

SC 17th
V2 B9

William Henry Brown.

JUNIUS, CASCA, COMMON SENSE, AND THOMAS PAINE.

A long foot-note in Mr. Conway's "Life of Thomas Paine" concerning myself and the Junius question requires my notice. Every point of argument in the note has been repeatedly refuted and now I proceed to demolish them once more. He says:

Mr. W. H. Burr maintains that Paine wrote in the English *Crisis* (1775) under the name of "Casca." As Casca's articles bear intrinsic evidence of being written in London, the theory supposes Paine to have visited England in that year. But besides the facts that Rush had an interview with Paine near the middle of March, and Franklin in October, the accounts of Aitkin, preserved in Philadelphia, show payments to Paine in May, July, and August, 1775. As Mr. Burr's further theory, that Paine wrote the letters of Junius, rests largely on the identification with Casca, it might be left to fall with disproof of the latter.

Answer: Paine was undoubtedly in Philadelphia in March, and had an interview with Dr. Rush; but there is no proof that he met Franklin in October. What Paine said in *Crisis*, No. III, is this: "In October, 1775, Dr. Franklin proposed giving me such materials as were in his hands toward completing a history of the present transactions." That pro-

T"]4//V/4/5, C>]SC4, COMMON SENSSE VE THOMAS PAIN.

BAY'DA UZUN BIR DIPNOT.

CONWAY'IN KENDIM VE JUNIUS SORUSUYLA İLGİLİ "THOMAS PAIN'EİN HAYATI" BENİM DİKKATİMİ ÇEKTİ.

NOTTAKİ HER TARTIŞMA NOKTASI DEFALARCA ÇÜRÜTÜLDÜ VE ŞİMDİ ONLARI BIR KEZ DAHA YIKMAYA DEVAM EDİYORUM.

DIYOR Kİ: MR.

W.

H.

BURR, PAIN'EİN İNGİLİZ KRİZİ'NDE (1775) "CASCA" ADI ALTINDA YAZDIĞINI İDDIA EDİYOR. CASCA'NIN MAKALELERİ LONDRA'DA YAZILDIĞINA DAIR İÇSEL KANITLAR TAŞIDIĞINDAN, TEORİ PAIN'EİN O YIL İNGILTERE'YI ZİYARET ETTİĞİNİ VARSAYIYOR.

ANCAK KUSH'UN MART AYININ ORTALARINDA PAIN VE EKİM AYINDA FRANKLIN İLE BİR RÖPORTAJ YAPTIĞI GERÇEĞİNIN YANI SIRA, PHILADELPHIA'DA MUHAFAZA EDİLEN AİTKİN'İN HESAPLARI, PAIN'E MAYIS, TEMMUZ VE AĞUSTOS 1775'TE YAPILAN ÖDEMELERİ GÖSTERMEKTEDİR.

BAY OLARAK.

BURR'UN, PAIN'EİN JUNIUS'UN MEKTUPLARINI YAZDIĞI, BÜYÜK ÖLÇÜDE CASCA İLE ÖZDEŞLEŞMEYE DAYANAN BAŞKA BIR TEORİSİ, İKİNCİSİNİN KANITI İLE DÜŞMEYE BIRAKILABILIR.

CEVAP: PAINE ŞÜPHESİZ MART AYINDA PHILADELPHIA'DAYDI VE DR.

KUSH; ANCAK TLİERE, FRANKLIN İLE EKİM AYINDA TANIŞTIĞININ BIR KANITI DEĞİLDİR.

AVHAT PAIN, CRISIS'TE "HAYIR.

ILL, ŞÖYLE DIYOR: "EKİM 1775'TE, DR.

'FXSIIDKLMPPOSEC BANA MEVCUT İŞLEMLERİN BIR TARİHİNİ TAMAMLAMAYA DOĞRU ELİNDE OLAN BU TÜR MATERİYALLERİ VERİYOR.' BU PRO-

SERIAL
JAN 1878

posal I claim was not made at an "interview." The two men were in continual correspondence, most of the time being separated by the ocean. On March 4, 1775, Paine wrote from Philadelphia to Franklin in London as follows:

Your countenancing me has obtained for me many friends and much reputation, for which please accept my sincere thanks. I have been applied to by several gentlemen to instruct their sons on very advantageous terms to myself, and a printer and bookseller, a man of reputation and property, Robert Aitkin, has lately attempted a magazine, but having little or no turn that way himself, he has applied to me for assistance. He had not above six hundred subscribers when I first assisted him. We now have upward of fifteen hundred and daily increasing. I have not entered into terms with him. This is only the second number. The first I was not concerned in.

The first number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* was January. Paine tells Franklin that he was not concerned in that. And yet in the first number there appeared several anonymous contributions which were undoubtedly written by Paine—to wit: one on surveying, signed "P," another on a new electric machine, signed "Atlanticus," a third on the utility of magazines, without signature; and it is supposed that he may have written a brief "Introduction to the *Pennsylvania Magazine*," dated January 24th.

The February number, which Paine says he was concerned in, has three articles believed to have been written by him, one signed "Atlanticus," another "Esop," and a third an unsigned poem.

POSAL I IDDIYA BIR "ARAŞTIRMA"DA YAPILMADI. İKİ ADAM SÜREKLİ YAZIŞMALAR İÇİNDEYDİ, ÇOĞU ZAMAN OKYANUS TARAFINDAN AYRILIYORLARDI.

4 MART 1775'TE PAIN, LONDRA'DAKI PHILADELPHIA'DAN FRANKLIN'E ŞÖYLE YAZDI: KONTENCING ME, BENIM İÇİN BİRÇOK ARKADAŞ VE ÇOK FAZLA ITIBAR ELDE ETTİ, BUNUN İÇİN LÜTFEN SAMİMİ TEŞEKKÜRLERİMİ KABUL EDİN.

BIRKAÇ BEY TARAFINDAN OĞULLARINI KENDİME ÇOK AVANTAJLI BİR ŞEKİLDE EĞİTMEM KONUSUNDA UYARILDIM VE BİR MATBAACI VE KİTAPÇI, ITIBARLI VE MÜLK SAHİBİ BİR ADAM, ROBERT AITKIN, SON ZAMANLarda BIR DERGİYE TEŞEBBÜS ETTİ, ANCAK BU ŞEKİLDE ÇOK AZ VEYA HİÇ DÖNÜŞ YAPMADI, YARDIM İÇİN BANA BAŞVURDU.

ONA İLK YARDIM ETTİĞİMDE ALTI YÜZDEN FAZLA ABONESİ YOKTU.

ŞU ANDA 150 BINDEN FAZLA VE HER GÜN – KATLAMA VAR.

ONUNLA ANLAŞMAYA VARMADIM.

BU SADECE İKİNCİ SAYI.

İLKİ İÇİNE ALINMADIĞIMDI.

J PENNSYLVANIA DERGİSİ'NIN İLK SAYISI OCAK AYIYDI.

PAIN, FRANKLIN'E BU KONUDA ENDİŞELENMEDİĞİNİ SÖYLER.

VE YINE DE İLK SAYIDA, ŞÜPHESESİZ PAINETO NÜKTESİ TARAFINDAN YAZILAN BIRKAÇ ANONIM KATKI ORTAYA ÇIKTI: BIRI ANKET ÜZERİNE, İMZALI "P", DIĞERİ YENİ BİR ELEKTRİKLİ MAKİNEDE, İMZASIZ OLARAK DERGİLERİN YARARI ÜZERİNE ÜÇÜNCÜ BİR "ATLANTICUS" İMZALADI; VE 24 OCAK TARİHLİ "PENNSYLVANIA DERGİSİ'NE KISA BİR "IN TROYCTION" YAZMIŞ OLABILECEĞİ VARSAYILMAKTADIR.

PAIN'İN İLGİLENDİĞİNİ SÖYLEDİĞİ ŞUBAT SAYISI, ONUN TARAFINDAN YAZILDIĞINA İNANILAN ÜÇ MAKALEYE, BIRİ "ATLANTICUS", DIĞERİ "ESOP" VE ÜÇÜNCÜSÜ DE İMZASIZ BİR ŞİIRE SAHIPTIR.

TRAXIAFCR TARAFINDAN.

D'o6

The March number has three articles signed "Atlanticus," two of them being poems.

In the April number I find but one probable contribution by Paine, namely "Cupid and Hymen," by "Esop."

During all the rest of the year I discover only two contributions by Paine, both poems, by "Atlanticus," and both in the July number.

None of these anonymous contributions after the March number required the presence of the writer in Philadelphia. And the same is true of any other communication that Mr. Conway or anyone else can identify as the production of Paine.

The theory that Paine was the paid editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* is untenable for the following reasons:

1. The work of editing was next to nothing, the only article of an editorial nature being a brief introduction to the first number, which Paine says he was not concerned in.

2. What, then, was the "assistance" he began to render after the first number? Was it not probably canvassing for subscribers? With that kind of assistance the number was increased more than nine hundred in one month. For that work Paine would be entitled to commission, even before entering into terms with Aitkin; and as late as March 4th, when he sends to Franklin the second number, and the time has come for printing the third, he has not yet entered into terms for the assistance he has begun to render.

3. The entries in Aitkin's account book of pay-

8 MART SAYISI, İKİSİ ŞİIR OLMAK ÜZERE "ATLANTICUS" İMZALI ÜÇ MAKALEYE SAHİPTİR.

NİSAN SAYISINDA, PAIN'EİN "CUPID VE HYMEN", YANI "ESOP" TARAFINDAN OLASI BIR KATKISINI BULDUM. YILIN GERİ KALANINDA, PAIN'EİN HER İKİ ŞİIRİ DE "AT LANTICUS" VE HER İKİSİ DE TEMMUZ SAYISINDA SADECE İKİ KATKISINI KEŞFETTIM.

MART SAYISINDAN SONRA BU ANONIM KATKILARIN HIÇBIRI YAZARIN PHILADELPHIA'DA BULUNMASINI GEREKTIRMİYORDU.

AYNI ŞEY DİĞER İLETİŞİMLER İÇİN DE GEÇERLİ.

CONWAY VEYA BAŞKA BIRI PAIN'EİN ÜRETİMİ OLARAK TANIMLANABİLİR.

PAIN'EİN PENSİLVANYA DERGİSİ'NİN ÜCRETLİ EDITÖRÜ OLDUĞU TEORİSİ, SAÇMA SAPAN NEDENLERDEN DOLAYI SAVUNULAMAZ: 1.

DÜZENLEME İŞİ HIÇBİR ŞEYİN YANINDA DEĞİLDİ, BIR EDITORYAL DOĞANIN KISA BIR ÖZETİ OLAN TEK MAKALESİ - PAIN'EİN ENDİSELENMEDİĞİNİ SÖYLEDİĞİ İLK SAYIYA GİRİŞ.

2.

PEKİ, İLK SAYIDAN SONRA VERMEYE BAŞLADIĞI "YARDIM" NEYDI?

ABONELER İÇİN PROBA BLY TUVALING DEĞİL MIYDİ?

BÜTÜN BİR YARDIMLA BİR AY İÇİNDE SAYI DOKUZ YÜZDEN FAZLA ARTTI.

BÜTÜN ÇALIŞMA İÇİN PAIN'E, AİTKİN İLE ANLAŞMAYA GİRMEDEN ÖNCE BİLE KOMİSYON ALMAYA HAK KAZANACAKTI; VE 4 MART'A KADAR, FRANKLIN'E İKİNCİ SAYIYI GÖNDERDİĞİNDE VE ÜÇÜNCÜYÜ BASMA ZAMANI GELDİĞİNDE, HENÜZ YAPMAYA BAŞLADIĞI AS SİSTANCE İÇİN ŞARTLARA GİRMEDİ.

3.

AİTKİN'İN HESAP DEFTERİNDEKİ GİRİŞLER-

ments to Paine in May, July, and August do not prove that Paine was present to receive them.

4. That his contributions were gratuitous was in keeping with all his other literary performances, it being an unswerving principle with him to take no pay for and make no profit from his literary work.

5. Whatever engagement he may have made with Aitkin after March 4th, his sudden departure from this country before the middle of April was a thing he would strive to keep as secret as possible, and if, as was quite likely, Robert Aitkin was a Scotch tory, Paine would have had the strongest motive to hoodwink him with the understanding that he would soon return and attend to his work in person.

The identity of Casca with Paine was discovered by me in October, 1880, when I first saw an American reprint of the *Crisis* of 1775. Four days later, as I was examining Sherwin's "Life of Paine" in the Congressional Library, I came to a note concerning an edition of Paine's Political Works published in England in 1796 in which the first number of Paine's *Crisis* was a reprint of "A Crisis Extraordinary," signed "American C. S." (Common Sense, the first publication of which was in London, August 9, 1775, signed "Casca.") The biographer Sherwin was puzzled, saying: "It could not have been written by Paine, and its insertion in the edition published by Eaton can only be attributed to the ignorance of the person who furnished him the copy."

But I was still more astonished to find penciled

4 MAYIS, TEMMUZ VE AĞUSTOS AYLARINDA PAIN'E YAPILANLAR, PAIN'E IN ONLARI ALMAK ICIN HAZIR OLDUGUNU KANITLAMAZ.

4.

KATKILARININ KARŞILIKSIZ OLMASI, DIĞER TÜM EDEBI PERFORMANSLARINA UYGUNDU, ONUN İÇİN HİÇBİR ÜCRET ALMAMAK VE EDEBI ÇALIŞMALARINDAN KÂR ELDE ETMEMEK, ONUN İÇİN ÇÖZÜMSÜZ BIR ILKEYDI.

5.

4 MART'TAN SONRA AITKIN'LE NE GİBİ BİR NIŞAN ALMIŞ OLURSA OLSUN, NİSAN AYININ ORTASINDAN ÖNCE BU ÜLKEDEN ANİDEN AYRILMASI, MÜMKÜN OLDUĞUNCA GİZLİ TUTMAYA ÇALIŞACAĞI BİR ŞEYDİ VE EĞER EOBERT AITKIN BIR SCOTCH TORY OLSAYDI, PAIN'E ONU YAKINDA GERİ DÖNECEĞİNİ VE ŞAHSEN İŞİNE KATILACAĞINI ANLAMASIYLA KAPÜŞONLAMAK İÇİN EN GÜÇLÜ NEDENE SAHIP OLACAKTI.

CASCA'NIN PAIN'E İLE ÖZDEŞLİĞİ, EKİM 1880'DE, BIR AMERİ'İN 1775 KRİZİ'NIN YENİDEN BASILABILECEĞİNİ İLK GÖRDÜĞÜMDE KEŞFEDİLDİ.

DÖRT GÜN SONRA, KONGRE KÜTÜPHANESİ'NDE SHERWIN'İN "PAIN'E İN YAŞAMI"NI İNCELERKEN, 1796'DA İNGILTERE'DE PAIN'E İN POLITİK ESERLERİ PUB'İNİN BIR BASKISININ BASILDIĞI BIR NOTAYA GELDIM; PAIN'E İN KRİZİ'NIN İLK NUMBER BER'I "OLAĞANÜSTÜ BİR KRİZ"İN YENİDEN BASIMIYIDI, "AMERİKAN C.

S." (COMMON SENSE, İLK YAYINI LON DON'DA, 9 AĞUSTOS 1775'TE, "CASCA" İMZALADI. BIOGRA PHER SHERWIN ŞAŞKINA DÖNDÜ: "PAIN'E TARAFINDAN YAZILAMAZDI VE EATON TARAFINDAN YAYINLANAN BASKIYA EKLENMESİ SADECE KOPYAYI ONA VEREN KİŞİNİN CEHALETİNE BAĞLANABILIRDİ." AMA YINE DE KURŞUN KALEM BULMAK BENİ DAHA ÇOK ŞAŞIRTTI.

on the margin of the same page this note: "It *is* by Paine, but does not belong to the *Crisis.*"

That penciled note I soon discovered was made by Librarian Spofford. He had no doubt that Casca was Paine, though he had never thought of identifying either writer with Junius. This identification by the learned librarian of Congress, who was yet unwilling to believe that Paine was Junius, ought to have weight with those who rely more on authority than on their own judgment.

Paine's departure from America in March or April, 1775, I apprehend, was not to write articles for the (English) *Crisis*, but to procure saltpeter, gunpowder, and munitions of war for the impending revolution. In October, 1775, General Washington's army, near Boston, had not five rounds of powder, and dared not advance one step against General Howe. In December, Franklin sent a letter to M. Dumas, in France, by a Mr. Storey, inclosing £100 to defray expenses in procuring a shipment of small arms, ammunition, and saltpeter. Previously, Charles Biddle was sent to France to procure munitions of war, and in January, 1776, he returned with a cargo of saltpeter. Hence I infer that Paine, first of all, went on a like mission in March or April, 1775, and returned about the end of the year, having secured a supply of war materials, and ready to put to press his "Common Sense." And I now challenge the discovery of evidence that he was in America during the greater part of the year 1775.

Junius, in his "Dedication to the English Nation,"

5 AYNI SAYFANIN KENARINDAKI ŞU NOT: "PAINÉ TARAFINDAN, AMA KRİZ'E AIT DEĞİL." ÇOK GEÇMEDEN KEŞFETTİĞİM O KALEMLİ NOT KÜTÜPHANEKİ SPOFFORD TARAFINDAN YAPILDI.

CASCA'NIN PAINÉ OLDUĞUNDAN HİC ŞÜPHESİ YOKTU, ANCAK JUNIUS'LA HER İKİ YAZARI DA TANIMLAMAYI HİC DÜŞÜNMEMİŞTİ.

PAINÉ'İN JUNIUS OLDUĞUNA INANMAKTA İSTEKSİZ OLAN KONGRE'NIN BİLGİLİ KÜTÜPHANECEСININ BU IDENTİ FİDANI, KENDİ YARGILARINDAN ÇOK OTORİTEYE GÜVENENLERE AĞIRLIK VERMELİDIR.

PAINÉ'İN MART VEYA NİSAN 1775'TE AMERİKA'DAN AYRILMASI, (İNGİLİZCE) KRİZ İÇİN MAKALELER YAZMAK DEĞİL, YAKLAŞMAKTA OLAN DEVİRİM İÇİN ÇENGEL, BARUT VE SAVAŞ MÜHİMMATI TEMİN ETMEKİTI.

EKİM 1775'TE GENERAL WASHINGTON'UN BOSTON YAKINLARINDAKİ ORDUSU BEŞ TUR TOZA SAHIP DEĞİLDİ VE GENERAL HOWE'A KARŞI BIR ADIM BİLE İLERİ GİDEMЕDİ.

ARALIK AYINDA FRANKLIN, M'YE BİR MEKTUP GÖNDERDİ.

DUMAS, FRansa'DA, BİR MR.

STOREY, KÜÇÜK SILAH, MÜHİMMAT VE TUZLUK SEVKİYATI SAĞLAMAK İÇİN MASRAFLARI KARŞILAMAK İÇİN 100 'LUK BIR HACIZ.

DAHA ÖNCE, CHARLES BIDDLE SAVAŞ MÜHİMMATI TEMİN ETMEK İÇİN FRansa'YA GÖNDERİLDİ VE OCAK 1776'DA BIR TASLA GERİ DÖNDÜ.

BU NEDENLE, PAINÉ'İN, HER ŞEYDEN ÖNCE, MART VEYA NİSAN 1775'TE BENZER BİR GÖREVE GİTTİĞİNİ VE YIL SONUNA DOĞRU, BİR SAVAŞ ARKADAŞI TEDARIKINI GÜVENCE ALTINA ALARAK GERİ DÖNDÜĞÜNÜ VE "ORTAK HIS"İNE BASMAYA HAZIR OLDUĞUNU ÇIKARIM. VE ŞİMDİ 1775 YILININ BÜYÜK BÖLÜMÜNDE AMERİKA'DA OLDUĞUNA DAIR KANITLARIN KEŞFINE MEYDAN OKUYORUM.

JUNIUS, "İNGİLİZ ULUSUNA BAĞLI" ADLI ESERİNDE,

said: "The remedy will soon be in your power. If Junius lives you shall often be reminded of it." Did he not fulfill that promise three years later, when, as "Casca," he fomented revolution in both England and America; and when again, from 1776 to 1782, as "Common Sense," he helped to achieve the independence of this country? All three writers were anonymous, all three did their literary work avowedly without pay or profit.

The internal evidence of the identity of Casca with Junius is even stronger than that of Paine with Junius. Their style was varied to suit the circumstances. Junius wielded a Damascus blade; Casca a butcher's cleaver; Common Sense a broad-sword. There is no fact to be found incompatible with the identity of the three.

Another of Mr. Conway's objections to the Paine-Junius theory is as follows:

During the period of Junius's Letters (Jan. 21, 1769, to Jan. 21, 1772) Paine was occupied with his laborious duties as exciseman at Lewes, and with the tobacco mill from which he vainly tried to extort a living for himself and wife, and her mother. Before that period there was no time at which Paine could have commanded the leisure or opportunities necessary to master the political and official details known to Junius.

Answer: For two years before the date of the first Junius letter, as now appears from his secret letter to ex-Premier Grenville, Oct. 20, 1768, the same writer, under various other signatures, had been agitating the public. The "Letters of Junius" aggregate about three hundred book pages; his

6 - DEDI Kİ: "ILAÇ YAKINDA SENİN ELİNDE OLACAK.

JUNIUS YAŞARSA SIK SIK HATIRLATILIR." ÜÇ YIL SONRA BU SÖZÜ YERINE GETIRMEDİ MI - "CASCA" OLARAK HEM İNGILTERE'DE HEM DE AMERİKA'DA DEVRİMİ TEŞVİK ETTİ; VE 1776'DAN 1782'YE KADAR "SAĞDUYU" OLARAK, BU ÜLKENİN BAĞIMSIZLIĞINI ELDE ETMEYE YARDIM ETTİCİNDE, ÜÇ YAZAR DA ISIMSİZDİ, HER ÜÇÜ DE EDEBİ ÇALIŞMALARINI ÖDEMEDEN YA DA KÂRSIZ BİR ŞEKİLDE YAPTIKLAR.

CASCA'NIN JUNIUS'LA ÖZDEŞLİĞİNE DAIR İÇ KANITLAR PAIN'EİN JUNIUS'LA ÖZDEŞLİĞİNDEN BİLE DAHA GÜÇLÜDÜR.

STILLERİ KOŞULLARA UYACAK ŞEKİLDE ÇEŞİTLİYDİ.

JUNIUS BIR ŞAM KILIÇINA SAHIPTİ; CASCA BIR KASAP BALTASI; COMMON SENSE GENİŞ BİR KILIÇ.

ÜÇÜNÜN TNE KİMLİĞİ İLE UYUMSUZ BULUNABILECEĞİ BİR GERÇEK YOKTUR.

BİR BAŞKA MR.

CONWAY'İN PAIN-E JUNIUS TEORISİNE İTİRAZLARI ŞÖYLEDİR: JUNIUS'UN MEKTUPLARI DÖNEMİNDE (JAN.

21, 1769, JAN'A.

21, 1772) PAIN-E, LEWES'TE EXCISEMAN OLARAK YAPTIĞI ZAHMETLİ GÖREVLERLE VE KENDİSİ, KARİSİ VE ANNESİ İÇİN BOŞUNA GEÇİMİNI GASP ETMEYE ÇALIŞTIĞI TÜTÜN FABRIKASIyla MEŞGULDÜ.

O DÖNEMDEN ÖNCЕ, PAIN-E'İN JUNIUS'UN BİLDİĞİ SIYASI VE RESMI AYRINTILARA HAKİM OLMAK İÇİN GEREKLİ BOŞ ZAMANLARA VEYA FIRSATLARA KOMUTA EDEBILECEĞİ BİR ZAMAN YOKTU.

CEVAP: İLK JUNIUS MEKTUBUNUN TARİHİNDEN İKİ YIL ÖNCЕ, ŞİMDİ ESKI BAŞBAKAN GRENVILLE'E YAZDIĞI GİZLİ MEKTUPTAN GÖRÜNDÜĞÜ GİBİ, OCT.

20, 1768, AYNI YAZAR, ÇEŞİTLİ DİĞER İMZALAR ALTINDA, HALKI KİŞKIRTİYORDU.

"JUNIUS'UN MEKTUPLARI" YAKLAŞIK ÜÇ YÜZ KİTAP SAYFASINI BİR ARAYA GETIRİYOR; ONUN

"Miscellaneous Letters" not so much. The period covered is more than five years. Only a few of the letters were elaborated and the average work was about one hundred and twenty pages a year.

Paine had nothing to do with the tobacco mill before 1770, or more likely 1771, when he married the daughter of the deceased tobacconist Ollive, and helped the widow and daughter carry on the business, which was presumably small.

His duties as exciseman did not occupy half his time, and from the time of his first discharge as exciseman at Alford in 1765 until he reentered the service at Lewes in 1768 his only employment seems to have been as assistant teacher in London. And Paine himself says: "I seldom passed five minutes of my life, however circumstanced, in which I did not acquire some knowledge."

Though stationed at Lewes he spent much of his time in London. He passed the whole winter of 1772-1773, says Mr. Conway, trying to influence members of Parliament in favor of the cause of the excisemen. And in a letter to his superior officer, dated March 24, 1774, he says: "I was in London almost all last winter" (1773-1774). Furthermore, we have evidence of his being much of the time in London in 1769 and subsequently. In 1813, Mrs. Olivia Wilmot Serres attempted to prove that her pious uncle, Dr. Wilmot, was Junius. She says that in 1769 he frequently resided at the house of his brother-in-law Captain Payne, with whom an American named Fretland was on terms of intimacy. Fretland had concerns in the West Indies and fre-

7 "ÇEŞİTLİ MEKTUPLAR" O KADAR MUCLU DEĞİL.

BU SÜRE BEŞ YILDAN FAZLADIR.

MEKTUPLARIN SADECE BIRKAÇI DETAYLANDIRILDI VE ORTALAMA ÇALIŞMA YILDA YAKLAŞIK YÜZ YIRMI SAYFAYDI.

PAIN'EİN 1770'TEN ÖNCE TÜTÜN FABRIKASIYLA HİÇBİR İLCİSİ YOKTU, YA DA MUHTEMELEN 1771'DE, ÖLEN TÜTÜNCÜ

OLLIVE'NIN KIZIYLA EVLENDİ VE DUL VE KIZININ MUHTEMELEN KÜCÜK OLAN İŞI SÜRDÜRMESİNE YARDIMCI OLDU.

İSTISNACI OLARAK GÖREVLERİ ZAMANININ YARISINI İŞCAL ETMEDI VE '1765'TE ALFORD'DA EKSİSMAN OLARAK İLK GÖREVDEN ALINMASINDAN 1768'DE LEWES'TEKİ HİZMETE YENİDEN GIRENE KADAR TEK İŞİ LONDRA'DA YARDIMCI ÖĞRETMEN OLARAK GÖRÜNÜYORDU.

VE PAIN'EİN KENDİSİ ŞÖYLE DIYOR: "HAYATIMIN BEŞ DAKIKASINI NADIREN GEÇTIM, ANCAK KOŞULLAR NE OLURSA OLSUN, BIRAZ BILGI EDİNMEDİM." LEWES'TE KONUŞLANDIRILSA DA ZAMANININ ÇOĞUNU LONDRA'DA GEÇİRDİ.

1772-1773 KİŞİNİ GEÇTİ, DIYOR MR.

CONWAY, MECLİS ÜYELERİNİ, MAZLUMALARIN DAVASI LEHINE ETKILEMEYE ÇALIŞIYOR.

VE 24 MART 1774 TARİHLİ AMİRİNE YAZDIĞI BİR MEKTUPTA ŞÖYLE DER: "NEREDEYSE BÜTÜN KİŞ LONDRA'DAYDIM" (1773-1774).

DAHASI, 1769'DA VE SONRASINDA LONDRA'DA ZAMANININ BÜYÜK BİR KİSMINI GEÇİRDİĞİNE DAIR KANITLARIMIZ VAR.

1813 YILINDA, BAYAN

OLIVIA WILMOT SERRES, DINDAR AMCASI OLDUĞUNU KANITLAMAYA ÇALIŞTI.

DR.

WILMOT, JUNIUS'TU.

1769'DA SIK SIK, FRETLAND ADINDA BİR AMERİKALININ YAKINLIK KONUSUNDA OLDUĞU KAYINBIRADERİ KAPTAN PAYNE'İN EVİNDE OTURDUĞUNU SÖYLÜYOR.

FRETLAND'IN BATI HİNT ADALARI'NDA ENDİSELERİ VARDI VE...

quently sent to Dr. Wilmot various productions of that climate. Her uncle Wilmot had a servant named Middleton, and Captain Payne had a wife spoken of indifferently by the name of Olivia and Olive, suggestive of Miss Olive, who was married to Paine in 1771.

Now, the private letters of Junius to his publisher Woodfall, first published in 1812, disclosed to Mrs. Serres two names by which the printer was directed to address his unknown correspondent, to wit: "Mr. William Middleton" (Priv. Let. No. 3, July 15, 1769), and "Mr. John Fretley, at the same coffee-house, where it is absolutely impossible I should be known" (Nos. 3 and 27). This coincidence of names, together with some mysterious entries in her uncle's notebook in which the word "Ju—s" occurs several times, caused her to believe that Dr. Wilmot was Junius. But now the evidence points to Thomas Paine, the meagerness of whose biographies prior to his coming to America render the gaps more important than the facts. How long Paine was a privateersman we do not know; and the fact that he was an expert seaman and was called "commodore" implies that much of the unknown gaps in his life was spent on the ocean, whereby he may have acquired a "moderate independence," without which, says Junius in a private letter to Woodfall, "no man can be happy nor even honest." I myself have not the least doubt that such was Paine's condition from the time he quit the sea. Hence his ability to write without pay or profit.

WILMOT BU İKLİMİN ÇEŞİTLİ YAPIMLARI.

AMCASı WILMOT'UN MIDDLETON ADINDA BIR HİZMETÇİSİ VARDI VE KAPTAN PAYNE'İN OLIVIA VE OLIVE ADINDA KAYITSIZCA KONUŞULAN BIR KARISI VARDI, 1771'DE PAINЕ İLE EVLİ OLAN BAYAN OLIVE'I İMA EDİYORDU.

ŞİMDİ, JUNIUS'UN YAYINCISI WOODFALL'A YAZDIĞI ÖZEL MEKTUPALAR, İLK KEZ 1812'DE YAYIMLANDI VE BAYAN'A AÇIKLANDI.

YAZICININ BILINMEYEN MUHABİRİNE HITAP ETMEK İÇİN YÖNLENDİRİLDİĞİ İKİ İSİM: "BAY.

WILLIAM MIDDLETON" (İNGİLİZCE).

BIRAK.

HAYIR.

3, 15 TEMMUZ 1769) VE 'BAY.

JOHN FRETLEY, AYNI KAHVEHANEDE, KESİNLIKLE İMKANSIZ OLDUĞU YERDE TANINMAM GEREKİR" (Nos.

3 VE 27).

İSİMLERİN BU TESİADÜFÜ, AMCASININ DEFTERİNDEKİ "JUS" KELİMESİNİN BIRKAÇ KEZ GERÇEKLEŞTİĞİ BAZI GİZEMLİ GIRİŞLERLE BIRLIKTE, DR.

WILMOT JUNIUS'TU.

ANCAK ŞİMDİ KANITLAR, AMERİKA'YA GELMEDEN ÖNCЕ KİMİN BIYOGRA PHIES'İNİN YETERSİZLİĞİ, BOŞLUKLARI GERÇEKLERDEN DAHA ÖNEMLİ HALE GETİRİYOR THOMAS PAINЕ'E İŞARET EDİYOR.

PAINЕ'İN NE KADAR ÖZEL BIR ASKER OLDUĞUNU BILMIYORUZ; VE ONUN UZMAN BIR DENİZCI OLMASI VE KOMODORE OLARAK ADLANDIRILMASI, YAŞAMINDAKI BILINMEYEN BOŞLUKLARIN ÇOĞUNUN OKYANUSA HARCANDIĞINI İMA EDİYOR, BU NEDENLE "İLIMLI BIR BAĞIMSIZLIK" KAZANMIŞ OLABILIR, BU OLmadAN, JUNIUS WOODFALL'A ÖZEL BIR MEKTUPTA, "HIÇBİR INSAN MUTLU OLAMAZ, HATTA DÜRÜST OLAMAZ." BEN DE BÖYLE BIR PAINЕ'NİN ZAMANINDAN AYRILDIGINA DAIR EN UFAK BIR ŞÜPHEM YOK.

BU NEDENLE MAAŞ VEYA KAR OLmadAN YAZMA YETENEĞİ.

Mr. Conway further argues that Paine could not have been Junius, because :

He declares that he had no interest in politics, which he regarded as a species of "jockey-ship."

Answer: The "Political Works" of Paine, incomplete, make two large volumes ; the "Theological," one small one. The "Letters of Junius" are political. But both writers were avowed non-partisans, and what Paine stigmatized as "jockey-ship" was partisan politics.

The next objection of Mr. Conway is as follows :

How any one can read a page of Junius and then one of Paine, and suppose them from the same pen, appears to me inconceivable.

Answer: Which one of all the writers suspected to be Junius approaches him so nearly in style as Thomas Paine ? Said Lord Brougham in 1839 or 1840, never dreaming that Paine was Junius: "His style was a model of terseness and force. In this respect he comes nearer to our own remarkable Junius, than any known writer in the English tongue." And Dr. Denslow in his "Modern Thinkers," 1880, speaking of Paine's letter to Washington, 1796, says: "It is so identical in style with portions of Junius that we cite parallel passages for comparison, though the unhesitating conviction that Paine wrote Junius will better result from the use of hundreds of passages than of two or three."

Did Mr. Conway expect to find in Paine's writings a literal repetition of the language of Junius,

-9- BAY.

CONWAY AYRICA PAIN'E'IN JUNIUS OLAMAYACAĞINI SAVUNUYOR, ÇÜNKÜ: BIR TÜR "JOKEY-GEMİ" OLARAK GÖRDÜĞÜ SIYASETE ILGI DUYMADIĞINI İLAN EDİYOR. CEVAP: PAIN'E'IN "SIYASI ESERLERİ", INCOM PLETE, İKİ BÜYÜK CILT YAPAR; "TEOLOJİK", KÜCÜK BİR TANE.

JUNIUS'UN MEKTUPLARI

ANCAK HER İKİ YAZAR DA PARTIZAN OLMAYANLAR OLARAK KABUL EDİLDİ VE PAIN'E'IN "JOKEY-GEMİSİ" OLARAK DAMGALADIĞI ŞEY PARTIZAN SIYASETİYDİ.

BAY'IN BIR SONRAKİ ITIRAZI

CONWAY ŞÖYLEDİR: BİRİ JUNIUS'UN VE SONRA PAIN'E'İN BİR SAYFASINI NASIL OKUYABİLİR VE BUNLARI AYNI KALEMDEN FARZEDEBİLİR, BANA AKIL ALMAZ GELİYOR.

CEVAP: JUNIUS OLDUĞUNDAN ŞÜPHELENİLEN YAZARLARDAN HANGİSİ ONA THOMAS PAIN'E KADAR YAKIN BIR TARZDA YAKLAŞIR?

1839 VEYA 1840'TA LORD BROUGHAM, PAIN'E'İN JUNIUS OLDUĞUNU ASLA HAYAL ETMEDİ: "ONUN TARZI BIR TERSLIK VE GÜÇ MODELİYDİ.

BU AÇIDAN, O, KENDİ DİKKAT ÇEKICI JUNIUS'UMUZA, İNGİLİZCE DİLİNDE BİLİNEN HERHANGİ BIR YAZARDAN DAHA YAKINDIR."

DENSLOW, "MODERN THINKERS" ADLI ESERİNDE, 1880'DE, PAIN'E'İN 1796'DA WASHINGTTON'A YAZDIĞI MEKTUPTAN BAHSEDERKEN ŞUNLARI SÖYLÜYOR: "JUNIUS'UN PARÇALARIyla O KADAR ÖZDEŞTİR ki, KARŞILAŞTIRMA İÇİN PARALEL PASAJLARDAN SÖZ EDERİZ, ANCAK PAIN'E'İN JUNIUS'UN YAZDIĞI TEREDDÜTSÜZ İNANÇ, İKİ VEYA ÜÇTEN DAHA FAZLA PASAJIN KULLANILMASINDAN DAHA İYİ SONUÇLANACAKTIR." MR.

CONWAY, PAIN'E'İN YAZILARINDA JUNIUS'UN DILİNİN GERÇEK BİR TEKRARINI BULMAYI BEKLİYOR.

who had promised, if he lived, to come again, and yet that his secret should die with him? In "Junius Unmasked," 1872, a multitude of passages from Junius and Paine are paralleled, to show similarity of style, sentiment, opinion, conduct, and character. These parallels number more than three hundred, and in the two or three instances where a difference in opinion appears, we have happily from Paine himself the proof of a change of views after 1772.

Twice only do I find any allusion by Paine to Junius. In Casca's "Epistle to Lord Mansfield," 1775, he uses the expression, "galling Junius;" and in an anonymous tract entitled "Prospects on the War," 1787, detected five years later to be by Paine, he speaks of "the brilliant pen of Junius," which "in the plenitude of its rage, might be said to give elegance to bitterness." "The generous rage of Junius" is an expression found in that writer's private note to his publisher, first brought to light in 1812.

And now Mr. Conway has discovered and published in his book a letter from Paine to an apostate friend in 1795, never intended for another's eye, in which scathing epistle "the generous rage of Junius" reappears "giving elegance to bitterness."

Lastly, to prove that Paine was not Junius, Mr. Conway says:

The reader need only refer to the facts of his life before coming to America to acquit him of untruth in say-

10- KİM SÖZ VERMİŞTİ, YAŞASAYDI, YINE GELECEKTİ, AMA YINE DE SIRRI ONUNLA BIRLIKTE ÖLECEKTİ?

"JUNIUS MASKESİZ"DE, 1872'DE, JUNIUS VE PAIN'E'DEN ÇOK SAYIDA PASAJ, STİL, DUYGU, GÖRÜŞ, DAVRANIŞ VE KARAKTERİN BELİRGİNLİĞİNİ GÖSTERMEK İÇİN PARALELDİR.

BU PARALELLİKLER ÜÇ YÜZDEN FAZLADIR VE GÖRÜŞ AYRILIĞININ ORTAYA ÇIKTIĞI İKİ YA DA ÜÇ ÖRNEKTE, 1772'DEN SONRA GÖRÜŞ DEĞİŞİKLİĞİNİN KANITI PAIN'E'DEN MUTLULUKLA GELİR.

İKİ KEZ PAIN'E'DEN JUNIUS'A HERHANGI BİR İMA BULUYORUM.

CASCA'NIN "EPISTLE TO LORD MANSFIELD" ADLI ESERİNDE, 1775'TE "GALLING JUNIUS" İFADESINI KULLANIR VE BEŞ YIL SONRA PAIN'E TARAFINDAN TESPİT EDİLEN "PROSPECTS ON THE WAR" ADLI ISIMSIZ BİR ESERDE, "JUNIUS'UN PARLAK KALEMI"NDEN BAHSEDER, BU DA "ÖFKESİNİN BÜYÜKLÜĞÜYLE, ACILIĞA ZERAFET GETİRDİĞİ SÖYLENEBİLİR".

VE ŞİMDİ MR.

CONWAY, KITABINDA PAIN'E'DEN BİR APOS TATE ARKADAŞINA 1795'TE BİR MEKTUP BULDU VE YAYINLADI, HİÇBİR ZAMAN BIR BAŞKASININ GÖZÜNE HITAP ETMEDİ, BU MEKTUPTA "JUNIUS'UN CÖMERT ÖFKESİ" NİN "ACIYA ZARAFET VEREN" TEKRAR ORTAYA ÇIKIYOR. SON OLARAK, PAIN'E'İN JUNIUS OLMADIĞINI KANITLAMAK İÇİN, BAY CONWAY DIYOR Kİ: OKUYUCUNUN AMERİKA'YA GELMESİ İÇİN SADECE HAYATININ GERÇEKLERİNE ATIFTA BULUNMASI GEREKİYOR.

ing that he had published nothing in England, and that the cause of America made him an author.

Answer: Did Junius publish his own letters? Woodfall and others who printed them never knew the author. And Junius says: "I did not expect more than the life of a newspaper." Nor did Paine himself publish "The Case of the Officers of Excise." This is admitted by Mr. Conway, who naively tells us that the printing of four thousand copies by William Lee of Lewes in 1772 was not a publication (!) because "it was a document submitted to Parliament but never sold." Furthermore, Mr. Conway says that "the song on Wolfe and other poetical pieces, though known to the Headstrong Club in Lewes, were first printed in Philadelphia." The fact is that Paine's Ode on General Wolfe was composed in 1759 at Sandwich, and was soon after published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* set to music, and became a popular song.

In regard to the cause of America making Paine an author, that cause crops out from first to last in the Junius letters, even in the earliest of the miscellaneous ones, and is the principal theme of Casca.

I have skipped and reserved for a finale Macaulay's summary of the facts discoverable concerning the personality of Junius, quoted by Mr. Conway. Only three of the five alleged facts need notice, to wit: That he was acquainted with the technical forms of the secretary of state's office; also with the business of the war office; and that he at-

11 İNGILTERE'DE HİÇBİR ŞEY YAYINLAMADIĞINI VE AMERİKA'NIN NEDENİNİN ONU YAZAR YAPTIĞINI SÖYLEDI.

CEVAP: JUNIUS KENDİ MEKTUPLARINI YAYINLADI MI?

WOODFALL VE ONLARI BASAN DIĞERLERİ YAZARI HİÇ TANIMADILAR.

VE JUNIUS ŞÖYLE DIYOR: 'BIR CAZETENİN HAYATINDAN FAZLASINI BEKLEMİYORDUM.' PAINDE 'EX CISE SUBAYLARININ DAVASI'NI YAYINLAMADI. BU BAY TARAFINDAN KABUL EDİLİR.

1772'DE LEWES'LI WILLIAM LEE TARAFINDAN DÖRT BIN KOPYANIN BASILMASININ BIR YAYIN OLMADIĞINI SÖYLEYEN CONWAY, (!) ÇÜNKÜ "PARLAMENTO'YA GÖNDERİLEN ANCAK ASLA SATILMAYAN BIR BELGE SUBIDI." DAHASI, MR. CONWAY, "LEWES'TEKİ HEAD GÜÇLÜ KULÜBÜ TARAFINDAN BILINMESINE RAĞMEN WOLFE VE DIĞER ŞİIRSEL PARÇALARDAKİ ŞARKININ İLK OLARAK PHILA DELPHIA'DA BASILDIĞINI" SÖYLÜYOR. GERÇEK ŞU Kİ, PAINE'S ODE ON GENERAL WOLFE, 1759'DA SANDWICH'TE BESTELENDİ VE KISA BİR SÜRE SONRA HE GENTLEMAN8 MAGAZINE'DE YAYIMLANDI VE POPÜLER BİR ŞARKI OLDU.

AMERİKA'NIN PAINE'I BIR YAZAR HALİNE GETİRMESİYLE İLGİLİ OLARAK, JUNIUS MEKTUPLARINDA, YANLIŞ OLANLARIN EN ERKENİNDE BİLE MAHSULLERİN İLKİNDEN SONUNA KADAR ÇIKMASINA NEDEN OLAN VE CASCA'NIN ANA TEMASIDIR. BİR FINAL MAC AULAY'IN KEŞFEDILEBİLİR ENDİŞENİN ÖZETİ BAY TARAFINDAN ALINTILANAN JUNIUS'UN KİŞİLİĞİNİ GÖZ ÖNÜNE ALARAK ATLADIM VE AYRILDIM.

CON WAY.

İDDIA EDİLEN BEŞ OLGUDAN SADECE ÜÇÜNÜN TİSLAMAYA İHTİYACI YOKTUR: DEVLET SEKRETERİNİN TEKNİK NICAL FORMLARI; AYRICA SAVAŞ OFİSİNİN İŞİ; VE O EN-

tended the debates in the House of Lords and took notes of speeches.

Answer: Whatever Junius may have known of the business of the departments of government, it is a common error that he was so intimately associated or connected therewith as to be able to acquire much knowledge of state affairs. Junius in his seventh letter said, "I am a plain unlettered man," but nobody believed him. A little later, in a private letter to the printer, which was published by mistake, he speaks of his "rank and fortune," manifestly ironical. A year later he opened a secret correspondence with John Wilkes. From these letters, first published in 1812, it appears how difficult it was for Junius to get information. He says:

I speak from a recess which no human curiosity can penetrate. No man writes under so many disadvantages as I do. I cannot consult the learned; I cannot directly ask the opinions of my acquaintance, and in the newspapers I am never assisted.

No wonder that the late James Parton, in gathering material for a life of Franklin and becoming familiar with the lives of the men whom Junius descanted upon, "discovered that he knew them not; that he was not within the circle of the well informed." Mr. Parton might have learned as much from the private letters of Junius to John Wilkes; and the fact is further confirmed by the more recent discovery of secret letters of Junius to ex-Premier Grenville, in one of which he says: "Until you are Minister, I must not permit myself to

12 LORDLAR KAMARASI'NDAKI TARTIŞMALARLA İLGILENDİ VE KONUŞMALARIN NOTLARINI ALDI.

CEVAP: JUNIUS, HÜKÜMET DEPARTMANLARININ İŞLERİ HAKKINDA NE BİLİYOR OLURSA OLSUN, DEVLET İŞLERİ HAKKINDA ÇOK FAZLA BILGI EDİNEBILECEK KADAR SAMİMİ BİR ŞEKLDE ASSOCI OLDUĞU YA DA ONUNLA BAĞLANTILI OLDUĞU YAYGIN BIR HATADIR.

YEDİNÇİ MEKTUBUNDA JUNIUS, "BEN SADE BIR MEKTUPSUZ ADAMIM" DEDI, AMA KİMSE ONA İNANMADI.

BIRAZ SONRA, YANLIŞLIKLA YAYINLANAN YAZICIYA YAZDIĞI ÖZEL BIR MEKTUPTA, AÇIKÇA IRONİK OLAN "RANK VE SERVETINDEN" BAHSEDER.

BİR YIL SONRA JOHN WILKES İLE SE CRET YAZIŞMASI AÇTI.

İLK KEZ 1812'DE YAYINLANAN BU MEKTUPLARDAN, JUNIUS'UN BILGI EDİNMEMİN NE KADAR ZOR OLDUĞU ANLAŞILIYOR.

DIYOR Kİ: HİÇBİR INSAN MERAKININ NÜFUZ EDEMİYECEĞİ BİR TENEFFÜSTEN BAHSEDİYORUM.

HİÇ KİMSE BENİM KADAR DEZAVANTAJLAR ALTINDA YAZAMAZ.

ÖĞRENİLENLERİN % SINE DANIŞAMAM; DOĞRUDAN TANIDIKLARIMIN GÖRÜŞLERİNİ SORAMAM VE HABERLERDE - ASLA YARDIMCI OLMUYORUM.

MERHUM JAMES PARTON'UN FRANKLIN'İN BİR HAYATI İÇİN MALZEME TOPLAMASINA VE JUNIUS'UN ÜZERİNE EĞİLDİĞİ INSANLARIN HAYATLARINA AŞINA OLMASINA ŞAŞMAMALI, "ONLARI TANIMADIĞINI, İYİ BİLGİLENDİRİLMİŞ ÇEVRENİN İÇİNDE OLMANDIĞINI KEŞFETTİ." MR.

PARTON, JUNIUS'UN JOHN WILKES'E YAZDIĞI ÖZEL MEKTUPLARDAN ÇOK ŞEY ÖĞRENMIŞ OLABILİR; VE GERÇEK, JUNIUS'UN ESKI BAŞBAKAN GRENVILLE'E YAZDIĞI GİZLİ MEKTUPLARIN DAHA YAKIN ZAMANDA KEŞFEDİLMESİYLE DAHA DA DOĞRULANIR: "BAKAN OLANA KADAR, KENDİME İZİN VERMEMELİYIM.

think of the honor of being known to you;" and begs him "to make allowances for a man who writes absolutely without materials or instruction." This was three months before the signature Junius appeared. And when the Junius series was completed he wrote to Lord Chatham, "most secret," saying, "Retired and unknown, I live in the shade and have only a speculative ambition."

But now I hear the objector say: "How is it possible that the lowly exciseman of Lewes could have attended debates in Parliament?" I answer: We have his own word for it that he did. In *Crisis*, No. VII, "Common Sense" says:

I remember the late Admiral Saunders declaring in the House of Commons, and that in the time of peace, that the city of Madrid laid in ashes was not a sufficient atonement for the Spaniards taking off the rudder of an English sloop-of-war.

Turn to Junius's private letter No. 29, dated Jan. 31, 1771, and you read:

We hear that the ministry intend to move for opening both Houses of Parliament on Tuesday next, in the usual manner, being desirous that the nation should be exactly informed of their whole conduct in the business of Falkland island.

Again, in a postscript to same letter, written "next day:"

We hear that the ministry intend to move that no gentleman may be refused admittance into either House on Tuesday next. . . . If they were to do otherwise it would raise and justify suspicions very disadvantageous to their own reputation and to the king's honor.

13- SIZE TANINMANIN ONURUNU DÜŞÜNÜN VE ONA "KESINLIKLE MATERYAL VEYA TALIMAT OLmadAN YAZAN BIR ADAMA HARÇLIK VERMEK" İÇİN YALVARIN. BU, JUNIUS'UN IMZASININ ORTAYA ÇIKMASINDAN ÜÇ AY ÖNCEYDİ.

VE JUNIUS SERISI COM PLETED OLDUĞUNDA LORD CHATHAM'A, "EN GİZLİ", "EMEKLI VE BILINMeyEN, GÖLGEdE YAŞIYORUM VE SADECE SPEKÜLATIF BIR HIRSİM VAR" DIYEREK YAZDI. AMA ŞİMDİ ITIRAZCININ ŞÖYLE DEDİCİNİ DUYUYORUM: "LEWES'IN DÜŞÜK SOSYETECİSİNİN PARLAMENTO'DAKI TARTIŞMALARA KATILMASI NASIL MÜMküN OLABILİR?" BEN CEVAP: ONUN YAPTIĞI İÇİN KENDİ SÖZÜMÜZ VAR.

HAYIR'DA.

VII, "COMMON SENSE" DER: COMMONS HANEDANI'nda ILAN EDILEN MERHUM AMIRAL SAUNDERS'I HATIRLIYORUM VE BARIŞ ZAMANINDA, MADRID ŞEHrinin KÜLLER İÇİNDE YATTIĞINI HATIRLIYORUM - İSPANYOLLAR İÇİN BIR İNGİLİZ SLOOP-OF-WAR'IN DÜMENINI ÇIKARAN BIR SUFFICIT ATONE MENT DEĞİLDİ.

JUNIUS'UN ÖZEL MEKTUBU No.

29, JAN TARİHLİ.

31, 1771 VE ŞUNU OKUYORSUNUZ: BAKANLIĞIN ÖNMÜZDEKİ SALI GÜNÜ HER İKİ MeCLIS'I DE AÇMAK İÇİN HAREKETE GEÇMEYE NIYETLİ OLDUĞUNU DUYUYORUZ, HER ZAMANKİ ŞEKİLDE, ULUSUN FALK KARA ADASININ İŞİNDE TÜM DAVRANIŞLARINDAN TAM OLARAK HABERDAR EDİLMESİ GEREKİĞİNİ ARZULUYORUZ.

YINE AYNI MEKTUBUN BIR MEKTUBUNDA, "ERTESİ GÜN:" YAZDIĞINI DUYUYORUZ, BAKANLIĞIN BIR SONRAKİ SALI GÜNÜ HIÇBİR CENTILMENİN İKİ EVE DE KABUL EDİLMEMESİ İÇİN HAREKETE GEÇMEYE NIYETLİ OLDUĞUNU DUYUYORUZ.

...

AKSI TAKDIRDE BU, KENDİ ITIBARINA VE KRALIN ONURUNA ÇOK DEZAVANTAJLI ŞÜPHELER DOĞURACAK VE HAKLI ÇIKARACAKTI.

What was the cause of that tremendous agitation? It was "*the Spaniards taking off the rudder of an English sloop-of-war*" in Port Egmont, West *Falkland island*, between Keppel and *Saunders islands*.

Turn now to Junius's public letter No. 42, dated Jan. 30, 1771, and you will find the whole affair discussed in the same spirit that it is treated by "Common Sense" seven years later. The two passages are paralleled in "Junius Unmasked," and in reverting to the subject I have unexpectedly found in the private letter of Junius to his publisher strong presumptive evidence that on Tuesday, Feb. 5, 1771, Junius heard Admiral Saunders speak in the House of Commons the words quoted by Common Sense in *Crisis*, No. VII.

The affair at Port Egmont is further discussed by Junius in two letters signed "Vindex," a part of the first one being suppressed by the publisher as too violent; but the suppressed portion has recently been brought to light in manuscript. It reflects severely upon the king, characterizing his surrender of the rights and honor of the crown of England as "*magnitudo infamiae*," and the king himself as a "stigmatized coward."

And here also I find that Woodfall apologized to "Vindex" for the suppression, directing his letter to "Mr. John Fretley" (Priv. Let. No. 33, Feb. 21, 1771, note by Woodfall).

The Spanish outrage was discussed by Junius under five or six other signatures, namely "Domitian," "Philo-Junius," "Vindex," *et al.*

14 BU MUAZZAM AGITA TION'UN NEDENİ NEYDI?

BU, PORT EGMONT, BATI FALKLAND ADASINDA, KEPPEL VE SAUN DERS ADALARI ARASINDAKI BIR İNGILIZ SLOOP-OF-WAR'ININ RUD DER'INI ÇIKARAN İSPANYOLLARDI.

ŞİMDİ JUNIUS'UN HALKA AÇIK MEKTUBU NO'YA DÖN.

42, JAN TARİHLİ.

30, 1771 VE BÜTÜN MESELENİN YEDI YIL SONRA "ORTAK DUYU" TARAFINDAN ELE ALINDIĞI AYNI RUHLA TARTIŞILDIĞINI GÖRECEKSİNİZ.

İKİ PASAJ "JUNIUS MASKESİZ" İLE PARALELDİR VE JUNIUS'UN ÖZEL MEKTUBUNDA BEKLENMEDİK BİR ŞEKİLDE BULDUĞUM KONUYA GERİ DÖNERKEN PUB LISER GÜÇLÜ VARSAYIMSAL KANITLAR TUES GÜNÜNDE, ŞUBAT.

5, 1771, JUNIUS, AMIRAL SAUNDERS'IN COMMONS HANEDANI'nda, COMMON SENSE IN CRISIS No.

PORT EGMONT'TAKI İLİŞKİ, JUNIUS TARAFINDAN "VINDEX" İMZALI İKİ MEKTUPTA DAHA DA TARTIŞILIYOR, ILKİNİN BİR KISMI YAYINCI TARAFINDAN ÇOK ŞİDDETLİ OLARAK BASTIRILIYOR; ANCAK BASTIRILAN KISIM, EL YAZMASINDA YÜZDE YÜZ YENİDEN GÜN İŞİÇİNA ÇIKARILDI.

İNGILTERE TACININ HAKLARINI VE ONURUNU TESLİM ETMESİNİ " MAGNITUDO INFAMICEF VE KRALIN KENDİSİ "STIGMATIZE BIR KORKAK" OLARAK NİTELENDİREREK KRALA CİDDİ BİR ŞEKİLDE YANSIR. VE BURADA WOODFALL'UN BASKILAMA İÇİN "VINDEX" TEN ÖZÜR DİLEDİĞİNİ VE MEKTUBUNU "BAY.

JOHN FRETLEY" (PRIV.

BIRAK.

HAYIR.

33, ŞUBAT.

21, 1771, WOODFALL TARAFINDAN NOT).

İSPANYOLLARIN ÖFKESİ JUNIUS TARAFINDAN "DO- MITIAN", "PHILO-JUNIUS", "VINDEX" VE DIĞERLERİ OLMAK ÜZERE BEŞ VEYA ALTI IMZA ALTINDA TARTIŞILDI.



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The House of Lords had excluded the public, apparently in consequence of a ludicrous report in the *Public Advertiser*, Dec. 7, 1770, of ~~Lord North's~~ loose and droll style of oratory, by Domitian. (See Misc. Let. 79, 80, and 81, all by the same writer, who was Junius.)

Thanks to Mr. Conway for causing me to discover the important fact that on Feb. 5, 1771, the speech of Admiral Saunders in the House of Commons was listened to by Junius, who reappeared in America as "Common Sense." W. H. BURR.

Washington, D. C., Aug. 23, 1892.

LORDLAR KAMARASI, KAMU REKLAMCISI DEC'TAKI GÜLÜNÇ BIR RAPORUN SONUCU OLARAK, ANA BABA OLARAK HALKI
DİŞLAMIŞTI.

7, 1770, DOMITIAN'IN GEVŞEK VE SARKIK SÖZLÜ ÜSLUBU.

(S.EE MISC.

BIRAK.

79, 80 VE 81, HEPSI JUNIUS OLAN AYNI YAZAR TARAFINDAN.) MR.

FEB'TEKİ ÖNEMLİ GERÇEĞİ GÖRMEZDEN GELMEME NEDEN OLDUĞUM İÇİN CONWAY.

5, 1771, COM MONS HANEDANI'NDA AMIRAL SAUNDERS'IN KONUŞMASI, AMERİKA'DA "SAĞDUYU" OLARAK YENİDEN
ORTAYA ÇIKAN JUNIUS TARAFINDAN DINLENDİ.

H.

BUER.

WASHINGTON D.

C., AUG.

23, 1892.