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### **Miscellaneous works Of The Late Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl Of Chesterfield**

Consisting Of Letters to his Friends, never before printed, And Various  
Other Articles

**Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope of  
Dublin, 1777**

XXI. Old England. Or the Constitutional Journal; By Jeffrey Broad-Bottom,  
of Covent-Garden, Esq; . Saturday, Feb. 5, 1743. N°1.

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that the expences for the current service of the year equal, at least, the revenue of the electorate, yet, by a prudent and frugal management, a million sterling at least has been laid out, over and above, in new acquisitions.

If such frugal means had been pursued, we should have been in a better condition than we now are. I cannot help recommending to the administration, here, to follow the example of their German brethren, to have spirit enough to act, and frugality enough to put the nation in a condition of doing it.

I am Sir,

Your humble servant,

ANGLO-GERMANICUS.

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XXI.

OLD ENGLAND,

Or the CONSTITUTIONAL JOURNAL;

By Jeffrey Broad-Bottom, of Covent-Garden, Esq;\*

SATURDAY, Feb. 5, 1743. N<sup>o</sup> 1.

**I**T has generally been the custom with our hebdomadal and diurnal authors to preface their works with an account of their birth, parentage, and education, the company they keep, and several other curious particulars relating to their

\* The resignation of Sir Robert Walpole was not attended with that total change of men and measures, which had been expected. The Newcastle party kept their ground; and by entering into a private negotiation with Mr. Pulteney and lord Carteret, succeeded in dividing the opposition. Very few of them were taken into the ministry; and lord Chesterfield, who, with several more, were excluded, highly complained of having been sacrificed by their friends, and lost no opportunity of expressing their resentment. This paper was undertaken with that view. It made a great deal of noise, and the supposed author and printer were taken into custody. Lord Chesterfield owned himself repeatedly to his chaplain the present bishop of Waterford, author of the first number; and I think there can be no doubt but that the third came from the same hand.

their own persons : but as I am of opinion, that it is more proper for a writer to endeavour to recommend his business than his person to the public, I shall inform my reader of the one, and leave him to indulge the pleasure of conjecture as to the other.

We are told by critics, that definitions ought to be conceived in as plain, concise terms as possible. The world naturally expect that a public writer should, at his outset, acquaint them with his principles, views, and motives of writing ; therefore I intend, in compliance with this expectation, to acquaint my reader in very plain terms with those several particulars. This is fair ; if he likes the definition of each, he will be curious to know the several propositions deduced from them, and perhaps be prevailed on to encourage the doctrine arising upon the whole : if, on the other hand, he should dislike them, there is but little harm done, he knows what he is to expect, and will hereafter save both himself and me the mortification of any farther interviews with one another.

All experience convinces me, that 90 men out of 100, when they talk of forming principles, mean no more than embracing parties, and when they talk of supporting their party, mean serving their friends, and the service of their friends implies no more than consulting self-interest. By this gradation, principles are fitted to party, party degenerates into faction, and faction is reduced to self. For this reason, I openly declare that I think no honest man will implicitly embrace any party, so as to attach himself to the persons of those who form it. I am firmly of opinion, that both in the last and present age, this nation might have been equally well served either by whigs or tories ; and if she was not, it was not because their principles were contrary to her interest, but because their conduct was inconsistent with their principles.

To extend this view a little farther, I am entirely persuaded that in the words, *our present happy establishment*, the happiness mentioned there is that of the subjects ; and that, if the establishment should make the prince happy and the subjects otherwise, it would be very justly termed our present unhappy establishment. I apprehend the nation did not think king James unworthy of the crown, merely  
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that he might make way for the prince of Orange ; nor can I conceive, that they ever precluded themselves from dealing by king William, in the same manner as they had done by king James, if he had done as much to deserve such a treatment. Neither can I in all my search find, that when the crown was settled in a hereditary line upon the present royal family, the people of Great Britain ever signed any formal instrument of recantation, by which they expressed their sorrow and repentance of what they had done against king James, and protested that they would never do so by any future prince, though reduced to the same melancholy necessity. I farther think, the people settled the crown upon the family of Hanover, neither from any opinion which they entertained of infallibility, in all the future princes which that illustrious house was to produce, nor from their being persuaded that the crown of this kingdom, in right of blood, belonged to that house, but because they thought that the government of those princes bade fairest to make themselves happy. They thought, that princes of that house having fewer connections with any interest upon the continent, destructive to that of Great Britain, would be more independent, and less incumbered with any foreign concern, and consequently more at liberty to act for the interest of this nation. From these considerations, as a subject of Great Britain, and as an honest man, I think myself bound, even in my individual capacity, to oppose all schemes destructive of those effects, which I, in my conscience, believe were the reasons that induced this free people, to raise the head of the family of Hanover, from being the youngest elector in Germany, to be one of the most powerful princes in Europe. I think, that there can be no treason equal to that of a minister, who would advise his majesty to sacrifice his great concerns to his little ones ; because, as I think his majesty's virtues have firmly rivetted him in the hearts of his subjects, he is as sure of the crown of England as of the electorate of Hanover, and therefore every measure in favour of the latter, in prejudice of the former, is the blackest treason both against the king and the people.

Such are my principles, with regard to the general system of our constitution and government ; as to the particular

particular propositions to be deduced from these principles, they will be the subject of after disquisition.

I am next to account for the views of my writing. I had always observed, of the late very wicked ministers, that, though they did many infamous scandalous things, and put up with many gross affronts, in favor of foreign considerations, yet, I will do them the justice to say it, the odium arising from their measures always fell upon their own persons; and whatever the secret springs of their conduct might have been, yet we never saw the safety and profit of Hanoverian dominions, made in parliament itself, the immediate, open, and avowed cause of sacrificing the nearest and the dearest interests of this nation. Questions indeed were carried for Hessian troops, for extravagant subsidies, for inconsistent treaties and the like; but they never had the impudence, the insolence, or the wickedness, to bring Hanover and Great Britain, as two parties, before the bar of their own corruption, and then to pass a verdict, by which the latter was rendered a province to the former. It is against such, as can be found wicked enough to do this, that this paper is undertaken; it is undertaken against those, who have found the secret of acquiring more infamy in ten months, than their predecessors, with all the pains they took, could acquire in twenty years. It is intended to vindicate the honor of the crown of Great Britain, and to assert the interest of her people against all foreign considerations; to keep up the spirit of virtuous opposition to wicked people; to point out the means of completing the great end of the revolution; and, in short, to give the alarm upon any future attacks that may be made, either open or secret, of the government upon the constitution.

I am now to speak of the motives for an undertaking of this kind; these are many, but some of them perhaps not quite so proper to be committed to the public. We have seen the noble fruits of a twenty years opposition blasted by the connivance and treachery of a few, who by all ties of gratitude and honor, ought to have cherished and preserved them to the people: but this disappointment ought to be so far from discouraging, that it should lend spirit and life to, a new opposition. The late one labored their point for a much longer term  
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of years, and against many greater difficulties than any opposition at present can be under any apprehensions of encountering. They became a majority, from a minority of not above eighty-seven or eighty-eight in all; they fought against an experienced general and a national purse, and the questions they opposed were more plausible in their nature, and less dangerous in their consequences, than any that have yet fallen within the system of their blundering successors. At present, the friends of their country, who have already declared themselves, have advantages which their predecessors could never compass, even after twenty years hard labor.

I know, that the conduct of those, who sneaked, and abandoned their principles, upon the late change of ministry, is sometimes made use of as an argument why all opposition must be fruitless, since all mankind, say they, employ it only as a means of their preferment, or the instrument of their revenge. This argument is in point of fact absolutely false, and in point of reasoning extremely inconclusive. To prove it false in fact, I need but appeal to an understanding reader's own memory; let him recollect the characters of those, who betrayed their party upon the late change, the light in which they stood with the public, and the estimation they held with their friends. Whoever shall take the pains to do this will own, that the part they acted could be no surprize, upon the discerning part of mankind. In all parties and bodies of men, even less numerous than those who formed the late opposition, there have always been found, and it has been always understood there are, men, whose virtue is too weak to stand the first shock either of temptation or danger: when such men give way, they leave a party stronger, because its rottenness is removed.

They, who fell off upon the late turn, are of two sorts; such as were never suspected of having virtue to resist temptation, and such as were never thought of consequence enough to deserve it. The surprize, therefore, is not that some fell, but that so many stood; but then how melancholy is the consideration, when we reflect, that there is a possibility, that the great concerns of the nation both at home and abroad may, by such an alteration of affairs, fall into the hands of those, who were either the reproach or scum of their party? What a prospect must this  
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nation have, if in the most decisive conjuncture, as to the liberties of Europe, the management of foreign concerns should fall into the hands of a person of the following character.

A man, who, when in the opposition, even his sincerity could never beget confidence, nor his abilities esteem; whose learning is unrewarded with knowledge, and his experience with wisdom; discovering a haughtiness of demeanour, without any dignity of character; and possessing the lust of avarice, without knowing the right use of power and riches. His understanding blinded by his passions, his passions directed by his prejudices, and his prejudices ever hurrying into presumption; impatient even of an equal, yet ever requiring the correction of a superior. Right as to general maxims, but wrong in the application; and therefore always so intoxicated by the prospect of success, that he never is cool enough to concert the proper measures to attain it.

Should a man, I say, of such a character as this, ever come to be at the head of foreign affairs, the nation must be in a greater danger than it was, in any time of the late administration, because her ruin will be more swift, disgraceful, and irretrievable. One might easily form a contrast to this character, and yet not deviate from a living resemblance. I could point out a person, without any other merit but the lowest species of prostitution, enjoying a considerable post, got by betraying his own party, without having abilities to be of use to any other: one, who had that plodding mechanical turn, which, with an opinion of his steadiness, was of service to the opposition, but can be of none to a ministry: one, whose talents were so low, that nothing but servile application could preserve him from universal contempt, and who, if he had persevered all his life in the interests of his country, might have had a chance of being remembered hereafter as a useful man. If there are such characters as those now existing, it is at least of some consolation to men of sense and virtue, that, if their inclinations lead them to views destructive of the interests and constitution of Great Britain, yet their abilities and reputation with all mankind are too mean for them to continue so long in power, as to be able to copy the late minister in procuring a safe retreat for his crimes.

Having said thus much, I declare that this paper shall cease, as soon as the motives on which it is undertaken have ceased; but till then it shall be carried on with all the spirit, which is consistent with decency, law, and the principles of this constitution. While the writers in it keep to these, they are determined to fear no consequences; because nothing can arise so melancholy to their own private interest, as an attempt to crush the liberty of writing must be to those of the public.

JEFFREY BROADBOTTOM.

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 XXII.

## OLD ENGLAND,

Or the CONSTITUTIONAL JOURNAL.

SATURDAY, February 19, 1743. N<sup>o</sup> 3.

**I** SCARCE know a more delicate and difficult situation, than that of an author at his first appearance in public. He presents himself without introducer or credentials. He is his own ambassador, sent by himself to speak of himself and for himself; in which case it is almost impossible for him not to say either too little or too much. But the difficulties of a weekly author, or an author by retail, are still greater, as they are perpetual; for even should he get through his first audience with success, and be graciously received, the least slip in his subsequent conduct undoes the whole, and he is disgraced. He is bound over, as it were, from week to week, to his good behaviour, and a hundred thousand judges, not all of them learned or impartial as the twelve, are to determine whether he has forfeited his recognizances or not.

Aware