

THOMAS GORDON

THE "INDEPENDENT WHIG"

By

J. M. BULLOCH

ABERDEEN: AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

M·CM·XVIII

With Mr. J. Malcolm Bulloch's Compliments.

~~University, Aberdeen.~~

37 Bedford Square, W.C.1

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A BIOGRAPHICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALL students of eighteenth-century polemics and of second-hand book catalogues are familiar with the name of Thomas Gordon, co-author of the "Independent Whig" and translator of Tacitus; but few readers have any idea of the prolificness and popularity of this obscure Scotsman, who was writing constantly for a period of over thirty years (1716-1750), and whose work was being reprinted as recently as the year 1886.

He had not the charm of Addison or Steele, who quarrelled over the Peerage Bill of 1719, which introduced Gordon into politics. Gibbon thought him "commonplace," and flouted his "pompous folios" of Tacitus. Bolingbroke dismissed him as the "worst writer" in England of his time. Pope pilloried him as Silenus in the "Dunciad" (iv. line 492) and mocked him in the "Satires"; while Pope's industrious editor, Mr. Courthope, describes him as one of the "venal hacks" of his day.

Yet the fact remains that Gordon's pamphlets enjoyed an enormous vogue while he was alive and long after he was dead. Thus the "Independent Whig" went through at least seven editions in this country, between 1720 and 1747, and was reprinted twice in America, besides being translated into French. His other political works were translated into French, Dutch, and Spanish, while part of his Tacitus was reprinted for the million in the Camelot Classics so recently as 1886, with a eulogistic introduction by a member of New College. All this is quite consistent with the "literary" man's neglect of him, for the most popular books are rarely "literary," as witness Mrs. Henry Wood and Nat Gould with millions of copies to their credit; and the test breaks down even more obviously in

the case of polemical books, as "The Fruits of Philosophy," to take one notorious case, still serves to remind us. No one can pretend that Gordon is read to-day as Addison and Steele are; on the other hand, there can be no doubt that he produced a *corpus* of advanced opinions on politics, imperial and ecclesiastical, which had a far-reaching influence in their day and generation; and we have now reached a stage when we are beginning to evaluate eighteenth-century polemics more minutely than Leslie Stephen did, especially on the biographical side, as shown by Mr. Horace Bleackley's elaborate new life of John Wilkes.

Unfortunately, we know very little about Thomas Gordon's own history, for, though a prodigal dispenser of opinions, he was very sparing of the facts about his origins and career, so that we might very well call him *Silentio* rather than *Silenus* (an epithet applied to him because he happened to be a Commissioner of Wine Licenses) as Pope did in the "Dunciad". Gordon's own reticence was further accentuated by the disapproval of his opinions on the part of his literary countrymen. For example, Chalmers, in his "General Biographical Dictionary" (1814), dismisses the "Independent Whig" as "a gross and indecent libel on the established religion," describes his style as "extremely vulgar," and tells us that his Tacitus is "miserably mangled". Thomas Murray in his "Literary History of Galloway" (1822) was even more shocked by Gordon's views, thinking it "a fortunate circumstance that the 'Independent Whig' was now known only by name". No family of the house of Gordon was anxious to claim kin with him, because the Gordons as a race have never greatly interested themselves in ideas—they are essentially men of action—and least of all in radical ideas; so that beyond a note in a letter written by Sir Alexander Gordon of Culvinnan to the effect that Gordon's brother was a surgeon in Glasgow, we are quite in the dark.

It is usually said that he belonged to Kirkcudbright, but there is a dispute as to what part of the Stewartry he came from; some say from Shirmers in the Parish of Balmaclellan, and others say from the Parish of Kells. Thomas Murray informs us that his father, "the representative of an ancient family descended from the Gordons of Kenmure, was proprietor of Gairloch," at which no one could protest on family grounds, for the family had become extinct. An

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attempt has been made recently to tack him on the Gordons of Largmore, to whom Dr. John Gordon, Chirurgeon in Glasgow, the medical master of Smollett and of Sir John Moore's father, belonged.¹ The anonymous author of "The Characters of two Independent Whigs" (1720) tells us that Gordon was "by birth a Scot and by character an Irishman".

The date of his birth is unknown. Chalmers, followed by Anderson in the "Scottish Nation," suggests that he was educated at the University of Aberdeen or of St. Andrews. As it happens, there was a Thomas Gordon at King's College in 1713, and if we are to credit "Tacitus" Gordon, as the British Museum Catalogue does, with a law thesis in Edinburgh in 1716, this date would fit in, all the more as the thesis is dedicated to the 1st Earl of Aberdeen. This thesis is entitled:—

Disputatio juridica, ad Tit. 4, Lib. 1, ff. De in integrum restitutionibus, quam favente numine, ex auctoritate clarissimi ac consultissimi viri, D.D. Davidis Dalrymple, equitis baronetti, Regii apud Scotos Advocati inclytæ Facultatis Juridicæ Decani nec non ex ejusdem Facultatis consensu et decreto, pro Advocati munere consequendo, publicæ disquisitioni subjicit Thomas Gordon A. & R. ad diem 29 Decembris H. Lq: S. Edinburgi: in aedibus Tho. Ruddimanni, 1716. [4to, pp. ix, 8. In British Museum. Dedicated: "Nobilissimo, illustrissimo, ac potentissimo D. Georgio," Earl of Aberdeen . . . "nec non D. Gulielmo Domino de Haddo . . . filio ejus unico maximo parente dignissimo". Contains a "Proœmium," eleven theses, and six "annexa".]

It is not easy to fit in "Tacitus" Gordon with this Thomas Gordon, for according to a letter, almost the only auto-biographical one he wrote, to George Duckett, the author, dated London, January, 1718-1719 (Add. MSS. 36772, f. 198), he had lived "almost five years" at Amesbury in Wilts, where he was "taken for a squire" because

¹The whole question has been opened recently by Mr. E. S. Dodgson, Oxford, who is interested in Gordon philologically, first in a note to *Notes and Queries*, and then in the *Kirkcudbrightshire Advertiser*, where several letters appeared on Feb. 7, 16, 23, March 2, 9, April 13, 20, June 8, and July 27, 1917, with an article (by J. M. Bulloch) on Gordon's literary acquaintances, May 25 and June 15, 1917, and a short bibliography by Mr. Thomas Fraser, Dalbeattie, May 11, 1917. Mr. Dodgson discussed his vocabulary in the same journal of May 4, 1917, and in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* of May 17, 1917. The most succinct life of Gordon is that of Sir Leslie Stephen in the "D.N.B."

he wore a laced hat and a sword. He then went to London, where he is said, by his biographers, from Chalmers in 1814 downwards, to have taught languages. According to the author of "The Characters of two Independent Whigs," he first attached himself to the "secret agency" of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, who was committed to the Tower for treason in July, 1715, and by whom Gordon is said to have been kidnapped. This may account for his sojourn in Amesbury. At any rate, he "again became a visible man" at the time of the Earl's trial in July, 1717, changing his politics and attaching himself to Walpole. He settled down as an author in London, where he continued till his death in 1750.

At first he plunged into light journalism and jestful pamphleteering with an essay entitled:—

A Dedication to a great man concerning dedications, discovering amongst other wonderful secrets what will be the present posture of affairs a thousand years hence. 2nd edition. London: James Roberts in Warwick Lane. 1718: price 6d. [8vo, pp. 32. John Whiston, the bookseller, thought this skit one of the two really humorous things Gordon ever wrote. The pamphlet flouts "the Right Hon. Dives Earl of Widefield," the patron of Paul Poorwit. A 3rd edition appeared in 1718. Both are in the British Museum. The pamphlet was reprinted in "A Cordial for low spirits" (i. pp. 5-48); and in "A Collection of tracts," by Trenchard and Gordon, both issued in 1751.]

About the same time he was writing a series of light essays for "a weekly stipend" paid by a certain bookseller. These were reprinted in two volumes as follows:—

The Humourist: being essays upon several subjects, viz.: news writers, enthusiasm, the spleen, country entertainment, love, the history of Miss Manage, ambition and pride, idleness, fickleness of human nature, prejudice, witchcraft, ghosts and apparitions, the weather, female disguises, the art of modern conversation, the use of speech, the punishment of staying at home, on Sunday, etc.; criticism, art of begging, anger, avarice, death, grief, keeping the Ten Commandments, travel misapply'd, flattery, the abuse of words, credulity, eating, the love of power, the experiments to get rid of time, retirement, the story of Will Hacket, the enthusiast. With a dedication [pp. iii-xxx] to the Man in the Moon. By the author of "The Apology for Parson Alberoni," "The Dedication to a great man concerning dedications". London: printed for William Boreham at the Angel in Paternoster Row, 1720. [8vo, pp. xxxvi, 440, with a twelve page index. In British Museum.]

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Another volume was subsequently issued, a third edition of the two volumes appearing in 1724 and 1725. There is a copy in the British Museum. The second volume (pp. vi, 267, index 268-280) of this edition, which is dedicated to "James Lord Tyrawley and Killmain" (that is James O'Hara), soldier and diplomatist (who succeeded to the barony of Tyrawley and Kilmaine in 1724), contains the following items:—

An Account of the author, stock jobbers, authors, travels, fancy, journalists, the weather, hope, education, pratings, modern inventions, luxury, libel, popular discontents, great men, theatrical entertainments, method in writing, suicide, infidelity, publick sports, levity, the duty of authors, a club of authors, happiness, women, coffee houses, masquerades, patriotism, Bishop Burnet's History, mortality, the character of different nations, sedition, hopes, and some characters of the present age.

Gordon then turned almost exclusively to serious subjects, plunging into the ecclesiastical and political battles of the day, and taking a firm stand against the fighting rearguards of reaction which had not been wholly exorcised by the advent of the House of Hanover. He made his debut by taking part in the Bangorian Controversy (1717-1720), and it was this that brought him to the notice of John Trenchard, the radical-minded squire (1662-1723), whose acquaintance, as he tells us in "Cato's Letters," he picked up in a coffee house, then the rendezvous of the *Intelligentia*. This forgotten Controversy arose out of the liberal views of Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor (1676-1761), especially in his "Preservatives against the principles and practices of the Non Jurors" (1716), and his Sermon on the "Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ," preached before George I on March 31, 1717. Hoadly took a diametrically opposite stand from brother prelates like Atterbury (1662-1732), who had to be sent to the Tower for his Jacobitism, and banished the country. Gordon's lucubrations in the dispute enjoyed great popularity for over thirty years and were frequently reprinted. There were at least four of them:—

A Modest Apology for Parson Alberoni, Governor to King Philip, a minor, and Universal Curate of the whole Spanish Monarchy; the whole being a short but unanswerable defence of priestcraft; and a new communication by the Bishop of Bangor. London: J. Roberts, Warwick Lane. 1719. 4th edition, price 6d. [8vo, No copy in its separate form in the British Museum, but it is

reprinted in "A Cordial for low spirits" (i. pp. 89-142), and in "A Collection of tracts," by Trenchard and Gordon, both issued in 1751. An edition was published in Philadelphia in 1724 (Charles Evans's "American Bibliography").]

An Apology for the danger of the Church, proving that the Church is and ought to be always in danger, and that it would be dangerous for her to be out of danger; being the second part of the Apology for Parson Alberoni; by the same author. London: J. Roberts. 1719. 6d. [8vo, pp. 32. In the British Museum. It was also reprinted in "A Cordial for low spirits" (i. pp. 143-192) and in "A Collection of tracts".]

Cardinal Alberoni's Letter to the Right Reverend Father in God for the support of the Church by introducing ignorance and superstition, in answer to a letter of that Prelate's wherein he desires to be made a Cardinal. 1719. [No copy in its separate form in the British Museum; but it is reprinted in "A Cordial for low spirits" (i. pp. 193-206), and in "A Collection of tracts".]

Giulio Alberoni (1664-1752)—who became Prime Minister of Spain in 1717—by violating the Treaty of Utrecht, created the quadruple alliance against Spain in 1719, which resulted in the destruction of the Spanish Fleet in the Mediterranean, and he was driven into exile by the Spaniards. Having patronised the Pretender to annoy England, he roused the wrath of the Whigs. Alberoni represented everything that Gordon did not believe in, so that the pamphlets are writ sarcastically, as when Gordon says in the "Modest apology" that the Cardinal "has as good a right as any other Priest or Vicar whatever to act as becomes his order, by nourishing War and destruction".

A Letter to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury proving that His Grace cannot be the author of the letter to an eminent Presbyterian clergyman in Swisserland, in which the present state of religion in England is blackened and exposed, and the present Ministry are misrepresented and traduced; 2nd edition. London: J. Roberts. 1719: price 6d. [Pp. 36.]

William Wake (1657-1737), Archbishop of Canterbury, had written a letter in Latin to the Church of Zurich reflecting on Bishop Hoadly; hence this attack. The British Museum Catalogue queries the authorship of Gordon, but Sir Leslie Stephen suggests that this was probably one of the pamphlets which brought him to the notice of Trenchard. It is reprinted in the sixth edition of the "Independent Whig" (iii. 201-237).

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Gordon rightly anticipated that his pamphlets would add fuel to the controversy, for in his "N.B." to the "Modest Apology," he writes—"Not one of the numerous answers which will be made to this Apology will be worth reading. But at the earnest request of my publisher I design to write and publish a reply to myself which I desire everybody to buy". One of the answers was entitled:—

A Sincere Apology for the Mountebank Benjamin [Hoadly], written in the fashionable stile of the late very Modest Apology for Parson Alberoni, the whole being a short but unanswerable defence of Dissenting principles and a new way of computing the doctrines of those who are often styl'd the Apostolical and the Ambassadors of Heaven. London: E. Smith, in Cornhill. 1719: price 6d. [In the British Museum.]

These pamphlets caught the fancy of John Trenchard, who was then getting on to his sixtieth year, and had an ample fortune which he dedicated to the spread of his opinions, for as Gordon says he had a "strong way of thinking". Trenchard had started setting forth his views when Gordon was in short frocks, for he had written a book against a Standing Army in 1697. The young Scot, full of energy, was just the man for him, and so their literary partnership started. At first Gordon is said to have been Trenchard's amanuensis, but he soon developed into co-authorship with him, and between them the "Independent Whig" was the result.

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Gordon's name will always be associated with the production of the "Independent Whig". It is true that he was not its "onlie begetter" (contributing less than half its items): he was not even its chief inspirer; but it forms the very core of the creed which he expressed in his polemical writings for more than a quarter of a century, and which alone entitles him to remembrance. Hence the necessity of examining the "Independent Whig" in some detail.

Although it must seem dull to the modern reader, in view not only of its antiquated style, but of the fact that the principles it stood for have all been accepted, the "Independent Whig" is memorable by reason of the enormous popularity it enjoyed in its day, for it is one of the very few weekly periodicals that have ever been reprinted. It ran through at least seven editions in this country (1722-1747), was reprinted twice in America (1724-1740), and

once in French, in 1767, that is, say forty-seven years after its first appearance.

Trenchard and Gordon began their polemical partnership with a pamphlet apparently called "The Independent Whig," published abroad some time in 1719. There is no copy in the British Museum, but we learn the fact from the preface to the pamphlet on Gibraltar, which states that: "The former part of the 'Independent Whig' appeared abroad about the time the Peerage Bill made its exit from the House of Commons. [It was dropped, April 14, 1719, then re-introduced and then defeated by 269 votes to 177 on December 8, 1719. It would have rendered representative government impossible.] I design to continue the Paper weekly in a half sheet, which will appear on Wednesday the 20th of this month [December, 1719?] in which I shall meddle with Politicks only occasionally, my principal intention being to expose the malignity and danger of certain principles which prevail too much, and I wish I could not say are too little discouraged. . . . The felicity of the people is the end of the Magistrates."

The first part of the "Independent Whig" was probably about the Peerage Bill. The second part dealt with Imperial politics on a larger scale and was entitled:—

Considerations offered upon the approaching Peace and upon the importance of Gibraltar to the British Empire, being the second part of the "Independent Whig". London: J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane. 1719. 4th edition: 6d. [8vo, pp. 31.]

The pamphlet was strongly anti-French: "The Nation in the world whose power we have the most reason to guard against is that of France: and yet I don't know by what fatality it has so often been the unhappy instrument of promoting it". It proved a great success, for at least five editions were printed by the end of 1720 (of which a copy of the fifth is in the Aberdeen University Library), and it was reprinted twice in 1751, first in "A Cordial for low spirits," and secondly in "A Collection of tracts," by Trenchard and Gordon. It was also the cause of another pamphlet, of which there is a copy in the British Museum:—

A Letter to the Independent Whig occasioned by his "Considerations of the importance of Gibraltar to the British Empire". London: A. Moore. 1720. [Pp. 36.]

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A third pamphlet (of which there is a copy in the University Library) also appeared in 1719, probably after the Gibraltar pronouncement, apparently on December 20, 1719, the date on which it had been proposed to start the paper regularly:—

The Character of an Independent Whig. London: J. Roberts, at the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane. 1719. [8vo, pp. 31.]

It was a synopsis of Whig opinion on many topics, as, for instance, in these pronouncements: "Our Whig . . . scorns all implicate faith in the State as well as the Church. The authority of names is nothing to him. . . . He consents not that any man or body of men shall do what they please. . . . Our Whig is a declared enemy to all Wars if they are not absolutely necessary. . . . He would not have the men of the sword become familiar in the eyes of the people. . . . Our Whig has an aversion to Masquerades. They are a market for maidenheads and adultery: a dangerous luxury opposed to Virtue and Liberty."

A postscript at the end states: "In the second part of this Character will be considered the Affair of a Northern War". But no second part seems to have appeared, although the name was preserved in an attack on the brochure entitled:—

The Characters of two Independent Whigs, viz: T. G. of the North, and Squire T. of the West. London: printed for John Morphew, near Stationers Hall. 1720. Price 3d. [8vo, pp. 22.]

This was not only an attack on the personal characters of Gordon and Trenchard—in which we are told that Gordon, starting as a "latitudinarian," first played the jackal to Lord Oxford, and then ratted to Lord Orford—but a complaint that their Whiggism was *sui generis* and did not conform to the general principles held by the party. But while "The Two Characters" was forgotten, "The Character" had a great vogue, and was being reprinted as late as 1751, both in "A Cordial for low spirits," and in the "Collection of tracts," by Trenchard and Gordon.

The "Independent Whig" proper, which must have been greatly encouraged by these preliminary skirmishes, started as a weekly¹ on Wednesday, January 20, 1720, and continued to January 4, 1721 (the fifty-third number), two extra numbers issued on Saturday, Decem-

¹ I have not seen the paper in its serial form, which is not in the British Museum.

ber 24 and December 31 having been slipped in. It took as its motto the first verse of the famous Horatian ode (lib. iii. ode 3):—

Justum et tenacem propositi virum
 Non civium ardor prava jubentium
 Non vultus instantis tyranni
 Mente quatit solida.

It exchanged ecclesiastical for secular politics, concentrating on the pretensions of the High Church party; this characteristic being emphasised in the supplementary title to the fifth edition:—

A Defence of Primitive Christianity and of our Ecclesiastical Establishment against the exorbitant claims and encroachments of fanatical and disappointed clergymen.

One can well understand how the ecclesiastical aspect of Whiggism would appeal to a Scot like Gordon, who had begun his serious polemical work with several pamphlets bearing on the Bangorian Controversy (1717-1720), which had brought him to the notice of Trenchard.

Each number was an (anonymous) monograph, mostly on ecclesiastical subjects, and furiously against the High Church party. Although the points urged by the "Independent Whig" seem to the vast majority of people to-day quite unanswerable, the journal raised a storm of opposition which showed that the reaction attacked had received a stinging blow, and immediately a counter blow was delivered from many quarters by the usual polemical pamphlet. How many of these tracts were launched I cannot say, but the British Museum possesses several of them:—

A Letter to the author of the "Independent Whig," wherein the merits of the clergy are considered, the good vindicated, and the bad exposed, with some account of the late controversy in the Church. London: A. Moore. 1720. [8vo, pp. 32. In the Museum. Reprinted in "A Cordial for low spirits" (ii. 37-69); signed—"A Fellow-believer in the cause of truth".]

Aminidab's Letter to the author of a paper called "The Independent Whig," wherein is made appear that his taking upon himself the name of Independent serves only to show who he does depend on. London: T. Warner at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row. 1721, price 6d. [A copy of this pamphlet which is dedicated "to the A———l Club by a Hearty Lover of the Church and Monarchy," is in the Bodleian Library, where it has been examined for me by Mr. E. S. Dodgson, and where it is catalogued under Thomas Gordon. There is no copy in the British Museum, nor any men-

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tion of it in Halkett and Laing. The Museum has, however, several copies of a pamphlet entitled, "Aminidab or the Quaker's Vision," a satirical tract in defence of Dr. Sacheverell's Sermon before the Lord Mayor in 1710.]

A Letter from [George Douglas] the Lord Mordington to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of York occasioned by a most impious and scandalous weekly paper called "The Independent Whig". London: T. Warner at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row. 1721. [Pp. 78. In the Museum.]

An Answer to some late papers entitled "The Independent Whig," so far as they relate to the Church of England, as by law established; in which her doctrines, creeds, liturgies, and establishments, her clergy and their rights, divine and humane, are modestly defended; and their author's new notions proved to be, not only absurd and ridiculous, but also directly opposite to those very texts of God's Word, on which he pretends to found them. By Francis Squire, A.M., Rector of Exford, and Vicar of Cutcombe and Luxburrow, Somerset. London: W. & J. Innys, at the West End of St. Paul's. 1723. [8vo, pp. xvi, 188. Dedicated (iii-vii) to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Preface to the Articles, pp. ix-xvi.]

Besides these, attacks came from those in authority as set forth in the long letter to the publisher, signed "W. A.," which was prefixed to the fifth edition of the "Independent Whig," 1735. The prime mover of these was Thomas Wilson (1663-1755), Bishop of Sodor and Man, who attempted to keep "this most pestilent book" out of the island. He did so first by an Act against it dated January 27, 1721, and printed *in extenso* in this fifth edition; then by a letter to the Rev. Mr. Woods, Episcopal Registrar, to be communicated to the Clergy, dated January 30, 1721; and lastly by a mandate to the same effect to the Governor of the Island, Alexander Horne, dated February 21, 1721. The result was that the Library Keeper of the Island declined to accept a copy presented by Mr. Richard Worthington.

Gordon and his fellow-fighter gave battle to the Bishop in a curious pamphlet which had so great a vogue that it was being reprinted as late as 1839:—

The Craftsman: a sermon or paraphrase upon several verses in the 19th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles; composed by the late Daniel Burgess, and intended to be preached by him in the high times, but prevented by the burning of his Meeting House (in 1713). London. 1720. [8vo, 3rd edition: pp. 38. There is a

copy in the Bodleian as mentioned in Halkett and Laing. It was reprinted in the fifth edition of the "Independent Whig," 1732. An 8th edition, sold by Mr. Gurney, was published in London in 1792 (price 3d. 12mo, pp. 36). An edition was printed in New York for J. Parker and W. Weyman in 1753 (Charles Evans's "American Bibliography," iii. No. 7007). "The Craftsman" was also reprinted in "Tracts for the people," No. 21, 1839.]

The ecclesiastical opposition offered to Trenchard and Gordon so far from silencing them was the breath of life to them. Indeed, we are told in the fifth edition, that although Trenchard was on his death-bed and "past all hope of recovery," he "laughed very heartily" at the attack made by "a certain clergyman" (the Rev. Francis Squire?) The attacks probably resulted in booming the "Independent Whig," for it was reprinted in book form (8vo), for John Peele, at Locke's Head in 1721, with a dedication (pp. l-lii) to the Lower House of Convocation, followed by the paper itself (pp. 444) and a twenty-page index (Aberdeen University). A second edition (8vo) appeared in 1722, a third (8vo) in 1726, and a fourth (8vo) in 1728.

Even then the public was unsatisfied but asked for more, and an enlarged edition, the fifth, appeared in two 12mo volumes in 1732 with a fuller title and more material :—

The Independent Whig; or, Defence of Primitive Christianity and of our Ecclesiastical Estates against the exorbitant claims and encroachments of fanatical and disappointed clergymen. London: printed for J. Peele at Locke's Head, and sold by J. Osborn at Dock Head, near Rotherhithe. 1731. [2 vols. 12mo; vol. i. pp. lxxxvii, 262; vol. ii. pp. 545, with a 28 pp. index. Dedication to the Lower House of Convocation (pp. iii-xxxvi): A Letter to the Publisher of the "Independent Whig" signed "W. A." and dated December 14, 1731 (pp. xxxvii-lxxxix): Preface dated December 21, 1731 (pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvii).]

This edition differs considerably from its predecessors. In the first place it gives the initials of the authors of the essays, from which we find that twenty-two were written by Gordon, eighteen by Trenchard, three by Trenchard and Gordon, and ten by "C"—perhaps "Mr." Collins, who catalogued Gordon's works (*Monthly Review*, iii. 464), and who, according to the Richard Baron ("A Third and last Cordial for low spirits"), was a great friend of Gordon. This may be Arthur Collins, the London bookseller (1690?-1760), who

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compiled a Peerage. The fifth edition contained a new letter and the following items :—

In what only true Religion consists. (Jan. 11, 1721.) (Trenchard and Gordon.)

The Craftsman [first printed in 1720, vol. ii. pp. 473-511].

A Letter to a Gentleman in Edinburgh [signed "G" and printed for the first time, vol. ii. pp. 513-536].

A long epitaph on Trenchard, in Latin and English.

And still the public asked for more, so that a new and still further enlarged edition (the sixth) had to be issued in 1735 in three 12mo volumes. The first two (vol. i. pp. cl, 282; vol. ii. pp. 317, with a 30 pp. index) are identical with the two volumes of the fifth edition. The third volume (pp. xxiv, 412, with a 20 pp. index) is dedicated (iii-xxiv) to Lord Paget (1689-1741-2), "a very ingenious man," and contains twenty-one new letters (55 to 75) by the "Independent Whig" with three other items, namely :—

An Examination of the facts and reasonings in the Lord Bishop of Chichester's sermon preached before the House of Lords on January 30, 1731, in a letter addressed to his lordship [pp. 235-320].

A Sermon preached before the learned Society of Lincoln's Inn, January 30, 1732, from Job xxxiv. 30, by A Layman [pp. 321-375, and reprinted for J. Peele in 1733, pp. 51.]

A Supplement to the Sermon [pp. 376-412]. This had first appeared as a pamphlet in 1721.

Even with six editions the public was still unsatisfied, apparently expecting that every new issue would have a new "punch" in it. So in 1743 a seventh edition was launched in three volumes, a fourth being added in 1747 with the following title :—

The Independent Whig: being a collection of papers all written, some of them published, during the late Rebellion. London: printed for J. Peele and sold by J. Osborn, at the Golden Ball, Paternoster Row. 1747. [12mo. Dedicated to the Earl of S . . . Pp. i-iii; Preface, xxxiv; text, pp. 1-368.]

The volume contains thirty-two essays, which are largely of the ecclesiastical type of the original issue.

The fourth volume (minus the dedication) was reprinted by J. Kilburn in Dublin in the following year, 1748, as "A Collection of papers all written, some of them published, during the late Rebellion, by the author of 'The Independent Whig'" (pp. xx, 248: 12mo),

while several of the papers (notably Nos. 7, 10, 14, 15, 16, and 17) were reprinted in a composite volume entitled "Essays against Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrary Power," published in Manchester (in 1750?).

As I have said, the bulk of this fourth volume of the "Independent Whig" is ecclesiastical. Even the attack on Jacobitism is based on its ecclesiastical side, the writer regarding it as synonymous with Roman Catholicism. Thus in the thirty-first essay, on the absurdity of Jacobitism, we are told the "voice of Jacobitism is the same with the voice of Popery, to give up our senses. . . . Jacobites do with Patriotism as Papists do with Religion. How dare a Jacobite defile the sacred name of Patriotism, when he would leave the Gospel to the cruel mercy of a tool of the Pope and all the laws of liberty to a professed enemy of the Law."

The fame of the "Independent Whig" spread beyond our shores. One edition was reprinted in New York in 1724, the first twenty numbers appearing serially (Charles Evans's "American Bibliography," vol. i. No. 2537). Another edition appeared in Philadelphia in 1740 (*ibid.* vol. ii. No. 4522).

An edition was published in French in 1767 by Baron Paul Heinrich Dietrich von Holbach (1723-1789), the young German who was the friend of John Wilkes, and whose Paris salon is described by Mr. Horace Bleackley as the "Cradle of the French Revolution" ("Life of John Wilkes," p. 156). This edition is entitled:—

L'Esprit du Clergé, ou le Christianisme primitif vengé des entreprises et des excès de nos Prêtres modernes. Traduit de l'Anglois [London], 1767. [2 vols. 8vo; pp. 240 each. In the British Museum].

The year 1720 proved a very busy one for Gordon and Trenchard, for in addition to the weekly issue of the "Independent Whig" they were engaged in other pamphleteering. Three of these pamphlets were as follows:—

The Creed of an Independent Whig, with an orthodox introduction concerning canons, councils, mysteries, menaces, and church authority. London: J. Roberts. 1720. [Pp. vi, 28. In the British Museum.]

Priestianity; or, A view of the disparity between the apostles and the modern inferior clergy: by the author of the Creed of an Independent Whig. London: A. Moore. 1720. [Pp. 35. In the

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British Museum. This pamphlet was reprinted in the second volume of "A Cordial for low spirits," pp. 105-170.]

A Learned Dissertation upon old women, male and female, spiritual and temporal in all ages: whether in Church, State, or Exchange Alley: very seasonable to be read at all times, but especially at particular times; to which is added an essay upon the present union of Whig chiefs. London: J. Roberts in Warwick Lane. 1720. [2nd edition; 12mo; price 6d.; pp. 31. This pamphlet, which was reprinted in "A Cordial for low spirits," 1751, speaks of "Queen James" and of the French Marshals as "so many old women on horseback".]

"CATO'S LETTERS" (1720-1723)

As if one journal of their own, besides stray pamphlets, was not sufficient artillery to bring to bear on the Bastilles of reaction, Gordon and Trenchard started another battery in the shape of a series of letters signed "Cato," contributed weekly first to the *London Journal* and then to the *British Journal* between October 8, or November 5, 1720—the exact date is differently stated in different editions of the republished series—and July 27, 1723. During this period 138 were written, six additional letters being added between August 24 and December 7, 1723, when the series ended apparently owing to Trenchard's illness and death, which occurred on December 17, 1723. Of the entire series of letters, as we learn from the signed and dated series in the fifth edition, Gordon contributed 86, Trenchard wrote 52, and the two in collaboration produced 6.

The series, which opened with a letter by Gordon giving "Reasons to prove we are in no danger of losing Gibraltar"—the subject with which the "Independent Whig" had opened fire—covers a much wider area than the latter journal, which concentrated fire on the ecclesiastical Bastille. Their character is well described by the subtitle of the fifth reprinted edition (1748) as "Essays on liberty, civil, and religious, and other important subjects". Among these one of the most pressing was the "South Sea Bubble," to which fourteen essays were directed, including No. 2 to No. 10. Many essays were written on the philosophy of politics in general, while several on ethical subjects, such as "Flattery," found their way into the series.

The letters created some sensation and much opposition. Accord-

ing to the fifth edition, "an able and learned nobleman," who possessed a friendship for both Trenchard and Gordon, "was so fond of these Letters that from his great partiality in speaking of them, many people inferred they were his own". On two or three occasions he sent papers to be published under Cato's name, but as they were judged "not to coincide with Cato's design" they were not used. "He afterwards published some of them in another form, which heightened the report of his being the author of Cato's Letters," and a portrait of his lordship was published—"officiously done by Mr. Toland"—in the caption of which this was given forth as a fact.

The series proved such a success that it was reprinted six times at least in book form between 1721 and 1754. The first book edition (1721), "A Collection of Cato's Letters," included the series as issued to December 17, 1720. The second book edition, "Political letters in the London Journal" (64 pp.), continued the series to the end of March, 1721. A new and enlarged edition, entitled simply "Cato's Letters," with a quotation from Cicero's "De Legibus," was printed in four volumes in 1724 for W. Wilkin, T. Walthoe, T. Woodward, and J. Peele, 138 letters down to July 27, 1723 (but all undated) being given. It is dedicated in a long letter to John Milner, Esq., of Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, and contains a still longer preface largely devoted to the virtues of Trenchard. In 1733 "the third edition carefully corrected" appeared in four volumes under the title of "Cato's Letters; or Essays on liberty, civil and religious, and other important subjects". It contains the original 138 letters (November 5, 1720 to July 27, 1723), and six additional ones (August 24 to December 7, 1723) all being dated. A fourth edition appeared in four volumes in 1737, and a fifth, in four volumes, in 1748. Still another edition, in four volumes, was "printed in the year 1754," without publisher's or printer's names. All these are in the British Museum except the fourth, of which, however, there is a copy in Aberdeen University Library.

There were translations into French and Dutch. The seventeenth letter (by Gordon) was translated into French by J. L. Chamel, membre du Conseil des Cinq-Cents, and published in Paris by A. Badouin (in 1790?), pp. 10. A translation in Dutch of 133 of the letters appeared in Amsterdam in three volumes in 1754 as follows (there is a copy in the Guildhall Library):—

THE "INDEPENDENT WHIG"

Brieven over de Vryheid en het Geluk des Volks onder een Goede Regeering in 't Englesch uitgegeeven op den Naam van Cato, en nu naar den Vyfden Druk in 't Nederduitsch vertaald Amsteldam : K. v. Tongerlo en F. Houttayn.

Besides the regular series a letter was published separately as follows :—

A Discourse of standing armies, showing the folly, uselessness, and danger of standing armies in Great Britain, by Cato. (London : T. Warner.) 1722. 6d. [8vo, pp. 36.]

Trenchard had denounced standing armies in 1697, but the subject was discussed in Cato's Letter (No. 65, February 10, 1721) by Gordon under the title : "Military virtue produced and supported by Civil liberty only," the Naval side of the question having been set forth by Trenchard in the previous week (No. 64, February 3).

Among the books published in opposition to Cato were the following—all in the British Museum :—

A Defence of our present happy establishment and the administration vindicated from the falsehood and malice of several late treasonable libels, viz. Cato's Letters in the "London Journal," and the historical account of the advantage of the Hanoverian succession, etc. [by Dr. Matthew Tindal]. London : J. Roberts. 1722. 6d. [8vo, pp. 32. In this we are told that "none but a madman, because his windows have been broken, will set fire to his own house, or let those in who will infallibly do it. And yet this is what Cato labours with all his might to harangue people into."]

The Censor censur'd, or Cato turned Catiline, showing (1) who are the admirers of Cato ; (2) why they admire him ; with a word or two of standing force and a hint of ingratitude ; in a letter from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in London. London : J. Roberts. 1722. 6d. [8vo, pp. 29.]

Cato's principles of self-preservation and publick liberty, truly stated and fairly examined according to the law of nature, religion, and government. By a subject of the Cæsars ; for the direction of those gentlemen and housekeepers who have a right to vote in the next election for Members of Parliament for Westminster. London : T. Warner. 1722. 6d. [Pp. 36.]

A Defense of human liberty in answer to the principal arguments which have been alledged against it, and particularly to Cato's Letters on that subject. In which Defense the opinion of the antients concerning fate is also distinctly and largely considered. By John Jackson, Rector of Rossington in the County of York and Prebendary of Wherwell in the County of Southampton. London : J. Noon at the White Hart in Poultry. 1725. [Pp. viii, 207.]

The battle against the South Sea Directors was carried on in two other pamphlets in addition to the attacks levelled in Cato's Letters:—

The Conspirators; or, The case of Catiline, as collected from the best historians, impartially examined; with respect to his declared and covert Abettors: and the artifices used to skreen the conspirators from Parliament. By the author of the Case of Francis Lord Bacon: 8th edition. London: J. Roberts. 1721. 1s. [8vo, pp. xiv, 57.] Part II, "by the author of the first". 3rd edition. London: J. Roberts. 1721. 1s. [8vo, pp. viii, 65.]

The first pamphlet is dedicated by Britannicus to "the Right Hon. the E—— of S——d" by whom the third Earl of Sunderland (1675-1722) is clearly meant, for he was involved in the disgrace attending the South Sea scheme, which forced him to resign his premiership: "Go then, my Lord," says the dedication, "and like a second Cato, persecute corruption wherever you find it: so may you be honoured in this Age and celebrated in the next: so, when the history of this Affair comes to be writ without prejudice or flattery, may you be stil'd the 'Preserver and Father of your Country'." Both editions noted are in Aberdeen University Library.

Francis, Lord Bacon; or, The case of private and national corruption and bribery, impartially considered: addressed to all South Sea Directors, Members of Parliament, Ministers of State, and church dignitaries. By an Englishman. 3rd edition. London: James Roberts. 1721. 1s. [Pp. xvi, 62. (British Museum): 6th edition. 1721. (Aberdeen University).]

This pamphlet is dedicated by "Britannicus" to the last Duke of Wharton (1698-1731), who vigorously opposed the extension of the South Sea Company's Charter in 1720. In his dedication "Britannicus" apostrophised the Duke thus: "You start upon the World at once with all the Powers and Address of a mammoth Orator. You emulate [Cicero] in all his graces, without lessening those happy Talents by his Prolixity, or self admiration. . . . You think, like Cato, that a Nobleman ought not to be a private man."

MISCELLANEOUS PAMPHLETS.

Three political letters to a Noble Lord concerning liberty and the constitution. London: J. Roberts, Warwick Lane. 1721. Price 6d. [8vo, pp. 38. Copy in the British Museum.]

A Supplement to the Political Letters (1721).- [There is a copy in the British Museum, but it has been mislaid, and I have not seen it.]

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An Essay towards preventing the ruin of Great Britain. London: J. Roberts. 1721. Price 6d. [Pp. 27. Copy in the British Museum.]

The Spirit of the ecclesiasticks of all sects and ages as to the doctrines of morality, and more particularly the spirit of the ancient Fathers of the Church, examined by Mons. Barbeyrac, Professor of Laws and History in the University of Lausanne; translated from the French by a Gentleman of Gray's Inn, with a preface by the Author of the "Independent Whig". London: printed for J. Peele at Locke's Head, in Paternoster Row. 1722. Price 1s. [Pp. 72. Copy in the British Museum.]

In the course of the six-page preface, Gordon says: "I thank God we can understand the Scriptures without the voluminous and contradictory ravings and declamations of the Fathers, who have equally perverted the Religion of Jesus and the Religion of Nature".

A Seasonable apology for Father Francis, Chaplain to Prince Prettyman, the Catholick, but now lying in durance under the suspicion of secret iniquity; in which are occasionally inserted some weighty arguments for calling a General Council of the nonjuring doctors for the further propagation of ceremonies, unity, dissension, and anathemas, and for the better improvement of exorcism and March beer.

This pamphlet was first printed in 1723, but there is no copy in the British Museum, which, however, possesses the reprint (pp. 317-349) in Richard Baron's "Pillars of priestcraft and orthodoxy shaken," issued in 1752. It aims at Francis Atterbury (1662-1732), the Nonjuring Bishop of Rochester, who on being deprived of his offices and banished, went to Brussels in 1723.

Namby Pamby; or, a Panegyric on the new versification, addressed to A[mbrose] P[hilips] Esq: [the butt of some of Pope's satires].

Namby Pamby, Jack a Dandy
Stole a piece of Sugar Candy
From the Grocer's shoppy-shop
And away did hoppy-hop.

By Captain Gordon, author of "Apology for Parson Alberony," and "The Humourist". [Broadside of 96 lines: in the British Museum.]

A Hue and Cry after M——k, late master to a Corporation in the City of Dublin, by the author of Namby Pamby [1725?]. The British Museum Cataloguer has written in pencil the words, "*i.e.*, Gordon of Kirkcudbright."



THOMAS GORDON

Namby Pamby's answer to Captain Gordon :—

“Goosy goosy gander
Where shall I wander ?”

[A Broadside of 44 doggerel lines tentatively dated 1730, by the British Museum Catalogue.]

It was Henry Carey who invented the phrase “Namby Pamby,” applying it to the silly lines of Ambrose Philips on the infant child of Lord Carteret. “Namby” is the baby way of pronouncing “Ambrose,” and the P. of Philips suggested the jingle.

A Cobler's Opera, as it is now acted at the Theatre Royal in Lincoln's Inn Fields. By Mr. Gordon, author of “The Humourist”. Dublin: reprinted and sold by Mr. Hoey and George Faulkner at the Pamphlet shop in Skinner Row, opposite the Tholsel. 1729. [12mo, pp. 29. Six male and three female characters, with two scenes—Billingsgate and a room in the Gun Tavern. In the British Museum.]

An Appeal to the unprejudiced concerning the present discontents occasioned by the late Convention with Spain. London: 1730. [8vo. Attributed by Halkett and Laing to T. Gordon on the evidence of Maidment. No copy in the British Museum.]

The True Crisis. London: 1730. [8vo. In the Bodleian but not in the British Museum.]

A Vindication of the Quakers, or an answer to the Bishop of L——'s charge against them, and the late defence of that charge: to which is added a more full and perfect account of the Quakers and their doctrines occasioned by Dr. Henry Moore's opinion of them. 1730. [This pamphlet, which I have not seen in its original state—it is not in the British Museum—is reprinted in “A Cordial for low spirits” (ii., 227-254). In the 6th edition of the “Independent Whig” appears a “Dialogue between a country clergyman and a Quaker” (vol. iii., no. 5, 70-73).]

A Letter to a gentleman in Edinburgh concerning the busy and assuming spirit of the ecclesiasticks and their extravagant demands upon the laity. [This first appeared signed “G.” in the 5th edition of the “Independent Whig,” 1732 (vol. ii., pp. 513-536). It is also reprinted in “A Collection of tracts,” by Trenchard and Gordon, 1751.]

A Sermon preached before the learned Society of Lincoln's Inn on January 30, 1732, from Job xxxiv. 30, by a Layman. London: J. Peele at Locke's Head. 1733. 1s. [Pp. 51. In the British Museum. Reprinted in the 6th edition of the “Independent Whig,” 1735 (vol. iii., pp. 321-375).]

THE "INDEPENDENT WHIG"

A Supplement to the Sermon preached at Lincoln's Inn on January 30, 1732, by a Layman, addressed to a very important and most solemn Churchman, Solicitor-General for Causes Ecclesiastical. London: J. Peele. 1733. Price 6d. [8vo, pp. 38. In the British Museum. The sermon is dated May 8, 1732-33. Reprinted in the 6th edition of the "Independent Whig," 1735 (vol. iii., pp. 376-412).]

The Tryal of William Whiston clerk, for defaming and denying the Holy Trinity before the Lord Chief Justice Reason; to which is subjoined a new Catechism for the fine ladies; also a specimen of a new version of the Psalms by Mr. Pope, etc. The third edition. London: printed for a Society for the encouragement of learning; sold by J. Cooper in Fleet Street. 1740.

The "Tryal" occupies pp. 1-44, and the rest of the volume, pp. 45-67. The curious bent of Gordon's mind is shown by the etceteras at the end of this edition which, to say the least of it, border on lubricity. The Trial, without the frillings, was reprinted by Richard Baron in "The Third and last cordial for low spirits" (p. 156). Whiston's son, John, the Fleet Street bookseller (d. 1780), who sold Gordon's library, and whose notes on him appear in Nichols' "Literary Anecdotes," thought this "one of the two really humorous things" Gordon ever wrote.

An Essay on Publick Sports and Diversions; written by an ingenious friend and countryman, Mr. Gordon, author of the "Independent Whig," and now published by the request of several gentlemen and ladies; to which is subjoined an epilogue [in verse] addressed to the nobility, gentry, etc., of Edinburgh, spoke by Mr. Este on Monday the 17th of January, 1743, at the Taylors Hall, Cowgate; and also another [in verse] sent by an unknown hand, and spoke by Mr. Ware on Friday the 21st of January, 1743. Edinburgh: printed in the year 1743. [12mo, pp. 8.]

In the course of the essay Gordon says: "Operas, balls, play-houses, and publick assemblies of what kind soever that require rich and costly dress . . . are publick benefits. . . . It ought to be considered further that these diversions take people off from diving into the secrets of government and busying themselves in matters that do in no measure belong to them." This is quite the (sarcastically?) reverse of the point of view expressed by Gordon a quarter of a century before in the "Character of the Independent Whig," when he described "Masquerades" as "a market for maidenheads and adultery". There is a copy in the British Museum. Mr. R. W.

Lowe in his "Bibliographical Account of Theatrical Literature" described it as "a great rarity," but he had not seen a copy.

GORDON AS TRANSLATOR.

Gordon was an enthusiastic Latinist. If we are to believe the British Museum Catalogue, he started his literary career with a Latin thesis on Justinian, 1716, and he is usually said to have gone to London as a teacher of "languages". In the midst of his busy polemical life he made translations of Tacitus and Sallust, using the text in true Whig fashion to air his political views, and picturing Cæsar as a mere demagogue. These "discourses" had a great vogue, while the translation of Tacitus was for long the standard one.

The Works of Tacitus. 2 vols. London: printed for Thomas Woodward at the Half Moon over against St. Dunstan's Church and John Peele, at Locke's Head in Paternoster Row, 1728 and 1731. [Folio.]

The first volume contains the Annals (pp. 1-479) to which are prefixed Political Discourses on Tacitus (in smaller type, pp. 1-124). The dedication is to Sir Robert Walpole, as "the first to promote the following work in a public manner".

The second volume contains the five books of the History, the treatise on Germany, and the life of Agricola (pp. 1-391), prefixed by the Political Discourses on the author (in smaller type, pp. 1-143), with an elaborate index of 40 pages. The whole volume is dedicated to Frederick, Prince of Wales, with separate dedications to John, Lord Carteret (afterwards Earl Granville, 1690-1753) in front of the treatise on Germany; and to John, Duke of Argyll, "my patron and my friend," in front of the life of Agricola.

An octavo edition appeared almost simultaneously (1728 and 1732) in four volumes, that is to say vols. i. and ii. divided into two parts each, being printed in Dublin by A. Rhames for R. Gunne, J. Smith, and W. Bruce. A second edition, revised, was published in 1737.

Gordon's translation followed the standard translations Greenway (1598) and Dryden (1698), and was superseded by A. Murphy's (1793), which was merely a dilution of Gordon's. Thomas Murray in his "Literary History of Galloway" (1822) tells us (p. 223) that Gordon's translation was published by subscription. "As it was in

folio ["pompous folios" as they were called by Gibbon], Gordon's 'Tacitus' was very lucrative." Part of his translation is known to modern readers, for "The Reign of Tiberius out of the first six Annals, with the account of Germany and the life of Agricola," was issued by Walter Scott in the Camelot Classics in 1886, with a long introduction by Arthur Galton, of New College, Oxford, who praises it, attributing Gordon's "correct vocabulary" to "his bold and pregnant language," and to "his scholarly punctuation". Professor G. G. Ramsay, who has translated the Annals, writes to me that Gordon's translation merited the popularity which it attained as being suited to the taste of its day. "It runs smoothly and gives a good general idea of the sense, but it does not come up to the modern standard of accuracy in scholarship, and it gives no idea of the style or even of the compression of this author."

The Political Discourses with which Gordon prefaced the translation are completely out of date, but they had such a vogue in their time that they were actually being translated nearly half a century after Gordon's death, for a translation by P. Daude appeared in Paris, in three volumes, in 1794, of the "Discours historiques critiques, et politiques sur Tacitus et sur Sallust". The first volume contains the Tacitus discourses, and the second and third those on Sallust. There is a copy in the British Museum; the third volume is a reprint of a translation which had appeared in 1759 of:—

The Works of Sallust, translated into English, with political discourses upon that author; to which is added a translation of Cicero's four Orations against Cataline. London: printed for J. Woodward and J. Peele. 1745. [4to. In the British Museum.]

The first volume is dedicated, pp. i-xvi, to the Duke of Cumberland, of Culloden notoriety. Another set of pages, also numbered i-xxii, is an introduction to the author: pp. xxiii-xxviii are the contents to the Political Discourses, pp. 1-202 are the Political Discourses themselves. The second volume is dedicated to Evelyn, last Duke of Kingston (1711-1773), at whose seat, Stretton in Hants, Gordon was staying in 1743: pp. 1-336 contains the translation text: and pp. 337-346 the index. The dedication to Cumberland is very fulsome: "Few, sir, of your high rank, have found at your years [he was then 24], fewer have embraced, fewer still have improved, an opportunity of displaying military talents, and earned such military renown".

A translation ("par un de ses amis") appeared in French in 1759: "Discours historiques et politiques sur Sallust," of which there is a copy in the British Museum. A translation of the first of the Political Discourses appeared in quarto form at Madrid in 1840, by J. Lumbreras, under the title "Discurso sobre los partidos y facciones". There is a copy in the British Museum.

THE JACOBITE REBELLION.

Gordon was a strong anti-Jacobite. He wrote several essays against the Jacobites, and they were reprinted, as already noted, in the fourth volume of the seventh edition of the "Independent Whig," issued in 1747. They were reprinted in the following year as follows:—

A Collection of papers all written, some of them published, during the late Rebellion. By the author of "The Independent Whig".
Dublin: J. Kilburn. 1748. [12mo, pp. xx, 248.]

There are twenty-two papers in the volume, beginning with a fierce attack on Roman Catholicism in general, and on France as a Catholic country in particular—even the France of William the Conqueror, who is pictured as "faithless and barbarous" to Englishmen; the chapter on the Norman Invasion (pp. 32-39) is largely a summary of the first chapter in the author's unpublished "History of England". The same work is utilised in the chapter on James II (pp. 102-108). Papers 14-17 contain the "Dialogue between a noble Convert and his late Confessor," which was also printed in the "Essays against Popery" (1750?). In the thirty-first chapter, "The Absurdity of Jacobitism," we are told that the voice of Jacobitism is the "same with the voice of Popery, to give up our senses. . . . Jacobites do with Patriotism as Papists do with Religion. How dare a Jacobite defile the sacred name of Patriotism, when he would leave the Gospel to the cruel mercy of a tool to the Pope, and all the laws of Liberty to a professed enemy of the Law? . . . The wild partisans educated on hills and in caves, as fierce as wolves, as ignorant as cattle, were furnished with cant, which they called Reason. A miserable mob, naked of instruction, as well as of covering, would be the judge of all things."

A Short review of a late pamphlet entitled "Some Considerations on the law of forfeitures for High Treason". London: J. Roberts. 1746. Price 1s. [8vo, pp. 76.]

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There is a copy of this pamphlet in the British Museum, but it is attributed to Gordon not by the Catalogue, but by Watt's "Bibliotheca Britannica". The "Considerations" was written in 1745 by Charles Yorke (1722-1770) who became Lord Chancellor.

An Essay on government. London: J. Roberts, in Warwick Lane. 1747. Price 1s. [8vo, pp. v, 47: in the British Museum.]

This pamphlet is dedicated by T. Gordon to Sir Robert King, bart. of Boyle Abbey, co. Roscommon (1724-1755), who was created Lord Kingsborough in 1749.

Essays against popery, slavery, and arbitrary power, published during the late unnatural Rebellion in the years 1745 and 1746. Manchester: printed by R. Whitworth, bookseller. [1750? 8vo, pp. xii, 240: in the British Museum.]

The essays were by several hands, beginning with the "Six Farmers' Letters to the Protestants of Ireland". Ten are by Gordon, some of them being signed "Montanus," and the dedication (pp. i-xii) is taken from Cato's Letters, Nos. 126 and 127, published in 1723. The essays by "Montanus" are as follows:—

"On the want of charity in the Roman Church" (pp. 65-71).

"Hints at the dreadful consequences that would ensue a successful French invasion" (pp. 72-80).

"Remarks upon the appeal of the Pretender, young and old, to the People," published November 21, 1745 (pp. 81-91). In the course of this essay we are told (p. 80): "A bloody host of robbers from the woods and bogs of Ireland, droves of savages from the rocks and caverns of the Highlands, void of letters and even of humility, armed with ignorance, brutality, and barbarous zeal, must be turned into the Army to secure a violent establishment by acts of violence; crazy monks without mercy or knowledge must be our leaders to instruct us in the guilt of Christian charity and the danger of human reason; a new nobility of Upstarts, Fugitives, and Outlaws, raised from obscurity, chiefly known for their barbarity; original Mac's and O's shall swagger in the highest stations and dignities, bear the greatest titles without being able to read them, and sink and defile them by wearing them."

"On Popery" (pp. 92-99).

"A display of Popery in order to rouse stupid or lukewarm Protestants and undecisive Papists, who are kept by their priests from the true knowledge" (pp. 115-120).

"Some further thoughts upon Popery and the French Government" (pp. 121-128).

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"Question . . . from one of Mr. Gordon's Political Discourses upon Sallust . . . of the mutability of Government" (pp. 129-134).

"Extracts from the reign of William the Norman" (pp. 135-142). This is taken from Gordon's "History of England," which was never published as a whole. The MS. is now in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 20780).

"Further remarks on the Invasion and the Pretender's declaration" (pp. 145-150).

"Remarks on the conduct of three Princes of the Stuart family, etc." (pp. 151-156).

"A Dialogue between a noble convert and his late confessor" (pp. 178-207).

The last essay by Gordon, published in his lifetime was:—

A Letter of consolation and counsel to the good people of England, occasioned by the late earthquake; by Mr. Gordon.

This production was first printed in 1750, London having experienced a slight earthquake shock on February 19, 1750. But the only copy of the pamphlet in the British Museum is the reprint of it in "The Pillars of priestcraft and orthodoxy shaken," edited by Richard Baron (London: R. Griffiths, 1752), in which it appears (vol. i., pp. 273-315) signed "A Layman," though Baron assigns it to Gordon in the table of contents. It ends with the exhortation, "Let us all live good lives and then we need not fear death or earthquakes".

POSTHUMOUS REPRINTS.

In the year following Gordon's death, which occurred in 1750, two reprints appeared.

A Collection of Tracts by the late John Trenchard, Esq., and Thomas Gordon, Esq. (London: F. Cogan, at the Middle Temple Gate in Fleet Street.) 1751. [2 vols., 12mo, pp. ix, 408; and pp. 419.]

It is dedicated by the editor to William Hippisley, who was Trenchard's heir. The first volume contains 22 essays, and the second 18, or 40 in all—of which 26 are attributed to "T. Gordon" in the table of contents, and another to Trenchard and Gordon in collaboration. Gordon's essays are as follows:—

"A Modest apology for Parson Alberoni" (1719); "Apology for the Church in danger" (1719); "A Dedication to a great man"; "A Letter to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury"; "True account of a revelation lately discovered to Jeremiah van Husen, a German physician" (1719); "Learned dissertation upon old women" (1720);

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'Considerations upon the approaching peace" (1720); "Letter to a leading great man [Walpole], concerning the rights of the people to petition" (1720); "Case relating to the surrender of Mr. Knight" (1728); "Character of an Independent Whig" (1720); "Discourse on standing armies, showing the folly, uselessness, and danger to Great Britain" (1722); "Nature and weight of the taxes of the nation"; "A Compleat history of the late septennial parliament" (1722); "Practice of stock jobbing" (1724); "The Late proceedings and cruel execution at Thorn in Russian Poland" (1725); "Royal gallantry" (1723); "Letters to a gentleman in Edinburgh, concerning the busy and assuming spirit of the ecclesiastics" (1725); "The Craftsman" (1723); "A Serious expostulation with the Bishop of London" (1750); "True picture of a modern Tory" (1722), supplement to the sermon preached at Lincoln's Inn; "Letter to the Rev. Dr. Codex on the subject of his instruction to the Crown, inserted in the Daily Journal" of February 27, 1733 (1734); the prefaces to the fourth and sixth collections of Cato's Letters; "Creed of an Independent Whig"; "Priestianity".

Another collection of Gordon's essays appeared about the same time:—

A Cordial for low spirits, being a collection of valuable tracts, by the late Thomas Gordon, Esq. 2nd edition. London: R. Griffiths at the Dunciad. 1751. [Vol. i., pp. 228; vol. ii., pp. 352. 12mo. A supplementary volume is called "The Third and last cordial for low spirits".]

This collection of reprints was edited by Richard Baron (died 1768), who tells us in the preface to the second volume that he had had access to an annotated copy of the pamphlets, from which he was able to identify Gordon's; and also to "Collins's Catalogues". Collins was a great friend of Gordon, he tells us. It probably refers to Arthur Collins, the famous peerage compiler (1682-1760), who was originally a bookseller. Fourteen of the items reprinted are assigned either definitely or tentatively to Gordon, for whom Baron had a great admiration. The first volume contains the following seven pamphlets by Gordon:—

"Dedication to a great man" (pp. 5-48); "Dissertation on old women" (pp. 49-88); "A Modern apology for Parson Alberoni" (pp. 89-142); "An Apology for the Church in danger"; "Cardinal Alberoni's letters to a Right Rev. Father in God" (pp. 193-206); "The Character of an Independent Whig" (pp. 207-254); "Considerations upon the approaching Peace and upon the importance of Gibraltar" (pp. 255-288).

The second volume contains three items attributed to Gordon :—

“The Creed of an Independent Whig” (pp. 1-36); “A Letter to the author of the Independent Whig” (author supposed to be Mr. Gordon), (pp. 37-40); “Priestianity” (pp. 105-170).

The third volume contains seven items, of which one is by Gordon, namely :—

“The Trial of the Rev. William Whiston.”

A third edition of “A Cordial for low spirits” was published by Wilson and Fell in 1763. A copy in Aberdeen University Library has MS. notes by the editor, Richard Baron.

MSS. HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Besides all this, Gordon left a manuscript History of England now in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 20780), to which it was presented in May, 1855, by Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, 6th bart. of Nettlecombe, Somerset, descended from the eldest sister of Gordon's second wife.

The “History of England” is written in a large clear hand. Gordon refers to this work in the preface to his translation of “Sallust,” 1745, where he says (p. xxi) :—

“I have been some years engaged on the ‘History of England,’ and intend to pursue it. . . . My first intention was to write the life of Cromwell only, but, as I found that, in order to describe his times it was necessary to describe the times which preceded and introduced him, and that I could not begin even at the Reformation without recounting many public incidents before the Reformation, I have begun at the Conquest and gone through several Reigns, some of these seen and approved by the ablest judges, such judges as would animate the slowest ambitions. Half of it will probably appear a few years hence; the whole will conclude with the ‘History of Cromwell’.”

In a letter written about 1743 to the Duke of Newcastle from Stretton, in Hampshire, the seat of the Duke of Kingston, husband of the notorious “Duchess of Kingston,” Gordon says: “I am going through an English Reign” (Add. MSS. 32703 f. 275).

Gordon's History runs into 920 folio pages, written on both sides of the paper, and amounting to 171,200 words. It is not a continuous record, dealing only with the following sovereigns :—

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	PAGES
William the Conqueror	1 to 28
William II.	29 ,, 51
Henry I.	53 ,, 87
Stephen	89 ,, 115
Henry II.	117 ,, 195
Henry III.	196 ,, 302
Edward II.	} 303 ,, 384
Edward III.	}
James I.	385 ,, 460

The "History of England" comes down to the year 1610 and ends in the middle of a sentence.

Another unpublished work by Gordon (Add. MSS. 21153) consists of 54 folio pages, written on both sides of the paper, and running into 10,000 words, entitled:—

"Upon persecution and the natural ill tendency of Power in the Clergy occasioned by the Tryal and tragical death of Lord Cobham" [Sir John Oldcastle].

Sir Walter Trevelyan thought highly of this essay, for, during a visit to Edinburgh in December, 1852, he showed it to Robert Cox, W.S. (1810-72), the anti-Sabbatarian writer, who advocated Sunday trains in 1850, and who began a series of anti-Sabbath treatises in 1853 with his "Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties". Cox, in a letter to Trevelyan, bound up with Gordon's essays, says, "the essay is not worth re-printing, partly because the views advanced had been largely conceded, and partly on account of the invective style," but he quotes from it in his "Sabbath Laws" (pp. 245-246).

Like most literary men—they are a peculiarly quarrelsome breed—Gordon had enemies, who thought little of him.

Gibbon says ("Miscellaneous Works," 1814 ed., vol. v.): "This writer has gained a great reputation for boldness and enthusiasm. Yet I have been not able to discover in his works anything but commonplace." He dismisses Gordon's "Tacitus" as "pompous folios".

Lord Bolingbroke, who died in 1751, the year after Gordon, contrasts Conyers Middleton, who died the same day as Gordon, and the latter as "the best writer in England and the worst" (Nichols' "Literary Anecdotes," v. 419). The Rev. Dr. William Webster (1689-1758) defended Bishop Dr. Francis Hare, Bishop of Chichester (1671-1740) against Gordon (Nichols' "Literary Anecdotes," v. 161). Pope flouted him as "Silenus"—because Gordon had been made

first Commissioner of the Wine Licenses by Walpole—in "The Dunciad" (iv. line 492):—

That nature our Society adores,
Where Tindal dictates and Silenus snores.

In the epilogue to the Satires (Courthope's edition, iii. 459), we get the couplet:—

There's honest Tacitus once talked as big
But he is now an Independent Whig.

Courthope, by the way, classes Gordon among the "venal hacks" of his day.

On the other hand, Richard Baron, who reprinted many of his essays in "A Cordial for Low Spirits," speaks of him (vol. i., p. iii) as "the most excellent Thomas Gordon".

There is an appreciation (and also depreciation) of him in Thomas Murray's "Literary History of Galloway" (pp. 213-224).

Not only do we know nothing about Gordon's precise origin, but we do not know the name of the first lady he married before he led his colleague Trenchard's widow to the altar. Murray tells us that he had "several children" by his second wife, but that is doubtful. In his (holograph) will he speaks of his three children—Thomas, William, and Patty, but as Thomas was admitted to the Bar in 1740, it is clear that he could not have been the son by Mrs. Trenchard, for Trenchard died in 1723.

I do not know when "Tacitus" Gordon married Mrs. Trenchard. Gordon hints that the marriage was a death-bed legacy from Trenchard. The marriage meant for Gordon an entry into a family with money, for Mrs. Trenchard's people, the Blacketts, were rich Newcastle coalmasters. Gordon would seem to have been a widower in 1719, for in "The Character of an Independent Whig" (p. 23), published in 1719, he speaks of "having neither wife nor daughter of my own".

He seems to have lived at Hornsey, for his son Thomas, is described in 1740 as the "son and heir of Thomas Gordon of Hornsey in the County of Middlesex".

Gordon died in London on July 28, 1750, on the same day as his friend the Rev. Conyers Middleton (1683-1750), the biographer of Cicero.

He made a holograph will on July 26, and it was proved by his

wife Anne, his sole executor, on August 8, 1750. He had made a pre-nuptial contract with the lady, which was not affected by the will, and all her own property remained hers intact. He left certain property (apparently copyrights) to his three children: Thomas, barrister-at-law, Middle Temple; William, and Patty. From the fact that there is no mention in Mrs. Gordon's will of any of these children, or even of anybody called Gordon, one may conclude either that none of them was hers, or that all of them predeceased her.

Mrs. Gordon retired to Somerset, apparently to be near the Trevelyans, of Nettlecombe, the descendants of her sister, Lady Calverley. She had a house at Abbots Leigh, near Bristol (in the parish church of which there is a monument to her first husband, John Trenchard), where she made a will on April 4, 1777, adding a codicil on February 3, 1783. She died on April 15, 1783, and her will was proved in June, 1783, her grandnephew, Sir John Trevelyan, being executor.

