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B Y M R. H O R N E T O O K E.

T H E S E C O N D E D I T I O N.

L O N D O N:

P R I N T E D F O R J. J O H N S O N, N^o 72, S T. P A U L'S
C H U R C H - Y A R D.

M. D C C. L X X X V I I.

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necessary to keep them *in*, will yet be individually very cautious not to exclude themselves hereafter : and that those who are *out*, though careful not to forfeit their future expectations, will yet by no means be contented to wait for that distant and uncertain period ; and, by a faithful adherence to his royal highness, shut the door against themselves to nearer (and therefore dearer) contingencies and advantages. In short, that both the *INS* and the *OUTS* are most accurate and ready calculators of the respective and comparative value of a present and a reversionary benefit ; and will regulate their conduct accordingly.

Measured therefore, and regardful of this double prospect, as will be the language of all the Parties on this question ; you agree with me that it is not from the
 debates

debates of either house of parliament that the public will receive any solid or useful information on a point of so much importance to the nation, to the sovereign on the throne, to his royal successor, and to a most amiable and justly valued female character, whom I conclude to be in all respects, both *legally*, really, worthily, and *happily for this country*, her royal highness the Princess of Wales.

The astonishment and opposition which this conclusion of mine excited at the first declaration to you of my sentiments on this marriage, removes from my mind all suspicion of complaisance in the satisfaction and conviction which you profess to have received from my arguments: and I yield with less reluctance to your solicitation thus publicly to exhibit them to others.

There might perhaps be a proper delicacy before, and an individual might reasonably be unwilling to put his fickle into the corn before the harvest was ready; but after the shameful pamphlets we have seen *, (*shameful*, because on *both* sides unjust to the prince of Wales and cruel to a defenceless woman), and after the conversations which have been held in the house of commons and published in all the news-papers, together with the discourse which has circulated universally through the nation; it would be a most ridiculous affectation to hesitate in so many words to declare, that it is reported (and by me on solid grounds believed) that his royal highness the prince of Wales is married to the late Mrs. Fitzherbert.

* See *A short Review of the political State of Great-Britain*. And *The People's Answer to the Court Pamphlet*, &c.

Whilst this measure was yet in contemplation, it was known to me on good authority. I thought of it and spoke of it then, as I think and speak now; and therefore earnestly wished and had much joy in its completion.

For what reason, in the name of God, (except for their own interested reasons) have the professed friends of his royal highness stood aloof; and affected to keep it secret, or to disbelieve it? When both his honour and his *interest*, and her honour, and their own, should have urged them to make it as authentic and as public as possible.

But such a marriage, it is said, is generally held to be both highly *improper* *,
and

* There is no end of fanciful and foolish improprieties. One set of very pious christians held it highly

and *legally impossible*. And both these notions have been countenanced by the shyness of his royal highness's professed friends, and have been suffered to take too deep a root in the minds of the uninformed part of the public.

'Tis true. It has been held *improper*. But there are political as well as religious superstitions *. Ghosts, phantoms, hobgoblins of every denomination, have at different

improper, that a woman should undergo the marriage ceremony any otherwise than with her hair dishevelled : and for this dreadful *impropriety* they quarrelled very seriously with another set of christians, altogether as pious as themselves, who thought it quite sufficient if her hair was dishevelled afterwards.

* About two hundred and sixty years ago, some gentlemen of the *Païs de Vaud*, eating their soup hastily with *wooden spoons*, undoubtedly shewed their judgment

ferent periods been raised by interested, sometimes by self-deceiving forcerers, besetting and dismaying with panic terrors the yielding and too susceptible imaginations of men.

Improper: because Mrs. Fitzherbert was an English subject, and not descended from a *sovereign* house. And *legally impossible*;

ment and good sense, in declaring them more *proper* for that purpose than metal spoons, as not retaining the heat and burning their mouths like the latter. But they are not much to be praised for instituting an *order* of the spoon; and endeavouring to enforce this *propriety* by waging a bloody and tedious war with their neighbours, to compel them to use the same. Yet, whimsical as it may appear, the reader may find in Jacob Spon's *Histoire de Geneve*, Tom. I. page 320, that these *knights of the spoon*, who wore it as an honourable badge round their necks, were not finally subdued but by a regular allied army from Berne, Fribourg, Soleure, and Geneva, amounting to twelve thousand men, with eighteen pieces of cannon.

because there is an act of parliament in the way.

They however who affect to be shocked at this impropriety, must either know very little, or most grossly dissemble the little which they know of the history of their country. To match in marriage with a subject was, at all times within memory, a common and well-precedented practice of the sovereigns of this realm: nor was it ever interrupted down to the very accession of the present family on the throne. — Only seventy-three years ago. The two immediate predecessors of George the First, being themselves (as well as our great Elizabeth) the issue of such a match. Not only so, but the House of Stuart itself, which immediately preceded the House of Hanover, and the very sovereign under whom the House of Hano-

ver claims, being the issue of such a match. The race of Tudor also, which immediately preceded that of Stuart, and the very sovereign under whom the House of Stuart claims, being the issue of such a match. *Three* out of *Six* sovereigns of the House of Stuart, and *Three* out of *Five* sovereigns of the House of Tudor, were the issue of such matches. So that the *majority*, for a course of two hundred and thirty years, namely, *Six* out of the *Eleven* sovereigns, immediately preceding the House of Hanover, were the issue of such matches.

Nor did any mischief ever arise to this country; nor, if examined fairly, will it appear probable that any mischief ever should arise from such a practice. On the contrary, the greatest mischiefs may be shewn at all times and in all countries
to

to have arisen from the opposite practice. Such mischief, for instance, as arose from the marriages of Maximilian with the daughter of Charles Duke of Burgundy; and of his son Philip with the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella: which convulsed all Europe for centuries; and of which the Dutch, even at this day, still feel the fatal consequences.

This degrading notion of impropriety, and that a beautiful English woman is unworthy to be the companion of an English prince, is a ridiculous phantom imported into this land only with the House of Hanover*: to whom indeed it was formerly

* Charles the Second had no notion of such a prejudice, and gave no other reason for not marrying one of his own subjects, than that he had not seen any one of them whom he liked well enough.—“ The Chan-

“ cello;

merly no phantom, but a serious and well-founded consideration. For by the
Ger-

“ cellor asked him; whether his majesty had given
“ over all thoughts of a protestant wife? To which
“ he answered; He could find none such, except
“ amongst his own subjects, and amongst them he had
“ seen none that pleased him enough to that end.”

Continuation of the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon. Vol. 2. page 149. But his true motive appears plainly to have been, that his majesty, (in conformity both with his situation and character) meant merely to make a Smithfield bargain; and none of his own subjects were able to bring him such a portion as was offered with the Infanta of Portugal, viz. five hundred thousand pounds sterling, with the addition of three hundred thousand pistoles from France. His marriage and the sale of Dunkirk proceeded from the same motive: His carcase and the town were surrendered on the same conditions. And in regard to the latter, Lord Clarendon tells us—“ There remained no other
“ question, than into what hand to put it. And the
“ measure of that was only who would give most
“ money for it, there being no inclination to prefer
“ one before another.”

But

Germanic confederacy, which may truly and properly be styled a republic of princes, the law of succession in Germany has been settled in the true spirit of such a republic; which considered merely, in all its acts, the exclusive interests of its legislating sovereigns, with a most royal

But to be satisfied of the novelty of the prejudice, the reader has only to recollect—That Henry the Seventh was the descendant of a marriage with a subject: His son Henry the Eighth married *four* of his subjects. Edward the Sixth was the issue of such a marriage. Queen Elizabeth was the issue of such a marriage. Mary Queen of Scots married a subject. James the First was the issue of such a marriage. His grandson Charles the Second had no prejudice against such a marriage. His brother James the Second married a subject. Queen Mary and Queen Anne were the issue of such a marriage. George the First married the daughter of such a marriage. George the Second was the grandson of such a marriage. Leaving the people therefore out of the question, if we seek for this prejudice, where it was most likely to inhabit, in the breasts of our sovereigns; we shall not find,

from

disregard and contempt of the subject*.
 By that law indeed the issue of an unequal
 match

from the reign of Richard the Third down to his present majesty, any one who could possibly have given it harbour, except indeed the two detestable characters, Queen Mary and Charles the First.

* The justice of this reflexion may possibly be disputed; because the antient and constitutional law of the empire says—" Les mêmes loix qui dans l'empire
 " reglent les droits des princes, sont celles qui reglent
 " ceux des particuliers: elles sont également sacrées,
 " soit qu'elles étendent, soit qu'elles bornent l'autorité
 " des uns et la sujettion des autres." Now this is very well said. But the conduct of the Electors in the subsequent capitulations by which they bind the emperor, and the practices which have obtained, correspond too literally with that *spirit* which I have imputed to them. For " autrefois il n'y avoit point de princi-
 " pauté qui n'eut des états provinciaux, et les seigneurs
 " étoient obligés de les consulter dans les affaires les
 " plus importantes du gouvernement et de l'admini-
 " stration. Aujourd'hui ils sont abolis en plusieurs
 " endroits."

" Suivant

match (as it is absurdly and arrogantly styled) viz. of a sovereign with a consort not descended of a sovereign house; all

“ Suivant le dernier réces de l’empire, les cours
 “ souveraines ne doivent pas recevoir facilement les
 “ actions des sujets contre leurs supérieurs, et avant de
 “ le faire elles doivent écrire à ceux-ci pour leur de-
 “ mander des éclaircissements.”

“ L’empereur fera toujours sentir aux sujets l’obeis-
 “ sance qu’ils doivent à leurs seigneurs.”

“ Il est permis aux Electeurs, princes et états de
 “ l’empire de se maintenir contre leurs sujets et avec
 “ l’assistance de leurs voisins, et de les forcer à l’obeis-
 “ sance.”

“ Les seigneurs territoriaux peuvent à bon droit ôter
 “ aujourd’hui à leurs sujets *l’ancienne liberté allemande,*
 “ qui consistoit à aller servir chez les puissances étran-
 “ geres.”

Had this last usurpation amounted to a total prohibition, instead of a transfer of this savage right, no friend of humanity would have complained. But we saw in the late American war, that, instead of selling themselves, the sovereigns by formal bargain and sale received the price of their subjects blood: therein exceeding infinitely the reproach of Vespasian, who only took a profit on their urine.

issue of such a match is barred the succession in Germany. So, at this present period, the children by an unequal match of Prince Louis of Wirtemberg, eldest nephew of the reigning Duke, will be set aside; and the issue of a younger branch succeed*. An Elector of Hanover had there-

* “ Pour succeder à un territoire, il faut nécessairement être d’une naissance proportionnée à la dignité d’Etat; parceque, suivant l’ancien droit Allemand, un enfant doit être d’une naissance égale des deux côtés, et fuit toujours la pire main. Un mariage égal et convenable pour un etat, est celui qu’un prince ou comte contracte avec une personne de la haute noblesse. Une mes-alliance ou mariage inégal, est celui qui se fait entre la haute et la basse noblesse, ou entre nobles seigneurs et ministeriaux (*Knechtstand.*)” Tableau du gouvernement actuel de l’empire d’Allemagne. 1755. pag. 313.

The French translator of Professor Schmaufs, asserts in his advertisement, that this German custom springs from the erroneous extension and application of an ancient

therefore good reason to be cautious by his marriage to preserve the Electorate to his posterity. But when the sovereignty of Hanover and of the kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland became vested in one person; (which is precisely the period when this ridiculous notion of impropriety commenced in this kingdom); it became the interest of the subjects of Great-Britain (and of Hanover too: for the union is most undoubtedly prejudicial to both), instead of adopting this new

cient law of Charlemagne: for that, in point of marriage, there is no real inequality of conditions, except only between the conditions of free and slave: “ d’où
 “ l’on doit conclure (says the translator) qu’il n’y au-
 “ roit point de mes-alliance entre un empereur et la
 “ fille d’un de ces gentils hommes que les Allemans ap-
 “ pellent *Freyhern*.” If such be the liberal opinion of a Frenchman, with what contempt should an English gentleman treat this “ *High-Dutch ignorance and*
 “ *pride.*”

and

and degrading prejudice, most anxiously to take advantage of the only possible means of a peaceful separation, which this very law of the succession in Germany afforded.

From the accession therefore of the House of Hanover to this realm, such a marriage (however indifferent before) became not only *not improper*, but most devoutly to be wished for by the subjects of Great-Britain and Hanover: and the sovereign or the prince, who shall patriotically, for the happiness of both dominions, separate this foreign possession from his successor on the throne of Great-Britain*, will deserve

* It should seem also particularly honourable and happy for his majesty, that such an event should take place at this time rather than any other; as it would, by an easy arrangement, afford the immediate opportunity

deserve additional gratitude and an additional blessing from both. And although, as I can easily believe, it might happen, that a less noble but more amiable motive should produce this eligible separation; the effect and benefit being the same, we should only transfer that additional gratitude and blessing, where we should owe the obligation, to English beauty and merit. Such an event, to render it completely beneficial, would leave us nothing to pray for, but for an offspring by such a marriage.

But by an Act of Parliament, 12 Geo. III. such a marriage (whether proper and

tunity of a proper establishment for another branch of his majesty's family; and he would himself, without any diminution, expence, or cost, enjoy the satisfaction and glory of a second race of sovereigns descending also from his loins.

beneficial,

beneficial, or otherwise) is said *now* to be *legally* impossible: for that act recites—
 “ That no descendant of the body of his
 “ late majesty king George the Second *,
 “ male or female (other than the issue of
 “ *princesses*, who have married or may
 “ hereafter marry into foreign families)
 “ shall be *capable of contracting matri-*
 “ *mony*, without the previous consent of
 “ his majesty, his heirs or successors, sig-
 “ nified under the great seal, and declared

* How little could *Miss D’Olbreuse*, a young French lady of equal beauty and merit perhaps, but in no respect superior to, if of equal condition with Mrs. Fitzherbert; how little could she foresee that a precedent would, in no very distant time, be attempted for violating the dearest and most essential rights of mankind, in order to guard *her* posterity from such a marriage as that to which they owe their existence! But such is the fact: for our late just and excellent king, George the Second, was himself the grandson of Miss D’Olbreuse.

“ in council ; and that every marriage or
 “ matrimonial contract of any such de-
 “ scendant, without such consent first
 “ had and obtained, shall be *null and void*
 “ to all intents and purposes whatsoever.
 “ Provided always, that in case any such
 “ descendant of the body of his late ma-
 “ jesty king George the Second, *being*
 “ *above the age of twenty-five years*, shall
 “ *persist* in his or her resolution to con-
 “ tract a marriage disapproved of or dis-
 “ sented from by the king, his heirs or
 “ successors ; that then such descendant,
 “ upon giving notice to the king’s privy-
 “ council, may at any time, from the
 “ expiration of twelve calendar months
 “ after such notice given to the council
 “ as aforesaid, contract such marriage ;
 “ and his or her marriage with the per-
 “ son before proposed and rejected may
 “ be duly solemnized without the pre-

“ vious consent of his Majesty, his heirs
 “ or successors : and such marriage shall
 “ be good, as if this act had never been
 “ made, UNLESS both houses of parlia-
 “ ment shall before the expiration of the
 “ said twelve months expressly declare
 “ *their* disapprobation of such intended
 “ marriage.”

Now I acknowledge this to be an act
 of parliament ; but I deny it to have the
 smallest force of law*. The antient
 education

* A common reader will be surprized perhaps at
 hearing, that there are Acts of parliament which are
 not Laws. I remember an act, passed but a few years
 since, which directed the justices of the peace to take
 forty shillings out of twenty. Let the reader ask him-
 self—Could this act be a Law ?

“ It appeareth in our books, that in many cases the
 “ Common Law doth controul acts of parliament, and

education of our noblemen and gentlemen (of whom our parliaments were formerly composed) imbuing them with the principles of law, and the consequent wise acts of our ancestors having always insured obedience; I do not much wonder that there should now be found persons of a very different description and education (from the stable, the nursery, the gaming-house and the counting-house) who absurdly imagine that they have only to pass an Act, and that such act of parliament will, or ought, or can, bind the subject *in*

“ sometimes shall adjudge them to be void: for when
 “ an act of parliament is against common right and
 “ reason, or repugnant or impossible to be performed,
 “ the common law shall controul it, and adjudge such
 “ act to be void.”—“ Some statutes are made against
 “ common law and right, which those who made them
 “ would not put in execution,” &c. &c. Lord Coke
 in Bonham’s Case.

all

all cases whatsoever. The laws of God indeed are as extensive and illimitable as his nature: but as all things human are bounded, so the objects and effects of human laws have their limits. This act of parliament transgresses them, and is *null*: for though Law may regulate the exercise of our natural rights, it cannot totally take them away. If every common attorney knows that you cannot even lease a pump to a tenant, and by any form of words restrain him from drawing the water; what reasonable or just construction must a Judge, according to the law, his oath, or conscience, give to an act of parliament which should attempt to empower a parent who had begotten a child with the organs of speech, to tie up the child's tongue, and restrain his articulation; until that parent should consent to take off the interdiction, and permit him the use of

C 4 language?

language? Or until the son should have more interest with parliament than his father, and obtain (perhaps at *sixty*) *their* permission, without the father's consent, to enjoy the common distinction of a human being? What construction, I ask, must a judge give to a similar act of parliament, restraining eye-sight, or eating, or digestion?

For my own part, I can more easily believe, that those with whom his majesty advised for the passing of this act, were willing to deceive him with the false semblance of a law*, than that they were
them-

* This supposition will not appear so very extraordinary to those who recollect a trick of the same kind, in the fifth year of his majesty's reign; when his ministers, desirous of appearing to have empowered him, in case of a minority, to appoint as Regent her late royal

themselves deceived. For, knowing none of that description, I will not without proof believe, that there exist in this country any persons so base as to advise or to assist a parent to degrade his children to something worse than castration, to the unmanly state and abject condition of a

royal highness the princess dowager of Wales, but without the mention of her name, which at that time was not the most popular; they passed a bill with some difficulty through the Commons; to empower his majesty to appoint as Regent ANY ONE of his royal family. The trick was however discovered by a question (if I mistake not, of the late Duke of Bedford) to the judges in the House of Lords: for their answer determined, that his majesty's mother was no part of his family. And in order to prevent her exclusion, which would otherwise have been the case, it became necessary to unmask the intention, and to insert in the act the princess dowager by name.

Friar ;

Priar *; and to compel them by an unnatural law, *without any fixed period*, to a life of forced celibacy, until—(or rather UNLESS) himself, like the pope, shall be pleased to grant a dispensation to restore them to the dignity of manhood, and re-

* The oldest charter extant, by which a prince of Wales was formerly created, declares very different and much more worthy views and sentiments,

“ De serenitate regalis præminentie, velut ex sole
 “ radii, sic inferiores prodeunt principatus, ut regie
 “ claritatis integritas de luce lucem proferens, ex
 “ lucis distributione minoratæ lucis non sentiat detri-
 “ menta: immo tanto magis regale sceptrum extol-
 “ litur et folium regium sublimatur, quanto tribunali
 “ suo plures subsunt proceres eminencie clarioris.
 “ Hæc autem consideratio condigna nos, qui nominis
 “ et honoris primogeniti nostri charissimi incremen-
 “ tum appetimus, alicui et inducit ut ipsum, *qui repu-
 “ tatione juris censetur eadem persona nobiscum, digno
 “ præveniamus honore et sæcundâ gratiâ persequamur.*”

invest

invest them with the natural rights of an animal*.

But though I am willing to suppose them rather thus criminally deceitful in this sham law, than load them with a more heinous imputation; I do not mean to justify such fallacy. Were it possible, which I am sincerely very far from admitting, that any English sovereign could demand from his ministers the unnatural power contained in this act; it would

* It must be remembered by the reader, that marriage is the only *legal* intercourse between the sexes. And that the right of marriage is the most essential natural right of mankind, may be incontestably concluded from this observation, in which all naturalists concur; viz. That nature has been much more solicitous for the procreation than the preservation of animals. Be it also remembered that no man can have a right to that, from which another man has at the same time a right to debar him.

have

have been their duty to repeat to him the old English fable of Canute and his flatterers; and to remind him, that the God of nature has graciously provided that this torrent can no more be repelled than the ocean.

But, whether deceiving or deceived, I am firmly persuaded that the fault of this act of parliament, of this sham law (which will for ever be a reproach to the parliament which could enact it*) is chiefly
their

* By this act (if it could be a law) a king of England would be impowered to defeat the regular succession (a matter of the last importance to the happiness of every country), and to determine in which branch of the family the Royalty should descend: for he might refuse his consent to the elder and grant it to the younger. Had his late majesty king George the second been in possession of this power, and capable of applying

their own. It has been said (but I believe not truly) that men are born poets : and I have read (what is still more extraordinary) that the House of Austria has the power of *making* poets. Be it so. But no man is born a lawyer ; and no sovereign is able to make one. His majesty, I am confident, required no more from his ministers than such proper and prudent and legal regulations and restraints as a father might justly and affectionately provide and employ against the possible inconsideration

applying it, the posterity of the late duke of Cumberland might have been at this day upon the throne ; or (what is a much more likely effect and consequence of such unjust laws) the contending issue of two brothers, claiming by different and disputed titles, might again have deluged the land. Aye, But the Parliament— Oh ! yes. The Parliament ! A parliament which could pass such a bill, would not startle at any application of it.

and

and heedlessness of youth. And it was their duty, in a reasonable and becoming manner, (without injustice or degradation) to carry his royal and paternal designs into effectual and due execution. But they, either through ignorance or design, appearing by this act to have given him more power than he could wish or possibly obtain, have literally given him *none*. And their royal highnesses may rest assured that (solemnized as I understand their marriage to have been) the honourable union between them is, not only in conscience but in law, as firm as formal and as solid, as any other civil contract that can possibly be effected between men: and is not in the least impeached by this most wicked as well as most ridiculous act of parliament*.

* It is also to be observed, that the Royal family is excepted from the provisions of the Marriage-Act, 26. Geo. II. chap. 33. § 17.

But the serious part of this business, I am told, and that which gives a much more real and well-founded alarm, even for the safety of *Church and State* *, is— That his royal highness has married a *Papist*. And an act of parliament, 1 W. and M. ft. 2. c. 2. § 9. enacts, that—
 “ Whereas it hath been found by experience, that it is inconsistent with the
 “ safety and welfare of this protestant

* Report has attributed these words and this alarm to a gentleman whom the news-papers and certain witty gentlemen have long seemed determined to run down; whilst they ascribe to him the only open, honest, manly and independent conduct on this occasion. But though their wit is sterling, he may safely set them at defiance. It is not words but conduct which finally decides a man's character. And he seems to have that about him which is better than talents and genius, and which at the long run will leave them both at a distance behind.

“ king-

“ kingdom, to be governed by a popish
 “ prince, or by any king or queen *marry-*
 “ *ing a papist*; the said lords spiritual and
 “ temporal and commons do farther pray
 “ that it may be enacted, that all and
 “ every person and persons that is, are,
 “ or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold
 “ communion with, the see or church of
 “ Rome, or shall profess the popish reli-
 “ gion, or *shall marry a papist*, shall be
 “ excluded and be for ever incapable to
 “ inherit, possess or enjoy the crown and
 “ government of this realm and Ireland,
 “ and the dominions thereunto belonging,
 “ or any part of the same, or to have, use
 “ or exercise any regal power, authority
 “ or jurisdiction within the same; and in
 “ all and every such case or cases the peo-
 “ ple of these realms shall be, and are here-
 “ by absolved of their allegiance; and the
 “ said crown and government shall from
 “ time

“ time to time descend to and be enjoyed
“ by such person or persons, being pro-
“ testants, as should have inherited and
“ enjoyed the same in case the said person
“ or persons so reconciled to, holding
“ communion, or professing, or *marrying*
“ as aforesaid, were naturally dead.”

The above act of William and Mary is also confirmed by another act of parliament, 12 and 13 W. III. c. 2. By which the crown of these realms was settled on the House of Hanover.

These acts of parliament I acknowledge to be laws; and most sacred laws indeed. They violate no rights. They who made them knew something more of their profession than they who framed the ridiculous act 12 Geo. III.

To govern a nation is no man's natural right : and a whole people are well authorized (for it is *their* natural right) to fix and determine upon what conditions they will accept a sovereign. And here it is well worth the reader's while attentively to observe and notice the different path which different persons pursue, though both have the same object in contemplation. Behold one of the strongest contrasts in legislation between the measures pursued by rash ignorance and want of principle, and those adopted by cautious wisdom and strict regard to justice. The object of the German legislators was to keep the succession pure and unmixed in the sovereign families. The object of the act of exclusion and the act of settlement was to bar the issue of a papist. A modern English law-monger would have found the remedy to be one of the easiest

and shortest things in the world. The rights of all mankind would not have cost him a moment. He unties nothing, but cuts through all. He would have passed a bill at once to make all contravening marriages impossible.—Not so our wiser ancestors *. They left all men in the full possession of their natural rights; and obtained their honest end by exerting their own. They attempted not to make any man's marriage impossible; but settled

* “ Qu'il me soit permis de le dire ici en passant, “ quelle difference entre de tels hommes et ceux qui, “ abusant du droit de legislation, ont etabli des loix “ qui, même après que le genre humain a été delivré “ d'eux, perpétuent encore les malheurs du monde “ pendant la fuite des siecles.” Voyages d'un philosophe, p. 77. I quote from this book of Mons. Poivre merely for the pleasure of naming him; because he ought to be read and remembered by every honest man.

fairly the provisos and conditions of government.

These acts of parliament then I acknowledge to have the full force of law. But they affect the succession, not the marriage. And if they were applicable and applied in the present instance, I confess I should consider it as a very serious and substantial mischief to the country. But before I enter upon their application, I desire to say a few words upon the act of settlement. The provisions of that act were wise and salutary. Some of them however were especially adapted to the peculiar circumstances of the time: though some were fit to be of everlasting obligation. Amongst the former I reckon, the prohibition to the sovereign of “going out of
 “ the dominions of England, Scotland, or
 “ Ireland.”

“ Ireland *.” And the exclusion of those who were or should be married to a papist. The first of these was repealed at the very first moment when it could possibly take any effect, viz. in the first year of George the first, for whose accession alone this prohibition was especially calculated. And if the *second* were now, by a similar but much more reasonable complaisance, repealed (with the exception only of papist *sovereign* families; which would still secure the object intended) I own it would meet with my most hearty concurrence.

Amongst the *latter* I reckon the two following conditions, which were basely,

* “ That no person who shall hereafter come to
 “ the possession of this crown, shall go out of the
 “ dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, with-
 “ out consent of parliament.”

and for as base a purpose, surrendered to queen Anne, and repealed within five years after they had been enacted, viz.

“ That from and after the time that
 “ the farther limitation by this act shall
 “ take effect, all matters and things re-
 “ lating to the well-governing of this
 “ kingdom, which are properly cogniza-
 “ ble in the Privy Council by the laws
 “ and customs of this realm, *shall be*
 “ *transacted there,* and all resolutions
 “ taken thereupon *shall be signed* by such
 “ of the Privy Council as shall advise and
 “ consent to the same.”

And “ That no person who has an of-
 “ fice or place of profit under the king,
 “ or receives a pension from the crown,
 “ shall be capable of serving as a member
 “ of the house of commons.”

Now

Now though it may not be reckoned a very handsome proceeding at any time to bargain with a sovereign ; I own myself so much of a chapman, that I should be strongly inclined to seize the opportunity, whenever it offered, for re-enacting these two wholesome conditions : and should be more than willing, even anxious, to barter the papist marriage for the responsibility of counsellors, and the independence of the representative body ; being much more easily contented to trust the sovereign with a papist wife, than with a corrupt parliament. But some consciences, I know, will still be straining at a gnat, and popery is now become no more ; whilst they gulp down greedily the camel of corruption, which is now become a monster.

But whatever may be my opinion or wishes on the subject, and however rea-

sonable the repeal of this condition may at this time appear to others, as well as to myself; it is not to be denied that it stands at present in full force, and is the undoubted law of the land. There let it stand, a scarecrow for the spiritless. But however the letter of the law may absolve, I do not believe that Englishmen ever did or ever will renounce their allegiance to an honest and just prince, merely on account of the religious opinions or fancies of his consort. Against an unjust, an usurping, or undermining prince, every plausible pretence of the subject to cast him off would be justifiable: and on such occasions indeed, where justice and liberty have been the real and fundamental causes of the quarrel, it has often happened, as Oliver Cromwell very fairly told his fanatical hypocrites, that “ God has thrown
 “ religion

“ religion as a make-weight into the
“ scale *.”

But I may spare myself the trouble of reasoning on this question, or of shewing, as may easily be shewn, the ready means of evading this law; since it admits a more direct reply. This law will not be

* The commissioners who were sent by the parliament during the war to treat with the king at Oxford for peace, were of the same opinion: for Lord Clarendon tells us, that—“ In all matters which related to the *church*, they did not only despair of the king’s concurrence, but *did not* in their own judgments *wish it*; and believed that the *strength of the party* which desired the continuance of the war, was made up of those who were *very indifferent in that point*; and that, if they might return *with satisfaction in other particulars*, they should have power enough in the two houses to oblige the more violent people to accept or submit to the conditions.”

applied,

applied, for it is not applicable, to the present case. Whatever religious opinions *Mrs. Fitzberbert* may or may not have formerly entertained (a matter perfectly indifferent) *her royal highness* is NOT a papist. And whoever shall assert the contrary, if they mean to do it either with honesty or safety to themselves, should take good care to be well provided with evidence.

I think I am well justified in asserting, that since the period of her marriage, her royal highness has not performed any one act of any kind whatever, which can justify such a denomination. And not only my own opinion of her understanding and good sense assures me of it, but such authority as leaves no doubt in my mind confirms the assurance, that she is both ready and willing at any time to give proof
of

of her conformity to the established religion of the land.

I conclude therefore (and trust that others will conclude with me) that his royal highness's marriage is neither *unusual*, nor *improper*, nor *impossible*, nor *illegal*, nor affected by the act of *exclusion* or the act of *settlement*; but such as does honour to his sentiments, and is highly beneficial to his country.

P O S T-

P O S T S C R I P T.

May, 1787.

SINCE the conclusion of my Letter, I have been informed upon Newspaper authority, that the marriage in question has been formally and solemnly disavowed; the very supposition represented as absurd and ridiculous; and the report of it, as originating in wilful slander and malice!

If this pretended disavowal were well founded, I confess I should be much mortified: for I had a singular satisfaction in beholding this act of parliament, *the first of its kind*, instantly violated (as it ought to be) by the person whom it could first affect, the eldest of the king's family. It
is

is not confined to any one kingdom, but for the benefit of mankind at large, that in all countries the violation of all such acts of power without principle, should follow as closely as possible upon the heels of their promulgation. There is no other effectual method of forcing instruction upon ignorant, though perhaps not ill-meaning, legislators.

But I am determined not to believe this Newspaper authority. On the contrary, I consider this story of a disavowal to be itself an additional slander on a much misunderstood and misrepresented young man. I have no doubt (for he is young and a prince) that some things, though I know them not, might possibly be changed for the better in his conduct. But I will not believe, that at any time, and least of all in the moment and manner

ner as reported, such a disvowal (be the marriage true or false), or any thing tending to lessen the character of the lady, could possibly be authorized by him. And, though extremely disgusted with his politics, yet I have too much personal respect for Mr. Fox, to believe, upon the authority of a newspaper, that Mr. Fox was either the adviser, or silent seeming approver, much less the medium of such a disavowal. If such a measure had been thought advisable, or even necessary, upon any important score; yet Mr. Fox knows better how to time even his necessary measures. What! at the moment when the payment of debts and revenue were the questions, then to get up and make this disavowal; and thus give it the appearance of sacrificing, on compulsion, a defenceless woman's character (with whom I suppose, at least there was friendship) for

for so mean a consideration as a paltry sum of money ! No. I will never believe it. Because I remember very well what a half-civilized barbarian replied to his uncivilized counsellors, who advised him to give up a MAN, not a WOMAN, to the *extreme necessity* of his situation ;—“ No, “ replied the prince : I can resign my “ dominions even up to the walls of my “ metropolis ; for in happier circum- “ stances they may hereafter be recovered : “ but the forfeiture of honour in a sove- “ reign can never be retrieved.” Here we see, that with such unprincipled counsellors as these, had this magnanimous prince been younger or more diffident, the example of an illustrious character * would probably have been lost to the world.

* Peter the Great, Czar of Russia.

And that I do not exaggerate the consequence of such a disavowal, is evident from the consequence even of the report. For on the Tuesday following, May 1, this is the rational comment of the *Courier de l'Europe*.

“ La fable du prétendu mariage de S.
 “ A. R. *Mgr.* le prince de Galles a enfin
 “ été expliquée en plein parlement de
 “ manière à ne plus laisser de doute.
 “ C’est une explication qui est d’autant
 “ plus facheuse pour *Mme. F—b—t*, que
 “ l’on a supposé des liens entre S. A. R.
 “ et cette dame, sur lesquels on n’avoit
 “ pas encore prononcé. Jusqu’ici *Mme.*
 “ *F—b—t* a été reçue dans toutes les
 “ sociétés où étoit invité le prince; *mais*
 “ *il ne sera guère possible aujourd’hui qu’elle*
 “ *jouisse des mêmes avantages, à moins que*
 “ cette première explication n’en entraîne
 “ une

“ une autre, et que la prétendue inti-
 “ mité de S. A. R. ne soit présentée sous
 “ des couleurs *admissibles en bonne com-
 “ pagnie.*”

Such is the cruel but natural conclusion, to the prejudice of a character in the most defenceless situation upon earth: for the same sense of honour which, operating upon others, should have prevented the occasion; operating upon her, restrains her even from her own justification.

But though I will not, for these reasons, believe the report, as far as it relates to his royal highness, or to Mr. Fox; and cannot but ridicule the suggested justification, of an ill-timed complaisance to certain scrupulous country gentlemen of the party; yet I can easily suppose, that there might not be wanting some false friends

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about

about his royal highness, in order to ingratiate themselves, or at least to avoid the hazard of offending *elsewhere*, ready enough and willing to advise so degrading a step*.

And

* What those about a court are capable of, on such occasions, may be collected from the treatment which the mother of our two last queens, Mary and Anne, met with in her day, when she was in a similar situation.

“ Le mariage du Duc d'Yorck avec la fille du Chancelier, n'avoit manqué d'aucune des circonstances, qui rendent les unions de cette nature valides à l'égard du ciel. L'intention de part et d'autre, la cérémonie dans les formes, les témoins, et le point essentiel du sacrement en avoient été. Le Duc dans les premières douceurs de ce mariage, loin de s'en repentir, sembloit ne souhaiter le rétablissement du roi que pour le déclarer avec éclat ; mais dès que la possession de Mademoiselle Hyde n'avoit plus de charmes nouveaux pour lui, il envifageoit son mariage comme un attentat contre le respect et l'obéissance qu'il devoit au roi. D'un autre côté se presentoient les larmes et

le

And it would not be wonderful if no real friend were found, in such a conjuncture,
to

le désespoir de la pauvre Hyde : et plus que cela les remords de conscience. Au milieu de ces différentes agitations il s'ouvrit à Milord Falmouth, et le consulta sur le parti qu'il devoit prendre. Falmouth lui soutint d'abord, non seulement qu'il n'étoit pas marié, mais qu'il étoit impossible qu'il y eût jamais songé ; qu'un mariage étoit nul pour lui sans le consentement du roi. Que c'étoit une moquerie de mettre en jeu la fille d'un petit avocat : qu'à l'égard de ses scrupules, il n'avoit qu'à vouloir bien écouter des gens qui l'instruiraient à fond de la conduite que Mademoiselle Hyde avoit tenue avant qu'il la connût ; et que pourvu qu'il ne leur dit point que la chose fût déjà faite, il auroit bientôt de quoi le déterminer. Le Duc d'Yorck consentit, et Milord Falmouth aiant assemblé son conseil et ses témoins, les mena dans le cabinet de son Altesse, après les avoir instruits de ce qu'on leur vouloit. Ces messieurs étoient le Comte d'Arran, Germain, Talbot et Killigrew, tous *gens d'honneur*. Le Duc leur aiant dit, que quoiqu' ils n'ignorassent pas sa tendresse pour Mademoiselle Hyde, ils pouvoient ig-

to encourage and fortify his royal highness in the resolution of his own manly mind :

morer à quels engagements cette tendresse l'avoit porté, qu'il se croioit obligé de tenir toutes les paroles qu'il avoit pû lui donner ; mais comme de certains bruits, faux ou veritables, s'étoient repandus au sujet de sa conduite, il les prioit comme amis, et leur ordonnoit par tout ce qu'ils lui devoient, de lui dire sincerement ce qu'ils en sçavoient, d'autant qu'il étoit résolu de régler sur leur temoignages les desseins qu'il avoit pour elle. On se fit un peu tirer l'oreille d'abord, et l'on fit semblant de n'oser prononcer sur une matière si sérieuse et si délicate ; mais le Duc d'Yorck ayant réitéré ses instances, chacun se mit à déduire par le menu ce qu'il sçavoit, et peut-être ce qu'il ne sçavoit pas, de la pauvre Hyde. On y joignit toutes les circonstances qu'il falloit, pour appuier le témoignage. Par exemple, le Comte d'Arran, qui parla le premier, deposa, que dans la gallerie de Hons-laerdyk, où la Comtesse d'Osbery, sa belle-sœur, et Germain jouoient un jour aux quilles, Mademoiselle avoit fait semblant de se trouver mal, et s'étoit retirée dans une chambre au bout de la gallerie ; que lui déposant
l'avoit

mind : for though all princes have professing friends numerous enough to their face,

l'avoit suivie, et que lui aiant coupé son lacet pour donner plus de vraisemblance aux vapeurs, il avoit fait de son mieux pour la secourir, ou pour la désennuier. Talbot dit qu'elle lui avoit donné un rendezvous dans le cabinet du chancelier, tandis, qu'il étoit au conseil, à telles enseignes, que n'ayant pas tant d'attention aux choses qui étoient sur la table, qu'à celle qui les occupoit alors, ils avoient fait repandre toute l'encre d'une bouteille, sur une dépêche de quatre pages, et que le singe du roi qu'on accusoit de ce désordre, en avoit été long-tems en disgrâce. Germain indiqua plusieurs endroits où il avoit en des audiences longues et favorables. Cependant tous ces chefs d'accusation ne rouloient que sur quelques tendres privautés, ou tout au plus, sur ce qu'on appelle les menus plaisirs d'un commerce ; mais Killegrew voulant rencherir sur ces foibles dépositions, dit tout net, qu'il avoit eu l'honneur de ses bonnes grâces. Il assura qu'il avoit trouvé l'heure du Berger dans un certain cabinet construit au-dessus de l'eau, à toute autre fin que d'être favorable aux empressemens amoureux ; qu'il avoit eu pour témoins de son

face, yet had they no more coats than real friends to their back, I am afraid most soveraigns would go naked.

And

son bonheur trois ou quatre cignes, qui pouvoient bien avoir été témoins du bonheur de bien d'autres dans ce même cabinet, vû qu'elle y alloit souvent, et qu'elle s'y plaifoit fort. Le Duc d'York trouva cette dernière accusation outrée, persuadé qu'il avoit par devers lui des preuves suffisantes du contraire. Il remercia Messieurs les témoins à bonne fortune de leur franchise, leur imposa silence à l'avenir sur ce qu'ils venoient de lui déclarer, et passa dans l'appartement du roi. Le Duc d'Yorck, en sortant, parut tellement ému, qu'ils ne douterent point que tout n'allât mal pour la pauvre Hyde. Milord Falmouth commençoit à s'attendrir de sa disgrâce, et se repentoit *un peu* de la part qu'il y avoit eue, lorsque le Duc d'Yorck lui dit de se trouver avec le comte d'Offery chez le chancelier dans une heure. Ils furent un peu surpris qu'il eût la dureté d'annoncer lui-même cette accablante nouvelle. Ils trouverent à l'heure marquée Son Altesse dans la chambre de mademoiselle Hyde. Ses yeux paroissoient mouillés de quelques larmes,

And I can the more easily believe this,
because it is notorious that some such must
have

larmes, qu'elle s'efforçoit de retenir. Le Chancelier appuyé contre la muraille, leur parut bouffi de quelque chose. Ils ne doutèrent point que ce ne fût de rage et de desespoir. Le Duc d'Yorck leur dit de cet air content et serain dont on annonce les bonnes nouvelles, " comme vous êtes les deux hommes de la cour que " j'estime le plus, je veux que vous aiez les premiers " l'honneur de saluer la duchesse d'Yorck : La voilà." La surprise ne servoit de rien, et l'étonnement n'étoit pas de saison dans cette conjoncture. Ils en étoient pourtant si remplis, que pour s'en cacher ils se jettèrent promptement à genoux pour lui baiser la main, qu'elle leur tendit avec autant de grandeur et de majesté, que si de sa vie elle n'eût fait autre chose. Le lendemain la nouvelle en fut publique, et toute la cour s'empressâ par devoir à lui témoigner des respects, *qui devinrent très-sinceres dans la suite.* Les petits-maitres qui avoient déposé contre elle à toute autre intention que ce qu'ils voyoient, se trouvèrent fort deconcertés. Les femmes ne sont pas trop d'humeur à pardonner de certaines injures, et quand elles se promettent le plaisir de la

have been about him, when he was misled to an *arrangement* which no doubt was repre-

vengeance, elles n'y vont pas de main-morte : cependant ils n'en eurent que la peur. La Duchesse d'Yorck instruite de tout ce qui s'étoit dit dans le cabinet sur son chapitre, loin d'en temoigner du ressentiment, affecta de distinguer par toutes sortes de gracieusetés et de bons offices ceux qui l'avoient attaquée par des endroits si sensibles. Jamais elle ne leur en parla que pour louer leur zèle, et pour leur dire, que rien ne marquoit plus le dévouement d'un honnête homme, que de *prendre un peu sur sa probité*, pour donner aux intérêts d'un maître, ou d'un ami. Rare exemple de prudence et de moderation, non-seulement pour le sexe, mais pour ceux qui se parent le plus de philosophie dans le nôtre." *Memoires du Comte de Grammont*, p. 186.

In the second volume of the *Continuation of the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon* (written by himself) we have also some account of the same transaction. In which the haughty and furious conduct of the Queen Dowager, a daughter of France, and whose passions, prejudices and counsels had before greatly contributed

represented to him, as it has been puffed to the public, as a conduct highly honourable;

to all the mischiefs which befel her husband Charles the First; the meanness and hypocrisy of the over-acted part of Mr. Hyde, the Chancellor, who manifested none of that "*dignity of sentiment*" preposterously attributed to him by his Oxford Editor; the baseness, unsteadiness, and want of principle of the Duke of York, and of his tools the Courtiers; are well contrasted with the calm and patient propriety of Miss Hyde's conduct; the gentlemanlike and temperate behaviour of the King; and the wise indifference of the Public.

“ The first matter of general and public importance
 “ was the discovery of a great affection that the Duke
 “ had for the Chancellor's daughter, and of a contract
 “ of marriage between them. The Duke's affection
 “ and kindness had been much spoken of beyond the
 “ seas, but without the least suspicion in any body that
 “ it could ever tend to marriage. But now upon this
 “ discovery, the Chancellor (Mr. Hyde) looked upon
 “ himself as a ruined person, and that the king's in-
 “ dignation would fall upon him as the contriver.
 “ And the least calamity that he expected upon himself
 “ and

able ; but which he will start from with indignation whenever he considers it properly.

“ and family was to end his days in poverty and misery.
 “ —The Duke informed the King of the affection and
 “ engagement that had been long between him and
 “ Miss Hyde, that they had been long contracted, and
 “ that she was with child ; and therefore with all
 “ imaginable importunity he begged his majesty’s
 “ leave and permission upon his knees, that he might
 “ publicly marry her, in such a manner as his majesty
 “ thought necessary for the consequence thereof ; and
 “ his passion was expressed in a very wonderful man-
 “ ner, and with many tears, protesting, that if his ma-
 “ jesty should not give his consent, he would imme-
 “ diately leave the kingdom, and must spend his life in
 “ foreign parts. His majesty presently sent for the
 “ Marquis of Ormond and the Earl of Southampton,
 “ who he well knew were Mr. Hyde’s bosom-friends,
 “ and informed them at large, and of all particulars
 “ which had passed from the Duke to him, and com-
 “ manded them presently to see for the Chancellor to
 “ come to his own chamber at Whitehall, where they
 “ would meet him upon a business of great importance,
 “ which

perly. What will be his feelings here-
 after, if some Ambaffador of his own,
 shall

“ which the King had commended to them for their
 “ joint advice. They no fooner met, than the Mar-
 “ quis of Ormond told the Chancellor, that he had a
 “ matter to inform him of, that he doubted would give
 “ him much trouble; and therefore advised him to
 “ compose himfelf to hear it: and then told him, that
 “ the Duke of York had owned a great affection for
 “ his daughter to the King, and that he much doubted
 “ that ſhe was with child by the Duke, and that the
 “ King required the advice of them and of him, what
 “ he was to do. The Chancellor broke out into a
 “ very immoderate paſſion againſt the *wickedneſs* of his
 “ daughter; and ſaid with all imaginable earneſtneſs,
 “ that as ſoon as he came home, he would *turn her*
 “ *out of his houſe*, as a ſtrumpet, *to ſhift for her-*
 “ *ſelf*; and would never ſee her again. They told
 “ him, that his paſſion was too violent to admi-
 “ niſter good counſel to him, that they thought
 “ that the Duke was married to his daughter, and
 “ that there were other meaſures to be taken, than
 “ thoſe which the diſorder he was in had ſuggeſted to
 “ him.

shall in a foreign land retire from the station and dignity which he was appointed to

“ him. Whereupon he fell into new commotions,
 “ and said, if that were true, he was well prepared to
 “ advise what was to be done: that *he had much rather*
 “ *his daughter should be the duke’s whore than his wife.*
 “ But if there were any reason to suspect the other, he
 “ was ready to give a positive judgment, in which he
 “ hoped their lordships would concur with him; that
 “ the king should immediately cause the woman [*N. B.*
 “ *the pregnant wife of the presumptive heir to the crown*]
 “ to be sent to the Tower, and to be cast into a *dungeon*,
 “ under so strict a guard that no person living should
 “ be admitted to come to her; and then that an act
 “ of parliament should be immediately passed for the
 “ —*cutting off her head*; to which he would not only
 “ give his consent, but would very willingly be the first
 “ man that should propose it. In this point of time
 “ the king entered the room and sat down at the
 “ table; and perceiving by his countenance the *agony*
 “ the chancellor was in, and his *swollen eyes* from
 “ whence a *flood of tears* had fallen, he asked the other
 “ lords what they had done, and whether they had re-
 “ solved

to uphold as the representative of his sovereign, in order to apply the income of his

“ solved on any thing. The Earl of Southampton
 “ said, his majesty must consult with soberer men;
 “ that he (pointing to the chancellor) was mad, and
 “ had proposed such extravagant things, that he was
 “ no more to be consulted with. Whereupon his
 “ majesty, looking upon him with a wonderful be-
 “ nignity, said, Chancellor, I knew this business would
 “ trouble you; and therefore I appointed your two
 “ friends to confer first with you upon it, before I
 “ would speak with you myself; but you must now
 “ lay aside all passion that disturbs you, and consider
 “ that this business will not do itself; that it will
 “ quickly take air; and therefore it is fit that I first
 “ resolve what to do, before other men uncalled pre-
 “ sume to give the counsel; tell me therefore what
 “ you would have me do, and I will follow your ad-
 “ vice. Then his majesty enlarged upon the passion
 “ of his brother, and the expressions he had often used,
 “ that he was not capable of having any other wife,
 “ and the like. Upon which the chancellor arose,
 “ and with a little composedness said, Sir, I hope I
 “ need

his office to the discharge of his debts ;
and thus attempt to avoid the reproach of
private

“ need make no apology to you for myself and of my
“ own in this matter, upon which I look with so
“ much detestation, that though I could have wished
“ that your brother had not thought it fit to have put
“ this disgrace upon me, I had much rather submit
“ and bear it with all humility, than that it should be
“ repaired by making her his wife ; the thought where-
“ of I do so much abominate, that I had much rather
“ see her dead, with all the infamy that is due to her
“ presumption. And then he repeated all that he had
“ before said to the lords, of sending her presently to
“ the Tower, and the rest ; and concluded,—Sir, I
“ do upon all my oaths which I have taken to you to give
“ you faithful counsels, and from all the sincere gra-
“ titude I stand obliged to you for so many obligations,
“ renew this counsel to you ; and do beseech you to
“ pursue it, as the only expedient that can free you
“ from the evils that this business will otherwise bring
“ upon you.—But he observed by the king’s counte-
“ nance that he was not pleased with his advice. This
“ subject was quickly the matter of all men’s dis-
“ course,

private insolvency, by the misapplication
of public money? The revenue of the
Prince

“ course, and *did not produce those murmurs and dis-*
 “ *contented reflections* which were expected. The par-
 “ liament was fitting, and took *not the least notice of*
 “ *it; nor could it be discerned that many were scandalized*
 “ *at it.* The king spake every day about it, and told
 “ the chancellor, that he must behave himself wisely,
 “ for that the thing was remediless; and that his ma-
 “ jesty knew that they were married, which would
 “ quickly appear to all men, who knew that nothing
 “ could be done upon it. In this time the chancellor
 “ had conferred with his daughter, and not only dis-
 “ covered that they were unquestionably married, but
 “ by whom, and who were present at it, who would
 “ be ready to avow it. And he saw *no other remedy*
 “ *could be applied, but that which he had proposed to the*
 “ *king, who thought of nothing like it.* When the
 “ Princess royal came to town, there grew to be a great
 “ silence in that affair. The Duke said nothing to the
 “ chancellor, nor came nor sent to his daughter as he
 “ had constantly used to do: and it was industriously
 “ published about the town, that that business was
 “ broken

Prince of Wales is granted to the Heir Apparent to live like the Heir Apparent ;
and

“ broken off, and that the duke was resolved never to
 “ think more of it. The Queen had before written a
 “ very sharp letter to the duke, full of indignation,
 “ that he should have so low thoughts as to marry such
 “ a woman. And now she sent the king word, that
 “ she was on the way to England, to prevent with her
 “ authority so great a stain and dishonour to the crown ;
 “ and used many threats and passionate expressions up-
 “ on the subject. Rumours were spread that the queen
 “ was coming with a purpose to complain to the par-
 “ liament, and to apply the highest remedies to pre-
 “ vent so great a mischief. In the mean time it was
 “ reported abroad, that the duke had discovered some
 “ disloyalty in the lady, which he had never suspected,
 “ but had now so full evidence of it, that he was re-
 “ solved never more to see her ; and that *He was not*
 “ *married.* And all his family, whereof the Lord Berk-
 “ ley and his nephew were the chief, spake very loudly
 “ and scandalously of it. The king carried himself
 “ with extraordinary grace towards the chancellor,
 “ and was with him more, and spake upon all occa-
 “ sions

and *in trust* that he will maintain a correspondent state: for his dignity is the
 dignity

“ fions and before all persons more graciously of him
 “ than ever. He told him with much trouble that his
 “ brother was abused; and that there was a wicked
 “ conspiracy set on foot by villains, which in the end,
 “ must prove of more dishonour to the duke, than to
 “ any body else. The queen was now ready to em-
 “ bark, enflamed and hastened by this occasion; and
 “ it was fit for the king and the duke, to wait on her
 “ at the shore. The queen expressed her indignation
 “ to the king and duke, with her natural passion,
 “ from the time of her meeting; and the duke asked
 “ her pardon for having placed his affection so un-
 “ equally; of which he was sure there was now an end;
 “ and that *He was not married*; and had now such
 “ evidence of her unworthiness, that he should no
 “ more think of her. And it was now avowedly said,
 “ that Sir Charles Berkley, *who was captain of his*
 “ *guard*, and in much more credit and favour with
 “ the duke than his uncle (though a young man of a
 “ dissolute life and prone to all wickedness in the judg-
 “ ment of all sober men) had informed the duke, that

dignity of the nation, and the revenue is not his to apply to any other purpose.

An

“ he was bound in conscience to preserve him from
 “ taking to wife a woman so wholly unworthy of him ;
 “ that he himself had lain with her ; and that for his
 “ sake he would be content to marry her, though he
 “ knew well the familiarity the duke had had with her.
 “ This evidence with so solemn oaths presented by a
 “ person so much loved and trusted by him, made a
 “ wonderful impression in the duke ; and now con-
 “ firmed by the commands of his mother, as he had
 “ been before prevailed upon by his sister, *He resolved*
 “ *to deny that he was married:* and never to see the
 “ woman again, who had been so false to him. And
 “ the Queen being satisfied with this resolution, they
 “ came all to London with a full hope that they should
 “ prevail, to the utter overthrow of the Chancellor ;
 “ the King having, without any reply or debate, heard
 “ all they said of the other affair, and his mother’s bit-
 “ terness against him. The king continued his grace
 “ towards the chancellor without the least diminution ;
 “ which made it evident that he believed nothing of
 “ what Sir Charles Berkley avowed, and looked on
 “ him

An opposition without any one *public* principle, either real or even *professed*, might naturally

“ him as a fellow of great wickedness. In the mean
 “ time the season of his daughter’s delivery was at
 “ hand. And it was the king’s *chance* to be at his
 “ house with the committee of Council, when she fell
 “ in labour : of which being advertised by her father,
 “ the king directed him to send for the Lady Marchion-
 “ nefs of Ormond, the Countefs of Sunderland, and
 “ other ladies of known honour and fidelity to the
 “ crown, to be present with her. Who all came, and
 “ were present till she was delivered of a son. The
 “ bishop of Winchester, in the interval of her greatest
 “ pangs, and sometimes when they were upon her, was
 “ present, and asked her such questions as were thought
 “ fit for the occasion.—Whose the child was of which
 “ she was in labour ? Whom she averred with all pro-
 “ testations to be the Duke’s. Whether she had ever
 “ known any other man ? Which she renounced
 “ with all vehemence, saying, that she was confi-
 “ dent the Duke did not think she had. And being
 “ asked, Whether she were married to the Duke ?
 “ She answered, She was ; and that there were wit-
 “ nesses

naturally conclude their adverfaries to have
 as little principle as themfelves ; and feek
 a ground

“ neffes enough, who in due time ſhe was confident
 “ would avow it. In a word, her behaviour was
 “ ſuch as abundantly ſatisfied the ladies who were pre-
 “ ſent, of her innocence from the reproach ; and they
 “ were not reſerved in the declaration of it, even be-
 “ fore the perſons who were the leaſt pleaſed with
 “ their teſtimony. And the lady marchioneſs of Or-
 “ mond took an opportunity to declare it fully to the
 “ Duke himſelf, and perceived in him ſuch a kind of
 “ tenderneſs, that perſuaded her that he did not be-
 “ lieve any thing amiſs. And the king enough pub-
 “ liſhed his opinion and judgment of the ſcandal. The
 “ Duke however told the Chancellor, that for his
 “ daughter, ſhe had behaved herſelf ſo foully (of which
 “ he had ſuch evidence as was as convincing as his
 “ own eyes, and of which he could make no doubt)
 “ that nobody could blame him for his behaviour to-
 “ wards her. The chancellor replied, that *he was not*
 “ *concerned to vindicate his daughter from any the moſt*
 “ *improbable ſcandals and aſperſions.* He would leave
 “ that to God Almighty, upon whoſe bleſſing he would
 “ depend,

a ground for ministerial odium and popular complaint even in their own dishonourable

“ depend, whilst himself remained innocent, and no
 “ longer. There did *not* after all this *appear in the*
 “ *discourses of men, any of that humour and indignation*
 “ *which was expected.* On the contrary, men of the
 “ greatest name and reputation spake of the foulness
 “ of the proceeding with great freedom, and with all
 “ the detestation imaginable against Sir Charles Berk-
 “ ley, whose testimony nobody believed: not without
 “ some censure of the chancellor, for not enough ap-
 “ pearing and prosecuting the indignity. The queen’s
 “ implacable displeasure continued in the full height,
 “ doing all she could to keep the duke firm to his re-
 “ solution, and to give all countenance to the calumny.
 “ At this time it pleased God to visit the Princess Royal
 “ with the small pox, of which she died within few
 “ days; having in her last agonies expressed a dislike
 “ of the proceedings in that affair, to which she had
 “ contributed too much. The duke himself grew
 “ melancholick and dispirited, and cared not for com-
 “ pany, nor those divertisements in which he formerly
 “ delighted: which was observed by every body, and

able counsel and bad actions. What was the complaint and the ground of application

“ which in the end wrought so far upon the conscience
 “ of the lewd informer, that he, Sir Charles Berkley,
 “ came to the duke, and clearly declared to him, that
 “ the general discourse of men, of what inconveni-
 “ ence and mischief, if not absolute ruin, such a mar-
 “ riage would be to his royal highness, had prevailed
 “ with him to use all the power he had to dissuade him
 “ from it: and when he found he could not prevail
 “ with him, he had formed that accusation, which he
 “ presumed could not but produce the effect he wish-
 “ ed; which he now confessed to be false, and without
 “ the least ground; and that he was very confident of
 “ her virtue. And therefore besought his highness to
 “ pardon a fault that was committed out of pure de-
 “ votion to him, and that he would not suffer him
 “ to be ruined by the power of those whom he had
 “ so unworthily provoked; and of which he had so
 “ much shame, that he had not confidence to look
 “ upon them. The duke found himself so much re-
 “ lieved in that part that most afflicted him, that he
 “ *embraced him*, and made a solemn promise, that he
 “ *should*

tion to Parliament? “ It is a disgrace,
 “ say they, to the nation, to see the heir
 “ apparent

“ *should not suffer in the least degree in his own affection,*
 “ for what had proceeded so absolutely from his good-
 “ will to him; and that he would take so much care
 “ of him, that in the compounding that affair he
 “ should be so comprehended, that he should receive
 “ no disadvantage. And now the duke appeared with
 “ another countenance, writ to her whom he had in-
 “ jured, that he would speedily visit her; and gave
 “ her charge, to have a care of his son: and gave the
 “ king a full account of all, without concealing his
 “ joy. The queen was not pleased with this change;
 “ though the duke did not yet own to her that he had
 “ altered his resolution. She was always very angry
 “ at the king’s coldness, who had been so far from that
 “ aversion which she expected, that he found excuses for
 “ the duke, and endeavoured to divert her passions; and
 “ now pressed the discovery of the truth by Sir Charles
 “ Berkley’s confession, as a thing that pleased him,
 “ But the queen having come to know that the duke
 “ had made a visit at the place she most abhorred, she
 “ brake into great passion, and publicly declared, that

“ apparent reduced to the style and con-
 “ dition of a private gentleman !”—And
 fo

“ whenever that woman should be brought into
 “ Whitehall by one door, her majesty would go
 “ out of it by another door, and never come into it
 “ again. And for several days her majesty would
 “ not suffer the duke to come into her presence.
 “ So that the duke’s affair, which he now took to
 “ heart, was (as every body thought) to be left in the
 “ state it was, at least under the renunciation and in-
 “ terdiction of a mother. When on a sudden, of which
 “ nobody then knew the reason, her majesty’s coun-
 “ tenance and discourse was changed : she treated the
 “ duke with her usual kindness, and confessed to him,
 “ that the business that had offended her so much, she
 “ perceived was proceeded so far, that no remedy could
 “ be applied to it ; and therefore that she would trouble
 “ herself no farther in it, but pray to God to bless him,
 “ and that he might be happy. So that the duke had
 “ now nothing to wish, but that the queen would be
 “ reconciled to his wife, who remained still at her
 “ father’s, where the king had visited her often : to
 “ which the queen was not averse, and spake graciously
 “ of

so most undoubtedly it is. What more
severe condemnation then can be given, of
the

“ of the chancellor, and said she would be good friends
“ with him. The duke brought Sir Charles Berkley
“ to the dutchess, at whose feet he cast himself with
“ all the acknowledgment and penitence he could ex-
“ press; and she, according to the command of the
“ duke, accepted his submission, and promised to for-
“ get the offence. He came likewise to the chancel-
“ lor with those professions which he could easily
“ make; and the other was obliged to receive him
“ civilly. The king said, there were many reasons
“ why he could never have designed nor advised his
“ brother to this marriage; yet since it was past, and
“ all things so well reconciled, he would not deny
“ that he was glad of it, and promised himself much
“ benefit from it. He told the chancellor, that his
“ daughter was a woman of great wit and excellent
“ parts, and would have a great power with his bro-
“ ther; and that he knew that she had an entire obe-
“ dience for him, her father, who he knew would al-
“ ways give her good counsel; by which, he said, he
“ was confident that naughty people which had too
“ much

the *counsel* and the *measure* that thus disgraced the nation, than this which proceeds from their own lips? But they trusted (and, as it appears, with too good a foundation) that ministers would not dare, by an honest performance of their duty to the sovereign, to risque the prince's displeasure by speaking the plain truth. In my opinion I pay a much sounder compliment both to king and prince by

“ much credit with his brother, and which had so
 “ often misled him, would be no more able to corrupt
 “ him: but that she would prevent all ill and unrea-
 “ sonable attempts: and therefore he again confessed,
 “ that he was glad of it.—Thus an intrigue that
 “ without doubt had been entered into and industri-
 “ ously contrived by those who designed to affront and
 “ bring-dishonour upon the chancellor and his family,
 “ was, by God's pleasure, turned to their shame and
 “ reproach, and to the *increase of the chancellor's*
 “ *greatness and prosperity.*” [N. B. Yet he swore that
 he had rather have seen her *dead*, with all the *infamy*
 due to her presumption.]

believing,

believing, and shewing I believe, that the truth will not offend them. And, so trusting, I say that a clear, straight-forward conduct, without any by-regard, would have dictated this answer.——

“ Both the manner and the matter of
 “ this application forbid acquiescence.
 “ The manner; because a government,
 “ that would be respected, must neither
 “ be bullied nor appear to be bullied to
 “ do even that which is right. And the
 “ matter; because yourselves, by your
 “ unprincipled advice, have previously
 “ taken away the only just ground of ap-
 “ plication. Instead of augmenting, it
 “ is now my duty to diminish his royal
 “ highness’s income. The station of a
 “ private gentleman demands only the
 “ support of a private gentleman. When
 “ his royal highness shall *first* have re-
 “ sumed the station to which he is born,
 “ and which the affectionate wishes of all

“ men conspire to see him occupy; I
 “ shall *then* acknowledge it to be my duty
 “ to advise, if necessary, what I doubt
 “ not his majesty will prevent by accord-
 “ ing of his own free grace (whence all
 “ acts of royal favour should proceed or
 “ appear to proceed) a more suitable
 “ provision for the heir apparent to the
 “ throne.”

Instead of any thing like this, what
 conduct does report attribute to the mi-
 nister? A compromise. And what com-
 promise? We will pay your debts; we
 will complet Carlton House; but the
 situation of national affairs will not per-
 mit an augmentation of your income
 —UNTILL you are *married* *.

UNTILL

* A later report has stated the Minister as receding
 from this ill-placed parsimony: either aware that the
 payment of debts could not be justified without a fu-

UNTILL you are married !

For many years past I have not been able in its measures to recognize my country ; nor have known whither to direct my eyes to discover that which once was England. What a picture of mean-

ture increase of income ; or because all other terms were very properly rejected. At the same time it is but just to remark upon this last report, that although (thanks to the measures pursued by his majesty's late ministers) a hundred thousand a year *now* for the prince of Wales would not be equal to what fifty thousand a year was formerly ; yet in the very same year in which the chancellor's brother, without any pretensions or exertion, has obtained the bishopric of Durham with its income and patronage, his majesty's eldest son, our future sovereign, has with the utmost difficulty and struggle obtained only ten thousand a year without any patronage. And though the royal eagle is surely " of more value than many sparrows ; " yet, compare their income and patronage, and you will not find any decent proportion kept between the situations of a prince of Wales and the family even of a Thurlow.

ness

ness and degeneracy does this report exhibit! Administration and opposition concurring in nothing, but unblushingly to palm a falsehood on the world! But such is the consequence of a government whose principle is corruption. For as “one deep calls another,” so amongst political shufflers, one trick is met and answered by another: whilst truth and honour and justice are lost sight of in the struggle.

If report is to be trusted, the conduct on neither side will bear the honest reasoning of a plain mind.—You will not augment the income? You think it then sufficient. If sufficient, the debts should not have been contracted. If they should not have been contracted, they should not be paid.—Is there any thing defective in this short argument? Perhaps not; but it is too rigorous: it suits better the coldness

ness of a judge, than the affection of a parent. I think so too. But his majesty was a *son* before he was a *Father*. And the situation of national affairs at his accession was something different from what it is at present. Report therefore may say what it pleases; but until the honest creditors of Frederick Prince of Wales, (after a period of near forty years) are *fairly satisfied*; I will not believe that ministers, regardless of justice and his majesty's character, have any serious intention, as a momentary expedient for themselves, to discharge the debts of his present royal highness.

I have reasoned thus fairly on reports, which however I do not believe. But the readiness with which the public have received them, shews plainly that they agree with me that both parties are capable, at least, of the conduct imputed to them.

them. Would to God, that his majesty and his royal highness were as well convinced of the same: and as deeply impressed as I am, that neither of them will ever be faithfully or honourably served by their respective professed adherents, unless their lives are cemented by a cordial and affectionate concurrence of sentiments; and that even a suspicion of disunion between them will ever be the signal for infidelity in every creature about them. More *serious* mischief has already proceeded from it, than those who are most nearly concerned in it can suspect: and every succeeding year will increase the mischief; and disturb the repose and tranquility of those seasons which *naturally* are, and *politically* ought to be, the calmest. I mean the important seasons of the rising and setting sun.

F I N I S.

