





PURCHASED FOR THE DISRAELI PROJECT
WITH FUNDS PROVIDED BY THE CANADA COUNCIL.

Queens University Kingston Ontario Canada

special
collections



DOUGLAS
LIBRARY

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
AT KINGSTON

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

5/20/4

TIE

8 17⁵⁰

23

A SHORT REPLY
TO A
SHORT DEFENCE OF THE WHIGS,
WHICH WILL SHORTLY PROVE THE
Imputations cast upon them
DURING THE
LATE ELECTION TO BE FOUNDED IN TRUTH;
BEING A
SHORT REVIEW OF THEIR POLITICAL CONDUCT
FROM 1688, TO THE PRESENT TIME.
IN SHORT,
A COMPLETE REFUTATION OF THE ARGUMENTS OF A NOBLE
AND LEARNED LORD,

BY CAROLUS CANDIDUS.

“ You ask what party I pursue ;
“ Perhaps you mean whose fool are you.”

LONDON :

PRINTED FOR JOHN LOWNDES, 25, BOW STREET,
COVENT GARDEN.

1819.

AL 911, 1819, 636

THE

OF

THE

OF

OF

OF

OF

OF

OF

OF

OF

OF



OF

OF

OF

OF

W. Shackell, Printer, Johnson's-court, Fleet-street, London.

A

R E P L Y

TO THE

DEFENCE OF THE WHIGS.

“ You ask what *party* I pursue,
“ Perhaps you mean *whose fool* are you.”

COTTON.

TO LORD ERSKINE.

MY Lord, the result of the late Election (to use your Lordship's own words) “ may, if *turned to a proper account*, be considered one of the most favourable events for securing the prosperity of the Country ;” (and allow me to add) for exposing the vices of a party, who have too long imposed upon the **CREDULITY** of the people by hollow and deceitful promises of support on the great questions of **Retrenchment** and **Reform**, which it has never been their intention to fulfil.

It was reserved for the splendid talents of your Lordship, to attempt a defence of one of the most incongruous unions of Party, that ever disgraced a state. The veil, my Lord, has happily for society been removed from the statue of false Patriotism, and it will require more than even the great legal talents you possess, to replace it in the estimation of Public opinion.—*There was a time*, my Lord, when the honest ebullition of Public feeling at an Election was *designated* by you in other terms than *tumultuous and clamorous interruptions*: but the very air of a court is said to affect all within its influence; we must not therefore be surprized that it has operated with proportionate power on your Lordship's diction.—You are, my Lord, *perfectly correct* when you say “that Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse opposed the pretensions of the Whigs of England, (*as your Lordship expresses it*) to any favour or support from the people, as being a corrupt and profligate faction, which had abjured all the free principles of the Constitution, and had abandoned the cause of Reform, which they had *once* solemnly pledged themselves to support.”—We are, my Lord, by experience, too familiar with the

moderating sophistry of the Whigs, to suffer ourselves to be again deceived. Time has effected a change in the opinions of men, which *reason justifies*. A retrospective view of the principles and practice of this Faction, must teach every reflective mind, that the term Whig, as applied to the present party, can never *be used but as a reproach*, and in that sense the Political History of our Parliament justifies its application.

The struggles the Electors of Westminster had encountered to shake off Ministerial influence in the City; the fatigue and expence they had undergone to preserve inviolate the Elective franchise, the glorious triumph they had obtained, and the bright example set their suffering countrymen, are all annihilated by *the Whigs*; and Westminster and independence shall no longer reign the enlivening sentiment, when patriot Citizens assemble to enforce their rights. I know not by what standard of British freedom, your Lordship would apportion out the subject's right, or censure as desperate and visionary opinions founded on the broad basis of our Constitutional Laws; namely, an extension of suffrage, and a shorter duration of Parliaments. To enter into a his-

tory of the causes and consequences of the Revolution of 1688, would extend the present Letter beyond the size it is my wish to restrain it to: I am not, however, of your Lordship's opinion, that every thing was done at that period which the times demanded or the people had a right to expect.

It is from that Revolution, denominated by the *Whigs the glorious*, (that they date the commencement of their political power.) How this party arose in the state, your Lordship has not deigned to tell us, or of what materials it was composed; perhaps this is reserved for the subject of a future Essay in defence of Whiggism. *Tread light, my Lord, the swamps abound.*

By that measure the nature of the Royal Prerogative was changed: an ascendancy given to the Commons in Public affairs, and the regular meeting of Parliament ensured.—When the House of Hanover ascended the throne, the fate of the Stuarts was still fresh in the memory of the people. Fearful of a repetition of the evils so fatal to their predecessors, they passively suffered succeeding factions to govern in their turns; parties were allowed to balance one another, while the crown would sometimes take oc-

casions to divide them, and then adhere to the strongest.

That the Whigs were at this period the predominant leaders of public opinion, is not to be wondered at, when we learn they professed to be pure republicans, who considered kingly power as an insult on mankind; ever holding up the sovereign as the public enemy of the state, and constantly engaged in hostilities against the supporters of the royal prerogative. The Whigs have ever endeavoured to advance themselves in the opinions of the multitude by holding up to them the image of despotism, instead of representing the regal power as the centre of public will and the basis of confidence. The most powerful empire which a human being can exert over his fellow creatures is that of opinion—that it has been the design of the Whigs to gain this influence, there can be no doubt; and having obtained it, to make the people the stalking-horse of their ambition, and the pedestal whereon to raise the column of their future greatness. With this party, a set of men distinguished for talent, but without public principle, exalted by rank, but debased by their corrupt designs, adopting the appellation of patriots, but

strangers to the dictates of honest feeling, have connected themselves and are confounded in the mass; men who having acquired large landed property, are in possession of extensive influence, and the nomination of a great portion of seats in parliament: these have become the leaders of the faction—and representing themselves as being in the confidence of the country by their opposition to the measures of government, have become the depositories of that power which belongs alone to the people; and by the undue influence of which they hope to force themselves into administration. During the time our revered monarch was in possession of his faculties, his constant endeavour was to check this undue influence in the state; and to this we have to attribute the creation of so many peers; incurring a wasteful expenditure of public money, a profligate use of those honours which should never be granted but for great public services, or the most heroic actions effected for the benefit of the state; an increasing and overwhelming influence which threatens the most dangerous consequences to the democratic part of the constitution.

To the Whigs we are indebted for the most

obnoxious act of the Tories, the avowed slaves of despotism: while their conduct, when in power, is the best argument these political marauders can offer for the defence of theirs, in the introduction of laws subversive of freedom, and equally destructive of the rights of the people and the principles of the constitution. It has ever been the vain boast of this factious party that they possess a sincere attachment to the principles of liberty, an unremitting zeal in the cause of reform, and a determined opposition to the principles of tyranny operating against the voice of the people.

To prove their consistency, it will be necessary to revert to their public conduct; and here a greater mixture of duplicity, falsehood, and sophistry never was presented for public indignation to scoff at, from the commencement of the party to the present time. That they expelled the tyrant, James, is *true*; but with that fatality which ever attends their measures, whom did they establish in his seat? Why a greater tyrant! William III., who, by the aid of *foreign troops*, held the people in subjection to a king who neither understood their language nor respected their constituted rights; who

which put such a powerful weapon in the hands of the Ministry by the extent of its influence. Had Mr. Fox been less determined on that occasion to convey to his own party the power in opposition to the Crown, the influence might have been divided, and the supremacy of the House of Commons established on more pure and patriotic principles. Mr. Pitt, the vanquisher of the party, came into power as the chief of the New Administration; and frequently has this great statesman declared, that nothing but the ambitious views of the Whigs could have induced him to renounce the cause of parliamentary reform, clearly perceiving that had he yielded at *this period* to their wishes (such was the influence of faction), that he must infallibly have overturned the government to establish a republic, of which, from popular feeling, Mr. Fox hoped to be the chief.

Let us now proceed to examine how far they justified the expectations that had been formed of their inclinations to advocate the cause of reform. In 1807, they came into power. The sincere attachment to economy and reform to which they stood pledged, was now expected to develop itself; the anxious

minds of the suffering class of the community were now directed towards the public objects of those whom they had been taught to expect would have delivered them from political thralldom. The corrupt practices of their predecessors were to have disappeared, and a new era arise under the auspices of All the Talents. Here surely was a glorious opportunity for realizing their promises and professions, for establishing their *doubtful reputations to the character of Patriots*. This was the time to have freed their country from the *most odious* of all taxations, the *Tax on Income*; and what did they do? After all their anathemas against this in- amous measure, and the proposers of it, *these sapient Whigs, these highly gifted Ministers, raised* this detestable and in- quitorial tax from six and a quarter to ten per cent.; *and as a specimen of their repub- lican feeling, with the most abject desire of preserving their places, exempted the private property of the king from the tax, a trick of slavish knavery, to which their oppo- nents, the Tories, had never condescended to submit.* Their affectionate attachment to the Constitution was evinced by the intro- duction of a Bill into the House of Com-

which put such a powerful weapon in the hands of the Ministry by the extent of its influence. Had Mr. Fox been less determined on that occasion to convey to his own party the power in opposition to the Crown, the influence might have been divided, and the supremacy of the House of Commons established on more pure and patriotic principles. Mr. Pitt, the vanquisher of the party, came into power as the chief of the New Administration; and frequently has this great statesman declared, that nothing but the ambitious views of the Whigs could have induced him to renounce the cause of parliamentary reform, clearly perceiving that had he yielded at *this period* to their wishes (such was the influence of faction), that he must infallibly have overturned the government to establish a republic, of which, from popular feeling, Mr. Fox hoped to be the chief.

Let us now proceed to examine how far they justified the expectations that had been formed of their inclinations to advocate the cause of reform. In 1807, they came into power. The sincere attachment to economy and reform to which they stood pledged, was now expected to develope itself; the anxious

minds of the suffering class of the community were now directed towards the public acts of those whom they had been taught to expect would have delivered them from political thralldom. The corrupt practices of their predecessors were to have disappeared, and a new era arise under the auspices of All the Talents. Here surely was a glorious opportunity for realizing their promises and professions, for establishing their *doubtful reputations to the character of Patriots*. This was the time to have freed their country from the *most odious* of all taxations, the *Tax on Income*; and what did they do? After all their anathemas against this infamous measure, and the proposers of it, *these sapient Whigs, these highly gifted Ministers, raised* this detestable and inquisitorial tax from six and a quarter to ten per cent.; and as a specimen of their republican feeling, with the most abject desire of preserving their places, exempted the private property of the king from the tax, a trick of slavish knavery, to which their opponents, the Tories, had never condescended to submit. Their affectionate attachment to the Constitution was evinced by the introduction of a Bill into the House of Com-

mons to enable the then Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench to accept a seat in the Cabinet: thus creating an innovation in the laws of the country of the most dangerous nature, by connecting the high office of Judge with a political party, when the object of the Legislature had been to render him independent even of the *Crown*, by appointing him for life. The war with Russia was commenced solely about Hanover, a place they had themselves repeatedly stated was not worth preserving. The American war virtually owed its commencement to them, and a debt of fifty millions was entailed upon the country by this disastrous and unnatural measure, which destroyed the invincibility of our navy. To them our unfortunate brethren of the sister kingdom, the oppressed Irish, are indebted for that law which would disgrace the feudal tyrants of ancient days, and which compels them, on pain of punishment, to be shut in their houses from sun-set to sun-rise. Yet these are the men who would have us believe they are the enlightened advocates of universal freedom, and the zealous defenders of their country's honour. While out of place, the clamorous exposers of public peculation, the

violent antagonists of ministerial tyranny, the unceasing supporters of retrenchment and reform; and never, while in power, was the page of history soiled by the relation of acts so eminently disgraceful, or such open and boundless profusion of grants and pensions, outstripping all competitors in a lavish and wasteful expenditure of the public money. Of this class was the act to enable Lord Grenville to hold two situations instead of one, namely, to be First Lord of the Treasury, with a salary of 6,000*l.* a year, and to hold a sinecure of 4,000*l.* a year, as Auditor of the Exchequer. When Mr. Madocks made his motion in 1807 respecting Mr. Quintin Dick, was not the conduct of the Whigs infamous? This gentleman's conduct was by them described as *base and seditious*, that they *did not think the worse of a man for trafficking in seats*; and that it was necessary *to make a stand against popular encroachment*.

These *chief* facts prove the nature of the ambitious principles of the Whigs, and clearly demonstrate that all their sophistry is but to disguise the truth, and make the popular feeling subservient to their lust for power. Indeed so clearly were their selfish

views on the emoluments of the state understood by the people, and so ably were they combated, and their principles exposed by Mr. Pitt, that for some years the hydra was driven from the seat of action, and the people became perfectly indifferent as to Whig or Tory, fully perceiving that the only distinction to be drawn between the contending parties, was, which should have the *honourable employment* of lavishing the public money in place and pension, or creating new laws for the destruction of the little remaining liberty the subject continued to enjoy. In this state of merited contempt, the Whigs continued for some years, when the genius of their leader, to serve an election purpose, and create a diversion in the public mind in favour of the party, established the Whig Club. The ruinous war in which this country was for some years afterwards engaged, and the consequent oppressive system of taxation necessary for its support, had rendered the minister universally unpopular, and afforded an excellent opportunity for his Whig opponents to again endeavour to seize the helm of public opinion, and if possible, steer themselves into the port of administrative authority. At

this club was arranged all the parliamentary proceedings of the party; and as they always took care to colour their acts with an affectation of public zeal, so they for a time succeeded in again engaging the confidence of the people, who, unsuspecting of their ultimate views, believed only in their declarations in favour of retrenchment and reform.

At a later period, in 1817, they sealed their infamy. It is admitted by their organ, the *Morning Chronicle*, that *one thousand petitions* were presented that year, signed by at least half *a million* of their fellow subjects, praying for radical reform, and what was the conduct of the party, whose defence your Lordship has undertaken? The *Petitioners* were stigmatized as “*madmen, incendiaries, designing villains*”—their plans as “*wild, vague, and impracticable* ;” and your *consistent friend*, Lord Grey, ascribed all the mischief to “*the seditious press*,” and recommended Ministers “*to prosecute cheap publications*.” Now, my Lord, what becomes of your declaration, that *his Lordship* never “*did, directly or indirectly, in spite of all the accumulating difficulties, abandon the reform in Parliament?*” To the bold and overpowering eloquence of your Lordship, the Press is

highly indebted; and I have too high an opinion of your consistency not to believe, *that this expression of Lord Grey's, this calumny on the people, has escaped your notice.*

Your Lordship is deceived in supposing the Whigs “have been publicly represented as an unprincipled Faction,” merely because they espoused the ‘pretensions of an unblemished gentleman, of suitable rank, to sit in Parliament for Westminster. Against the member returned, I have no personal dislike; and if my private opinion was of any consequence, I should be ready to acknowledge him a man of very *considerable talent* —He is not, however, the first whom ambition has lured to become the tool of a party, nor, unhappily for this country (*should it prove to be the case*) would he be the only instance of a perversion of splendid abilities for the sake of a personal aggrandisement. The unprincipled conduct of the Whigs has been manifested on too many occasions, to render it necessary to justify the odium in which they are held by the people, by any particular circumstance. It is from a general review of their conduct, that they have been deservedly censured as a corrupt faction.

As to *Mr. Perry*, who seems to have been a *peculiar object of commiseration with your Lordship*, he has acknowledged himself as the *Organ of the Party*; and if he has been *exposed to great danger*, he has *also, from his connection with that party, derived great profits*; and your Lordship is aware that in all the relative situations of life, this is not to be done without great *risk*. The truth is, my Lord, the Whigs felt themselves attacked as a party by the honest exposition of their principles contained in the report of the Westminster Committees—which your Lordship is pleased to term “*the occasional misrepresentations of ignorance or malice.*” I have no doubt this expression of your Lordship will *be properly felt and duly appreciated* (applied as it is to so large a portion of the *Electors of Westminster*) when next an opportunity shall offer for *presenting a Whig Candidate to their notice*. I shall conclude my reply to your Lordship’s *defence of the Whigs*, by an introduction of the character of the Party, drawn by that able political writer, G. F. Leckie, Esq.

“ The aim of the present leaders of the
 “ Whigs may be now clearly seen : the diffi-
 “ culties experienced after Mr. Percival’s

“ death to form a Ministry, were occasioned
 “ by the determined attempt to force them-
 “ selves into power without controul; the
 “ squabble about places is all that was
 “ evinced by these candidates for the Public
 “ confidence, or, in other words, to *find*
 “ *beds for every body* : this seems to have
 “ been the full extent of their ambition.
 “ The only exploit to which they seem to
 “ have looked with complacency, appears
 “ to have been the triumph they promised
 “ themselves, in obtruding into and main-
 “ taining themselves in power against the
 “ consent of both the King and the Nation ;
 “ thus to make the enthusiasm of the British
 “ Government to be an oligarchy, certain-
 “ ly not the most advantageous for the bulk
 “ of mankind.”—Thus it appears the opi-
 nions entertained of the Whigs *have not been*
the result of the late Election contest, but
 determined upon by the Electors of West-
 minster, after some years of reflective con-
 sideration. For myself I thought to apolo-
 gize to your Lordship for this hasty review
 of a work, which certainly does honour to
 your pen, since it has the merit of being the
 best and most ingenious defence that could
 be offered for *old friends* and a *bad cause*.

I shall now take my leave (for the present) of the Whigs in your Lordship's own words :

*“ When calumnies are vigorously repelled
“ they recoil upon their authors with an ac-
“ cumulated and extinguishing force.”*

I am,

My Lord,

With the highest respect

For your transcendent talents,

CAROLUS CANDIDUS.

THE END

