

S I R,  
YOU have disappointed me. When I told you that Surmise and general Abuse, in however elegant Language, ought not to pass for Proofs, I evidently hinted at the Reply which I expected: But you have dropped your usual Elegance, and seem willing to try what will be the Effect of Surmise and general Abuse in very coarse Language. Your Answer to my Letter (which I hope was cool and temperate and modest) has convinced me that my Idea of a Man is much superior to your's of a Gentleman. Of your former Letters I have always said *materiam superabat opus*: I do not think so of the present; the Principles are more detestable than the Expressions are mean and illiberal. I am contented that all those who adopt the one should for ever load me with the other.

I appeal to the Common-sense of the Publick, to which I have ever directed myself: I believe they have it; though I am sometimes half-inclined to suspect, that Mr. Wilkes has formed a truer Judgment of Mankind than I have. However, of this I am sure, that there is nothing else upon which to place a steady Reliance. Trick, and low Cunning, and addressing their Prejudices and Passions, may be the fittest Means to carry a particular Point; but if they have not Common-sense, there is no Prospect of gaining for them any real permanent Good. The same Passions which have been artfully used by an honest Man for their Advantage, may be more artfully employed by a dishonest Man for their Destruction. I desire them to apply their Common-sense to this Letter of *Junius*, not for my Sake, but their own; it concerns them most nearly, for the Principles it contains lead to Disgrace and Ruin, and are inconsistent with every Notion of civil Society.

The Charges which *Junius* has brought against me are made ridiculous by his own Inconsistency and Self-contradiction. He charges me positively with "a new Zeal in Support of Administration;" and with "Endeavours in Support of the ministerial Nomination of Sheriffs." And he assigns Two inconsistent Motives for my Conduct: Either that I have "sold myself to the Ministry;" or am instigated "by the solitary, vindictive Malice of a Monk: Either that I am influenced by a fordid Desire of Gain; or am hurried on by personal Hatred and blinded by Resentment." In his Letter to the Duke of Grafton, he supposes me actuated by both: In his Letter to me he at first doubts which of the Two, whether Interest or Revenge is my Motive: However at last he determines for the former, and again positively asserts that "the Ministry have made me Promises;" yet he produces no Instance of Corruption, nor pretends to have any Intelligence of a ministerial Connexion: He mentions no Cause of personal Hatred to Mr. Wilkes, nor any Reason for my Resentment or Revenge; nor has Mr. Wilkes himself ever hinted any, tho' repeatedly pressed. When *Junius* is called upon to justify his Accusation, he answers, "he cannot defend to an Altercation with me in the News-papers." *Junius*, who exists only in the News-papers, who acknowledges "he has attacked my Character;" there, and "thinks I have some Right to an Explanation;" yet this *Junius* "cannot defend to an Altercation in the News-papers!" And because he cannot defend to an Altercation with me in the News-papers, he sends a Letter of Abuse by the Printer, which he finishes with telling me—"I am at Liberty to publish it." This to be sure is a most excellent Method to avoid an Altercation in the News-papers!

The Proofs of his positive Charges are as extraordinary. "He does not pretend to any Intelligence concerning me, or to know more of my Conduct than I myself have thought proper to communicate to the Publick." He does not suspect me of such gross Folly, as to have solicited Votes, or to have written anonymously in the News-papers; because it is impossible to do either of these without being detected and brought to Shame. *Junius* says this! who yet imagines that he has himself written Two Years under that Signature, (and more under others) without being detected!—his warmest Admirers will not hereafter add, without being brought to Shame. But though he did never suspect me of such gross Folly as to run the Hazard of being detected and brought to Shame by anonymous Writing, he insists that I have been guilty of the much grosser Folly of incurring the Certainty of Shame and Detection by Writings signed with my Name! But this is a small Flight for the towering *Junius*: "He is far from thinking meanly of my Abilities," though he is "convinced that I want Judgment extremely;" and can "really respect Mr. Sawbridge's Character," though he declares him to be so poor a Creature as not to be able to "see through the basest Design conducted in the poorest Manner!" And this most base Design is conducted in the poorest Manner, by a Man whom he does not suspect of gross Folly, and of whose Abilities he is far from thinking meanly!

Should we ask *Junius* to reconcile these Contradictions, and explain this Nonsense; the Answer is ready; "he cannot defend to an Altercation in the News-papers." He feels no Reluctance to attack the Character of any Man: The Throne is not too high, nor the Cottage too low: His mighty Malice can grasp both Extremes: He hints not his Accusations as *Opinions*, *Conjectures*, or *Inferences*; but delivers them as *positive Assertions*: Do the Accused complain of Injustice? he acknowledges they have some sort of Right to an Explanation; but if they ask for Proofs, and Facts, he begs to be excused; And though he is no where else to be encountered—"he cannot defend to an Altercation in the News-papers."

And this perhaps *Junius* may think "the illiberal Resentment of a Gentleman!" This skulking Assassination he may call Courage. In all Things as in this I hope we differ.

"I thought that Fortitude had been a Mean  
Twist Fear and Rashness; not a Lust obscene  
Or Appetite of offending; but a Skill  
And nice Discernment between good and ill.

His Words are Honesty and publick Good,  
And without these he is not understood."

Of Two Things however he has condescended to give Proof. He very properly produces a young Lady to prove that I am not a Man; and a good old Woman my Grandmother, to prove Mr. Oliver a Fool. Poor old Soul! she read her Bible far otherwise than *Junius*! She often found there, that the Sins of the Fathers had been visited on the Children; and therefore was cautious that herself and her immediate Descendants should leave no Reproach on her Posterity; and they left none. How little could she foresee this Reverse of *Junius*, who visits my political Sins upon my Grandmother! I do not charge this to the Score of Malice in him; it proceeded entirely from his Propensity to blunder; that whilst he was reproaching me for introducing, in the most harmless Manner, the Name of One Female, he might himself at the same Instant introduce Two.

I am represented alternately as it suits *Junius*'s Purpose, under the opposite Characters of a gloomy Monk, and a Man of Politeness and good Humour. I am called a "solitary Monk," in order to confirm the Notion given of me in Mr. Wilkes's anonymous Paragraph, that I never laugh: And the Terms of Politeness and good Humour on which I am said to have lived heretofore with the young Lady, are intended to confirm other Paragraphs of Mr. Wilkes, in which he is supposed to have offended me by refusing his Daughter. Ridiculous! Yet I cannot deny but that *Junius* has proved me unmanly and ungenerous as clearly as he has shewn me corrupt and vindictive: And I will tell him more; I have paid the present Ministry as many Fists and Compliments as ever I paid to the young Lady, and shall all my Life treat them with the same Politeness and good Humour.

But *Junius* "begs me to believe that he measures the Integrity of Men by their Conduct, not by their Professions." Surely this *Junius* must imagine his Readers as void of Understanding as he is of Modesty. Where shall we find the Standard of his Integrity? By what are we to measure the Conduct of this lurking Assassin?—And he says this to me whose Conduct wherever I could personally appear, has been, as direct and open and publick as my Words! I have not, like him, concealed myself in my Chamber to shoot my Arrows out of the Window; nor contented myself to view the Battle from afar, but publicly mixed in the Engagement and shared the Danger. To whom have I, like him, refused my Name upon Complaint of Injury? What Printer have I defied to conceal me? In the infinite Variety of Business I have been concerned, where it is not so easy to be faultless, which of my Actions can he arraign? To what Danger has any Man been exposed, which I have not faced? Information, Action, Imprisonment, or Death? What Labour have I refused? What Expence have I declined? What Pleasure have I not renounced?—But *Junius*, to whom no Conduct belongs, "measures the Integrity of Men by their Conduct, not by their Professions;" himself all the while being nothing but Professions, and those too anonymous! The political Ignorance or wilful Falshood of this Declaimer is extreme: His own former Letters justify both my Conduct and those whom his last Letters abuse: For the publick Measures which *Junius* has been all along defending were ours, whom he attacks; and the uniform Opposer of those Measures has been Mr. Wilkes, whose bad Actions and Intentions he endeavours to screen.

Let *Junius* now, if he pleases, change his Abuse; and, quitting his loose Hold of Interest and Revenge, accuse me of Vanity, and call this Defence boasting. I own I have a Pride to see Statues decreed, and the highest Honours conferred for Measures and Actions which all Men have approved; whilst those who counselled and caused them are execrated and insulted. The Darkness in which *Junius* thinks himself shrouded, has not concealed him; nor the Artifice of only attacking under that Signature those he would pull down (whilst he recommends by other Ways those he would have promoted) disguised from me whose Partizan he is. When Lord Chatham can forgive the awkward Situation in which for the Sake of the Publick he was designedly placed by the Thanks to him from the City: And when Wilkes's Name ceases to be necessary to Lord Rockingham to keep up a Clamour against the Persons of the Ministry, without obliging the different Factions now in Opposition to bind themselves beforehand to some certain Points, and to stipulate some precise Advantages to the Publick; then, and not till then, may those whom he now abuses expect the Approbation of *Junius*. The Approbation of the Publick for our faithful Attention to their Interest by Endeavours for those Stipulations, which have made us as obnoxious to the Factions in Opposition as to those in Administration, is not perhaps to be expected till some Years hence; when the Publick will look back, and see how shamefully they have been deluded; and by what Arts they were made to lose the golden Opportunity of preventing what they will surely experience,—a Change of Ministers, without a material Change of Measures, and without any Security for a tottering Constitution.

But what cares *Junius* for the Security of the Constitution? He has now unfolded to us his diabolical Principles. As a publick Man he must ever condemn any Measure which may tend even accidentally to gratify the Sovereign: And Mr. Wilkes is to be supported and assisted in all his Attempts (no Matter how ridiculous or mischievous his Projects) as long as he continues to be a Thorn in the King's Side! The Cause of the Country it seems, in the Opinion of *Junius*, is merely to vex the King; and any Rascal is to be supported in any Roguery, provided he can only thereby plant a Thorn in the King's Side! This is the very Extremity of Faction, and the last Degree of political Wickedness. Because Lord Chatham has been ill treated by the King, and treacherously betrayed by the Duke of Grafton, the latter is to be "the Pillow on which *Junius* will rest his Resentment;" and the Publick are to oppose the Measures of Government from mere Mo-

tives of personal Enmity to the Sovereign.—These are the avowed Principles of the Man who in the same Letter says, "if ever he should be convinced that I had no Motives but to destroy Wilkes, he shall then be ready to do Justice to my Character, and to devote to the World that he deserves me from whatever he does at present!" Had I ever acted from personal Affection or Enmity to Mr. Wilkes, I should justly be despised: But what does he deserve, whose avowed Motive is personal Enmity to the Sovereign? The Contempt which I should otherwise feel for the Absurdity and glaring Inconsistency of *Junius*, is here swallowed up in my Abhorrence of his Principle. The Right Divine and Sacredness of Kings is to me a senseless Jargon. It was thought a daring Expression of Oliver Cromwell in the Time of Charles the First, that if he found himself placed opposite to the King in Battle, he would discharge his Piece into his Bosom as soon as into any other Man's. I go farther: Had I lived in those Days, I would not have waited for Chance to give me an Opportunity of doing my Duty; I would have fought him through the Ranks, and, without the least personal Enmity, have discharged my Piece into his Bosom rather than into any other Man's. The King, whose Actions justify Rebellion to his Government, deserves Death from the Hand of every Subject. And should such a Time arrive, I shall be as free to act as to say; but till then, my Attachment to the Person and Family of the Sovereign shall ever be found more zealous and sincere than that of his Flatterers. I would offend the Sovereign with as much Reluctance as the Parent; but if the Happiness and Security of the whole Family made it necessary, so far and no farther would I offend him without Remorse.

But let us consider a little whether these Principles of *Junius* would lead us. Should Mr. Wilkes once more commission Mr. Thomas Walpole to procure for him a Pension of One Thousand Pounds upon the Irish Establishment for Thirty Years, he must be supported in the Demand by the Publick—because it would mortify the King.

Should he wish to see Lord Rockingham and his Friends once more in Administration, undegged by any Stipulations for the People, that he might again enjoy a Pension of One Thousand and Forty Pounds a Year, viz. from the First Lord of the Treasury 600, from the Lords of the Treasury 600, each, from the Lords of Trade 400, each, &c. the Publick must give up their Attention to Points of national Benefit, and assist Mr. Wilkes in his Attempt—because it would mortify the King.

Should he demand the Government of Canada or of Jamaica, or the Embassy to Constantinople; and in case of Refusal threaten to write them down, as he had before served another Administration, in a Year and an Half; he must be supported in his Pretensions and upheld in his Insolence—because it would mortify the King.

*Junius* may chuse to suppose that these Things cannot happen; but that they have happened, notwithstanding Mr. Wilkes's Denial, I do aver. I maintain that Mr. Wilkes did commission Mr. Thomas Walpole to solicit for him a Pension of One Thousand Pounds on the Irish Establishment for Thirty Years; with which and a Pardon he declared he would be satisfied; And that, notwithstanding his Letter to Mr. Onslow, he did accept a clandestine, precarious and eleemosynary Pension from the Rockingham Administration; which they paid in Proportion to and out of their Salaries; and so entirely was it ministerial, that as any of them went out of the Ministry, their Names were scratched out of the List, and they contributed no longer. I say, he did solicit the Governments and the Embassy, and threatened their Refusal nearly in these Words—"It cost me a Year and an Half to write down the last Administration; should I employ as much Time upon you, very few of you would be in at the Death." When these Threats did not prevail, he came over to England to embarrass them by his Presence; and when he found that Lord Rockingham was something firmer and more manly than he expected, and refused to be bullied—into what he could not perform, Mr. Wilkes declared he could not leave England without Money; and the Duke of Portland and Lord Rockingham purchased his Absence with One Hundred Pounds specie; with which he returned to Paris. And for the Truth of what I here advance, I appeal to the Duke of Portland, to Lord Rockingham, to Lord John Cavendish, to Mr. Walpole, &c. I appeal to the Hand-writing of Mr. Wilkes, which is still extant.

Should Mr. Wilkes afterwards (sailing in this wholesale Trade) chuse to dole out his Popularity by the Pound, and expose the City Offices to Sale, to his Brother, his Attorney, &c. *Junius* will tell us, it is only an Ambition that he has to make them Chamberlains, Town-Clerks, &c. and he must not be opposed in thus robbing the ancient Citizens of their Birthright—because any Defeat of Mr. Wilkes would gratify the King.

Should he, after consuming the whole of his own Fortune and that of his Wife, and incurring a Debt of Twenty Thousand Pounds merely by his own private Extravagance, without a single Service or Exertion all this Time for the Publick whilst his Estate remained; should he at length, being undone, commence Patriot, have the good Fortune to be illegally persecuted, and in consideration of that Illegality be espoused by a few Gentlemen of the purest publick Principles; should his Debts (though none of them were contracted for the Publick) and all his other Incumbrances be discharged; should he be offered 600l. or 1000l. a Year, to make him independent for the future; and should he after all, instead of Gratitude for these Services, insolently forbid his Benefactors to bestow their own Money upon any other Object but himself, and revile them for setting any Bounds to their Supplies; *Junius* (who, any more than Lord Chatham, never contributed One Farthing to these enormous Expences) will tell them, that if they think of converting the Supplies of Mr. Wilkes's private Extravagance to the Support of publick Measures—they are as great Fools as my Grandmother; and that Mr. Wilkes ought to hold

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