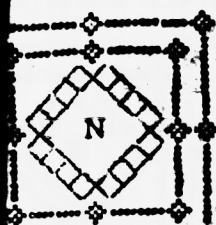


MARYLAND GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1772.

A LETTER from JUNIUS.



O Man laments more sincerely than I do, the unhappy Differences, which have arisen among the Friends of the People, and divided them from each other. The Cause undoubtedly suffers, as well by the Diminution of that Strength which Union carries with it, as by the separate Loss of personal Reputation, which every Man sustains, when his Character and Conduct are frequently held forth in loud or contemptible Colours. These Differences only advantageous to the common Enemy of the Country. The hearty Friends of the Cause are provoked and disgusted. The lukewarm Advocats avail themselves of any Pretence to relapse into that indolent Indifference about every Thing that ought to interest an Englishman, so unjustly dignified with the Title of Patriot. The false, insidious Partisan, who creeps or foment the Disorder, sees the Fruit of his different Industry ripen beyond his Hopes, and rejoices in the Promise of a Banquet, only delicious to such an appetite as his own. It is Time for those, who only mean the Cause and the People, who have no view or private Advantage, and who have Virtue enough to prefer the general Good of the Community to the Gratification of personal Amosities—it is Time for such Men to interpose. Let us try whether these different Differences may not yet be reconciled; or, if that is impracticable, let us guard at least against the worst Effects of Division, and endeavour to persuade these various Partisans, if they will not consent to draw together, to be separately useful to that Cause, which they all pretend to be attached to. Honour and Hospitality must not be renounced, although a Thousand Modes of Right and Wrong were to occupy the Degrees of Morality between Zeno and Epicurus. The fundamental Principles of Christianity may still be preserved, though every zealous Sectary adheres to his own exclusive Doctrine, and pious Ecclesiastics make Part of their Religion to persecute one another. The Civil Constitution too, that legal Liberty, that general Creed, which every Englishman professes, may still be supported, though Wilkes, and Horne, and Townsend, and Sawbridge, should obstinately refuse to communicate, and even if the Fathers of the Church, Saville, Richmond, Camden, Rockingham, and Chatham, should disagree in the Ceremonies of their political Worship, and even in the Interpretation of twenty Texts in Magna Charta. I speak to the People as one of the People. Let us employ these Men in whatever Departments their various Abilities are best suited to, and as much to the Advantage of the common Cause as their different Inclinations will permit, they cannot serve us, without essentially serving themselves.

If Mr. Nash be elected, he will hardly venture, after to recant a Mark of the personal Esteem of his Fellow-Citizens, to declare himself immediately a Courtier. The Spirit and Activity of the Sheriffs will, I hope, be sufficient to counteract any sinister Intentions of the Lord Mayor. In Collision with their Virtue, perhaps he may take Fire.

It is not necessary to exalt from Mr. Wilkes the Virtues of a Stoic. They were inconsistent with themselves, who, almost at the same Moment, represented him as the basest of Mankind, yet seemed to expect from him such Instances of Fortitude and Self-denial, as would do Honour to an Apostle. It is not however Flattery to say, that he is obstinate, intrepid, and fertile in Expedients. That he has no possible Resource but in the publick Favour, is, in my Judgment, a considerable Recommendation of him. I wish that every Man, who pretended to Popularity, were in the same Predicament. I wish that a Retreat to St. James's were not so easy and open, as Patriots have found it. To Mr. Wilkes there is no Access. The Favour of his Country constitutes the Shield, which defends him against a Thousand Daggers. Defection would disarm him. However he may be misled by Passion or Impudence, I think he cannot be guilty of a deliberate Treachery to the Publick.

I can more readily admire the liberal Spirit and Integrity than the sound Judgment of any Man, who prefers a republican Form of Government, in this or any other Empire of equal Extent, to a Monarchy so qualified and limited as ours. I am convinced that neither is it in Theory the wisest System of Government, nor practicable in this Country. Yet, though I hope the English Constitution will for ever preserve its original monarchical Form, I would have the Managers of the People purely and strictly republican. I do not mean the licentious Spirit of Anarchy, and Riot. I mean a general Attachment to the Commonwealth, distinct from any partial Attachment to Persons or Parties;—an implicit Submission to the Laws, and an Affection to the Magistrate, proportioned to the Integrity and Wisdom with which he distributes Justice to his People, and administers their Affairs. The present Habit of our political Body appears to me the very Reverse of what it ought to be. The Form of the Con-

sitution seems rather more than enough to the popular Branch, while, in Effect, the Manners of the People (of those at least who are likely to take a Lead in the Country) incline too generally to a Dependence upon the Crown. The real Friends of arbitrary Power combine the Facts, and are not inconsistent with their Principles, when they strenuously support the unwarrantable Privileges assumed by the House of Commons. In these Circumstances, it were much to be desired that we had many such Men as Mr. Sawbridge to represent us in Parliament. I speak from common Report and Opinion only, when I impute to him a speculative Predilection in Favour of a Republick. In the personal Conduct and Manners of the Man I cannot be mistaken. He has shewn himself possessed of that republican Firmness, which the Times require, and by which an English Gentleman may be as useful and as honourably distinguished, as any Citizen of ancient Rome, of Athens, or Lacedaemon.

Mr. Townsend complains that the publick Gratitude has not been answerable to his Deserts. It is not difficult to trace the Artifices, which have suggested to him a Language so unworthy of his Understanding. A great Man commands the Affections of the People. A prudent Man does not complain when he has lost them. Yet they are far from being lost to Mr. Townsend. He has treated our Opinion a little too cavalierly. A young Man is apt to rely too confidently upon himself, to be as attentive to his Mistress, as a polite and passionate Lover ought to be. Perhaps he found her at first too easy a Conquest. Yet, I fancy, she will be ready to receive him, whenever he thinks proper to renew his Addresses to her. With all his Youth, his Spirit, and his Appearance, it would be indecent in the Lady to solicit his Return.

I have too much Respect for the Abilities of Mr. Horne, to flatter myself that these Gentlemen will ever be cordially re-united. It is not however unreasonable to expect, that each of them should act his separate Part, with Honour and Integrity to the Publick. As for Differences of Opinion upon speculative Questions, if we wait until they are reconciled, the Action of human Affairs must be suspended for ever. But neither are we to look for Perfection in any One Man, nor for Agreement among many. When Lord Chatham affirms that the Authority of the British Legislature is not supreme over the Colonies, in the same Sense in which it is supreme over Great-Britain;—when Lord Camden supposes a Necessity, (which the King is to judge of) and, founded upon that Necessity, attributes to the Crown a legal Power (not given by the Act itself) to suspend the Operation of an Act of the Legislature,—I listen to them both with Diffidence and Respect, but without the smallest Degree of Conviction or Assent. Yet, I doubt not, they delivered their real Sentiments, and they ought not to be hastily condemned. I too have a Claim to the candid Interpretation of my Country, when I acknowledge an involuntary, compulsive Assent to one very unpopular Opinion. I lament the unhappy Necessity, whenever it arises, of providing for the Safety of the State by a temporary Invasion of the personal Liberty of the Subject. Would to God it were practicable to reconcile these important Objects, in every possible Situation of publick Affairs. I regard the legal Liberty of the meanest Man in Britain, as much as my own, and would defend it with the same Zeal. I know we must stand or fall together. But I never can doubt, that the Community has a Right to command, as well as to purchase the Service of its Members. I see that Right founded originally upon a Necessity, which superseded all Agreements, and see it established by Usage immemorial, and admitted by more than a tacit Assent of the Legislature. I conclude there is no Remedy, in the Nature of Things, for the Grievances complained of, for, if there were, it must long since have been redressed. Though numberless Opportunities have presented themselves, highly favourable to publick Liberty, no successful Attempt has ever been made for the Relief of the Subject in this Article. Yet it has been felt and complained of, ever since England had a Navy. The Conditions which constitute this Right must be taken together. Separately they have little Weight. It is not fair to argue from any Abuse in the Execution to the Illegality of the Power; much less is a Conclusion to be drawn from the Navy to the Land-Service. A Seaman can never be employed but against the Enemies of his Country. The only Case in which the King can have a Right to arm his Subjects in general, is that of a foreign Force being actually landed upon our Coast. Whenever this Case happens, no true Englishman will dispute, whether the King's Right to compel him to defend his Country be the Custom of England, or a Grant of the Legislature. With regard to the Press for Seamen, it does not follow that the Symptoms may not be softened, although the Disorder cannot be cured. Let Bounties be increased so far as the publick Purse can support them, till they have a Limit; and when every reasonable Expense is incurred, it will be found, in Fact, that the Spur of the Press is wanted to give Operation to the Bounty.

Upon the whole, I never had a Doubt about the strict Right of printing, until I heard that Lord Mansfield had applauded Lord Chatham for delivering some-

thing like this Doctrine in the House of Lords. That Consideration staggered me not a little. But, upon Reflection, his Conduct accounts naturally for itself. He knew the Doctrine was unpopular, and was eager to fix it upon the Man, who is the first Object of his Fear and Detestation. The cunning Scotchman never speaks Truth without a fraudulent Design. In Council, he generally affects to take a moderate Part. Besides his natural Timidity, it makes Part of his political Plan, never to be known to recommend violent Measures. When the Guards are called forth to murder their Fellow-Subjects, it is not by the offensive Advice of Lord Mansfield. That odious Office, his Prudence tells him, is better left to such Men as Gower and Weymouth, as Barrington and Grafton. Lord Hillsborough wisely confines his Firmness to the distant Americans.—The Designs of Mansfield are more subtle, more effectual, and secure. Who attacks the Liberty of the Press? Lord Mansfield. Who invades the constitutional Power of Juries? Lord Mansfield. What Judge ever challenged a Juryman, but Lord Mansfield?—Who was that Judge, who, to save the King's Brother, affirmed that a Man of the first Rank and Quality, who obtains a Verdict in a Suit for criminal Conversation, is intitled to no greater Damages than the meanest Mechanick? Lord Mansfield. Who is it, that makes Commissioners of the Great Seal? Lord Mansfield? Who is it, that forms a Decree for these Commissioners, deciding against Lord Chatham, and afterwards (finding himself opposed by the Judges) declares in Parliament, that he never had a Doubt that the Law was in direct Opposition to that Decree? Lord Mansfield. Who is he, that made it the Study and Passion of his Life to undermine and alter the whole System of Jurisprudence in the Court of King's Bench? Lord Mansfield. There never existed a Man but himself, who answered exactly to so complicated a Description. Compared to these enormities, his original Attachment to the Pretender (to whom his dearest Brother was confidential Secretary) is a Virtue of the first Magnitude. But the Hour of Impeachment will come, and neither he nor Grafton shall escape me. Now let them make common Cause against England and the House of Hanover. A Stuart and a Murray should sympathize with each other.

When I refer to signal Instances of unpopular Opinions delivered and maintained by Men, who may well be supposed to have no View but the publick Good, I do not mean to renew the Discussion of such Opinions. I should be sorry to revive the dormant Questions of Stamp Act, Corn Bill, or Press Warrant. I mean only to illustrate one useful Proposition, which it is the Intention of this Paper to inculcate;—That we should not generally reject the Friendship or Services of any Man, because he differs from us in a particular Opinion. This will not appear a superfluous Caution, if we observe the ordinary Conduct of Mankind. In publick Affairs, there is the least Chance of a perfect Concurrence of Sentiment or Inclination. Yet every Man is able to contribute something to the common Stock, and no Man's Contribution should be rejected. If Individuals have no Virtues, their Vices may be of Use to us. I care not with what Principle the new-born Patriot is animated, if the Measures he supports are beneficial to the Community. The Nation is interested in his Conduct. His Motives are his own. The Properties of a Patriot are perishable in the Individual, but there is a quick Succession of Subjects, and the Breed is worth preserving.—The Spirit of the Americans may be an useful Example to us. Our Dogs and Horses are only English upon English Ground. But Patriotism, it seems, may be improved by transplanting.—I will not reject a Bill, which tends to confine parliamentary Privilege within reasonable Bounds, though it should be stolen from the House of Cavendish, and introduced by Mr. Onslow. The Features of the Infant are a Proof of the Descent, and vindicate the noble Birth, from the Baseness of the Adoption.—I willingly accept of a Sacrament from Colonel Barré, or a Simile from Mr. Bourke. Even the silent Vote of Mr. Calcraft is worth reckoning in a Division.—What though he Riots in the Plunder of the Army, and has only determined to be a Patriot when he could not be a Peer?—Let us profit by the Assistance of such Men, while they are with us, and place them, if it be possible, in the Post of Danger, to prevent Defection. The wary Wedderburne, the gentle Suffolk never threw away the Scabbard, nor ever went upon a forlorn Hope. They always treated the King's Servants as Men, with whom, some Time or other, they might possibly be in Friendship.—When a Man, who stands forth for the Publick, has gone that Length, from which there is no practicable Retreat,—when he has given that Kind of personal Offence, which a pious Monarch never pardons; I then begin to think him in earnest, and that he never will have Occasion to solicit the Forgiveness of his Country.—But Instances of a Determination so intire and unshaken are rarely met with. Let us take Mankind, as they are. Let us distribute the Virtues and Abilities of Individuals, according to the Offices they affect, and when they quit the Service, let us endeavour to supply their Places with better Men than we have lost. In this Country, there are always Candidates enough for popular Fa-