

#### CAMBRIDGE LIBRARY COLLECTION

Books of enduring scholarly value

## British and Irish History, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

The books in this series focus on the British Isles in the early modern period, as interpreted by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historians, and show the shift to 'scientific' historiography. Several of them are devoted exclusively to the history of Ireland, while others cover topics including economic history, foreign and colonial policy, agriculture and the industrial revolution. There are also works in political thought and social theory, which address subjects such as human rights, the role of women, and criminal justice.

## **Memoirs of John Horne Tooke**

Equally revered and reviled, the radical John Horne Tooke (1736–1812) enjoyed a well-deserved reputation as a political firebrand. Having attended Eton and St John's College, Cambridge, he explored careers in the church and law before finally gaining recognition as a vehement advocate of political reform. This acclaimed two-volume biography by Alexander Stephens (1757–1821) was published in 1813, incorporating personal correspondence and presenting its subject as 'a firm friend to the laws and liberties of his native country'. Volume 1 covers the period 1736–77 and leads the reader from Horne's birth, education and ordination through to his early defence of John Wilkes and the foundation of the Society of Gentleman Supporters of the Bill of Rights. During this period, Horne published *The Petition of an Englishman* (1765) as well as stinging letters in the *Oxford Magazine*. This volume concludes with an account of Horne's infamous trial and imprisonment for libel.



Cambridge University Press has long been a pioneer in the reissuing of out-of-print titles from its own backlist, producing digital reprints of books that are still sought after by scholars and students but could not be reprinted economically using traditional technology. The Cambridge Library Collection extends this activity to a wider range of books which are still of importance to researchers and professionals, either for the source material they contain, or as landmarks in the history of their academic discipline.

Drawing from the world-renowned collections in the Cambridge University Library and other partner libraries, and guided by the advice of experts in each subject area, Cambridge University Press is using state-of-the-art scanning machines in its own Printing House to capture the content of each book selected for inclusion. The files are processed to give a consistently clear, crisp image, and the books finished to the high quality standard for which the Press is recognised around the world. The latest print-on-demand technology ensures that the books will remain available indefinitely, and that orders for single or multiple copies can quickly be supplied.

The Cambridge Library Collection brings back to life books of enduring scholarly value (including out-of-copyright works originally issued by other publishers) across a wide range of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences and in science and technology.



# Memoirs of John Horne Tooke

Interspersed with Original Documents

Volume 1

ALEXANDER STEPHENS





## **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge, CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge. It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

> www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108061605

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2013

This edition first published 1813 This digitally printed version 2013

ISBN 978-1-108-06160-5 Paperback

This book reproduces the text of the original edition. The content and language reflect the beliefs, practices and terminology of their time, and have not been updated.

Cambridge University Press wishes to make clear that the book, unless originally published by Cambridge, is not being republished by, in association or collaboration with, or with the endorsement or approval of, the original publisher or its successors in title.



## MEMOIRS

of

## JOHN HORNE TOOKE,

INTERSPERSED WITH

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

BY ALEXANDER STEPHENS, ESQ.

OF THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

---- "Nam divitiarum et formæ gloria fluxa
Atque fragilis est: virtus clara
Æternaque habetur."

SALL. BEL. CATALINAR. cap. 1.

## LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON AND CO., ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD. 1813.



Printed by C. Woon,
Poppin's Court, Fleet Street.



#### TO THE

## EARL OF MOIRA, K. G.

## GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA,

&c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,

I dedicate this work to you, merely because I know not of any other public man so worthy of my esteem.

Had your lordship, in conformity with the general wish, been occupied at this moment in directing the councils of that country, which your life, character, and talents have adorned, this address would have been withheld; for it might then have appeared to spring from the sordid calculations of interest, or the still meaner suggestions of adulation.

It is now only, when you are hastening, I trust, to confer blessings on millions,



iv DEDICATION.

and about to vindicate the honour of the British name in the East, that I presume to inscribe this work to you, and beg leave to acknowledge myself,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient
and very humble servant,
THE AUTHOR.



## PREFACE.

TO write the life of a person, against whom violent prejudices have long existed, and treat freely of one, as yet scarcely cold in his grave, is a task equally difficult and delicate. Yet memoirs, such as these, if composed with talents and fidelity, would contribute to rescue English biography from the charge of penury and partiality, on one hand, while, by laying open the secret springs of human action, on the other, they could not fail both to gratify and instruct mankind.

But if, unfortunately, the author does not possess such high pretensions to public attention, he, at least, hopes to be entitled to the humbler claims of candour and ingenuousness. It is his chief aim, on the present occasion, to rescue the name and character of a celebrated man from unmerited obloquy, and prove, not-



vi PREFACE.

withstanding some apparent political eccentricities, that he was a true, able, and firm friend to the laws and liberties of his native country. But it is not intended to describe him as a "faultless monster," entirely exempt from all the passions, the frailties, and the failings, incident to humanity. He has not drawn an imaginary picture, but painted a portrait from the living subject. The ends of legitimate biography are best fulfilled, by avoiding unmerited censure on one hand, and unjust panegyric on the other.

The materials of this work consist of original letters and papers, some of which have been communicated by the family of the deceased, and others by his friends. A variety of incidents have been supplied in consequence of an acquaintance of several years duration; and of the various conversations, some were penned soon after they occurred, and others supplied from memory.

It cannot be denied, that the correspondence with Mr. Wilkes has, in some measure, become obsolete, by the lapse of



#### PREFACE.

vii

time; it was absolutely necessary, however, to introduce it, for the purposes of elucidation; but the speeches from the Hustings, ought assuredly to have been consigned to the Appendix. The letters between Mr. Horne Tooke and Junius require no apology, as they reflect equal honour on the head and heart of the former.

Those who may expect a work favourable either to the views or wishes of any religious sect, or political party, must be greatly disappointed; and it is to be hoped, that the most fastidious critic will be unable to discover any thing in these pages in the smallest degree hostile to religion, public morals, or the happy genius and peculiar nature of our free and admirable constitution,





## CONTENTS.

### VOL. I.

### CHAPTER I.

(1736 TO 1765.)

Of the Birth and Family of Mr. Horne—His
Education and early Views—He obtains the
Living of New Brentford—First Journey to
France

## CHAP. II.

(1765 TO 1767.)

Short Retrospect of Public Affairs on the Accession of George III.—Characters of the Lords Chatham and Bute.—The Subject of this Memoir determines to tuke an active Part in the Disputes of that Day.—Revisits France; where he meets with Mr. Wilkes.—Copy of a singular Letter transmitted from Montpelier.—He repairs to Italy

### CHAP. III.

(1768 то 1769)

Mr. Horne becomes a popular Preacher—a new Direction suddenly given to his Habits of Life, 1



X CONTENTS.
by the Middlesex Election—His successful Exertions in behalf of Mr. Wilkes and Serjeant Glynne—an Anecdote
C H A P. IV.
(1769 то 1770.
Account of Mr. Horne's printed Sermon.—Mr. Onslow commences an Action for a Libel.— The different Verdicts in that Cause.—Reflections
CHAP. V.
(1771.)
Mr. Horne suggests the Idea of a Reply to the King, and obtains a Statue for the Lord Mayor.  —Founds the "Society for Supporting the Bill of Rights."—Countenances Bingley in his Refusal to answer Interrogatories
CHAP. VI.
(1770 то 1771.)
Dispute and Correspondence with Mr. Wilkes 176
CHAP. VII.
(1771.)
Mr. Horne takes a Degree at Cambridge—On his return, he advocates the Cause of the Printers.  —Result



CONTENTS.	ix
CHAP. VIII.	
(1771.)	
Controversy with Junius	52
CHAP. IX.	
(1772 то 1777.)	
Mr. Horne resigns his Gown, and retires to a Cot- tage—His Studies—Contests with the House of Commons—Tried for a Libel.—Characters of	
Mr. Thurlow and Lord Mansfield.—Sentence of the Court of King's Bench	16