

"The Young Robin Hood Society": A Political Satire by Edward Winslow

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“The Young Robin Hood Society”: A Political Satire by Edward Winslow

INTRODUCTION

EDWARD WINSLOW'S PAMPHLET PLAY, “Substance of the Debates in the Young Robin Hood Society”, provides one more illustration of the remarkable maturity of the New Brunswick political community during its settlement period.¹ A mere dozen years after the arrival of the Loyalists and the establishment of New Brunswick as a separate province, provincial society was sufficiently stable and its major interest groups sufficiently well defined to engage in a full-dress, constitutional debate on the proper division of powers between the appointed governor and his council and the popularly elected assembly. The debate itself was a classic example of the recurrent struggles between Great Britain and her North American colonies to control the legislative initiative. All the by-then familiar devices and stratagems were revived and used to tip the political balance: a flow of messages between the assembly and the council asserting the prerogatives of each; letters to the newspapers and petitions from the voters calculated to bolster the position of one side or the other; claims of the assembly to “exclusive control” over all appropriations countered by the veto power of the governor or council or both — negotiations, prorogations, and disputations — climaxed by urgent, patriotic appeals across the ocean beseeching the crown to intercede before the spirit of constitutional government was extinguished in the province.²

It is within this context of thrust and counterthrust, of highly charged debate over the very first principles of British colonial government, that Winslow's play must be read. The play is clearly a propaganda piece, written to advance a specific point of view. Its goal, then, was to persuade — not to be enacted. And the interlineations and corrections in the draft manuscript as well as the highly polished colloquial style suggest that Winslow laboured hard over his creation and intended it to reach a broad audience. Winslow's approach to his subject was satirical. The play abounds with two-dimensional figures, deliberate exaggeration, inflated rhetoric, and a somewhat salacious, scoffing type of humour

1 The Saint John Regional Library copy of the pamphlet was used for this article. A manuscript draft, in Winslow's hand, exists in vol. XVII, p. 110 of The Winslow Family Papers, Harriet Irving Library, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton.

2 The debate may be traced in: New Brunswick, Legislative Assembly, *The Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1786-1814* (Fredericton, 1893), I and II, pp. 385-626, and Ann Gorman Condon, *The Envy of the American States: the Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1985), pp. 158-76.

which emerges as the most distinctive element in Winslow's style.

Like all good propaganda, Winslow's play evinces no doubt, no nuance, no ambiguity. A broad brush is used to depict issues that are cut and dried, and characters that are stereotypes, upon a social canvas that idyllizes the condition of 18th century New Brunswick. Yet for all its shortcomings and occasional heavy-handedness, the play possesses a real vitality. This springs no doubt from the author's own sense of conviction and urgency. Winslow was centrally involved in the controversies that engulfed New Brunswick in the 1790s. At stake were not only the immediate points in dispute, such as control of the revenue and administration of justice, but the very social and political structure of the province. Winslow had played a critical role in fashioning that structure, and in "Substance of the Debates in the Young Robin Hood Society", he is fighting with his pen and his finely honed wit to preserve it.

More than any other single individual, Edward Winslow was the "prophet" of the province of New Brunswick. It was he who in 1783 proposed to his Loyalist colleagues that they should work together to achieve the establishment of a separate political province in that portion of Nova Scotia laying north of the Bay of Fundy. It could, he vowed, become the "most gentlemanlike on earth" if the Loyalist troops and their families formed its population base and the Loyalist regimental officers were made its principal political leaders.³ Winslow's military and civilian colleagues enthusiastically endorsed his proposal and conducted a year-long campaign to convince the British government to create this Loyalist asylum, an effort known historically as "The Partition Movement". Their numerous proposals to the imperial authorities envisioned a hierarchically organized society with a strong, active governor at its head, an appointive council of provincial leaders who in consultation with the governor would set the pattern of provincial development, several well-established religious and educational institutions, and an elected assembly whose task would be to review government measures and express local needs.⁴ The British government responded to these entreaties by establishing the province of New Brunswick in 1784 and appointing Colonel Thomas Carleton, a known friend to the Loyalists, to be its first governor. The council board was composed exclusively of established Loyalist leaders (including Edward Winslow) and their allies.⁵

For nearly a decade, the dream of establishing a model province in New Brunswick seemed possible of fruition. Although the early settlement period was characterized by unrest and a disturbingly violent election in Saint John, once

3 For Winslow's genealogy, see William Obder Raymond, ed., *The Winslow Papers, A.D. 1776-1826* (Saint John, 1901), pp. 4-11. There is a fine biographical sketch in Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, XVI (Boston, 1972), pp. 274-91. See also my synopsis of his career in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, V (Toronto, 1983), pp. 865-9.

4 William H. Nelson, "The Last Hopes of the American Loyalists", *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXII, 1 (March 1951), pp. 22-42.

5 William Stewart MacNutt, *New Brunswick: a History, 1784-1867* (Toronto, 1963), pp. 48-53.

Carleton and his official entourage arrived, the 14,000 Loyalist troops and refugees were settled quickly on their lands; the wheels of government began to turn surely; trade in lumber, fish, and ships brought enough prosperity to the city of Saint John to account for the construction of more than 1,000 houses by 1788; even the elected assembly seemed to accept its assigned role as the passive, ratifying arm of government. The stability and optimism of the province took visible form in the lavish outpouring of Loyalist nostalgia and goodwill during the visit of Prince Edward, the son of George III, to New Brunswick in 1794.⁶

This prosperity and calm could not, however, withstand the strains of a prolonged trade depression which settled upon the province like a blight in the early 1790s. In the election of 1793, the inhabitants chose a far more aggressive set of representatives, and the executive and the assembly began to struggle in earnest over the division of the meagre provincial revenues. The nub of the conflict was the determination of the Carleton government to develop Fredericton as a proper provincial capital, with fine public buildings and a college, and to promote agricultural development in the surrounding St. John River valley so as to make New Brunswick a peaceful, agrarian society. These government objectives were opposed by two key groups. First were the inhabitants of Sunbury County, especially the pre-Loyalist community of Mauderville, whose inhabitants still adhered firmly to the puritanical values of New England congregationalism, and who fiercely resented the domination of Carleton and his elite band of Loyalist advisers. They opposed both the plans to embellish Fredericton, which they deemed needlessly extravagant, and the goal of agricultural development, which would interfere with their own lucrative trade in supplying masts from the local forests to the Royal Navy. Secondly, the coastal interests, who had never accepted the location of the provincial capital 70 miles up the St. John River, opposed the expenditures on Fredericton and tried through various legislative devices to force the Supreme Court to hold at least some of its sessions in Saint John. Banding together, this alliance of "old inhabitants" and coastal interests managed to dominate the assembly of 1793 and resist any infringement upon its powers by the governor or his council.⁷

This basic political cleavage was exacerbated by a clash of personalities. On one side stood the authoritarian governor, the appointed Loyalist hierarchy, and the inland farmers. On the other stood the merchants, lawyers, labourers and fishermen of the coastal areas, the masting crews of Sunbury County, and their equally obdurate leader — James Glenie. Glenie was a brilliant, irascible Scot who brought to this encounter a personal grudge against Thomas Carleton. Although sufficiently renowned as a mathematician to win election to the Royal Society in 1779, and highly rated by the British Army for his work as an

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 376-7 and David Bell's graphic account of Saint John's settlement years and first turbulent election, *Early Loyalist Saint John: The Origin of New Brunswick Politics, 1784-1786* (Fredericton, 1983), *passim*.

7 Condon, *Envy of the American States*, pp. 158-68.

engineer in Canada and England, Glenie's spirit of "contempt and disobedience" deprived him of the rewards which his talents might have won from the British government. In 1780 he was court-martialled for conduct "unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman" by a Military Board whose members included Colonel Thomas Carleton. In 1785 Glenie incurred the wrath of Prime Minister William Pitt by ridiculing in print a coastal fortification plan proposed by the Pitt government. With opportunity thus closed to him within the English establishment, Glenie emigrated to New Brunswick in 1789. He settled in Sunbury County and immediately began to pronounce upon public affairs. His resentment against Carleton over the court-martial, combined with his innate iconoclasm, soon made Glenie the most outspoken critic of the government. In November 1789 he was elected to the assembly from Sunbury County, despite the efforts (according to Glenie) of "the Governor's pitiful junto...to prevent it". Nor did he disappoint his supporters. He immediately assumed a lead in the assembly and by sheer force of rhetoric became the unofficial spokesman for the opposition.⁸ Although Glenie was out of the province from 1792 to 1795, political tensions in New Brnswick mounted during his absence. Depressed economic conditions aggravated the growing resentment at the Carleton government's determination to impose its centralized, elitist goals upon the province.

By the time of Glenie's return in 1795, the former political harmony had degenerated to the point of confrontation. In that year, Carleton became so irritated by the assembly's blanket resistance to his policies that, in a fit of pique over its refusal to underwrite his programme of coastal defence, he called a snap election.⁹ Glenie, of course, ran for his old seat in Sunbury County. He published, moreover, a pamphlet which contained an impassioned, stinging attack on the Carleton administration. Entitled "Substance of MR. GLENIE'S Address to the FREEHOLDERS of the County of Sunbury", this pamphlet not only attacked every major policy of the Carleton administration, but even went so far as to imply that the governor's sudden call for an election was somehow unconstitutional.¹⁰ It was in response to this populist, democratic attack on New Brunswick's ruling establishment that Edward Winslow entered the political lists. Although as a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils, he was not himself a candidate in the election, Winslow recognized that Glenie's pamphlet represented a frontal challenge to the Loyalist elite's concept of the proper direction of provincial development. For the college, the focus on Freder-

8 William G. Godfrey, "James Glenie", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, V (Toronto, 1983), pp. 347-58, and George F. Stanley, "James Glenie, A Study in Early Colonial Radicalism", *Collections of the Nova Historical Society*, XXV (1942), pp. 146-58. See also *Dictionary of National Biography*, VII, pp. 1313-5.

9 William G. Godfrey, "Thomas Carleton", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, V (Toronto, 1983), pp. 159-60.

10 Original in Manuscript Accession No. 113, Saint John Regional Library.

iction, the determination to keep the legislative initiative, and even plural officeholding were all an integral part of the elite's desire to make New Brunswick a stable, inward-looking, agricultural society whose goals would be set by a well-educated, socially sophisticated group of leaders.¹¹ While the issue of external loyalty never arose in the debate — Glenie and the opposition supported the British connection as solidly as the Loyalist elite — the question of oligarchy versus democracy within the province was clearly at the heart of the dispute. Thus Winslow's pamphlet play, "Substance of the Debates in the Young Robin Hood Society", is, in essence, a defence of the principle of elite leadership.

The fact that Winslow chose to cast his rebuttal in the form of a propaganda play arose directly out of his American colonial experience. Before the American Revolution, the Thirteen Colonies had failed to develop a native dramatic tradition, due perhaps less to cultural immaturity than to the prevailing Puritan prejudice against theatre as "the sink of iniquity". The usefulness of drama as a propaganda agent, however, gave it a new respectability during the Revolutionary period. Plays were written by both Patriots and Loyalists to gain adherents to their cause and to boost the morale of their supporters.¹² It seems certain that Winslow would have been familiar with one of the first of these efforts, a Tory piece written by his close friend Jonathan Sewall, *A Cure for the Spleen*.¹³ Most probably he saw other Loyalist propaganda plays, as well as the various productions staged by the British Army for its own entertainment while he was stationed in Boston and New York during the war.¹⁴ Winslow's own penchant for satire made the propaganda play an obvious weapon for him to choose to reply to Glenie's challenge.¹⁵

The play itself follows the characteristic format of the period. In these plays, according to Norman Philbrick, "formal dramatic structure is relatively unimportant....The emotional drive sweeps the reader into the maelstrom of events..."

11 Condon, *Envy of the American States*, pp. 137-41.

12 Norman Philbrick, ed., *Trumpets Sounding: The Propaganda Plays of the American Revolution* (New York, 1972), pp. 4, 6-8, 13-5. Bernard Bailyn discusses the vital role pamphlets played in the American Revolution in *Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750-1776* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), I, pp. 1-202.

13 [Jonathan Sewall] *A Cure for the Spleen* (Boston, 1775) in *Early American Imprints, 1639-1800* (Worcester, Mass., 1963), Evans No. 14454 (microcard). The second edition, published by James Rivington in New York in 1775, contains a revised title — *The American Roused, in a Cure for the Spleen* — but the text is unchanged. See *Early American Imprints*, Evans No. 14455 (microcard).

14 Philbrick, *Trumpets Sounding*, pp. 14-16.

15 For a comprehensive analysis of Loyalist satire in the Maritimes, see Thomas B. Vincent, *Narrative Verse Satire in Maritime Canada, 1779-1814* (Ottawa, 1978). Gwendolyn Davies discusses the broader implications of the Loyalist literary contribution to the culture of the Maritimes in "Consolation to Distress: the Literary Influence of the Loyalists in the Maritimes", paper presented to the Atlantic Canada Studies Conference, Saint John, 1983. See also Fred Cogswell, "The Maritime Provinces, 1720-1815", in Carl F. Klinck et al., *The Literary History of Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1976), I, pp. 85-97.

dialogue and action ignore plot requirements, detailed characterization, and elaborate descriptions of setting and stage movement".¹⁶ Winslow's play follows this classic formula. Although "The Young Robin Hood Society" clearly takes its name from the English debating club founded in the 1750s,¹⁷ no details are provided in Winslow's play regarding the place of meeting, the interior setting, etc. The only actions in the entire play consist of four physical movements: standing up, sitting down, bowing, and putting on a cap — thus confirming that this play was meant to be read, not acted. The cast of characters are stock figures, based on typical inhabitants of New Brunswick: Capt. Sage, a retired military officer turned gentleman farmer; Zedekiah T., an old inhabitant from Puritan New England who is also a Justice of the Peace; Mr. De Witt, a lawyer; Dr. Touchy, both a medical man and a scholar; plus the wholly unspecified President and Stranger. Of the lot, Capt. Sage, Dr. Touchy, and Zedekiah T. alone have any depth of character. Sage is clearly Winslow's dramatic counterpart, and despite his claims to inexperience in the public forum, it is he, naturally, who makes the most winning points. Dr. Touchy is surely a caricature of Jonathan Odell — a medical doctor, an Anglican divine, and New Brunswick's only renowned poet of the day — whose highly stylized approach to both life and literature thoroughly irritated the much earthier Winslow.¹⁸ Zedekiah T. is the closest Winslow comes to a dramatic foil, but the characterization is inconsistent: at times he is the representative of the old inhabitants and even the brother of the fictional Glenie (Issachar); yet at other times he is more the country squire who mocks the Puritan values of the old inhabitants and defends the Carleton government.

Winslow's main source of dramatic effect comes from his use of hyperbole and metaphor. Deliberate exaggerations pepper the play, such as the contrast between the long-suffering nobility of the Loyalist settlers and the mean-spirited turbulence of the old inhabitants, or his derisory account of Glenie's (Issachar's) career. In fairness, it should be added that Glenie's own use of personal invective was far more direct and vitriolic than any insult devised by Winslow. For example, Glenie termed Governor Carleton and his brother Lord Dorchester "the ruin of British North America", while George Duncan Ludlow was "the ignorant strutting chief justice", and young Beverley Robinson, "a man on whom nature has fixed the stamp of stupidity".¹⁹ Such was the rhetoric of the 18th century!

Winslow's metaphors display his imagination and wit especially well. Most are marked by their sexual innuendoes — themes deliberately stressed by Winslow to mock the stern behavioural code of Glenie's sectarian supporters. Thus

¹⁶ *Philbrick, Trumpets Sounding*, p. 2.

¹⁷ Thomas Wright, *Caricature History of the Georges* (New York, 1968 [London, 1868]), p. 247.

¹⁸ Winslow to Daniel Lyman, 12 March 1800, Winslow Family Papers, UNB.

¹⁹ Godfrey, "James Glenie", pp. 349-50; Samuel Delbert Clark, *Movements of Political Protest in Canada, 1640-1840* (Toronto, 1955), pp. 159, 161.

we find Zedekiah T. urging the electors of Sunbury to “lay the whore of Babylon flat upon her back. Your shoulders are to her — therefore tug away — in the Lord’s name, tug away”. And Zedekiah’s whimsical list of books for the proposed public library in Sunbury County include a volume on *The Religious Courtship* and another on *Hooks and Eyes for Believers’ Breeches*. Later in the play, the description of the two prostitutes, in which Winslow compares Glenie’s literary style with that of the scathing English critic Junius, is even more blatant: whereas “Junius strutted like a well dressed Lady of the Town conscious of guilt but sure of admiration. This wretch [Glenie] hobbles like a deformed hag — clad in the meanest apparel with a few stolen fantastic ornaments which only serve to render infamy ridiculous”.

Yet the most successful metaphor — indeed, the most original moment in the play — relies on none of these sure-fire devices for its effect. This is the use of the razor-grinder image to describe Glenie’s suggestions for judicial reform. The refusal of the Supreme Court to sit anywhere but Fredericton was a longstanding grievance in New Brunswick. Winslow grudgingly acknowledges the existence of such discontent, but moves on quickly to ridicule Glenie’s proposals for change. He seizes upon a phrase in Glenie’s pamphlet demanding that the administration of justice should be carried “into every County and to every Man’s door as much as possible”.²⁰ With obvious glee, Winslow takes Glenie’s demand literally and speculates how it might be put into practice. There follows the marvelous image of the Supreme Court and the Gentlemen of the Bar, clad in full judicial regalia, proceeding on foot around the province, their records accompanying them in a wheelbarrow, bringing justice “to every man’s door”. Winslow caps his joke by suggesting that the Court would in fact find few contests to adjudicate — except of course in the turbulent County of Sunbury.

These alternating notes of derision and idealism, bombast and nostalgia, are all loaded with a specific political charge. Winslow clearly hoped that by depicting the supporters of government and the supporters of Glenie in such stark, contrasting colors he could win both the hearts and the minds of the voters over to the government’s side. It is this sense of mission which brings the play to life. Winslow’s authentic, passionate involvement in the dispute gives his play an urgency which plunges the reader into the complexities of public affairs in 18th century New Brunswick. The intensity of his involvement guarantees, moreover, that Winslow’s play will faithfully reflect the ideology of the Loyalist elite. Thus we can derive from this document a particularly noteworthy statement of the values, both positive and negative, of Winslow and his official colleagues. The positive aspects of the elite’s value system are revealed by the very atmosphere in which public issues are discussed by “The Young Robin Hood Society”. The elaborate politeness of the debate, the willingness to hear out other points of view, the snippets of Latin, even the puns and the sexual allusions — all are in-

20 James Glenie, “Substance of MR. GLENIE’S Address to the FREEHOLDERS of the County of Sunbury”, 1795, Manuscript Accession No. 113, p. 6, Saint John Regional Library.

tended to display the elite's cherished values of refinement, erudition, and tolerance for human idiosyncrasy. Juxtaposed to such grace and sophistication are the numerous insinuations that the average voter in New Brunswick is apt to be swayed more by passion than knowledge in making political decisions, that he rates hard work and conscious effort above craftsmanship or elegance in evaluating literary or aesthetic products, and that his naiveté and gullibility could enable an unscrupulous politician to bring him to the very brink of sedition. Thus the unmistakable message of Winslow's play is that all those who value reason above emotion, knowledge above ignorance, refinement above vulgarity, and tolerance above prejudice should rally immediately to support the noble Carleton and his Loyalist advisers against the demagogic Glenie and his fanatical supporters!

The end of the tale belies the telling. For although Winslow easily carried away the literary honours in the debate, Glenie won the all-important victory at the polls. Indeed so antagonistic were relations between the government and the assembly that not a single item of legislation was passed for the next four years. In 1799 a makeshift compromise was worked out. However, by the time Glenie left the province for good in 1805 the assembly had clearly established its legislative predominance, and New Brunswick's peculiar pattern of decentralization and local political control was firmly entrenched. Although the elite retained their grip on the appointive offices and the social institutions of the province for several more decades, the voters of New Brunswick made it abundantly clear in the course of this debate that they preferred to spend their taxes and develop their neighbourhoods according to their own best lights, rather than defer to the condescending elegance of Edward Winslow and his Loyalist colleagues.

ANN GORMAN CONDON

SUBSTANCE
OF
THE DEBATES,
In The
Young Robin Hood Society,
On The Evening
Of The
11th of December, 1795
By E.W. ----w. Esqr.

Taken, by a Person present, in Short Hand, and Published
at the Request of a Number of the King's faithful
Subjects in New-Brunswic.

"Omne Tulit Punctum Qui Miscuit Utile Dulci".

15th December, 1795

SIR,

The following Pages contain the Substance of the Debates in the Young Robin Hood Society, lately instituted in a corner of this Province; - By the management of one of the Members I was placed in such a situation as to hear without being seen, I took them down in short hand as well as I could; - as they were listened to* with the most profound silence - made a deep impression on the minds of the hearers - succeeded by a burst of applause; and furnish the best account I have met with of the Proceedings at the Election in S*****County, on which some persons have attempted to throw a great deal of obloquy. - I embrace this opportunity of transmitting them to you for publication, at the request of a large Majority of a Company of Loyalists to whom they were communicated.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,
A BY-SETTER.

*The Reader will observe that the deep impression was not made *here* till after the listening.

To the Printer.

D E B A T E S, &c.

The CLUB met at 7 o'Clock.

There were seven Members present.

The principal Speakers were,

The President,

Capt. Sage,

Mr. De Witt,

Zedekiah T---, Esq.

Dr. Touchy.

The *President* with great solemnity rose from the Chair and address'd the Club as follows:

GENTLEMEN,

You have now under consideration a Pamphlet, call'd "The Substance of an Address to the Freeholders of the County of S--- at the opening of the Poll, explanatory of the proceedings of the late House of Assembly," &c. &c.¹

I shall deviate from my usual practice by making a few observations previous to hearing your debates.

You are sensible Gentlemen, that electioneering harangues are in general calculated to amuse the vulgar and to dazzle them by a display of patriotism and other popular qualities, and like the noisy acclamations which succeed them they are forgotten as soon as they are ended.

HAD the Author of this Address while canvassing for a Seat contented himself with making orations and declamations in Taverns and on the Hustings, this Society would never have troubled themselves with him or his sentiments - but

1 E. W.---w, Esqr., "Substance of the Debates in the Young Robin Hood Society", 11 Dec. 1795, Manuscript Accession No. 87, Saint John Regional Library.

when he deliberately publishes the substance of his address and ostentatiously declares that the sentiments therein expressed were generally applauded, it is perfectly consistent with our institution to inquire what foundation there may be for his bold assertions. - The Pamphlet contains murmurs and complaints against the Constitution which, in my opinion amount to pointed reflections upon Our Most Gracious Sovereign, who bestowed it upon us; it also contains the most indecent insinuations respecting the conduct of the King's worthy Representative here, and the most explicit censures upon the Government immediately over us. - We who know the characters of the Inhabitants at large may smile at the absurdity of such a publication, but suppose the Pamphlet, which has been circulated with industry, should be read by any of the Inhabitants of Great-Britain, or by our friends in the neighbouring Provinces - would it not appear astonishing to them, that a man should make use of such arguments and such language for the purpose of rendering himself popular and securing his Election for a County in the Province of New-Brunswic? Would not they exclaim - are these the men who have fought for the King and Constitution? Is this their boasted Loyalty? To account for this extraordinary circumstance is one of the duties incumbent upon you. - The regulations of the Society give a latitude for investigating every clause of the publication before you. - I have only to recommend that you avoid all unnecessary asperity.

Capt. Sage, then spoke to the following effect.

Mr. PRESIDENT,

I AM not accustomed to speak in public, and I feel a degree of agitation whenever I attempt to express my sentiments even in this small circle of my friends, but connected as I am with the Inhabitants of the County of S---, I should reproach myself if I did not endeavor to account for their conduct on a recent occasion. - Allow me in plain language to make a statement of facts, which will fix a just value upon the plaudits thus liberally bestowed upon the Speech now under consideration. - There are Sir, in the Province of New-Brunswic, two separate and distinct classes of men - the first consists of those who during the late troubles, as the term is, in America, took a decided part in favor of the King, and in support of the British Constitution; when the war terminated, *that* Government which had witnessed their fidelity, extended an arm of benevolence, soothed them under accumulated affliction, and saved them from poverty and distress - Those who were aged and impotent became pensioners - the active were rewarded in various ways and compleat compensation was made to every sufferer who duly preferred his claim - this country was offered as an asylum, and here they were fed until they were able to feed themselves. - For their accommodation a separate Province was formed with a Constitution exactly resembling that for which they had contended, Officers were appointed and

establishments made both in Church and State. - Gratitude for such favors confirmed their predilection for the British Government, and if possible, increased their respect for a Sovereign so gracious. - In how many instances have these sentiments been conspicuous? Who has forgotten the late manifestations of them when a Prince of the Blood condescended to visit this infant Province and to express his anxiety for its welfare and prosperity - to borrow an expression from Shakespear, "Loyalty was then a tiptoe." - their language was the language of exultation. - This gallant General, this accomplished Prince, said they, is the Son of our King.²

I NEED not advance a step farther to satisfy all mankind that it was not *this* description of men that burst into applause upon the Hustings at S---. Permit me then concisely as the Subject will admit to describe another class of Men who did compose the majority of Electors *there*, except in a few instances. - Truth here will appear like severity but they deserve it - Disgust and indignation cannot be suppressed in the breast of a real friend to Government, when he sees a handful of Men saved from punishment - incorporated into our Society and protected by our Laws, rise up and applaud such Sentiments as are contained in this Address. - But I'll go on with my description, they are generally descended from that illuminated party, who, to use their own language, "ventured upon a turbulent Ocean, and settled in a howling Wilderness," because by their own turbulence and howling they had disturbed the tranquillity of their native Country. - Those of their prosterity who have not been exposed to the "finishing touch and polish of education,"³ are possessed of the same ideas and are moved by the impulses of the same spirit, which worked upon their great grand-mothers in 1620. - Dissenting from an established Religion, and opposing an established Government, no matter whether it be monarchical or republican, are by them accounted indispensable duties. - If by any accidental circumstances, they have been betrayed into expressions of Loyalty, they have never failed to exhibit proofs of repentance.⁴

ZEDEKIAH T---, Esq. availed himself of Capt. Sage's inclination to rest for a moment, and without observing any formality said, - I'll tell you how it is now; - these people whenever they are catch'd in this way are afraid they shall meet with the same fate that one of their countrymen did, not many years ago - he was, as the story goes, in an hour of festivity seduced - and what's worse, he was detected in crying out **GOD BLESS THE KING**, - There was not a dark night

2 See footnote 6 in the Introduction.

3 "Substance of MR. GLENIE'S ADDRESS To the FREEHOLDERS of the County of Sunbury", 1795, Manuscript Accession No. 113, p. 9, Saint John Regional Library.

4 The inveterate obstinacy of the Puritans to any form of political establishment (excepting their own) was a pet theme of Winslow's. See Winslow to Ward Chipman, 31 March 1785, Chipman Family Papers, J.W. Lawrence Collection, Public Archives of Canada.

for six weeks afterwards but what he was haunted by the Ghost of OLIVER CROMWELL,⁵ and at last he died with the night-mare. Please to go on Capt. Sage.

Capt. SAGE went on. -

This Majority of Electors Sir, for remember there is a number of very respectable Loyalists in the County of S---, were from the commencement to the end of the late war Inhabitants of this very County and under the protection of the British Government - but this consideration did not prevent them from sending Volunteers upon emergencies, nor from the most industrious and insidious exertions to engage the Savages to assist their American Brethren. - Is it wonderful Sir, that men like these should *listen with profound silence* to a Speech made by their own Representative wherein he avows that he has always opposed the government, and that he intends to persevere in this line of conduct? Has not this Representative, though not of the same Country with the Electors, an indisputable claim to their attention and favors? Are there not plain intimations in the Speech that all the measures which were adopted by the late General Assembly, were dictated by the Speech-Maker? And does not his vanity represent the other Members to be like so many little Eos, Meos and Reos⁶ sticking close to his rear and faithfully attending to his commands? - The Electors of S--- must naturally be elated when they hear that the Man of their choice has acquired in so short a time an influence so extensive over all the Officers of Rank - Merchants of eminence, and Farmers of distinguished integrity, who composed that honourable House, and that the "*political virtue*" which he ascribes to them consisted in their implicit obedience to his orders. - How grateful must they feel towards this great Guardian of the public purse, when he assures them that he kept the strings close drawn and fast tied whenever a proposal was made for incurring an expence for the defence of the province - for its reputation, comfort or convenience, or even for the education of Youth? And would not they have burst into high applauses if he had gone one step further and told them that he readily voted for £15 or £20 a day out of the Treasury of this "barely existing Colony" to be divided among the Members in payment for their *political virtue*, that being an article which could not be included in the Secretary at War's Estimates.⁷ - I shall trespass no farther only to ask; is there any Gentlemen who feels a due respect for the King and his Representative - is there any man who regards the Constitution that would not despise such applauses?

5 This invocation of the famous (and infamous) Puritan general was a favourite slur used by Loyalist propagandists to remind their Puritan opponents of their stained past.

6 Winslow's colloquial Latin for the modern "Every Tom, Dick and Harry".

7 A reference to the Carleton government's indignation that the assembly collected "expenses" or salaries for themselves while rejecting all of Carleton's proposals for provincial development and insisting that the British War Department should pay for all measures of provincial defence. See MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, pp. 104-7.

ZEDEKIAH T---, Esq. made a formal bow to the President, then a general bow to the other Members and thus began.

Mr. PRESIDENT,

SIR, I have listened with profound silence to the lengthy speech made by the Captain - it has made a deep impression on my mind, but I am not disposed to burst out into applauses, because he has rather illiberally traduced my Ancestors, and I think unnecessarily. - It would have been sufficient in my opinion, for all purposes, if he had confined his Remarks to the present Electors of S---, I however forgive him from the consideration that he has been warmed in a good cause. - I crave the patience of the Club, now Sir, while I make a few proposals in my own way, which if attended to, would keep up that consistency and uniformity which is so essential in all political operations and would give "*a finishing touch*" to the proceedings of the Major part of the Electors of S---. First, I advise them to call a Town-Meeting and to choose a Moderator in pursuance of the good old system - and that they vote "a set of Instructions to their Representative,"⁸ and to save them trouble I have selected a few sentences from the pathetic addresses of a man (G. Tennant.)⁹ whose memory, I dare say, is now and will be long revered by them, and which in my opinion, comprizes all that is necessary on such an occasion. - "What, says he, is the established Religion? What is the established Government? I'll tell you my dear Hearers! It is Popery - it is Paganism - it is Idolatry - Let us down with it - pluck it up by the roots and tear it to pieces. - work while the day lasts, for the night cometh wherein no man can work. - Let us lay the whore of Babylon flat upon her back. - Your shoulders are to her, therefore tug away - in the Lord's name tug away." -

My other project is to establish a public Library at S--- for the use of the old Inhabitants and such new ones as are lately converted to the same principles, and now act under the influence of the same spirit. - Though the Grand-Mover of our political machine may not indulge us with a College to give us "a finishing touch," for fear "we should monopolize education," he may perhaps allow us "to improve our understandings and better our hearts." - To facilitate this business, I do with all possible humility recommend the following Catalogue of Books - polemical - political and historical. - I have read them all - they will do to begin with and I guess they may be bought cheap,¹⁰

8 A reference to the practice of the former Thirteen Colonies to bind their representatives by specific voting instructions.

9 Gilbert Tennent, a leader of the Great Awakening in Colonial America. See Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind: From the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), p. 36ff.

10 A patently fanciful list devised by Winslow to mock the Puritan inheritance.

Videlicet

The Pilgrim's Progress
 The Religious Courtship,
 Hooks and Eyes for Believer's
 Breeches,
 The Spiritual Bo-peep, or
 you go in and I go out,
 Bunyan's high-heel'd Shoe
 for a dwarf in Christ,
 Doolittle's shov'd heavy
 ars'd Christian,

The murder of Junius,
 Whitfield's Journal,
 The blue Laws of Connecticut,

 The Rights of Man,
 The Declaratory Bill,
 and
 The short-hand Speech,
 Upon the Hustings at S---

FROM these Books they will be able to collect a religious creed, a political system, historical anecdotes, and some geographical information, and this if they are previously acquainted with the mathematics, is all that reasonable men can desire. -

THE Squire then sat down, and Capt. *Sage* rose again and addressing himself to Mr. *De Witt* said, Sir, as you are conversant with the courts, will you have the goodness to give your opinion, whether there is any grievance really existing from not having the administration of justice by the Supreme Court carried to every man's door.¹¹

Mr. DE WITT replied. - I know of no such grievance, the fact clearly is, that the Constitution and practice of our Supreme Court, are as conformable as the nature of things will admit, to the Constitution and practice of the Great Courts of Law in England; all causes there originate at Westminster the seat of Government in that country as they do here at Fredericton, the seat of Government in this; - and when there is any issue of fact to be tried by a Jury of the country, a nisi-prius Court goes into the county, where it is necessary to try the fact in this province, just as it does in that Kingdom. - From the little business in the Law, thanks be to God! that there has been in this province, there has hitherto been but little occasion for these nisi-prius Courts, but whenever there is, the Judges are ready to attend, and it would be ridiculous and indeed very injurious to the country, for them to be travelling through the Counties every year and calling off the people from their work to attend Courts when there is no business to be done. This judicial system has been justly the boast of British subjects and the admiration of the world from the earliest times, and the Founders of our provincial Constitution endeavored that we should participate in the blessings and advantages of it, and therefore established the same system here, and I can't help thinking that many well-meaning Men among us, who appear to be dis-

¹¹ "Mr. Glenie's Address", p. 6.

satisfied with it, don't perfectly understand it, and are too much wedded to the particular customs they have been formerly used to in the Colonies they came from. - However to obviate all difficulty or complaint of a want of justice, there are Inferior Courts of Common Pleas in every County, that now sit four times a year, that have unlimited jurisdiction in all causes where titles to Land are not in question. - There are also Courts of General Sessions of the Peace, held twice a year in every County for the trial of criminal offences within their cognizance, having the same powers with the same Courts in England; and when offences of a higher nature are committed, a Court of Oyer and Terminer and Goal Delivery is immediately appointed to go into the County where the offence is committed, for the trial of it; just as it is the case in England; exclusive of these Courts Justice of the Peace are empowered to try all civil causes to the amount of £3. as often as the occasion requires it. - There is also a probate Court in every County, always open. - There is a Court of Chancery and a Court of Admiralty for the Province as in England for that Kingdom; and we have also a Court called the Court of Governor and Council, having such other powers of the Ecclesiastical Courts in England, as are necessary and applicable to the state of this Province. - In short, if there is any such thing as having justice almost literally brought home to every man's door, we have it in this Province.

Capt. SAGE. - What then can this Declaimer mean by "carrying justice to every man's door?"

Mr. DE WITT. - He must mean to impose upon the understandings of us all, by a glaring falshood, when he says, that a Bill passed the late House of Assembly, "for regulating the holding and sittings of the Supreme Court in order to carry the administration of Justice into every County and to every man's door." - He knows, that, that Bill and the other five Bills he mentions as having passed in former Sessions, were only intended to remove two of the Terms of the Supreme Court to the City of Saint John, and that no alternation whatever was intended to be made, by either of those Bills, in the other Counties and if the Committee of Correspondence, which he speaks of, have in writing upon the subject to the Provincial Agent at home, confined themselves to the object of these Bills, they must have stated this to be the only design of them. - I am wholly at a loss for any other meaning, and still more astonished that this should make part of his Address to the Electors of S-, who certainly would not have been benefited by these Supreme Court Bills, this Orator talks so much about. -

HERE Squire T--- interrupted Mr. *De Witt*, as follows.

I BEG pardon, but I guess I can explain what the Orator means. - You know he has a powerful head for *Gimcrack* contrivances, and I fancy he must have had some such scheme as this; - Suppose Sir, a machine was to be made with a wheel

like a Razor Grinder's barrow - It should be made large enough to hold the dockets of the Supreme Court and other necessary papers, - At certain fixed periods in every County a procession should move in the following order.

First - The Cryer with a Bell.

THEN the Chief Justice and two at least of the Puisne Judges in their Robes. THEN the Barrow shov'd by Constables of the District and guarded by the Sheriff and his Deputies.

THEN the Clerk - the Bar following in their Robes, with the Attorney and Solicitor-General at their head.

AT certain given distances, not exceeding one mile, in the inhabited parts, the Cryer is to ring his Bell and make the following proclamation. - O Yez, O Yez, O Yez. - All you Gentlemen and Ladies of this District, who have any causes to try before the Supreme Court, draw near, give your attendance round this Barrow, and you shall be heard. - **GOD SAVE THE KING.**

THIS Sir, would be "*carrying* Justice to every man's door as much as possible." - Don't be angry Mr. *De Witt*, if I amuse myself one moment, in fancying how the countenances of the latter part of the group would droop and fall when travelling through some of the Counties, the people should repeatedly and sulkily answer the Cryer - No business for you here. - And allow me to figure to myself how immediately they would prick up their Ears, upon arriving in the County of S---.

Hallo! - there, they cry out - Stop the Court, - Here's a Man wants to prosecute his Timber Merchant, his Miller, &c. &c. &c. and he swears that unless the Court hang the Miller and make him pay damages, - he'll impeach the Judges and play the very Devil with the whole Court. -

Is there anything in this method of carrying Justice to every man's door that would be derogatory from the dignity of the Judges? - Would not there be great solemnity in the procession and in all the proceedings? - And would not this itinerating plan save a great expence by taking away the necessity of erecting buildings for the accommodation of the Courts? -

HERE a general laugh ensued, when the Squire fearing he had given too ludicrous a turn to the subject gravely addressed himself to Capt. *Sage*. - I did not mean to prevent Mr. *De Witt* from finishing his reply to your enquiries, which I confess has afforded much information and is perfectly satisfactory to me, and I wish he would proceed; upon Mr. *De Witt's* saying that he had suggested all that immediately occurred to him of consequence upon the subject - The Squire continuing his address to Capt. *Sage* said - Give me leave as you are

a military man, to ask you a question or two. - Is it a fact, that Estimates for buildings when made by "experienced, intelligent and skillful Engineers *always* fall greatly short of the actual expence of execution," as is asserted in the address, p. 7.¹²

Capt. *Sage* immediately answered, No - It must necessarily happen in making previous Estimates of expences for works and buildings, that the calculations will be in some degree erroneous but that they are always *short* of the expence is a gross mistake, I take the whole paragraph sir, whatever may have been this man's practice or principles when an Engineer, to be a scandalous reflection upon that respectable Corps, calculated to hold them up as projectors, who, to serve their own purposes, make a practice of ensnaring Government by producing false Estimates. - In the course of my military service I have been connected with Gentlemen of that Corps, whose Estimates exceeded as often as they fell short of the actual expence - 'tis possible that the Officers I refer to, might not have been within the line of this man's acquaintance. - The insinuation with respect to Judge Saunders is equally malicious.¹³ - The judge presented a plan of a building for the accommodation of the Courts, with an Estimate of the Expence; the plan was approved, but it was suggested that the expence would exceed the estimated sum, upon which the Judge pledged himself, that if the building should cost more than the estimated sum, he would pay the overplus out of his own pocket. - The Judge surely in this instance did not act from the principle, which it is intimated Engineers are commonly governed by. - It could not be for his interest to estimate the expence at *less* than the house would actually cost. - But truly - a serious answer to any of the assertions in this Speech, or whatever it's call'd, is more than it merits. - As to the string of egotisms with which the whole address is loaded, and particularly this paragraph - I can only say, that I never heard of any considerable military works or public buildings erected by ths Boaster, except a bridge over the little River De Bertier, in Canada,¹⁴ and *that* was not a lasting monument of his fame, for it was carried away by the first flow of water in the spring and another was built in the same place by an Engineer of a very different character. - Squire T--- thanked the Captain for his information, but says he, I don't see how Government can be tricked by this practice of Engineers. - By the Speech-maker's account, their Estimates are like Congress paper-money or French assignats, and when the difference is established between the nominal and the current value, they can do no harm; at present he

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

¹³ Colonel John Saunders, an officer in the Queen's American Rangers during the Revolution and in 1795 a Judge of the New Brunswick Supreme Court. See MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, pp. 72, 99.

¹⁴ An apparent reference to Glenie's engineering work in Canada while in the British army. I cannot, however, find a specific reference to the place named, and Glenie's principal biographers agree that Glenie's engineering skills were highly valued by his superiors.

seems to think the depreciation of Engineer's Estimates is at about 2/3ds from the real amount.

Dr. TOUCHY rose and said, - Mr. President, it has commonly fallen to my lot to consider the papers submitted to us merely as compositions. I never will concern myself with the politics of the Country - I think it improper for a man of my profession. - I have been repeatedly called in this Club a snarler and it is here that the name of *Touchy* has been politely bestowed upon me, I am very easy under it all: Perhaps I shall deserve these epithets again, for if ever I had cause to snarl, it was at the perusal of the pamphlet before us; I acknowledge my simplicity and declare candidly that I was for a moment taken in by the letter which precedes the address. It did not occur to me, that the By-stander could be the Author himself, and I really anticipated the reading a good thing because it had been received with such bursts of applause - But I will also acknowledge that I was completely disappointed, disconcerted and mortified by the very first incomprehensible page of this extraordinary performance, I cannot criticise upon it because I cannot understand it. - With a few additional words it would bear some resemblance to that column in the spelling book which begins with "incorruption" and ends with "lamentation." A declaration is made that it is to prevent both "misconception and misrepresentation and to show that there is no connection between approbation and dissolution." - The second paragraph as far as I can understand it, is a complaint against the Officers of Government for not communicating to the Orator their reasons for dissolving the late House of Assembly. - As to the next which relates to political virtue - pray Gentlemen look at it - read it - examine it, but don't try to digest it, - count the its in it - and say how you like it. - Do you recollect Churchill's description of "*The nameless Player*." It smil'd, It smirk'd, It wriggled to the Chair, &c.¹⁵

THE paragraph immediately after the *Its* has an exordium neat and easy. - It begins - "In the first place it discovered for instance as great anxiety" &c. - But I forbear an attempt to point out the inaccuracies in the remainder of this bombastic performance. Thro' every leaf of it and indeed in every other publication which has come from his pen - the eye and the ear are offended by his labored endeavors to copy the celebrated Junius.¹⁶ He is undoubtedly equal to this great original in baseness and malignity, but 'tis evident that he has not talents even to apply the expressions of Junius to any advantage. - Junius strutted like a well dress'd lady of the town, conscious of guilt, but sure of admiration. - This wretch hobbles like a deform'd hag, clad in the meanest apparel with a few stolen fan-

15 Rev. C. Churchill, an 18th century poet and political satirist, prominent in the reign of George III. See Thomas Wright, *Caricature History of the Georges* (New York, 1968 [London, 1868]), p. 269.

16 Junius, believed to be the pen-name of Sir Philip Sydney, one of George III's most scathing critics. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, VII, pp. 611-21.

tastic ornaments which only serve to render infamy ridiculous. - It would cause one pang more in the breast of Junius, if he lives, to see an instance, wherein envy, malice and slander have lost the keenness of their edge and become abortive by an attempt to imitate him.

HERE the Doctor stop'd suddenly, and putting on a countenance of great ferocity said to *Zedekiah T---*, Esq. Sir, I demand the cause of your laughter. - The Squire answered. -It was at the recollection of a story which came into my head at the very instant that you pronounced your last sentence upon the pangs of Junius.

SIR, said the Doctor, I am not satisfied.

THE President then interfered and said - I think you ought to tell the story Mr. T---

WITH all my heart replied the Squire. - Just after the exhibition of an Orrery at Lebanon, as David Rittenhouse¹⁷ was riding thro' the Colony; - at the end of a long miry lane he saw a lubberly Countryman sitting under a stone wall upon a heap of dirt, he had on his lap a huge pumpkin, which he was carving with a jack-knife. - Pray, man says David what are you doing? Why says the man - I have a notion to make something like a Rorrery.

Gracious Powers! exclaim'd the Artist,
What an insult upon Genius!

YOU may apply this to the Orator - to yourself - to Junius - or any body else. - You have allow'd yourself to be a snarler and a simpleton, and you could not have given a stronger proof of the title you have to the last epithet, than by acknowledging that you expected merit in a performance, because the majority of Electors at S--- burst into applause when 'twas delivered. - Allow me to tell you that they estimate the work of the brain and the work of the hands by the same rule, or as they do wood, in proportion to the hardness. - Here's one, say they, that writes fluently and without much trouble to himself, and even *he* gets some credit, surely then a much greater degree of praise must be due to a Bill-wright or a Speech-monger whose works carry on the very face of them as evident marks of hard labor, as if they were hewn out of the solid by a broad axe or flatten'd with a sledge hammer. - I have seen worse logic than this Doctor. - Suppose Sir, you stand up in the midst of these people and with all the gravity of a Critic, declare - I accuse this Author of *plagiarism*, why Sir 9/10th of them would conclude that he had the yellow fever. - Doctor, I see that you are of-

¹⁷ David Rittenhouse, an American “instrument maker, astronomer, mathematician....the designer of the celebrated orrery”, *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, pp. 631-2.

fended with my freedom, and I know the manner in which you'll resent it. - If I scribble you'll criticise, but if you expect to detect me in plagiarisms or false quotations you are mistaken. - I bid the whole corps of Critics an open defiance. - You may hunt thro' all the Volumes I have recommended for the Library at S---, and if you catch me tripping in a single instance, I'll make you a handsome apology, and much comfort do I wish you in the pursuit - I confine myself to such books as these when I am writing, purposely to avoid temptation and to prevent accidents, and I recommend the same caution to some of my brethren; depend upon it there is always danger when a man sits down to write that he will steal in some degree into the stile and manner of the author he last perused. - If *then*, you have a propensity to use hard words and your ideas move heavily on in plain English, if you are a Pedant by nature, let me entreat you never to meddle with productions that are admired for their energy and elegance when you are composing. - Let a man of this cast try the experiment. - If he should cull one of the finest rhetorical flowers from the famous letters of Junius, for instance, and place it at the head of a long winded sentence of his own preparing - Indeed Dr. *Touchy*, he might as well put a full dressed white whig on the head of a Black-amoor - it will look like the Devil Sir. - For my own part, I would as soon touch fire as look at Junius's letters when I am writing. - I was seriously alarmed the other day only in perusing the Address before us, from the unnatural mixture of some of Junius's expressions in it. - When I got back to my favourite authors, I rejoiced at my escape, and uttered a soliloquy to this effect, Primitive simplicity! be thou my motto! John Bunyan be thou my example! - Then shall I glide smoothly upon the surface of common sense, without striking except once in a while upon a pious ejaculation, which thanks be to God, I can always weave into my compositions, without doing them any harm. - It is a very easy thing Doctor, for a Critic, especially if he is a little touched with envy to take a book as a Surveyor takes a map, and put his finger on one place and say, - this is Barbarism - and on another, - this is Gothicism, and on another this is a monstrous inelegancy.

IF my inelegancies are intelligible, my dear Doctor *Touchy*, they will be more approved, by men of taste than the most charming elegancies, that no mortal under Heaven can understand. -As soon as the Justice had seated himself, a Gentleman whose name I do not know said to him; Sir you have bid a defiance to the Doctor, but you are in much greater danger from another quarter. - The President of this Club is vested with the power of publishing our debates, whenever he thinks they will answer any good purpose - The secretary is very accurate in taking them down. Suppose the Orator should by any means be possessed of this Evening's conversation, you may rely on it Sir, he would give you a worse dose than ever the Doctor administered. He'd find out all the private anecdotes and misfortunes of your family - Your Aunt, your Brother, and even your favor-

ite Bitch Torch would not escape him, and he would publish them to all the world.¹⁸

ZEDEKIAH started up and said, I will forestall him, and then addressing himself to the President, he went on Sir, I know I have had a large share in this Evening's debates, - allow me ten minutes more and I'll do penance by profound silence for the three next nights. The President nodded assent. - Zedekiah proceeded - In the hope that these debates will be published to the world, I give the history of my family to prevent “both misconception and misrepresentation.” -

MY Father and Mother were born at a place called Scunk's Misery, near Buzzard's Bay, they removed to Cape Cod and got their living by collecting pine knots and making Lamp-black - My education of course was not the most liberal. - I had a Brother whose name was Issachar - he ran away from home and engaged as a Servant in a Gentleman's family where he learned to read and write, and he made an amazing proficiency in cyphering. - He would undertake Sir, in five minutes to calculate how many grains of Flour there were in a barrel of Ginger-bread - he understood the principles of motion, and he had such a mechanical genius that he invented a Dumb-Betty upon a new construction to wash without water, and made great improvements upon wooden Clocks. - He learnt to talk in a language so high flown, that when he went to Boston, he was admitted a member of the *Rattle-traphical Society*. - He undertook to keep a School and try'd a variety of schemes to support himself, but at last the want of money obliged him to seek an appointment in the army, which with the help of his former master he obtained. - “How vain the hope, how ridiculous the attempt” to conceal an important event in any man's life. - Issachar was tried by a Court-martial for disobedience and mutinous conduct and *ignominiously dismiss'd* the service. - His friends, however, to whom I fear he has made but a bad return, interested themselves and he was restored. He was soon ordered on a duty which did not suit his constitution; he therefore resigned his employment and quitted the service - here ended Issachar's military career. - After this, 'tis said he was employed by a speculating Gentleman, who had a good deal of cash, to try a romantic project in a new Country. I have since heard a rumor that he was guilty of very improper conduct, that he was sent to England, and was near being sent to Botany Bay in the same vessel with Mr. Muir and Mr. Skirving.¹⁹ - If he should be sent there, Issachar will be out of this writer's reach, unless any accident should send *him* to the same Country, and then he would have Issachar's history ready cut and dried to begin with *there*. - I expect a letter from Issachar soon, which I shall publish. With respect to my Aunt *Mehitable*, whatever scandalous conjectures there have been about her, I verily believe they are

¹⁸ See Introduction.

¹⁹ An obviously scurrilous and fanciful account of Glenie's career. The “Rattle-traphical Society” is of course The Royal Society.

without foundation, and I am sure she has spirit enough to resent any insult or indignity that may be offered to her. There is not another living creature in my family except the Terrier Bitch *Torchy*, the poor thing had her tail snap't off in a Rat-trap, this misfortune is a fair subject for a writer who loves anecdotes better than arguments. - Mehitable and Torchy are both at his mercy, but I can tell him whenever he attacks them he'll find his match - If I was only to call out - Stick to him Hitty, at him Torchy, they'd make him scud under a bare pole, faster than ever he did in his life; and unless he is very much belied, he has scudded more than once in this way.

NOW I am upon my legs for the last time, permit me to ask another favor of your worship; - it is that when these debates are published, you would be pleased to order the following motto, to be placed at the head of the Doctor's criticisms.

Video meliora, proboque -
Deteriora sequor.

THIS will be complying with the fashion of the times, and serve as an incontestible proof that some of us understand latin.

THE Doctor call'd out. - Mind your own business, Sir.

ZEDEKIAH bow'd and sat down.

Mr. DE WITT rose and spoke as follows. -

SIR, when I first saw the pamphlet submitted this Evening for the consideration of the Club, I determined to enter at large upon a discussion of the several public questions which have been introduced there and handled with so much freedom, but Sir, before I arranged my arguments, a series of papers was published under the title of "the Review"²⁰ - and to use a term of Justice T---'s I was compleatly forestall'd. - The Author of those papers is evidently master of the subject; and he reasons with so much perspicuity and force, that every impartial mind must be satisfied with his conclusions, as they are constantly read here, all that I could say would appear like repetition. - I shall make a single observation upon that clause which relates to the qualifications of representatives. - This Author has carried his ideas of Independence farther than even his favorite Junius. - "Offices like gifts," he says, "have a tendency to corrupt the heart," and the conclusion is that they should operate as disqualifications. - Where would this lead us Sir? If the honorable marks of our Sovereign's approbation - if the liberal gifts of half-pay, compensation, &c. are to preclude us from seats in

20 A series of articles defending the Carleton administration, published originally in the *Saint John Gazette* during the campaign of 1795-96. The author is thought to be Ward Chipman.

the General Assembly, we must look within the limits of the County of S--- for all the Members of the next House. - We shall be sure to find one man at least, there, who has never merited a favor from the King, and who has exhibited such proofs of a corrupt heart, as effectually to preclude him from the confidence of his superiors and the society of Gentlemen. - The remainder of the Address is an unmeaning Rhapsody - It is -----

ZEDEKIAH started up and finished the sentence - a translation of a Speech made by a Jacobin candidate for the French Convention in 1793, with the omission of only two words *Equality* and *Indivisibility*.

THE President put on his Hat and standing up express'd himself thus - Gentlemen, the Debates this Evening have taken a different turn from what I expected, I am however perfectly satisfied with the reason assigned by Mr. *De Witt*, for not going into a train of serious argument, - the Author of *the Review* as far as he has gone, has done it effectually, and I hope he will proceed. - One consideration Gentlemen affords me the highest pleasure, which is, that whether we adopt the grave language of reason and argument or indulge in the more lively sallies of humour; we uniformly evince our Loyalty and Gratitude to the best of Kings, our respect for his Representative, and a due regard for the Religion and Laws of our Country.

I WILL close by quoting a passage from a sermon lately published, and which was read here on the tenth instant. The Right Reverend Author will not be displeased to find that his labors have once more contributed to cheer the hearts of the faithful and give fresh vigor to Loyalty. - "Certain it is that some persons are naturally of a more turbulent cast than others, they are fond of innovation and change, for the sake of innovation; the calm shade of peace and quiet pleases them not, they delight in a Storm".²¹

FINIS

21 Source unknown.