request I may ever make to your Royal Highness—that I may be shielded from the vengeance of this Great Man; if, on deceitful pretences of popular approbation, he should usurp any portions of your inheritance; and wield the fatal weapons of constructive treason.

The formation of the *Coalition* is a memorable incident in the general drama of English Politics. The peculiar tendency of the Constitution was exhibited to attentive observers; and the rabble was actuated by a frenzy hardly inferior to that excited
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by the Cock-lane Ghost. An enormous giant with two heads, was represented as assaulting the throne: and the interior managers, too detestable to the country to appear themselves, produced a young and virgin Knight; clad in the emblems of purity; and immaculate in body and mind; to assault that dreadful monster. The *trick took*; to use a phrase suitable to the artifice:—the wonderful boy was bathed in learned infusions; inspired with the essence of all knowledge:—and the Coalition was demolished.

Not a syllable was uttered on that occasion, by the miraculous youth, concerning the paramount privileges of the Houses of Parliament, or even the ideal authority of the people. The *Speaking Figure* was prepared by operations of a contrary tendency. The house echoed the founds only of Monarchy and Prerogative: the Crown of England was imperial, hereditary, and independent; and Parliament had not the right of interference even in the
 choice

choice and appointment of the King's servants.

The House of Commons, after long habits of intimacy with those servants, resented the breach of friendship; and being refractory to the measures of the minister, he changed his tone and language: and having seduced from his former patron the deputy manager of corrupt elections, and obtained addresses from venal boroughs, he pretended an appeal to the people; and the iniquities and mischiefs of a general election were incurred.

The Parliament then dissolved, either was a representation of the people, or it was not. If a proper representation; and competent to the controul and appointment of regal power; the minister should have been impeached for advising its dissolution. If it was not a proper representation; did not express the public judgment and public will: how were its defects supplied; and what circumstances constitute the superior competency of the present House of Commons, which may not be traced to the operations of the above-mentioned deputy manager.

and

and the seductive charms of India rupees? And is the implied presence of the people of England dependant on such contemptible circumstances? Or can the pert puppyism of political oratory, induce an acquiescence that the public will is or is not expressed in Parliament, according as a particular minister is or is not in power? A hord of Hottentots would laugh at such weakness— Yet this is represented as the foundation of the illustrious fortune of Mr. William Pitt. But the versatile statesman, has repeatedly and solemnly denied, that the House of Commons, in its present mode of election, is a proper and just representation of the people. Previous to his unexpected elevation, he was embarked with the petitioners for parliamentary reform; and he vehemently declaimed on the insufficient and incompetent state of representation. To save appearances, when in power, he faintly repeated several of his former declarations: but presented a plan he knew would be rejected; and with a condescension *never expressed* by another minister, *that he left the house*

house to its own determination. The same Parliament, however, which he made a feint to reform, because it was an imperfect representation—is now perfect; the *paramount Sovereign*; and the absolute disposer of Kings and Regents.

How is this difference to be accounted for? What can have changed and improved the properties of the same Parliament? The genius and discipline of the minister may have cultivated its talents and docility; but they cannot confer constitutional powers, which are to be obtained only by invested inheritance, or by a fair and just representation.—On the minister's own authority; on his repeated and solemn opinions of the mode of appointing the House of Commons, I may express my hesitation and doubts of its competency, in conjunction with the lords, to confer, appoint, regulate, or modify a third estate.

I am desirous of submitting these doubts to the consideration of your Royal Highness; as they may possibly induce you to deliberate on the indefinite importance of
words

words, in the present delicate conjuncture. For, what are the people; where are they to be found, in their political capacity? And what is Parliament; if not a full and adequate representation?—I am not disposed to question, or sport with popular rights: they are the only firm foundation of royal power; which is ever fluctuating and insecure, in managed assemblies, or in the hands of that undefineable, unconstitutional monster, the *Prime Minister* of a free country.

A slight recollection of the History of Parliament, will exhibit to your Royal Highness, the truths I would respectfully enforce. I will not lead you into the obscure records of Saxon institutions: their principles of policy were destroyed at the Conquest; and Parliament is not in hereditary succession to their popular assemblies. The House of Commons, where the only idea of national representation can be entertained, had no existence in the reign of William, or under the dominion of several of his successors. It owes its origin to the oppressions of those officers, who assessed
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the towns and boroughs: one of the citizens being summoned to adjust the mode of taxation, or the amount of the tax, at the seat of Government. Such deputies could hardly avoid representing the grievances of their constituents; and finding other deputies in similar situations, they formed general petitions, which the King, assisted by his great Barons and Officers, either formed into laws, or neglected at pleasure.

Laws respecting fiefs, and the progress of industry, gradually added weight to the popular scale; and the Crown, in efforts for independence on the Barons, sought assistance from the inferior orders of the community: but though the Knights and Burgeffes were returned by a species of election, no idea of national representation was entertained; no opinion could be admitted, that the deputies, who were considered of an inferior order, and assigned a lower House, should absorb the national power; be the organ of the national judgment; and claim the disposal of the Crown and kingdom. The abstract idea of national

tional representation, may warrant the claim in the abstract. But the Edwards and Henrys would have treated an intimation of it with contempt, or punished it as treason. The King held the kingdom in fee; and all property, power, and honor, descended immediately, or mediately from him. In these periods, the pretensions of the Crown were enormous; its real and permanent power inconsiderable. The nobility and hierarchy, largely participated in the fruits of general oppression; and frequently shook the Throne, on which their mischievous privileges rested. In the fluctuations of national contentions, the Lower House acquired strength; until the Parliament, which deposed the First Charles, assumed the entire government.

Here we may fix the summit of the Parliamentary scale; but we find no pretensions of national assent; no means of obtaining a national will; but the artifices of arbitrary power, under republican pretences; and the oppressions of numerous tyrants, under the veil of hypocrisy.

The cause of liberty was long discredited by the occurrences of that disgraceful period: and to guard the Crown against the repetition of them, a system of venality was substituted, for the direct operations of power.

The first effects of that system were checked by the Revolution; but they soon appeared, as if invigorated by interruption. It was the interested policy of pretended Statesmen to infuse an opinion into Princes—strangers to the people they governed—that the nation was disaffected in an indefinite degree; and that majorities, in the deliberative assemblies, must be secured by venality. This, in fact, obliterated every just idea of political liberty; and introduced a new species of Government (retaining the forms of the old Constitution); as dangerous to the rights of the Crown, as it is insulting to the common sense of the people. Since the accession of your illustrious House, it has been the fixed object of every Administration to give vigor and stability to an intermediate
power,

power, founded on corruption; which might set equally at defiance the King and the People. I will endeavour to describe the power to your Royal Highness. It is from this power you can have any thing to apprehend; either in the temporary preservation of a parent's rights, or in the future exercise of your own.

On the accession of William the Third, and on that of the House of Hanover, it was not difficult to produce a double apprehension, which might serve as barriers to the Prince and People; and leave the intermediate space for the operations of a new species of political being, called the Minister, or Manager of the House of Commons. At first, the function of this Minister, like that of any other contractor, could give no alarm: it required the peculiar genius of Sir Robert Walpole to invigorate the system, and to incorporate it with the government. He accordingly exhibited an intermediate power which sometimes drew a line around the throne; sometimes invaded the remaining rights of the people. That power be-

came the fixed object of all succeeding political adventurers ; and it has been grasped, under royal or popular authorities, according to the advantages given by the errors of the possessor. If the Minister insulted his Prince, a royal advocate started up among the orators ; if he hazarded an unpopular oppression, the rights of the people formed the theme of meritricious eloquence : the competitor succeeded the fallen Minister ; adopted similar measures on different pretences ; was detected in his impostures ; and fell by similar means. This is the history of every Administration since the Revolution : and it is mentioned in the language of affected acquiescence, as an evil incident to our form of government ; irremediable ; but bringing with it, occasionally, its own relief.

But your Royal Highness, accustomed to mingle with societies, to distinguish characters, and to examine objects ; will not be amused or deceived by such language. You will perceive, that every plausible reason is removed, to justify the institution of

an emporium for pretended virtues and talents: and that the habit of interference in legislative deliberations, is pernicious to the Crown; oppressive to the People; and profitable only to those who should be scouted in every legitimate community.

It cannot have escaped the penetration of your Royal Highness, that one circumstance alone is wanting, to give this intermediate power, the independence it seeks: I mean a mode of providing for its permanence, consistent with the apparent observance of forms. That has been sought in various expedients: among which oratory has been generally included. Archimedes affirmed he would move the globe, if he might fix the fulcrum of a lever in another world. This desired point has offered itself to the anxious fancies of English Ministers: first in America; then in India. But it has sunk under the first pressure; and though it seems to support the present Administration; there are reasons to hope it may deceive them.

But

But my business is not with particular Administrations. My object is a spurious power; the idol of every Administration; which is at equal enmity with the throne and nation; while it affects alternately the spirit and language of royal prerogative, and a passionate concern for popular privileges.

In order to render the ground of my apprehensions obvious; and to induce your Royal Highness to revolve such principles and measures as may remove their causes: I will state a possible event, at a distance from the present period; that I may not be charged with invidiousness, where I have no reasons for love or hatred.

Let any event be imagined in the zenith of Walpole's power, similar to that which now distresses the public sensibility—let the Heir Apparent be of full age; and possessed of those talents and accomplishments which the general opinion ascribes to your Royal Highness.

If the Prince's attachments had been fixed on the Minister; no question would have been
been

been introduced in Parliament ; the Prince's *right* to hold his parent's prerogatives *in trust for that parent*, would have been supposed in respectful silence ; the Two Houses, as the Constitutional Council of the Throne, would have recognized the Prince's right ; and addressed him to assume, for his afflicted parent, the exercise of Regal Power.

If the Prince's good opinion was directed from the Minister, Walpole would have put on the masque of republicanism ; fought the origin of the English Government *in ideal and abstracted propositions* ; averred the competency of parliamentary representation ; and the power of the people by their *just* representatives, to dispose of the Crown and kingdom. The King of France would not dispute the abstract proposition, *that the people are the origin of political power*. It may be supposed, it never could have been disputed by an English Prince. Walpole, therefore, would have carried a question on the foundation of the Prince's right : — the *finesse* to be guarded against, by the Heir Apparent, would have been that of substituting

substituting the House of Commons for the People, of which it *was then* no representation. If the Prince acquiesced in the substitution; the abstract proposition would have been converted into a practical principle: the House of Commons would have started into a new species of being; assumed the paramount sovereignty, *the abstract right of every society*; suspended the legislature; and appointed the Regent.

From that moment, the Constitution of England would have been changed. For *Walpole's Parliament being packed*; and the people of England transformed by a compressive mode of representation into *Walpole's venal phalanx*; the appointment of a Regent would have been actually by Walpole.

Your Royal Highness need not be informed of the consequences of appointing Regents and Kings, by the inordinate and illegitimate power of a subject. That power has always been obtained on popular or pious pretences; and abstract principles of politics and religion, are convertible to
any

any purposes. The celebrated Earl of Warwick disposed of the Crown at pleasure, on plausible and national pretences. Oliver Cromwell seized it, by a Parliament managed with a little more violence, but having similar claims to national representation with that devoted to Walpole: and if you receive the Regency by *appointment*; though the abstract right of the people of England be pleaded; though a competent Representation be assumed; you will actually receive it from the *Walpole of the day*.

It will require but a slight exercise of your Royal Highness's penetration to perceive the immediate and dreadful effects of such appointment. You will sanction the claims of a new and indefinite power, superior to the whole legislature; and that power shall be wielded by the minister. Having felt the general pulse, and finding the prevailing inclination to a sole Regency; he may *consent* (to use his parliamentary expression) to the appointment of your Royal Highness as sole Regent; but with such conditions as may require the constant

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exercise and interference of a superior power, which he will unquestionably endeavour to hold in his own hands. Your Royal Highness will therefore be in the most humiliating and distressing of all situations. For if you continue the present administration; and the exceptions and restraints are intended to put you under the necessity; this superior power may harmonize with you; your Royal Highness will be *Ram Rajah*, confined to the amusements of your palaces and domains; and Mr. William Pitt will be *Peshwa**, and disburthen you of all fatigues of government. We shall thus exchange the English Constitution for that of the Mahrattas! which may be among the principal benefits of our India connections.

* It may be necessary to inform some of my readers, that the Ram Rajah of the Mahrattas is the Prince, and the Peshwa the Minister: that the Mahratta minister has obtained the general object of English ministers; the whole administration being in him, and the Ram-rajah confined to the domains of a hunting seat.

If you should not submit to this *tacit* injunction, and should appoint your own servants; two powers affecting sovereignty will arise; the restrained agency; and that power which dictated, and which will hold the restraints over you. If the implied popular sovereignty, to which you are to submit, should be actuated by the Ex-minister; you may be assured, the most trivial occasions will be seized to bring you to its tribunal; the smallest obstacle to the return of the present ministry, on the recovery of your Royal Father, will be construed into treason against the People of England; and the nation will be perpetually convulsed, on questions which will terminate only in the advantages of faction, or in the dreadful evils of a civil war.

With such opinions and apprehensions; having no connection or acquaintance with the leaders of any party; and having no ambition for their notice or favor: I hope I may be excused, on the present occasion, if I entreat your Royal Highness to be extremely scrupulous *in the use of words*. Pre-

cedents are made of words; and nations have been involved in calamities by carelessness on an adjective or a conjunction.

No man in his senses, will suggest to your Royal Highness, you should hesitate on the *scientific proposition*, that all political power is from the people; when a test of political faith is offered you, by a *competent authority*.—But if the minister of a House of Commons, by his own solemn and repeated declaration, an imperfect representation of the people for the common purposes of municipal legislation; shall offer you any test—Your Royal Highness will take due heed how you subscribe or answer it. As political measures are formed on precedents; the machinations of parliamentary corruption may be so managed, as to combine all the popular arguments of the present day into the command of a minister that you should quit the throne. The French monarchy has experienced events less probable, in the dismissal of their princes, and the elevation of their mayors of the palace.

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On the present melancholy and distressing occasion, as far as the sentiments of mixed companies can prove the general opinion—I should humbly judge, that every possible inconvenience would have been avoided, if the great council of the throne had respectfully requested your Royal Highness to exercise the prerogative of the executive power in trust for an afflicted Parent:—and if your Royal Highness had determined to continue the King's present servants. This would have been consistent with that amiable inattention to impertinence and injury, which is among the happy ingredients of your temper. The personal insolence of the Minister, your Royal Highness might have attributed to the usual effect of sudden and undeserved elevation; and the savage insinuations, conveyed through brutal Country Gentlemen, would have contaminated only the despicable instruments. The possibility of the recovery of your Royal Father; and the effect of finding every thing in the condition he left it; was worth all the private sacrifices you
could

could have made to obtain it. But public questions involving the security of the crown, and the rights of the nation: the daring artifice of rendering the people the stalking horse of the minister, and an interested faction—throw difficulties in your way ; which may be insuperable.

On the other hand, a change of ministry, at this delicate time, should be effected with peculiar prudence. Your Royal Highness will excuse my assurance. In a country, where an ignorant and inexperienced boy, is taken from the Bar, to lead the Councils of a people reputed wise, scientific, and learned ; every citizen will assume the tone of advice. Your predilections are perceived : and you will oppose brilliant indiscretion ; high genius occasionally combined with superlative folly ; against unremitting art, and the most consummate hypocrisy. This is a fearful hazard—where your opponents are in possession of the field ; and the judges are simple and credulous.

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It is true, the usual and mechanic artifices of Administration are such, that the public voice is easily changed. But, I think, the persons you distinguish, are not remarkable for their attention to those artifices. My aversion to a Prime Minister, is attached to the office; not to the person; and if it must be tolerated, I had rather see the cloven-foot and tail of the fiend, than be surprized by his injuries in the robes of innocence.—Oliver Cromwell was immaculate and irreproachable in private morals; substitute *sentiment* for *puritanism*; and you will exactly obtain Mr. William Pitt. But it cannot escape the notice of your Royal Highness; though discretion may not produce the miracles effected by the hypocrisy of Cromwell or of Pitt—it is of essential consequence and utility in the conduct of public affairs, and in the characters of public persons.

Mr. Pitt has been sufficiently long in Administration, and has diligently actuated the instruments of venality to form a general opinion, as groundless as the belief of
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it is reproachful to the discernment of the multitude.

A variety of combined causes have long directed English talents to improvements in the mechanical arts, immediately connected with manufactures; and particularly to modes of shortening labor. These improvements have gradually formed a national force of industry; to which nothing on earth can at this moment be opposed. That force; though it sustained the folly and extravagance of the American war, was pressed and checked by it. On the removal of the pressure, it recovered its elasticity and vigor; and its effects brought wealth into the country from every corner of the world. Our wounds were healed, and miseries forgotten, in the happy surprize of accumulating prosperity. But whence the change? The multiplied and imperceptible springs of national industry, are not objects of common perception. Our ancestors would have piously referred them to the Deity; and appointed days of thanksgiving. Pitt marked the general disposition;

position; and had the modesty to present himself. A Treasury writer, and a prating placeman—are just and competent to such an argument, as the following:

At the conclusion of the war, we were harrassed and desponding, under the conduct of Lord North—We are now easy and prosperous, under the auspices of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Pitt is, therefore, your Savior, Multitudes are convinced by the argument; and it is the foundation of the Minister's Popularity. Mr. Fox may be, a Minister of the country, for half a century; have numerous occasions of rendering it essential services; and may never obtain the popularity.

But, though I deviate into these collateral observations, I hope your Royal Highness will perceive, it is my great purpose, to improve the occurrences of the present time, into occasions of fixing in the mind of your Royal Highness, a determined aversion to that monster, which overshadows the Throne; which corrupts and misleads the House of Commons; and which

is called The English Minister :—and to induce you, at your leisure, to consider the means, of restoring the deliberative faculties of Parliament, by an actual Representation of the people ; and withdrawing into proper and salutary channels, the prerogatives and revenues of the Crown.

I have the honor to be, with sincere duty and respect for your Royal Highness,

S I R,

Your most devoted

And most humble servant,

THE AUTHOR.

F I N I S.



