









William THE Davison
CRAFTSMAN.

BY

CALEB D'ANVERS,
of GRAY'S-INN, Esq;

Reus in Judicium adductus est C. VERRES, homo vita atque factis, omnium jam opinione, damnatus; pecuniæ magnitudine, sua spe, ac prædicatione absolutus. Huic ego cause, Judices, cum summa voluntate & expectatione populi Romani actor accessi; non ut auferem invidiam ordinis, sed ut infamiae communi succurrerem. Adduxi enim hominem, in quo reconciliare existimationem judiciorum amissam; redire in gratiam cum populo R. satisfacere exteris nationibus possedis; depeccatorem ærarii; vexatorem Asiæ atque Pamphiliæ; prædonem juris urbani; labem atque perniciem provinciæ Sici-liæ; de quo, si vos severe, religioseque judicaveritis, auctoritas ea, quæ in vobis remanere debet, hærebit. Sin istius ingentes divitiæ judiciorum religionem, veritatemque perfrugerint, Ego hoc tamen assequar, ut judicium potius recip. quam ut reus judicibus, aut accusator reo defuisse videatur. C I G.



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TO THE 97
PEOPLE
OF
ENGLAND.

Friends, Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects.

 HE *Craftsman* being now to
to make his Appearance in Vo-
lumes, He hath chosen to address
Himself to you, in your col-
lective Body, as his most pro-
per Patrons. He thinks it would be a
sort of Derogation from that publick
Cause, in which He hath been so long en-
gaged, if He should offer his Incense at
the Shrine of any single Man, or particu-
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lar Body of Men, however great They may be, either by their own real Merit, or the adventitious Circumstances of Wealth and Power. In your Cause was this Work first undertaken; by your Encouragement hath it been continued for above four Years with great Success; and I hope the same general Patronage will not be wanting to it, now it is laid in Form at your Feet.

Though these Papers have been sufficiently justify'd by the Reception, which They have met with from the World, and by those Defences, which particular Occasions have extorted from us; yet it will not be improper to prefix a few general Remarks on the *Design* and *Conduct* of them, in answer to some Objections, which We have not had Leisure or Opportunity to consider before, without breaking in upon more important Enquiries.

The *Craftsman* made his first Appearance in Publick on the 5th of *December* 1726, about a Year and a half after the Treaty of *Hanover* was signed, and when the Effects of it began to discover Themselves. We apprehended, and our Apprehensions have proved too just, that the close Conjunction, which *this Treaty* cemented between *Great-Britain* and *France*,

in Opposition to the *Emperor* and *Spain*, would be attended with bad Consequences From a State of perfect Tranquility at home, and * *Peace with all Powers abroad*, We found our selves, all on a sudden, negotiated into a State of Difficulty, Danger and Confusion, without being able to discover how the Interests of *Great-Britain* were concern'd in the Squabble. We saw our Trade interrupted with Impunity by the *Spaniards*, not only in the *West-Indies* but in *Europe*, though We had a large Squadron of Ships, at that Time, in both those Parts of the World. *Gibraltar* was soon after besieged, without receiving any Assistance from our *new Allies* in the Defence of it. *Santa Lucia* was settled; the Harbour of *Dunkirk* was open'd by the *French*, in Violation of the most solemn Engagements. Almost all the Powers of *Europe* begun either to insult, or to prey upon us; and our *Affairs abroad* have continued ever since in a very unsettled, I might say a distress'd, Condition, notwithstanding that Multiplicity of Negotiations, Expeditions, Projects, Expedients and Treaties, which the Interval of a few Years hath produced.

* See his late Majesty's Speech in the Year 1724.

Our *domestick Affairs* kept an even Pace with our *Affairs abroad*. To carry on these Negotiations, to support these Engagements, and to extricate our selves out of the Difficulties, in which We were thus unaccountably involv'd, it was thought necessary to raise great Sums of Money upon the People at a Time, when They were the least able to bear, and had the least Reason to expect, any extraordinary Burthens. What added to our Apprehensions, and aggravated our Calamity, were the Methods made use of to facilitate these Designs, and the Doctrines advanc'd by some *Court Writers*, to impose on the People, by endeavouring to persuade them that They were in a flourishing Condition, in the midst of Poverty.

We thought This a proper Season to rise up in Defence of our national Interests and to animate our Countrymen with a becoming Zeal on such a melancholy Occasion. The *Supineness* and *Indolence*, which We observ'd to reign amongst a great Part of them, added Spurs to our Design, and quicken'd us in the Prosecution of it. We judg'd it necessary to awaken them from that *Lethargy*, which They had suffer'd to creep upon them, and to revive that *antient Spirit*, which is
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the *Palladium* of our Constitution. — But This hath been so fully explain'd by Mr. *Oldcastle*, through a long Course of Dissertations, and particularly in his last Letter to me, that it is unnecessary to insist upon it any farther.

As the Situation of our Affairs, both at home and abroad, justify'd the *Design* of this Undertaking; so We apprehend that our *Manner* of conducting it is equally justifiable. The general Principles of *Liberty* have been the Foundation of all our Arguments, and the Interest of *Great-Britain* the sole Object of them. We have constantly proportion'd our Zeal to the Nature of the Occasion, and steadily pursued the great End, which We propos'd to our selves at first, without turning either to the right Hand, or to the left. We have neither suffer'd our selves to be aw'd by Menaces; intimidated by frequent and expensive Prosecutions; nor soften'd by Applications of another Kind. We have spared no Pains; We have started at no Difficulties, and avoided no Dangers, with which the Prosecution of this Work hath been attended. As We were conscious of the Justice of our Cause, We depended on the Integrity of our *Countrymen*, who are the only legal Judges of it. We were

not deceived in this Expectation. They acquitted us with Honour in the Face of a full Court; and to their Decision We shall always chearfully submit the Merits of our Cause. In short, We have not only been faithful Servants to the Publick, but even Drudges in their Service, if any Thing could be esteemed Drudgery in the Service of our Country.

In Pursuance of this general Design, We have very cautiously avoided, as such a Design required, to give Offence to any *Party*, or to confine our selves to the narrow Views of any *Party*; though We have always pass'd under the Denomination of *Whigs*, and argued upon the Principles, which *that Party* hath formerly attributed to Themselves; but We have lately seen those noble Principles so scandalously prostituted by *some Persons*, who are pleas'd to call Themselves *Whigs*, and so itrenuously asserted by *many others*, who have been reputed *Tories*, that We are ashamed to value our selves upon such an idle Distinction of *Names* any longer. We have, on the contrary, us'd our utmost Endeavours, through the whole Course of these Papers, to banish these senseless and fatal Animosities; to reconcile *all Parties* to one another; to unite them in their com-

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mon Interest; the Interest and Cause of their Country; and to persuade Men, who are equally zealous in the Pursuit of the same End, though perhaps by different Means, not to defeat it by unreasonable Jealousies and reproachful Imputations.

Nothing gave us a more sensible Pleasure, upon his present Majesty's Accession to the Throne, than the Prospect it open'd to us of such an happy Coalition. People of *all Parties*, even almost without Exception, concurr'd in a general Joy and discover'd a manifest Inclination to lay aside their private Animosities, for the publick Good, and unite their Endeavours to make his Majesty's Reign easy, prosperous and glorious to Him. If this favourable Opportunity was either neglected, or not improved, let it be imputed to Those, whose Interest depended, as it had been originally form'd, on a Spirit of *Faction* and *Division*. We took Notice, at that Time, that there were *some such Men*, and express'd our Apprehensions of the Consequences, if They should happen to prevail in their Attempts—God knows, They have prevail'd too far, and what We foretold is already too much verifi'd!

We have preserv'd the same Impartiality, in these Papers, with Regard to the
Clergy

Clergy and the *Laity*, consider'd as distinct Bodies of the State. Though We have never deviated from our great Design, the Cause of *civil Liberty*, yet We have nowhere endeavour'd to deprive the *Clergy* of any of their just Rights and Immunities, which are consistent with it, and have been often exerted in its Defence. We look upon them, indeed, only as a Part of the *Body politick*, and therefore They ought to have no Powers independent of the supreme Power of the State; but as a Part, or as Members of the *Common-Wealth*, They have a Right to *civil Liberty*, as well as the *Laity*, and *their Privileges* are included in it, as well as *ours*. Upon these Principles We have proceeded, and all our Arguments, in Defence of *Liberty*, extend in general to all Orders and Degrees of our Fellow-Subjects. As We have not supported the ridiculous Pretensions of some of the *Clergy*, nor endeavour'd to exalt *ecclesiastical Power* above *civil Liberty*; so We have scorn'd to make a false, pretended Concern for *their Rights* a stalking-Horse to our *own Designs*; or privately to set Projects on Foot, which are calculated to alarm them, on Purpose to take the Merit of defeating them to our selves.

—Such mean and infamous Policy is worthy

worthy only of *those Men*, who have neither Honesty nor Understanding enough to recommend Themselves to any Part of their Fellow-Subjects by upright Proceedings and real Services.

We have made the same Principles of Moderation the Rule of our Conduct in what We have had Occasion to say concerning the *Church of England* and our *Protestant Dissenters*. As Members of the *establish'd Church*, in particular, We shall always endeavour to support it in its just Rights. As Members of the *reform'd Church*, in general, We shall never wish to see any Hardships laid on our *Protestant Brethren*, who cannot comply with the Terms of our Communion. We think the Consciences of Men ought not to be forced, nor any Restraints laid upon religious Opinions, which have no Tendency to disturb the Peace and good Order of the State. For this Reason, We have never attempted to play the *Church* against the *Dissenters*, or the *Dissenters* against the *Church*, as some *other Persons* have done, in order to serve a present Occasion; but have uniformly contended for the present Establishment of the *one*, and for the Continuance of those Indulgences, to which
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the *others* are equally intitled by *Law*, as well as *Equity*.

I will mention but one Instance more of our Impartiality ; and That shall be with Relation to *Commerce*. I am sure it cannot be deny'd, and I think it cannot be forgotten, with what uncommon Zeal We have appear'd, on many Occasions, in Behalf of *Trade* against its *foreign* and *domestick Enemies* ; against the Depredations of the *Spaniards* ; the Incroachments of the *French* ; and the Restraints of some *home-bred Monopolies*. When We undertook this Cause, We meant the Cause of *Trade* in general ; the Trade of *British* Subjects in all Parts of the World, in Opposition to *other Nations* ; or, which We think almost as bad, the clandestine Practices of *exclusive Corporations*. These Points are obvious to the Understanding of every Man, who hath made the least Reflections on the Nature of *Trade*, and the Foundation of the *British* Grandeur. We are sorry to see our Fellow-Subjects, who have the same general Interest in *Commerce*, divided as to some particular Branches of it. The Dispute is intricate and must be disagreeable to any Writer, who wishes well to Them all. Let *mercantile Persons*, who are the best Judges of such Affairs, debate and
decide

decide them. They do not properly belong to us. It is upon this Account that We have declined entering into the late Controversies between *England* and *Ireland*, and between our *southern* and *northern Colonies*; though We cannot forbear offering our Opinion, in general, that We ought to give the Kingdom of *Ireland* all the Encouragement, which is consistent with the Interest of *Great-Britain*; and that, as to our *American Colonies*, Those of them deserve the most Indulgence, which are of the greatest Advantage to their *Mother-Country*, for whose Service They were first settled and have been supported.

In a Word, as the *national Interest*, in its most important Points, was the End propos'd by *these Writings*, We have taken all possible Care not to give Offence to any distinct Bodies of Men, or even to any particular Men; except *Those*, who have long given great and grievous Offence to their Country, by a constant Opposition to that *publick Cause*, which We have espous'd.

We have been, indeed, unwillingly drawn into some *personal Altercations*, and Disputes about *Points*, not immediately to the Purpose of our *general Design*. We
say

say unwillingly; because We were forced into them by repeated Provocations and the most unwarrantable, groundless Abuses of Those, who were employ'd against us in that Service. It hath been acknowledg'd by *these Writers* Themselves, upon particular Occasions, and to serve particular Turns, that our *Manner* of writing at first was very different from That, which We have follow'd since; that *at first* We observ'd a *Decency*, at least, and confin'd our selves to *general Heads*; but that We took a greater Freedom by Degrees, as We found the Minds of our Readers prepared for it, and pointed our Cannon at *particular Men* with little, or no Disguise. If This was the Case, why was such an Alarm immediately taken, whilst We confin'd our selves within *these Bounds*? Why were We charg'd with *Fallacy*, as We have often been, by throwing out dark Insinuations, under *general Topicks*, and defy'd to enter into *Particulars*? And yet This was the Case. We had not publish'd above five, or six Papers, before the Alarm was taken, and a whole *Herd of Scribblers* appear'd against us, who threw about their Scandal at random, and mark'd out *particular Gentlemen*, as the Authors of these Papers, in
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the most licentious Manner. This *personal Attack upon Characters* demanded some Notice from us, and justified any Reprizals ; but since We are upon the Subject of *Personalities*, it will not be improper to make a *Distinction*, in this Case, which We apprehend to be neither sophistical, nor ill-grounded.

Those, who think it necessary to write against the Measures of an Administration, (which is one of the most valuable Branches of our *Liberty*) must expose *Him*, who is the Author of *those Measures* ; and every Attack of this Sort, though it is confin'd to *Facts*, may be call'd a *personal Attack* upon his Character ; but it is an Attack on his *publick Character*, as a *Minister*, not on his Character as a *private Man*. Here then is a rational, well-grounded Distinction ; a Distinction, which arises from a manifest Difference in the Case. We are ready to acknowledge that We began Hostilities in *this Sense*. We thought it necessary to oppose *some Measures*, which were then pursued, and *Those*, who were carrying them on, might esteem This a *personal Attack* ; but it was an Attack on their *publick Characters* ; and if We now and then dropt a little cursory Allusion to some particular Circumstances,

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which

which had no Relation to their *ministerial Capacity*, it was *descriptive* only, and contain'd no Reflection on their *moral Characters*, as private Men. Did We ever attempt to break into the Affairs of their *Families*, or to render any Part of their *domestick Life* uneasy to them? Did We ever reproach them with being *bad Husbands*, or *bad Fathers*; much less, did We ever make the Frailties, Infirmities, or Misfortunes of Those, who stand in the nearest Relation to them, the Subject of our *Invectives*, or *Ridicule*? Have We fill'd up any of our Papers with private Scandal, idle Stories, and the censorious Tittle-Tattle of the Town? No; We have always scorn'd to make use of such Ribaldry in a Dispute about the Conduct of *political Affairs*; or to bring it as a Charge against Those, whom We oppose on another Account. We have, on the contrary, suppress'd every Thing, of that Nature, which hath come to our Hands; and even been so tender, in this Point, as to castrate several Passages in Authors, which We have had occasion to quote, that We might not give our Enemies an Opportunity of imputing such an ungenerous Design to us.—But what hath been the Conduct on the *other Side*? Instead of

just

just Recriminations of a *publick Nature*, founded on *Facts* and *Argument*, We had nothing return'd but *private Scandal* and *Billingsgate Scurrility*, without any Regard to *Truth*, *Honour*, or *Decency*.— It is needless to revive the Particulars of this unmanly Outrage, since the Publick, which was a Witness to it, resent'd it with suitable Indignation.

If We have since taken a greater Liberty with *one Gentleman*, in particular, and open'd some Scenes of his *private Conduct*, in which *Himself only* was concern'd; He must impute it to those *foolish* and *injurious Calumnies*, which He hath encouraged and propagated through the Nation, at the *publick Expence*.

But supposing, for Argument sake, that there hath been too much *personal Altercation*, on both Sides; what is This to the Purpose; or how does it affect the main Point in Dispute? This is too commonly the Case, in Controversies of all Kinds, and is particularly encouraged by Those, against whom the *Enquiry* lies. They are always glad to divert the Attention of the Reader from the Merits of the Cause, by provoking their *Adversaries* into any Controversy, that is *foreign* to it. The main Point in Dispute between *us* and our *Ad-*

versaries is whether our Affairs have not been, for some Years past, in a very unhappy Situation, and to whom that Situation hath been owing. We must therefore leave it to the Publick, to whom We address our selves, whether We have not had a manifest Advantage of them in this Point.

It hath been allow'd by the Writers, on the *other Side*, in the Course of this Debate, that We have a Right to oppose *Ministers*, when We think They pursue *wrong Measures*; and that a *vigorous Opposition* to Them is often attended with good Consequences to the Publick, from whatever Motives it may proceed. They have been oblig'd to own that *Ministers* ought to have some Checks upon them, besides the Controul of the *Prince*, whose high Station renders Him liable to Deception in many Cases; and that even *bad Men*, who see Themselves narrowly watch'd, will not venture upon many Things, which their Ambition, Avarice, or Passions might otherwise prompt Them to undertake. The Dread of *Punishment* may prevail over the Wantonness of *Power*, and the Defects of a *publick Spirit* be, in some Measure, supply'd by a Regard to *private Interest*.

Thus

Thus far then is the general Design of *such an Undertaking* justify'd; and We think that the particular Circumstances of our Affairs, whilst We have been carrying it on, is a farther Justification of it.

Though We have not succeeded so far as We had great Reason to wish, and some Reason to expect; yet I think We may venture to affirm, without any Imputation of Vanity, that our Writings have not been altogether without Effect. We flatter our selves that We have prevented the Execution of *some Designs*, which would have been very prejudicial to this Nation; and that We have promoted the Execution of *others*, which may prove of the greatest Advantage to it. Some Acknowledgments of this Kind, with Relation to *foreign Affairs*, have been lately dropt, not very discreetly, by a *Gentleman*, who hath taken the most extraordinary Pains to obstruct our Success, and even to suppress our Writings; and I could mention several Instances, of a *domestick Nature*, in which We have great Reason to believe that the Publick hath found a Benefit from these Papers.

What We have already observ'd, in *several Papers*, occasion'd by the late *Treaty of Vienna*, hath anticipated many Things,

which We propos'd to have said, in this Place, concerning our Remarks on the *Negotiations* of some Years past. We shall therefore be very short upon that Head.

It cannot be expected that Persons, who have their Intelligence at *second Hand*, and often modell'd to serve *private Views*, should be infallible in their Accounts of *political Affairs*, or in their Conjectures upon the Consequences of them. In Cases, of this Nature, every Man hath a Right to deliver his Opinion, for the Good of the Publick, and is not blameable, if it should happen to prove erroneous. The Design of these Enquiries is to come at the Truth, by hearing all Sides, and to pursue *those Measures*, which appear, upon such an Examination, to be most for the Interest of the Publick. If We have any *Liberty of Writing*, upon these Affairs, This must be the Design of it; because it is the only valuable End, which *such a Liberty* can possibly serve; and if This is the Design, no Man ought to be punish'd, or harras'd, for any involuntary and unavoidable Errors, which He may commit, in the Exercise of this *useful Privilege*.

But I must observe that it hath wonderfully happen'd, for the Misfortune of the Nation, that our Remarks on the *Negotiations*,

tations, of five or six Years past, have been minutely verify'd, in almost every Article. Those, who will take the Trouble of reviewing what We have said, in the Course of these Papers, concerning the *Treaty of Hanover*, the *Preliminaries to the Congress of Soissons*, the *Treaty explanatory of the Preliminaries*, the *Convention of the Pardo*, and the *Treaty of Seville*, in Opposition to the Reasonings and confident Assertions of our *Adversaries*, will find us so prophetic, in almost every Particular, that I don't know whether They will not begin to think that there was some Foundation for the Charge against us; *that We have been admitted into the Cabinets of all the Princes of Europe.*

If the Reader will please to descend into the Particulars of *these Treaties*, with Relation to *Gibraltar*, *Dunkirk*, *Santa Lucia*, *Don Carlos*, the State of *Trade*, and the Case of our *plunder'd Merchants*; He will find our Apprehensions too fully justify'd by the *Effects* of them; and We heartily wish that those *few Remarks*, which We have already made on the late *Treaty of Vienna* may not prove equally *prophetic*; but as there is a *Prosecution* now depending against us, upon that Account, We shall only observe, in general, that
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what We foretold is already fulfill'd, in some Measure, by the *Event*, and even confirm'd by an *AUTHORITY*, which We think a sufficient Justification of us.— What We have farther to say, in our Defence, must be reserv'd for *another Place*.

Our Observations on *domestick Affairs*, *Occurrences* and *Transactions*, will appear calculated for the same End ; the Interest and Honour of our Country. The *British Constitution* of Government hath never been out of our Sight ; and We have spared no Pains to inculcate the Necessity of watching over it, in order to preserve it. Our Loyalty to the *Prince* hath born an equal Proportion to our Zeal for the Liberties of the *People* ; and as their Interests are inseparable, We have treated Those, who attempt to divide Them, as the worst Enemies to the *present Establishment*. We have trac'd *Corruption* through all its dark lurking Holes, and set its Deformity in a true Light. We have plead'd the Cause of *publick Virtue*, against the Misrepresentations of Those, who have endeavour'd to bring it into Contempt. The Reduction of our *Expences*, the Liquidation of our *Debts*, and the Diminution of our *Taxes*, have been the repeated Subjects of these Papers. In short, scarce
any

any Point hath escaped our Notice, which tends to make us a great, happy and flourishing People.

Having taken this general View of the *Design* and *Conduct* of our Undertaking, it is necessary that I should say something of *Those*, who have been engaged in it.

As for *my self*, the Editor of these Papers, I was not vain enough to propose carrying on such a *general Undertaking* without Assistance; and therefore, in my first Paper, I requested the Correspondence of all Persons, who approved of it. I flatter'd my self, from what I had observ'd in the World, that there were many Persons, who would contribute to *such a Design*, when They saw it once set on Foot with Vigour and Resolution. My Success hath infinitely exceeded the most sanguine of my Expectations. Assistance was immediately crouded in upon me from all Parts, and hath been continued, without Intermision, during the whole Course of these Papers. I have often had little else to do than to prepare the Letters of my Correspondents for the Press, with such Castrations, Additions and Alterations, as I thought proper; a Liberty, which every Man of Sense must know to be necessary

in such a Work, and therefore it requires no Apology.

It cannot be expected that I should give the Reader any particular Account of *these Gentlemen*. Most of them have chosen to continue in the Dark, as it is usual upon such Occasions ; and I have never had the least Curiosity to discover them. Favours, of this Kind, are like the Gifts of *Fairies*, or the *private Charities* of some well-dispos'd Persons. If We endeavour to find out our *Benefactor*, We run the Hazard of losing his *Benefactions* for the future.

But since *some Persons* have pretended not only to guess at the *Authors* of these Papers, in general, but even positively to ascribe some *particular Papers* to *particular Gentlemen*, with solemn Assesverations of the Truth, upon their own Knowledge, and have employ'd their *Hirelings* to abuse *these Gentlemen*, upon that Account ; I think it necessary to assure the Publick that, as far as I know any Thing of the Matter, They have been commonly mistaken ; hardly ever in the Right ; and if it was thought proper to affix the Name of the Author to every Paper, it would convince the World that *those Persons* have no more Regard to *Veracity*, than They have Sense of *Shame*.

DEDICATION. xxiii

As these *auxiliary Contributions* (which make the most considerable and shining Figure, in the following Volumes) were manifestly intended for the *publick Service*; it would be Insolence in *Me* to take the Obligation to my self; or to make any other Acknowledgments to the *Authors* of them, than for the Honour They have done me, in thinking me a proper Person to communicate them to the World.

All I can say, in my own Behalf, is, that as I am very gratefully sensible of this Honour; so I have endeavour'd to put *their Writings* in the most advantageous Light, and spared no Pains to publish them with that Correctness, which They deserve.

Having made this Acknowledgment to the World, I may take the Liberty to give my Opinion, without any Arrogancy or Self-Commendation, that no Work, of this Nature, was ever carried on, for so long a Time, with more Variety of useful Instruction and agreeable Entertainment. It is not only supported with *solid Argument*, and illustrated with a Multitude of *Authorities* and *Examples* from the best Authors, antient and modern; but it is likewise season'd with *Humour*, enliven'd with *Wit*, and diversify'd with all the Embellish-

bellishments, which such a Work is capable of receiving. *Mere Politicks* are too hard for popular Digestion. It is therefore necessary for us to make use of the most agreeable Vehicles to convey our Medicines, and to make them as palatable as possible to our Readers. — These are the only Arts in our Power. *Those*, who oppose us, have many others, of a more prevailing Nature.

I do not in the least doubt that the *Scribblers against us* will make it their Business, as soon as these Volumes are publish'd, to pick out some Passages, which may seem to contradict one another, and endeavour to make us inconsistent with our selves. Perhaps, there may be some little Inconsistencies, of this Nature; and, considering the Distance of Time, and the Difference of Circumstances, in which *these Papers* were written, as well as the great Variety of Hands, from whom They came, it would be almost miraculous if there should not; but, I believe, We may defy them to produce a single Passage, or a single Argument, which does not promote, or is evidently calculated to promote, the general Cause of *Liberty*. Sure I am, that We may defy them to point out any such glaring

glaring Contradictions, as abound in *their* crude Productions.

If there is any Part of this Work, for which We ought more particularly to ask Pardon of our Readers, it is the Notice, which We have so frequently taken of *these Writers* ; but We have This to say in our Excuse ; that We have never enter'd into any Controversy with them, but when They have given us an Opportunity, by some silly Concession, of examining some Points of great Consequence, with more Freedom than We could otherwise have done ; or in order to clear up others, by taking off all Objections to our Arguments. Such are the *Liberty of the Press*, and the Subject of *Liberty and Faction* ; two Points, which are more fully discuss'd in these Papers, than They ever were before by any Author whatsoever. We have not confin'd our selves to florid Declamations on *these Subjects* ; but have given them a thorough Examination in all their Branches, and against all the Objections, which have been brought against them.

The *Independency of Parliament* is another Subject, of this Kind, which hath been already pretty largely consider'd, and shall be farther pursued, in Answer to a *late infamous Position*, which hath been advanc'd

xxvi D E D I C A T I O N.

and justify'd in Print. We should have taken Notice of this *pernicious Doctrine* much sooner, had We not been engaged on *another Subject*; but the Reader may very soon expect to see our Thoughts upon it.

I shall conclude with assuring my *Countrymen* that I am determin'd to prosecute this Undertaking, with the same Resolution of Mind and Inflexibility of Conduct, as long as the original Motives to it continue, (if God spares my Life so long) or as long as We are able to support our selves against that Weight of Power, which hath been so industriously employ'd to crush us.

I am, GENTLEMEN,

Your affectionate Fellow-Subject,

and most devoted Servant,

Gray's-Inn, May
22, 1730.

Cal. D' Anvers.

T H E



T H E
B O O K S E L L E R
T O T H E
R E A D E R .



*T*is necessary that I should say a Word or two, by way of Apology for this Edition of the Craftsman.

There hath been, for a Year or two past, a very great Demand for a compleat Collection of these Papers ; but having already publish'd two Volumes of them, at different Times, in Octavo, We were under a Difficulty, which We could not easily surmount ; for We could not continue them in that Size, without a Subscription ; because We did not know what Number to print, as nobody would buy the
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five last Volumes *without the two former.* The Difficulty would have been the same, if We had printed all *de novo* in that Size; for those Gentlemen, who had the two first Volumes, would think it very hard to be put to the Expence of the whole Set, and We could not possibly tell how to proportion the Numbers of each to the Demand.

Besides, as this Work is already become very voluminous, and is design'd to be continued, an Edition in Octavo would prove very expensive; which might confine it to fewer Hands, than the Method now taken.

We hope therefore that those Gentlemen, who have been our Customers for the former Volumes, will not be displeas'd at this Edition, which makes those Volumes useless, since They have the whole Collection, with compleat Indexes and graceful Ornaments to each Volume, at a cheaper Price than They could have had the five additional Volumes in the other Size.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE Design of the Craftsman being taken from the following Letter, We have thought proper to prefix it, by Way of Explanation to the first Paper.

T H E



THE
CRAFTSMAN.

N^o 1. Monday, December 5. 1726.



It is usually expected that Persons, who presume to instruct or entertain the Publick, should give some Account of Themselves, and of those particular Endowments, which qualify them for such an Undertaking. Tho' I am sensible of the Prejudices, which adhere to a known Author, and how personal Defects are apt to interfere with a publick Character; yet I think this Expectation so reasonable in general, that I have determined to place my Name at the Head of this Paper, and design to acquaint the World with some of the most remarkable Particulars of my Life.

I am, by Birth, the second Son of *Abrabam D'Anvers*, Esq; a Gentleman of an ancient Family, and no inconsiderable Estate in the North of *England*. I was born in that Year, which is become a remarkable *Æra*, on Account of the *Restoration* of our ancient
A established

established Government under King *Charles II.* and the auspicious Birth of his present most excellent Majesty. I received the first Rudiments of my Education, under the famous Dr. *Busby*, at *Westminster School*; from whence I was transplanted to *Christ-Church College* in *Oxford*, where I continued between three and four Years; at the Expiration of which, I was entered of *Gray's-Inn*, and applied myself to the Study of the Law. When I was first called to the Bar, I attended very constantly in *Westminster-Hall*, and gained considerable Reputation in my Profession; but my elder Brother dying soon after, by which I came into the Possession of a competent Estate, and having before taken a Disgust to the Chicanry of that Business, and the prevailing Practice of the Courts, I resolved to live a retired Life, and indulge my natural Inclination to the politer Arts. I had, however, been so long accustomed to private Chambers, and a recluse manner of Life, that I resolved to continue in the same Method; which I have accordingly done ever since in *Gray's-Inn*, and was made a Bencher of that venerable Society near twenty Years ago.

As I quitted the long Robe very early, it gave me an Opportunity of furnishing myself with some Degree of Knowledge in most Arts and Professions. I have had Leisure, for these many Years, to make my Observations on Men and Things; to amuse myself with the Writings of ancient and modern Authors; to look into the Constitutions of the most flourishing States in all Ages, and particularly of our own; and have from Time to Time made my Remarks on the several Changes and Revolutions, which have happened, not only in the publick Transactions of Government, but also in the private Opinions of Mankind, and the Conduct of particular Parties; of all which the Reader will be fully apprized in the Course of my future Lucubrations.

What chiefly determined me, at this Time, to appear in such a Manner, is the Usage I have lately received

ceived from a *certain Writer*, who has thought fit to break into the private Concerns of my Family, and publicly expose me to the World, for my good Nature and Indulgence to one of my *Servants*; in which, perhaps, I am not altogether excusable. I am, indeed, somewhat obliged to the Gentleman for the good Character, which he is pleased to give me, as to my natural Disposition; but I think it very hard to see my private Weaknesses, and the Infirmities of old Age set forth to the World in so glaring a manner; for tho' I am ready to allow, that the universal Complaints against *Servants* are too just; that their Corruptions are grown very enormous; and that I may, in particular, have contributed to this publick Evil, by too much Lenity to my *Coachman*, who, has not deserved such Tenderness at my Hands; yet some Allowances ought certainly to be made to a Man in Years; who being naturally fond of Ease, is willing to overlook a thousand little Faults and Impertinences, rather than part with an *old Servant*, who was brought up in his Family from a Child; and for whom he has contracted a sort of natural Affection.

But since the Case of my Man ROBIN has been made so publick, as to become the Subject of all Conversation; and my Conduct in that Affair has been much blamed, as setting a bad Example to *other Servants*; I will in a short Time give the Publick an Account of that whole Affair, and of the Motives, which have hitherto induced me to proceed in this gentle Manner with so ungrateful and refractory a Servant. In the mean time, I must acquaint the World, that the Relation, which they have seen of this Affair, in a Letter signed *Will. Johnson*, published in the *Country Gentleman*, is, in several Instances, false and erroneous; particularly at the Conclusion, where it is said, that *Robin* at last fell from his Coach-Box, and broke his Neck; for I do hereby assure the Publick, that there was nothing in that Story, any farther than that he received

ceived a little Shock one Night, by driving in the Dark, against another Gentleman's Coach; but however he might suffer in his Reputation as to *Coachmanship*, and forfeit the Character of a *skilful* and *sober Driver*; yet he was so far from breaking his Neck, that he drove me but Yesterday to *Hampstead*; and I have been prevail'd on, by the strong Intercession of his Friends, and his own Promises of Amendment, to continue him in my Service this Winter; but if he does not immediately grow better, I am resolv'd, notwithstanding any Importunities whatsoever, to discard him entirely, and give him up to the strictest Severity of the Law.

I have likewise Reason to complain of the *Writer before-mentioned*, for representing me, in that Paper, as a Person of an *indolent Temper*, if by that Phrase he means one, who is unconcerned for the Welfare of his Fellow-subjects, and the Prosperity of his native Country. I hope a Man may be allowed to live quietly, and indulge the Serenity of his Mind in old Age, without drawing on himself the Imputation of being cold and spiritless; for certainly there is some Difference between being easy and *indolent*; between submitting peaceably to several Things, which a private Man cannot help, and his being perfectly indifferent whether they were better managed, or not. However, the Charge against me is contained in such general Terms, and I am so loth to trust to the Candour of the World for their Construction, that I chuse to interrupt my desirable Tranquility, and enter upon a Scene of Action in my declining Years, rather than lie under the least Suspicion of a *tame and vicious Indolence*.

As it is frequently observed, that those Persons *think most, who speak least*; so perhaps it will hold equally true, that They form the soundest Judgment of what passes in the World, who live most retired from the Bustle of it. As to myself, however inconsiderable I may have been thought for the greatest Part of my Life, I hope to convince the World that I am not so *indolent* and

and careless a Spectator, as *this Author* is pleas'd to represent me; but, on the contrary, that I am as warmly affected with the Interest of my Country, as any Man in it; and look with equal Concern upon the manifold Vices and Corruptions; upon that general Prostitution of Principles and Degeneracy of Manners, which have by degrees over-run the whole Kingdom, and put Virtue and Honesty almost quite out of Countenance.

As for the Corruptions of *Servants*, I can look upon them in no other Light than as the natural Consequences of the Corruptions of Those in an higher Sphere. The Morals of the *Master* are generally exhibited to us in the Behaviour of his *Domesticks*; for which Reason I think it ridiculous to endeavour at a Reformation of them, unless we begin with one amongst our selves. The Effect cannot be removed, whilst the Cause remains. *Let the Ax be laid to the Root of the Tree*, if you would effectually stop the Growth of this Evil; for it will avail but little to lop off a few superfluous Branches and Excrescencies, when the nobler and vital Parts are so dangerously affected.

It is for this Reason that I have entitl'd my Paper *The CRAFTSMAN*; under which general Character I design to lay open the Frauds, Abuses, and secret Iniquities of all Professions; not excepting those of my own; which is at present notoriously adulterated with pernicious Mixtures of *Craft*, and several scandalous Prostitutions. The same malignant Contagion has infected the other learned Faculties and polite Professions. It has crept into the Camp as well as the Court; prevailed in the Church as well as in the State; has vitiated the Country in the same Manner that it has poisoned the City, and work'd itself into every Part of our Constitution, from the highest Offices of Life, down to the lowest Occupations, in a regular and gradual Descent.

It is my Design, in this Paper, to detect and animadvert upon all these Corruptions, as far as they come within my Knowledge; to shew how general the Evil

is grown, and how *Craft* predominates in all Professions. But the Mystery of *State-Craft* abounds with such innumerable Frauds, Prostitutions, and Enormities in all Shapes, and under all Disguises, that it is an inexhaustible Fund, an eternal Resource for Satire and Reprehension; since from this grand Fountain of Corruption flow all those little Streams and Rivulets, which have spread themselves through every Part of this Kingdom, and debauched all Ranks and Orders of Men. It shall therefore be my chief Business to unravel the dark Secrets of *Political Craft*, and trace it through all its various Windings and intricate Recesses. I am aware of the Difficulties of this Task, and of the Ridicule which it will draw upon me. I know the fashionable Part of the World, which includes the Vain and Superficial, as well as the Self-interested and Corrupt, will call me a dotting old Blockhead for making such an Attempt; and impute my Remonstrances against Vice to the Peevishness and Protervity of Age, which naturally inclines us to be out of Humour with the *present Times*, and to extol those which are *past*; but as the sober Part of Mankind will, I doubt not, judge otherwise of this Affair; and as I have been in a manner necessitated to this Undertaking, by the unkind Treatment of the *Letter-Writer* before-mentioned; so I have armed my Mind with sufficient Resolution to despise any Reproaches or personal Invectives, which may be thrown upon me, whilst I am carrying it on.

As I am acknowledged by *this Author* himself to be a Gentleman of *great Worth* and *natural Probity*; and the Faults, with which he charges me, being, at the worst, Faults on the *right Side*, the glorious Errors of too much *Lenity* and *good Nature*; so I hope the Reader is inclined to believe that I am not altogether unqualified for this Work; unless an honest Disposition, join'd with a liberal Education, long Experience, and the Knowledge of Men, as well as of Books, can be supposed to be no Qualifications. But though I have all these

these Advantages on my side; yet I am not, like some old Men, so self-sufficient and opinionated of my own Abilities, as to imagine that I stand in need of no Assistance; but shall be very much obliged to any Gentlemen, who approve of this Design, and will favour me with their Correspondence. D



N^o 2. *Friday, December 9.*

Rara temporum felicitas, ubi sentire quæ velis & quæ sentias dicere licet. Tacit.



THE *Liberty of Speaking, or publishing our Thoughts*, (which, since the Invention of Printing, has been usually call'd the *Liberty of the Press*) is a Thing very little understood, and but rarely enjoy'd; for tho' it is undeniably one of the greatest Blessings of a Free People, and justly valued as such by all Men of Sense, whose Practices have not made them afraid of it, or when it does not interfere with some particular Views; yet This is so frequently the Case, especially amongst *Great Men*, that, in most Arbitrary Governments, it lies under such Restraints and Discouragements as amount almost to a Prohibition; and, in too many free Countries, we meet only with the Shadow of this Privilege instead of the Substance.

By the *Liberty of the Press*, we are not to understand any licentious Freedom to revile our lawful Governors and Magistrates; to traduce the establish'd Laws and Religion of our Country; or any Attempts to weaken and subvert, by opprobrious Writings, that sacred Respect and Veneration, which ought always to be maintained.

tained for Authority and Persons in Authority. Neither ought the *Press* to be made an Engine to destroy the Reputation of our Neighbours; or to prejudice any private Subject, by insulting his personal Frailties, Misfortunes, or Defects; or by exposing the Secrets of his Family to publick Laughter and Ridicule; for as these are Things only of a private Nature, which do not affect the Publick, so the Publick has no Right to the Knowledge of them; and indeed the *Law* has provided such wholesome Remedies against all these Enormities, both of *publick* and *private Scandal*, that I should have had no Occasion to make this Distinction between *Freedom* and *Licentiousness*, if some Persons had not confounded them together in their Arguments against the *Liberty of the Press*.

I shall therefore proceed, in a very concise Manner, to define what I mean by *this Liberty*, and wherein it truly consists; as well as to shew what are its proper Objects, and when any Nation may be said to possess this Blessing in its just and proper Extent.

By the *Liberty of the Press* I mean (as I suppose every Body else does) an unreserved, discretionary Power for every Man to publish his Thoughts on any Subject, and in any Manner, *which is not forbidden by the Laws of the Land*, without being obliged to apply for a *Licence* or *Privilege* for so doing. In short, where *this Liberty* prevails, every Author has a Right to print what he pleases, without asking any Body Leave; and without fearing any Molestation from Authority, so long as he keeps within his proper Bounds; which it is his Business to take care not to transgress. He knows the Laws of his Country; and if he rashly offends against them, he must submit to the *Penalty*.

For this Reason, in *England*, the *Press* is now said to be *free*; which cannot be affirmed of it in *France* and other Arbitrary Governments; where no Man can publish his Opinions on any subject, without first submitting them to the Examination of a certain Officer, who

who is authorized by the Government for that purpose, under the Title of *Licensor of the Press*; a Power which still prevails in our *English Universities*, and hath but lately ceased to prevail in the other Parts of the Kingdom.

Where such a Power is exercised, the *Press* cannot be said to be *free* or *open*; because this *Officer* being appointed by the chief Magistrate, or his Ministers, and continued only *during Pleasure*, it cannot be supposed that he will grant his *Imprimatur* to any Book, Pamphlet, or Paper, which is written with a View to discredit their Proceedings, however unjust, or tends in any Manner to give them Offence.

We ought therefore to esteem the Abolition of this *Office* as one of our greatest Acquisitions in the Cause of *Liberty*; and use our utmost Endeavours to prevent its being ever revived among us; for which purpose, we should keep a constant Eye upon *those Men*, who are suspected to be no good Wishers to it, and look upon it as a certain sign of a *bad Government*, when any Minister attempts to destroy the *Liberty of the Press*.

The next Point to be consider'd is the Object of this *Liberty*; or on what subjects it is supposed to allow us to debate *freely*; and those can be only GOVERNMENT and RELIGION; for, as the publick Welfare of every Nation depends entirely on these two great Articles, so they are the only Points on which any Tyrant or arbitrary Prince would desire to restrain our Thoughts. We meet with no Instance, in History, of any Nation, where the Subjects are prohibited from writing on Matters of Indifference and Speculation; or from venting the Productions of their idle Hours. The most slavish Nations, where any Degree of Learning prevails, abound, as much as ours, with Books of mere Entertainment and Diversion; as we may observe in *France, Italy, and Spain*; where there is no Prohibition of Plays, Novels, Love-Letters, Travels and Romances; but this is no Proof of the *Liberty of the Press* in those
Coun-

Countries; nor would it be worth contending for here on such Accounts. What renders it so valuable and desirable amongst us, is, that we have hereby an Opportunity of writing upon subjects of the utmost Importance; such as nearly affect our Consciences, our Liberties, and Estates.

I do not mean by This (as I have already observed, and would always be understood) a *Liberty* to undermine the Fundamentals of *Government* and *Religion*; or to calumniate Persons in high Power; neither of which ought to be tolerated in any Society; but a *Liberty* of examining the Principles of our *Faith* by the Test of Scripture and Reason; of declaring our Judgment in all disputable Matters; and of exposing the Corruptions, Impositions, and ridiculous Claims of some Clergymen; a *Liberty* of giving our Opinion, in the same Manner, of all *political Transactions*; of debating the great Affairs of Peace and War; of freely delivering our Sentiments concerning any Laws, which are in Agitation; and of modestly offering our Reasons for the Repeal of those, which are found to be oppressive; a *Liberty* of setting forth Male-Administration, and pleading for the Redress of Grievances; of exposing Mismanagement and Corruption in high Places, and discovering the secret Designs of *wicked* and *ambitious Men*.

Herein consists that valuable *Liberty* before described; which is the strongest Barrier of all our other Liberties, both in *Church* and *State*; a *Liberty* which has contributed to so many *glorious* Transactions and extraordinary Events in all Ages; and will, I hope, still contribute to a great many more, whenever there is a real Occasion; a *Liberty*, which all wise and disinterested Men have contended for, in every Nation, and particularly in our own—But I shall treat of This in another Paper; and content myself, at present, with shewing when any People may be said to possess this glorious Privilege in its just Latitude.

I have already taken Notice, that this *Liberty* is absolutely inconsistent with the Office of a *Publick Licenſer*, eſtabliſh'd by Authority, and under the Direction of Men in Power. But neither is it always to be found even in thoſe Countries, where there is no ſuch *Officer*. Miſchievous Politicians are never at a Loſs to preſerve the *Appearance*, when they have a mind to aboliſh the *Thing*; a Leſſon that was firſt taught them by their great Maſter *Machiavel*; and which has been much practiſed, and wonderfully improved ſince his Time.

Thus, in ſome Countries, where the greateſt *Liberty of the Preſs* is ſuppoſed to be allowed, very little in reality will be found; for the Caſe, in effect, is juſt the ſame, whether their Superiors will not ſuffer them to publiſh any thing without their *License*; or whether they pretend to leave them at their full *Liberty*, and yet have always ſome Artifice in reſerve to puniſh them for uſing *this Liberty*; or whether they lay ſuch heavy *Duties* on the *Preſs*, as manifeſtly tend to prejudice and diſcourage the *Freedom of Writing*.

A young unexperienced Author, indeed, thinks it a great Happineſs that he lives in a Country, where he lies under no Reſtraints in the Publication of his Works, but the *Laws of the Land*; without conſidering that the *ſtrict Letter* of moſt Laws is often very different from the *Interpretation*, which is put upon them in ſome ſort of Proſecutions.

The Practice of *Libelling* is a Thing of ſuch pernicious Conſequence that there have been Laws made to puniſh it in all civilized Societies; which Laws ought to be put ſtrictly in Execution; but the Miſfortune is, that the Nature and ſeveral Species of *Libels* are not aſcertain'd by any of theſe Laws; but are left to the Judgment and Diſcretion of the *Courts of Juſtice*; from whence it comes to paſs, that in bad Reigns, many *real Patriots* have been ſeverely puniſhed under the Character of *infamous Libellers*; ſome of whom have loſt their Ears, and others their Lives, for
what

what in a good Reign, they ought to have their Statues erected in Brass. A Person, who applies himself to writing, especially upon *political Subjects*, should never forget the Case of the great ALGERNOON SIDNEY; which is sufficient to convince us that no Man is safe against the Subtilties and Finesses of *Lawyers* and *State-Chymists*; who can extract Poison out of the most innocent Things, and, by tortured Constructions, apply the Penalties of Statutes, where the Legislators never design'd them. There are *certain Adepts* in this Profession, who can prove any Thing from any Thing, and maintain a Point to be Law, or not to be Law, just as the present Occasion, at any Time, requires; upon which Account, They are constantly retain'd by *another set of Men*, who find them to be of great Advantage in the Conduct of their *political Schemes*.

We have seen, in some Reigns, *remote Allegories*, *ironical Expressions*, and the most *distant Innuendo's* explain'd, by such Methods, to a Man's Destruction. We have seen Printers and Booksellers menaced and intimidated with *arbitrary Seizures*, *illegal Confinements*, and *groundless, vexatious Prosecutions*. Nay, we have seen some great Men stoop so low, as to collogue with common *News-Writers* and *Journalists*, in order to obstruct all Avenues to Truth, and induce them, by Bribes, to serve their corrupt Purposes with fictitious Intelligence and false Representations.

From this negative State of the Question, we may judge when the *Liberty of the Press* really subsists in any Nation; for where such Methods are practis'd in any Degree, there can be no such *Liberty*; since a Privilege, which is invaded and superceded, in this manner, is no Privilege at all. It is indeed only the *Manes* of departed *Liberty*, which makes the Loss of the *Substance* the more grievous to us, and is a melancholy Proof that *wicked Men in Authority* will stick at nothing to invalidate the just Rights and Privileges of
their

their Fellow subjects, when they stand in Competition with their *corrupt Designs*. D.



N^o 3. *Monday, December 12.*

————— *quod Medicorum est,*
Promittunt Medici. Hor.



HERE is a general Complaint of Abuses and Corruptions in all Professions; which is most frequently urged by those Men themselves, who are the chief Authors and Occasions of them. If you employ the most infamous Tool of the Law, he will begin with exclaiming against *foul Practice*, and congratulate you on your good Fortune, which did not let you fall into the Hands of some *Pettifoggers* about Town. In like manner we never meet with the Terms *Mercenary Scribblers, Wretched Hackney-Writers, Sciologists, Poetasters* and so forth, any where so often as in the Works of those miserable Vermin themselves. What is more common than to hear a *City Captain* inveigh against our late *military Promotions*? or to see the Learning, Integrity, and Merit of our reverend Prelates call'd in question by *little factious Lecturers, Curates, and Sermon-Jobbers*?

But the Faculty of Physick abounds with *Impostors, Cheats, and ignorant Pretenders* more than any other Profession whatsoever, if we may give Credit to the constant Declarations and Complaints of the *Practitioners* themselves; in which Number I include not only Those, who call themselves regular Physicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries; but likewise all Persons, who make it their Business to preserve Health, and repair human Constitutions, from *Rosemary-Lane* and *Hay-*

don-Yard in the *Minories*, to *Tom's* Coffee-house in *Covent-Garden*, and from thence to the *King's Ass-house* in *Piccadilly*, with all their intermediate Stages and Dispensatories of Medicine; amongst whom there are continual Clashings, Revilings, and mutual Exprobations. They are for ever abusing one another as *Quacks*, *Empericks*, and ignorant *Pretenders*; recommending their own Remedies to us as the only *original* and *truly prepared Specificks*. At the same time they kindly forewarn us to beware of *Impostures*, trump'd up in Imitation of their approved Remedies; for which purpose they direct us very exactly to their Shops or Houses, and seal their Preparations with their own Coats of Arms, to prevent Counterfeits.

I design, in some future Paper, to examine the Pretensions of these numberless Artists, and to make a faithful Report to the Publick of their several Merits; to which end, I shall enquire into the true Nature of *Quackery*, and expose *Mala Praxis* to the World, without Favour, Prejudice, or Partiality, wherever I find it, from the great Leeches of State, down to the humble Astrological Physicians in *Barbican* and *Moorfields*. I shall take no Notice whether they are Graduates or not; Fellows of the College, or Licentiates only; whether loll at Ease in spring Chariots, or plod the Streets in a Thread-bare Cloak; whether their Fee is a Guinea or a Shilling; whether they kindly invite you to their Houses at certain Hours, or will hardly come to yours, if you send for them; whether they are favourite Court-Opifers, Stage-Mountebanks, itinerant Horse-Doctors, peripatetick Tooth-Drawers, Oculists, Corn-Cutters, or Barber-Surgeons; whether they are old Men or old Women; first-born or seventh-born Sons. I shall make no Distinction of Climates in this Enquiry, as whether they are *English*, *French*, or *Higb-German* Doctors; nor trouble my Head at what Universities they had their Education; or whether they had it at any, or not; whether they practise in publick

lick or private; whether they trumpet their own Cures in the News-papers, or cautiously murder in secret, and give the World no Account of the Havock, which they are daily making in this great Metropolis;— But as my only Design is to distinguish Merit and detect Imposture, so I shall have no Regard to any Thing but Truth in this Examination.

If I find, upon Enquiry, that the famous Mr. *Jobn Morre* has really perform'd such Cures with his *Worm-Powder*, and other Medicines, as he assures us he has done; or if the Attesters for Dr. *Buggs* of *Coventry* prove to be Persons of Reputation; I shall make no Scruple to give them the Preference to some greater Names, who owe their Success to Flattery and Adulation, or to the Interest of particular Factions and Cabals.

I shall judge in the same impartial Manner of Seignor *Honorato Fornello's* never-failing Medicine for the *Gravel* and *Stone*, which he recommends to the World by publickly assuring us, that he is *no Physician*; a Declaration, which is somewhat equivocal, and seems very extraordinary in whatsoever Sense it is to be understood. But tho' I am so candid in this Matter, and am resolv'd to adjust the Merits of all Competitors, by the Cures which they perform, without considering their Education, Character, Circumstances, or Professions; yet I would advise this *Gentleman* (for so I think he calls himself) to drop these Words in his future Advertisements, lest they should give some Umbrage to the *College*, as well as to numberless well-meaning Persons in this Kingdom, who are firmly persuaded that it is not absolutely impossible for a *Physician* to understand his Business.

I thought it my Duty to give this seasonable Caution to a *Foreigner* (as I suppose this *Gentleman* to be by his Name) that he might not, by his Ignorance of our Customs, draw a powerful Body of Men upon his Back, who might, perhaps, prejudice the Publick a-

gainst what I am willing to believe a very useful and excellent Remedy.

But laying aside all these Particulars for the present, I cannot help distinguishing, in this Paper, one of the greatest *Arcana* in Physick, which either this or any Age has produced, being justly entitled,

Catholicon AUREUM Basilicum : Or,
The Royal GOLDEN Specifick,

“ **W**HICH is so well known in all the Courts
 “ of *Europe*, and so highly approved of by
 “ the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of this Kingdom, for its
 “ wonderful Virtues in all *Hypochondriacal* and *Hyste-*
 “ *rical* Distempers, that it is justly esteemed the
 “ *universal Medicine* ; for it infallibly cures all De-
 “ grees of the *Spleen*, *Vapours*, and *Melancholy*, be
 “ they of never so long Duration, or from whatever
 “ Causes they may proceed ; whether from an ill
 “ State of Health, Indigestion, and sharp, bilious
 “ Humours ; or from a natural Gloominess and Sa-
 “ turnine Disposition of Mind ; or lastly, from Mis-
 “ fortunes in the World, occasioned either by una-
 “ voidable Accidents, or by Luxury, Profuseness, and
 “ Gaming ; from all which, this inestimable Medi-
 “ cine gives the Patient a safe and speedy Relief, by
 “ rectifying the Juices, purifying the Blood, and
 “ strengthening the Digestion ; so that all black Thoughts,
 “ direful Apprehensions, and dismal foreboding Fears,
 “ are immediately removed ; in the room whereof
 “ succeeds a new Train of Ideas, which renovate the
 “ whole animal Oeconomy, exhilarate the Heart,
 “ occasion brisk and sparkling Imaginations, chearful
 “ Dreams, and the most lively and sanguine Spirits.
 “ In a Word, it recovers all Persons, as it were by
 “ Inchantment, from those Incumbrances of the
 “ Mind, which occasion a dark and splenatick way
 “ of Thinking, and puts them in a State of perfect
 “ Sere-

“ Serenity, Gladness, and good Humour. It is very
 “ pleasant to the Palate, and may be taken without
 “ the Knowledge of the most intimate Friend, Ac-
 “ quaintance, or Bedfellow. To be had *only* of the
 “ Inventor himself, Doctor *ROBERT KING*, (who
 “ has obtained a Patent for the *sole* vending thereof)
 “ at his own House over-against *Arlington-street* in
 “ *Piccadilly*; where he is to be advised with, in these
 “ Distempers, every Morning from *Eight* till *Twelve*,
 “ and at no other Times, unless it be upon very ex-
 “ traordinary Occasions.

N. B. *Any Person, by applying to the Doctor, at the Place aforesaid, may be farther satisfied of the Virtues of this excellent Medicine, and of several great Cures which it has perform'd, with the Names of Persons, who are ready to testify the Truth of them, and Directions where they may be spoken with.* A.



N^o 4 *Friday, December 16.*

Res nova & insueta, supplicia de studiis sumi. Bonobercule publico, ista in pœnas ingeniosa crudelitas post Ciceronem inventa est. Quid enim futurum fuit, si Triumviris libuisset ingenium Ciceronis proscribere? Dii melius, quod eo sæculo ista ingeniorum supplicia cœperunt, quo & ingenia desierunt.



AVING endeavoured, in a former Paper, to state the true Nature and proper Extent of the *Liberty of the Press*, or the *Freedom* of speaking and publishing our *Thoughts*; I shall now proceed, in the same succinct Manner, to prove that such a *Liberty*, as is there defined, has been a-

greeable to the Sentiments and Practices of all great and good Men in every Age and every Nation.

The *Holy Scriptures*, which are not only the most *authentick*, but also the most *ancient* Writings now extant in the World, abound with Instances, where the utmost Freedom is used in chastising the Vices and Iniquities of those Times. It is the immediate Direction of God himself to one of his Prophets, *to cry aloud, and spare not; to lift up his Voice like a Trumpet, and shew his People their Transgressions, and the House of Jacob their Sins.*

The *Græcians* were so far from having any Notion of restraining the *Freedom of Speech* on any Occasions, that they seem to have allowed an unjustifiable Latitude, and even Licentiousness in their publick Debates; as might be amply proved from the Writings of that great Father of Oratory *Demosthenes* himself; who, in many Passages of his *Philippick Orations*, descends to such Appellations and Forms of Expression, as would be esteem'd, in this Age, meer *Billingsgate* and Scurrility. The coarse Language, which *Homer* puts into the Mouths of his *favourite Heroes*, and sometimes even of his *Gods* themselves, is a full Confirmation of the *Liberty* of those Times; which I shall not therefore endeavour to prove any farther in this place, because it will be mentioned hereafter with more Propriety, and the Sanction of much better Authority than mine.

If we come to the *Romans*, we shall find them in the full Possession of this *Liberty* for several Ages; which they enjoy'd not only in Theory and Speculation, but in Practice and Reality; not only the Appearance and outward Shew of it, but the Substance and the Thing itself, in its full Extent, without any Limitations or Restrictions; without any of those Clogs and Refinements, which are the Inventions of later Times. I say they enjoyed it for several Ages; because when Corruption, Luxury, and Libertinism began

gan to prevail amongst them, they also lost it; which was the Forerunner, as it constantly will be in every Government, of the Subversion of their Constitution, and the Loss of all their other Liberties.

We are informed by *Tacitus*, that *Augustus* was the first Person in *Rome*, who took Cognizance of *scandalous Libels*, under colour, and by a forced construction of the *Lex Majestatis*; being provoked to this Method of Proceeding by the licentious Behaviour of *Cassius Severus*, who had traduced several illustrious Persons, of both Sexes, in his satirical Writings; and that afterwards *Tiberius* fell into the same Practices; exasperated, in like manner, by some Lampoons, which were published against his *Pride* and *Cruelty*, by unknown Authors.

This *Lex Majestatis* was a sort of Law against *High Treason*; which, *Tacitus* observes, bore the same Title in former Times; but that it was then put in Execution against other kind of Offences, such as betraying the *Army*, sowing *Sedition*, or lessening the Majesty of the *Roman People* by *Male-Administration*. *Actions*, says he, were condemn'd, but *Words* went unpunished.

From hence we may perceive the evil Consequences of bad *Precedents*, and the Danger of departing, in any Degree, from the original Intention of *Penal Statutes*; for this Procedure of *Augustus*, in straining a Law, which was design'd only against *Actions*, to the Punishment even of the *worst kind of Writings*, paved the way for his next Successor to prosecute the most *innocent Books*, and destroy entirely that *just Liberty*, which is the greatest Blessing of a free People.

As this Method of condemning Books and punishing Authors became a frequent Practice in succeeding Reigns, so it gave Birth to that beautiful Reflection of *Seneca*, which I have chosen for my Motto to this Paper, and may be translated, for the Use of my *English* Readers, in this Manner. *The Punishment of*
learned

learned Men, says he, was a new and unusual Thing. Happy was it for the Publick, that these cruel Penalties upon Learning were invented after Tully's Death; for what would have been the Consequence, if the Triumvirate had thought fit to banish the Works of Cicero? The Gods more wisely ordained, that such Methods of punishing ingenious Men should begin in that Age, when Genius itself should cease in the World.

If we descend to later Ages, we shall constantly observe, upon a strict Review of the Histories of all Nations, that *Liberty* in general has always flourished in the greatest Perfection, where the Liberty of *Writing* has been most encouraged; and when this Freedom declines by any Checks put upon the *Press*, that Tyranny and Servitude increase in Proportion; for which Reason, those Persons who, in any Age, have been the Patrons of *Popular Liberty*, have always been the Champions of the Freedom of the *Press*; which was never restrained but in order to serve some bad Design, in wicked Reigns, or under corrupt Administrations,

What glorious Complaints and Remonstrances did our Forefathers make against the cruel and arbitrary Proceedings of the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commission* Courts? How did the *Whigs* of old exclaim against several Prosecutions in the Reigns of King *Charles* and King *James* the Second? Who has not heard of the great *Mr. Sydney's* Case? And who, that has the least notion of *Liberty*, does not abhor the Proceedings against him? which seem to be of the same nature with those set on foot under *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, by construing *private Writings* into *Overt-acts*, and punishing them by the Laws against *High Treason*. *Scribere est agere*, will always be esteem'd, by Men of Sense and Probity, as a most unjust, arbitrary and tyrannical Interpretation.

But, to come yet nearer to our own times, and to Instances, which almost every Man living may re-

member. — How strenuously did the whole Body of *Whigs* contend for the *Liberty of the Press* at the latter end of the late Reign? And how boldly did they put it in Practice? What a *bold* stand did Sir *Richard Steele* make against the Proceedings of those Times, in his *political Writings*? With what unusual Freedom were the Characters and Conduct of the greatest Persons set forth in the *Medley* and *High-German Doctor*? And what a multitude of Books, Pamphlets and Papers, to the same purpose, were published at that juncture? Every Body knows *who* were the Patrons and Encouragers of those Writings; and *who* have since rewarded the Authors of them; which, however disguised under *Fable* and *Allegory*, would not have escaped in some Reigns. But I must do the Persons then in Power the justice to own, that they generally suffered these Writings to be published with Impunity, and contented themselves with applying Argument to Argument, and answering one piece of *Wit* or *Satire* with another. The only instances of any Severity, which we meet with, are burning the Bishop of *St. Asaph's* immortal *Preface*, and expelling Sir *Richard Steele* out of the *House of Commons*; but we meet with no grievous Imprisonments, no expensive Prosecutions, or burthensome Fines, in the History of that Administration.

In the Case of Sir *Richard Steele*, I observe with pleasure some of the *greatest Names* now in the Kingdom, who appear on the List of his Friends as publick Assertors of the *Liberty of Writing*, by voting with the Minority against his *Expulsion*.

The present most excellent Bishop of *Sarum* has been, for many Years, a zealous Advocate for the *Freedom of Debate* and *Liberty of writing* on all Subjects, both *religious* and *political*; and has not only exercised it himself, in the most unwearied manner, for the Service of his Country, but has constantly pleaded for the same Right in others, and will,

I doubt not, resume this glorious Topick, when ever there is a proper Occasion.

We are, at present, in no danger of seeing it abridged. Those at the Helm were Friends to this Privilege *before* they were in Power, and have done nothing *since* to make them afraid of it. But if any Minister for the future, either in this or any other Nation, should attempt to destroy it by indirect Methods of punishing Writers, I shall offer only one Argument to dissuade Him from it, *viz.* that it is not his *Interest*; for let Him punish an Author ever so severely, it will in no measure depreciate his Writings, but on the contrary add to their Value, and give them more Authority. Besides, a Man, who has determined to sacrifice his Interest so far as to write against *Men in Power*, ought to have Resolution enough to suffer any unjust Punishment, which They can inflict. It becomes only the awkward Politics of *Monks* and *Pedants*, to think of suppressing Truth and discrediting a Man's Writings, or deterring an Author, conscious of his Innocence, from proceeding in his Studies, by arbitrary Penalties, Censures and Prohibitions. I cannot illustrate this Point better, nor conclude this Subject more properly, than by a Passage out of the *Roman History*, as it is recorded by the same excellent Writer before-mentioned, in the Life of *Tiberius*.

He tells us, " That, in the Consulship of *Cornelius Cossus* and *Asinius Agrippa*, *Cremutius Cordus* was
 " indicted for a new and till then unheard-of Crime,
 " *viz.* that in some *Annals*, which he had published,
 " he had spoken in praise of *Marcus Brutus*, and said
 " that *Caius Cassius* was the LAST ROMAN. *Satrius*
 " *Secundus* and *Pinarius Natta*, two Creatures of
 " *Sejanus*, were his Accusers; which was a bad Omen
 " to the Criminal; and besides, the Emperor himself
 " heard his Defence with a wrathful Countenance;
 " which *Cremutius*, having given over all hopes of
 " Life, began in this Manner.

FATHERS,

MY *Words* only are called in Question; which is a certain Sign that my *Actions* are innocent. But neither do my *Words* relate either to the *Emperor*, or the *Emperor's Mother*, and therefore not within the Law of *Highb Treason*. I am charged with having spoken in commendation of *Brutus* and *Cassius*; whose *Actions* a multitude of *Authors* have related, and none of them have mentioned without Honour. *Livy*, the most famous of all *Historians*, both for *Eloquence* and *Veracity*, extoll'd *Pompey* in so lofty a Manner, that *Augustus* used to call him *Pompeianus*; nor was this any Bar to their future *Friendship*. He no where mentions *Scipio* and *Afranius*, nor even this very *Cassius* and *Brutus* as *Robbers* and *Parricides*, which are now grown fashionable Terms; but often gives them the Title of great and eminent Men. The Writings of *Afinius Pollio* make worthy mention of the same Persons; and *Messala Corvinus* called *Cassius* his *General*; yet both of These flourished in Wealth and Honours. In what other Manner did *Cæsar*, when *Dictator*, treat that Book of *Cicero*, in which he makes *Cato* equal to the Gods, but by endeavouring to answer it in an *Oration*, and appealing to the World for the Justice of his Cause? The Letters of *Antony*, and the Speeches of *Brutus* contain a great many bitter and undeserved Reproaches upon *Augustus*. The Verses of *Bibaculus* and *Catullus*, which are stuffed with Reflections upon the *Cæsars*, are still read. But even divine *Julius* and *Augustus* themselves suffered these things, and past them over with Impunity; whether more out of *Moderation* or *Prudence*, is not easy to determine; for such things die of themselves, when despised; whereas *Resentment* is a tacit Confession of Guilt. I shall not mention the *Grecians*; amongst whom not only *Liberty*, but even *Licentiousness* met with *Indemnity*;

demnity ; or, if any one took Offence at it, he revenged *Words* with *Words only*. But it was always more particularly allowable for any Man to speak with the utmost freedom of Those, whom Death had exempted from the Power either of Hatred or Favour. Do I endeavour, by my Writings, to stir up the People to Sedition and Civil War, whilst *Brutus* and *Cassius* are actually in Arms and encamped on the Plains of *Philippi*? Or have they not been dead above these seventy Years ; so that they are known only by their Statues, which even the Conqueror has not defaced ; or by that faint Resemblance, which is to be found in the Works of Historians? Posterity gives to every Man the Praise which he deserves ; nor will there be wanting Those, who, if I am condemned, will not only remember *Brutus* and *Cassius*, but ME also?

“ Having finished his Speech, he went out of the
 “ Senate, and put an End to his Life by *Abstinence*.
 “ The Fathers ordered his Books to be *burnt* by the
 “ *Ædiles* ; notwithstanding which, they remained
 “ in private Hands, and were secretly dispersed.
 “ From whence, *says the Historian*, we may judge
 “ of the ridiculous Folly of Those, who imagine, by
 “ *present Power*, to extinguish even the *Memory of*
 “ *succeeding Ages* ; whereas, on the contrary, the
 “ *Prosecution* of ingenious Books gives them *greater*
 “ *Authority* ; nor have either foreign Tyrants, or
 “ Those, who have exercised the same kind of Seve-
 “ rity amongst us, gain'd any thing but *Infamy* to
 “ *Themselves*, and *Glory* to *Those*, whom they have
 “ *punished*. D.



Monday,

N^o 5. *Monday, December 19.*

 To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

SIR,

Cornhill, Dec. 14. 1726.



H O' you seem to have applied the greatest Part of your Life to *philological* and *political* Studies; yet I promise myself, from what you have already publish'd, that you will not refuse your Assistance towards clearing up any Point, which may be of Service to your Country; especially on so important a Subject as TRADE, which is the great Basis and Support of the *British* Nation.

I shall not, at present, enter into the Dispute, how far *Monopolies* or *exclusive Corporations*, of any kind, are prejudicial to *Commerce* in general; but shall only observe, that if they are, in any degree, pernicious to a *trading Kingdom*, though never so well regulated and honestly managed, they must be infinitely more so, when they come to be abused, and fall under a *fraudulent* and *corrupt Direction*; for in such a Case they are not properly *Companies*, but *illegal Combinations* of wicked Men confederated together, in order to cheat and impose upon their Fellow-subjects.

Since therefore it has been thought expedient, by the Wisdom of the Legislature, for divers weighty Reasons and political Ends, to erect certain great *Companies* of Merchants in this Kingdom, and invest them with Charters to carry on a separate Trade to several Parts of the World; the utmost Care ought to be taken that the original Design of their Incorpora-

poration may not be perverted and abused ; for if the Managers of any of those *Companies*, not content with large Salaries, and the most beneficial Branches of *Commerce*, exclusive of the rest of their Countrymen, should endeavour to raise an unjust Profit by *clandestine* and *corrupt Methods*, the Consequence would be so fatal, not only to the Joint-proprietors of the Stock, and all trading Persons, but to the Kingdom in general, that such Practices ought never to escape with Impunity. And, indeed, the exemplary Punishment, which was inflicted on the late *South-Sea Directors* and others, for notorious Male-behaviour and Breach of Trust, leaves us no Room to doubt that all future Mismanagement and unwarrantable Practices, either in that or any other Company, will meet with the same *strict Examination* and *just Severity*.

These were always my Thoughts concerning *Trade* and *Companies* ; but they have been lately refreshed in my Mind by the Discourse, which has been current about Town, concerning some *Frauds*, which are said to have been discovered at a late *Sale* of *East India* Goods. I own, I gave no Credit to these Rumours at first ; which I look'd on as some of the usual Artifices of disaffected and ill-designing Men ; for as it is at best a disputable Point, whether *that Trade* is really of any Advantage to this Kingdom, or not ; so I was unwilling to believe that any Persons, who are concerned in the Direction of it, would stoop to such scandalous Collusions, as must entirely destroy that *little Benefit*, if any, which accrues to us from this Branch of Commerce ; especially at a Time, when we are said to be in Danger of being involved in an expensive and bloody War, almost on Purpose to support the Interest of ** that Company* ; but I could not help believing that there must be something more than I at first apprehended

* By abolishing the Ostend Company.

in these Reports, upon reading several Advertisements, in the publick Prints, desiring *All Buyers of Piece-Goods of the United East-India Company to meet the first of December at the Crown Tavern behind the Royal Exchange, on special Affairs*; and I was farther confirm'd in This by the late Proceedings at a general Court of the East-India Company.

It was my Intention to have been present at *that Meeting*, being an hearty well-wisher to the Prosperity of Trade, in which I have been long concern'd, and very desirous of acquainting my self with all Transactions and Occurrences of that Nature; but I was disappointed in my Design by a sudden Indisposition, which prevented me from going abroad; so that I can judge of that Affair only by *hear-say*, and from what has been made publick in the *Whitehall Evening Post*.

Upon reading the Account of the *Proceedings and Resolutions of the general Court*, publish'd in that Paper on *Saturday* the 10th Instant, I cannot help thinking it very *defective* and prejudicial to the Honour of that *Company*, as well as to the Character of Mr. *Ecclestone*; for we find the *Complaints of the Merchants and Traders, Buyers of Piece-Goods*, contained in a *Remonstrance* and *two Repräsentations*, set forth there in the strongest Light; whereas the most *weak and frivolous Answers* are return'd to them on the Part, as it is affirm'd, of the *Court of Directors*; and tho' Mr. *Ecclestone* is said to have spent a great deal of Time in proving his Innocence, which he did very handsomely; yet all the World, except Those, who were present at this Assembly, are left entirely in the Dark as to the Manner or substance of his *Defence*. In order to judge of this the better, it will be necessary to review the *Account* of this Affair, Article by Article, as it stands in the Paper before-mention'd, which begins thus,

East-India-House, Friday, Dec. 9. 1726.

“ **T**HIS Day was held here a general Court
 “ of the United Company of Merchants of
 “ *England*, trading to the *East-Indies*; when they
 “ took into Consideration the Complaints of the Mer-
 “ chants and Traders, Buyers of Piece-goods at the
 “ Company’s Sales, contain’d in a *Remonstrance* of the
 “ said Merchants, &c. to the Court of Directors,
 “ and in *two Representations*, deliver’d by the Mana-
 “ gers for the said Merchants, &c. to the Committee
 “ appointed by the Court of Directors to enquire into
 “ the *Hardships* and *Complaints* of the Buyers;
 “ wherein was set forth, at large, That at the late
 “ *Sale* of the *Gurrabs*, by the Ship *Eyles*, a large
 “ Quantity were all put up at 17s. a *great Part* of
 “ which were discovered to be of a much *better Sort*
 “ than the *Samples*; which occasion’d the *Adjourn-*
 “ *ment* of the said *Sale*, to the Disappointment of
 “ *Those*, who, by their *private Fore-knowledge* of that
 “ *Affair*, would have made an *unjust Gain*, at the
 “ *Company’s Expence*, and have done a *manifest In-*
 “ *jury* to the *less knowing Buyers*. That *those Di-*
 “ *rectors*, who are *Buyers* at these *Sales*, have evi-
 “ dently too much Advantage of *others*; and that
 “ even the *Dutch Buyers* have often had the same
 “ *unjust Advantages* communicated to them, by some
 “ Means or other, to the great *Detriment* of the
 “ *Company*, and of the *fair Buyers* of our Nation;
 “ who would have been *ruined* by such a Course of
 “ Trade, and the *Company* must have been deprived
 “ of any *other Buyers* than their own *Directors* and
 “ the *Dutch Gentlemen*, or such as could obtain an
 “ *equal Knowledge* with them, of this Secret, that
 “ *sound and fine Goods were to be bought by damaged*
 “ *and coarse Samples*. That therefore, upon the
 “ most mature Consideration of the *knowledge* the
 “ *buying Directors* must have of the *Company’s in-*
 “ vest-

“ vestments, and likewise of the *Cost* and *Variations*
 “ of all the Goods, and their necessary *Direction*
 “ of the *Sales*, there can be no *effectual* Remedy of
 “ these Evils, unless *all* the Buyers be put upon the
 “ *same* Foot, and *equally* acquainted with the *Vari-*
 “ *tions* of *Costs*; and unless, for the future, no DI-
 “ RECTOR, directly or indirectly, be permitted to
 “ be a BUYER at any of the *Company's* *Sales*; which
 “ is the known Practice of the *Dutch East-India* Com-
 “ *pany.*”

Can any thing be more strongly drawn up than this plain *Representation*? Or can any *Complaints* be more *just*, provided the *Facts*, therein charged, are really true? And if they are so, what *Demands* can be more *reasonable* than Those, which the *Complainants* make, in order to prevent *effectually* these Evils for the future?

As to that part of the Charge, which relates to the *Dutch Gentlemen*, I am very loth to believe the Fact to be true, and heartily wish that the *Complainants* may find themselves mistaken in such a Suggestion. How romantick and ridiculous would it appear, if we should lavishly exhaust the Blood and Treasure of *Great-Britain*, in order to prevent *one* foreign Power from interfering with us in this Branch of Commerce, at the same time that the supposed *Profit* of it is perfidiously betray'd into the Hands of *another*? I can see no difference in the Case; nor should any Preference be given to either of these Powers; both of whom are equally, as yet, our good Friends and Allies, if That were any thing to the Purpose; but since *Trade* is the Bone of Contention, it is of little Consequence to a fair-dealing *British-Merchant* whether it be a *pretended* Friend, or a *profess'd* Enemy, that takes it from him.

But let us now proceed to the *Answer*, which the Author of this Paper, in the name of the *Court of Directors*, makes to these *Representations*.

“ After this, *says he*, the *Answer* of the Court of
 “ Directors to the said *Remonstrance* and two *Repre-*
 “ *sentations* was also read, setting forth that upon
 “ an *accidental Discovery*, at the Company’s *late*
 “ *Sale*, of a *Mistake* committed in the *Samples* of the
 “ Piece-goods, they had thereupon enquired into the
 “ Affair, and had found one of the Company’s *Ser-*
 “ *vants* guilty of some *Neglect* in the Duty of his
 “ Post, and that the Court of Directors had punished
 “ him for his *Crime*, by suspending him from his
 “ Office, and he had remained suspended *ever since* ;
 “ that having done *This*, they were desirous of giv-
 “ ing all reasonable Satisfaction to the *Buyers* for the
 “ *future*, and they had therefore called this *General*
 “ *Court* to receive their Direction upon the present
 “ extraordinary Occasion.”

I suppose these *Declarations*, said to be made by the
 Court of *Directors*, were not only barely set forth in
 their *Answer*, but also proved, by unquestionable Evi-
 dence, to be *true*. I presume it appeared, beyond all
 doubt, that this Affair of the *Samples* was really a
 MISTAKE, and owing only to the NEGLECT of
 one of the Company’s SERVANTS; that this Ser-
 vant was named and produced in the Court; that he
 there acknowledged his Offence, and gave the *Com-*
plainants just Reason to believe, that he was under
 no manner of *Influence*, nor had received any *Orders*, di-
 rectly or indirectly, in this Affair; in which Case,
 I think the poor Man sufficiently punished, by *Suf-*
sension from his Office, though it were for never so
 short a Time. I must suppose all This, because the
simple Allegations of the greatest Body of Men in the
 World, in a Matter of this Consequence, and in Answer
 to such strong *Representations* and violent *Suspitions*,
 would not be thought satisfactory in any Court of Ju-
 stice.— “ I am glad however, that they were desirous
 “ of giving all reasonable Satisfaction to the *Buyers*
 “ for the *future*; and that they had called this *Ge-*
 “ *neral*.”

“ *neral Court* to receive their *Direction*, upon the
 “ present *extraordinary Occasion*.”—*Let us therefore*
see how the Matter went on.

“ Then the Debate was opened by the Managers
 “ for the *Merchants*; who insisted upon the *Facts* and
 “ *Proposition* laid down in their printed *Remonstrance*
 “ and *Representations*; upon which it was moved,
 “ that they should declare, whether they meant to
 “ charge the *Court of Directors* with the *Mismanage-*
 “ *ment* alledged, or only some *particular Persons* in
 “ the *Direction*. And it was determin'd not to be a
 “ Complaint against the whole Body of the *Directors*,
 “ but that *one* of them, *Mr. Ecclestone* by Name, had
 “ been guilty of a great *Breach of Trust*, in making
 “ Use of his *previous Knowledge* of that *Mistake* in
 “ the *Samples* at the *Sale*, to the *Detriment* of the
 “ *Company*.

“ At length, after This had been long canvassed,
 “ *Mr. Ecclestone* made his *Defence*, and spent a great
 “ deal of Time in proving his *Innocence*; and This he
 “ did so *handsomely*, and with so much *Success*, that
 “ when the Question was called for, *Whether Mr.*
 “ *Ecclestone be guilty of a Breach of Trust, &c.* ano-
 “ ther was moved, and seconded. *viz. That the put-*
 “ *ting the said Question be adjourned, sine Die*;
 “ which was carried in the *Affirmative* by a great
 “ *Majority*.”

I think it absolutely necessary, for the full Justifi-
 cation of the *Company* in general, and of *Mr. Eccle-*
stone in particular, that this notable Harangue may be
 made as publick as the late Rumours and Aspersions on
 his Character have been; which were not confined to
 that particular Body of Men, whom such Reports
 most concerned, nor to one corner of the Town, but
 have been spread through every Part of the Kingdom,
 and become the Subject of general Indignation. Nei-
 ther can I make the least Doubt that *Mr. Ecclestone*
 will refuse this Satisfaction to the World, as well as
 this

this Justice to himself; since as we are all sensible of that Gentleman's excellent Talent at Speech-making; so I am ready to agree with this Writer, that it must be a very *handsome, clear, and masterly Defence*, which could meet with such wonderful *Success*, as to produce an *Adjournment, sine Die, of the Question, whether he was guilty, or not*; for the impartial Decision of which, they were assembled together in this *extraordinary Manner*.

“ However, *as this Writer goes on*, for the Satisfaction of the *Buyers*, who had raised this Storm, it was resolved, that, for the future, at the Sales of Piece-Goods, there shall be *different Samples* produced, where there is any Variation in the Prices; and it was also resolved, that the *Warehouse-Keepers* of the Company should, for the future, give security for the Discharge of the Duty of their Post; and that their Securities should become answerable for any Damage, which the Company might sustain by any *Neglect or Fault of theirs*.”

Supposing Mr. *Ecclestone* to be entirely *innocent* (as we are now obliged to do) and that all this Clamour was occasioned only by a *Mistake* and the *Neglect* of one of the Company's *Servants*, I believe these Precautions, for the future, may be sufficient; though I do not readily understand what Securities can be given in this Case; nor can I doubt that these worthy Determinations gave full Satisfaction to the *complaining Merchants and Traders*; without which this Business cannot be said to be *happily finished*, as this Writer assures us, and as I hope it may be, without the Trouble of a PARLIAMENTARY ENQUIRY, at this critical Juncture; when it is to be feared the whole Attention of the *Legislature* will be taken up about *other Matters* of the utmost Importance.

I must not conclude without desiring the Reader to observe that I have taken the whole Representation of this Case *verbatim* from the Writer of the *Whitehall Evening*:

Evening Post, and that he is answerable for any Mistakes, which may be in it. For my own part, I can only promise, that if I am charged with any fallacious Reasoning, or forced Deductions, I will either endeavour to justify myself against such a Charge, or acknowledge my Errors.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

and Well-wisher,

MERCATOR.

N



N^o 6. *Friday, December 23.*

— *Opiferque per orbem*
Dicitur.



Man, who is engaged in a general Design of correcting Vice, and exposing Fraud, must be contented to suffer a great deal of undeserved Reproach, and to incur the Resentments of numberless Persons without any just Cause; but as I cannot expect, according to the common Course of Nature, to continue much longer in this World; so I would not go out of it without discharging my Conscience, and leaving behind me some publick Testimony of my Zeal against the prevailing Depravity of the Age, in which I live; that, whatsoever may be the Fate of my Country when I am gone, it may appear that I gave no Encouragement, either by my Doctrines or Example, to the reigning Vices of the times; but,

but, on the contrary, endeavour'd, as much as lay in my Power, to check that Torrent of Corruption, which I found breaking in upon us.

Tho' I am but just enter'd on this commendable Work, yet I find that I have already given great Offence to several powerful Bodies of Men in this Town; particularly to the learned Faculty of *Physick*; who, it seems, are highly exasperated against me for recommending the famous *Dr. King's Catholicon AUREUM Basilicum*; or, *The Royal GOLDEN Specifick*, for the *Spleen and Vapours*; which a certain learned *Fellow* of the College (who at present shall be nameless) hath thought fit, in a publick Coffee-house, to call a *Quack-Remedy*.

It is, methinks, a very hard Case, that a Man cannot distinguish himself from the common Herd of his Profession, without gaining the Character of an *Empirick*; and that the same Medicine shall be call'd a *Quack-Medicine* (though it performs never so many unquestionable cures) whilst it remains in a *private Hand*, which shall be immediately transform'd into a *never-failing universal Specifick*, as soon as the Author vouchsafes to make the *College* as wise as himself.

As this Treatment of *Doctor King's Remedy* is, I believe, chiefly occasioned by my Publication of it; I think myself oblig'd, in Justice both to him and myself, to give the World some farther Account of that Affair, and of the Reasons, which induc'd me to speak so much in its Behalf.

The *Advertisement* of this Remedy was brought, about a Fortnight ago, by a well-looking, fresh-colour'd Man, in a mourning Livery, in order to be inserted in this Paper; but though the *Doctor* seems to promise very fair, and gives a plausible Account enough of his *Medicine*, yet I am always so cautious of imposing on the Publick, that I resolv'd to make some Enquiries into the Truth of his Allegations, before I gave it the Sanction of my Recommendation in this Paper.

With.

With this Intent, I waited on the *Doctor* himself for Satisfaction; and happening to be somewhat out of Humour on Account of the late *Lottery*, He chose to convince me of the Virtue and Efficacy of his *Royal Specifick*, by an Experiment on myself. He gave me a small Quantity of it, which I applied according to his Directions; and, in less than the Space of five Minutes, found myself perfectly recovered; seeing things in quite another Light than what I did before, and being in as chearful a Temper as I ever remember myself to have been in my whole Life.

Upon which the *Doctor*, smiling very pleasantly upon me, (as I am told it is his *Custom*) proceeded with great Frankness and Ingenuity to acquaint me with the Method of his obtaining this Remedy, and of several wonderful Cures, which he had performed with it, during his *six* Years Practice in this City. He own'd to me, that He in a manner extorted the *Secret* of this *Nostrum*, with great Difficulty, after much Importunity and several particular Services, (not fit to be mentioned) from the late famous *Dr. Cataline*; having been first convinced of its invaluable Qualities by a most surprizing Cure performed on himself; but he assured me that, without Vanity, he might presume to say that he had made no small Improvements on the original *Recipe*. He likewise told me, that altho' he could not pretend, like some eminent, as well as obscure Practitioners, to have travelled into remote Kingdoms for Experience; yet he could truly boast that the Fame of his *Royal Preparations*, and the Adroitness of his Skill had reached the most distant Regions of the World; having had the particular Honour to perform several wonderful Cures, not only in the most flourishing Courts of *Europe*, but likewise in the great Empires of *Turky*, *China*, *Japan*, and *Morocco*, as well as in most Parts of the *East* and *West-Indies*.

He

He assured me, in particular, that the Duke *de Ripperda*, late Prime Minister of the Kingdom of *Spain*, was, for some Time, under his Hands; and that he should not in the least have doubted of making a *perfect Cure* of him, if he had not, on a sudden, unhappily fallen into Disgrace. It is not unlikely that This was partly occasioned by his Correspondence with the *Doctor*, at a Time when there were some Differences between the two Courts; which, to the natural Jealousy of the *Spaniards*, might give Grounds of Suspicion, and alarm them with Apprehensions that some dangerous Designs were carrying on, under the Presence of curing a common bodily Infirmary.

He was farther pleased to inform me, that he hath now several *great Men* for his Patients in the Courts of *France, Germany, Holland, Sweden, Poland, Savoy, Denmark, Muscovy, and Prussia*; besides most other inferior States and Kingdoms; not excepting even the little *pretended* Court of *Bologna*; but as it would be lessening the Character of most of these Persons, to have it known that they are subject to such flatulent Distempers, so he desired to be excused from specifying their Names.

He then proceeded to give me the Particulars of some equally eminent Cures, which he has perform'd in his own native Country of *Great Britain*; particularly on two *great* and very *antient Families* in *Westminster*; which were, some Time ago, afflicted with the most virulent Degree of this Distemper; and which render'd them so peevish, froward, and perverse, that there was no dealing with them, or bringing them to any sort of Temper. Several Methods were made use of to no Purpose; till at length Dr. *King* being sent for, and his *Remedies* applied, the Symptoms immediately abated, and in a short Time entirely vanished. They continue (blessed be God!) in a more perfect State of Health and good Humour than

than they were ever known before, by the constant Use of *this Specifick*; for it is observed that, upon the least *Intermission* or *Neglect*, they are apt to relapse; for which Reason they always keep a great Quantity of *these Medicines* in their Houses.

He told me also of two *eminent Lawyers*, whom he lately cured of a strange *political Disease*, which they had contracted by reading several pestilent Books and Pamphlets, written in Commendation of the Proceedings of the late Reign. This *State-Spleen* (which is the properest Name I can give it) had intoxicated their Brains so much, that they were constantly raving about the *Danger of the Church*, and would talk Treason publicly in all Places; which had like to have brought *One* of them into Trouble; but the Government considered his Case; and, out of their known Lenity, only desired his Friends to take care of him. Upon the *Doctor's* setting up, *this Gentleman* was one of the first Cures, which he performed, and has continued perfectly well ever since, by the *constant* and *regular* Application of this unparallel'd *Arcanum*. The *Other's* Distemper continued longer upon him, from an *Antipathy*, which he had taken against any of *Dr. King's* Prescriptions; which was occasioned, as it is said, by an old family Pique; but some preliminary Advances towards a Reconcilement being made by the *Doctor*, (who is reckoned a good natur'd Man, and withal, very proud of his *Nostrum*,) He consented to the Operation; which has not only recovered him from his Illness, but knit a firm and lasting Friendship between them.

To give an Instance of the sudden Alteration, which the *Doctor's Specifick* works upon human Minds, he told me that, about *three* Years ago, the *last* of these Gentlemen grew almost delirious, on Account of a *famous Bill*, then depending in Parliament; and in one of his mad Fits declared, *That he could not sleep in his Bed, if that Bill pass'd; and should think himself*

D

much

much safer under the Government of France, than that of England. The *Bill* pass'd; and his Distemper encreas'd upon him; which made him so fretful, untowardly, and capricious, that there was no bearing his Company. He could not keep his Temper in any Place, however solemn and venerable; but raged, kicked, scolded, and *protested* against every thing that happened to be said or done. At length, it came to that height, that he raved downright, and foamed at the Mouth. He dream'd every Night that a Sett of Ruffians were employ'd to break into his House, and cut his Throat; which put him under such terrible Apprehensions, that he resolv'd to quit this unhappy Kingdom, and spend the Remainder of his Days under the benign Influence of a *French* or *Spanish* Government, as several of his Friends had done already. But before he put this wise Resolution in Practice, He was prevail'd on by the *Doctor's* Officiousness and Good-nature, (as I have already set forth) who knew his Distemper at first sight, without offering to touch his Pulse; and, in a few Days, made so perfect a Cure, that he was heard to declare in publick, *that Things would go mighty well; and that the People of England lived under the best Government in the World.*

He acquainted me with several other surprizing Cures, which he had performed upon all sorts of Persons, both in Town and Country; but as these effectually convinced me of the *Doctor's* Abilities, so I hope they will be sufficient to satisfy the courteous Reader.

I doubt not, that my publick Recommendation of this incomparable Remedy will induce the whole Tribe of *London* Medicafters to apply to me for the same Favour; but as the publick Good shall always be my chief View, so I must desire these Practitioners, both Male and Female, not to trouble me with their *Advertisements*, unless their Remedies will bear the same strict Examination.

N^o 7. *Monday, December 26.*

THE Practice of *Libelling*, as I have already observed, is of very dangerous Consequence to any Government; especially when the Poignancy of the *Libel* is directed against Majesty itself; for as the Maxim of our Law, that *the King can do no wrong*, has no other Meaning, than that his *Minister's* ought to be accountable for all Mismanagement and Male-Administration, so it is highly unreasonable to point any Reflections against the Prince himself; notwithstanding which, it is observable, upon a Review of the Histories of most Reigns, that *great Ministers* commonly shew less Uneasiness at any *Invectives* against their *Masters* than against *Themselves*. There is visibly some Policy in This; since every Body, who does not wish for the total Subversion of the Constitution, will resent any Attempts against the sacred Person of the King; whereas Complaints against his Ministers, when well grounded, ought not to be look'd upon in the same Light. I would not have these Observations applied to a late *infamous Parallel*, publish'd in one of the *Journals*; the Author of which is supposed to have been, lately, a *secret Friend* to some Men in Power.—But I am diverted from pursuing this Argument any farther, at present, by the following Letter, which will admit of no Delay.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

S I R,

MY Curiosity carried me, last *Wednesday*, to be present at one of Mr. *Henly's* academical Orations; which I had heard so much and so

differently talk'd of. I must do that ingenious Divine the Justice to say, that I think his Undertaking a very useful one, as he conveys a great deal of philological and critical Learning in a Language, that every Body understands, and in a very clear and plain Method. His Subject that Day was *HORACE*; upon which he mentioned several Particulars, to which I was before a Stranger; expatiating in the handsomest Manner on the Excellencies of that *great Man*, and at the same Time disguising none of his Failings.

I will endeavour to recollect some of the Passages; and perhaps you may not think them unworthy of being inserted in your Paper.

After having given an Account of *Horace's* Parentage, and the Place of his Birth, which are too well known to be repeated, he took Occasion to commend his Writings, the Purity of his Style, and that *curiosa felicitas* so peculiar to him. He then entered into the Description of his *Person* and *Character*; observing that he call'd himself, pleasantly enough, *Epicuri de grege Porcum*; i. e. a *Swine of Epicurus's Herd*; from whence he inferred that he was somewhat *fat* and very *dirty*. In another Place, he says, *Non ego paucis offendar maculis*; which is, *that he did not value a few dirty Spots*. From these two Passages he said it was manifest, that *Horace* was little better than a *Sloven*. It appear'd likewise from himself, that his *Fortune* was originally very small, but that he encreas'd it considerably, even beyond his own Expectations.

*Hoc erat in votis, modus agri non ita magnus;
Dii melius fecere.*

*A small bit of Land would once have contented me;
but thank God, it is better with me now.*

Mr. *Henly* farther observed, that it was a vulgar Error to think that *Horace* was never married; for that the learned *Heinsius* asserts, that he married a Woman of *Lombardy*, of a considerable Fortune; *uxorem è gente Longobarda locupletiozem duxit.*

As to his *Manners*, they seem to have been loose and obscene; for *Petrus Crinitus*, whom the learned Dr. *Be—ly* falsely imagines to be the ingenious Dr. *Ha—e*, says in his Life of *Horace*, *Moribus dicitur fuisse subobscænis & ad bilem excitatior*; that is, lewd and choleric. *Augustus* calls him *Homuncionem lepidissimum*; that is, a comical, little, laughing Fellow, and a great Lover of *Bawdry*; which appears from many of his *Epodes*, particularly that to his Mistress *Næra*, which he made no Scruple of singing, before Women of the first Quality. It begins thus.

Nox erat, & cælo fulgebat Luna sereno.

Which, translated by a modern Poet, is as follows,

Go to Joan Glover,
And tell her I love her,
And by the Light of the Moon I'll come and shove her.

That *Horace* was *passimonious*, not to say, *sordidly covetous*, is plain from many of his own Writings; as for Instance, where he invites *Mecænas* to sup with him, who was both *first Minister*, and his *particular Patron*. He plainly tells him that he shall have nothing but bad Wine, and Cabbage, and in little Glasses; and that he had taken Care of the Wine himself; from which appears too that he kept no Servant.

*Vile potabis modicis Sabinum
Cantharis, Græca quod ego ipsa Testa
Conditum levi.*

He kept the Key of his Cellar himself, and his Wine, till in all Probability, it was sour.

*Est mihi nonum Superantis annum
Plenus albani cadus.*

Thus much as to his *persona's* Qualities, and *private* Life. As for the Figure he made in *Publick*, it appears that, though he set out but low, he grew almost at once very considerable; his first Appearance being under *Brutus*; where we find him *Tribunus Militum*; in the Translation of which the Learned differ; but I think it answers best to what we call, *Exempt of the Beef-Eaters*. He left his Post but oddly, as may be collected from the following Expression, *relictâ non bene Parmula*. Madam *Dacier* informs us, that he was *Scriba questorius*, which she calls *Secrtaire de l'Epargne*, and may properly enough be rendered *Secretary of the Treasury*. After this, *Asinius Pollio* assures us, that he was sent Ambassador to *Gaul*, *Legatus apud Gallos missus fuit*, *Manilio & Daïo Coss.*

When he had made some Stay, and Figure in that Court, *Quintilian* observes of him, in his tenth Book and first Chap. that he began to grow somewhat cleaner and sprucer, and that he applied himself to the Knowledge of Men and Manners; *Multo est tersior ac purus magis Horatius & ad notandos hominum mores præcipuus*. It was probably during this Stay of his in *Gaul*, that the *Secretaries of State* sent to him to return with all speed, upon Affairs of the utmost Consequence to the *Publick*.

*De Re communi. Scribæ, magna atque nova Te
Orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti.*

There seems at this Time to have been some Design of making him *Secretary of State*, from that noted Passage in a Letter from *Augustus* to *Mecænas*, *Veniet igitur & nos in scribendis Epistolis adjuvabit*; but he never attained to this Employment, which is imputed to his extreme *Modesty*.

These

These are the most remarkable Passages I can collect of that most *elegant Oration*, pronounced on *Wednesday* last by Mr. *Henly*. His Action, which *Demosthenes* says is the chief Part of an Orator, was extremely just and proper, and added a Grace and Dignity to all he utter'd. Such was the Modulation of his Voice, that it enchanted our Ears, and seem'd more like Musick than Speaking!—How laudable is it to see Mr. *Henly* chusing to employ his Talents in Praises and Commendations of the *great Men of Antiquity*, rather than meanly stooping to flatter Those of the *present Age*; but though he will not flatter them, he scorns (however provok'd) to attack them by any indirect or oblique Strokes of Satire, as most evidently appears by the foregoing Discourse.

The Application of Passages of the *Roman* Story to our Times is become so common and trite a Way of satirizing the Persons of the present Age, that no Man, who has a tolerable Genius, or the least Invention of his own, will condescend to do it. How easy is it to turn over *Tully*, *Tacitus*, or *Livy*, and when you have found a good strong Sentence or two upon *Corruption*, to insert it in any Paper? The Author need never be at the Trouble to make the Application. Every Child in the Street knows well enough upon whom to fix it. I should be glad therefore if what I have said would put an End to such pitiful Ribaldry; and if I can persuade Those, who have Talents, to give great Men their Deserts, as Mr. *Henly* has now done, I shall have gained my End.

C.

I am, S^r I R, &c.

Friday,



N^o 8. Friday, December 30.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

‘**N**EC invidemus altius stantibus. Quæ excelsa
 ‘ videbantur prærupta sunt. Illi rursus, quos
 ‘ Sors iniqua in Ancipiti posuit, tutiores erunt superbi-
 ‘ am detrahendo rebus per se superbis & fortunam suam,
 ‘ quam maxime poterunt, in planum deferendo. Multi
 ‘ quidem sunt, quibus necessario hærendum sit in fasti-
 ‘ gio suo; ex quo non possunt nisi cadendo descendere.
 ‘ Sed hoc ipsum testentur, maximum onus suum esse, quod
 ‘ aliis graves esse cogantur; nec sublevatos se, sed suf-
 ‘ fixos. Justitia, mansuetudine, humana lege, & be-
 ‘ nigna manu, præparent multa ad sequiores casus præ-
 ‘ sidia, quorum spe securius pendeant. Nihil tamen
 ‘ æque hos, ab his animi fluctibus, vindicaverit, quam
 ‘ semper aliquem incrementis terminum figere; nec for-
 ‘ tunæ arbitrium desinendi dare, sed seipsum, multo qui-
 ‘ dem citra extrema, hortentur consistere.

Sen. de Tran. Animi.

S I R,

THIS Passage deserves a Place at the Head
 of one of your Papers; since there is
 hardly any Thing to be found among the Antients
 or the Moderns more proper to be recommended
 to the serious Consideration of all State Craftsmen;
 and since, of all Craftsmen, These appear to me to
 stand most in need of your friendly Assistance. Men
 are generally apply'd to other Business, according
 to their Talents; and if they do not excel in their
 Professions, they do not thrive in them. But the
 Case is very often not the same amongst Those, who
 govern

govern the great Affairs of the World. *Secretaries* often want to be taught to *write*; *Presidents* to *speak*; and *Ministers*, intrusted with the Management of the Publick Revenue, to forbear *plundering* and *stock-Jobbing*.

Our *present Ministers* indeed are happily chosen; and the wonderful *Success* of their *Administration* is a sufficient Proof of their *Ability*. But, Mr. *D'Anvers*, your Cares are not confined to the present Age. You look forward to Posterity, and are solicitous even for the Good of future Generations. Your candid Readers will, no doubt, apply what falls from your Pen in a right Manner, and will do you the Justice to believe, that whenever you chastise the Vices, or expose the Follies of *Ministers* in general, you intend a Lesson to Ministers, yet unborn. No one can suppose, that you design to asperse the *untainted Characters*, or to inform the *consummate Wisdom* of Those, who govern us at this Time; for whose Service it is evident to the most common Understandings that your Papers are intended.

I have aim'd, it must be confess'd, at the Rank of an *Author*; but finding myself unable to sustain so great a Character, I have, wisely enough, reduced my Ambition into more narrow Bounds, and profess myself an humble *Hunter*. Happy would it be for Mankind, Mr. *D'Anvers*, if every Body copied, at least in this Instance, after my Example; or if Those, who have the Power of doing it, proportion'd the Parts they assign to the Talents they discover. What a shifting of Parts; what a Change in the Scene would immediately follow? How low would some Men fall? How high would others rise? *Robin* would decline sitting in your *Coach Box*; or you would force him to get up behind. Let my Modesty, Sir, bespeak your Favour to me; and be assured that I will attend and serve you, in the Duty of my Profession, with Industry and Fidelity, if you make such an Use of my first
Endea-

Endeavours, as I have Reason to expect, from that flow of Style; from that good Sense; and from that true Spirit, which appear in Your Papers.

I fancy you will observe that Those, who are in the *first Class*, mention'd by *Seneca*, never fail of being in the *second*; for a great *Elevation* is always expos'd to great *Danger*, and therefore to great *Anxiety*. You will shew, perhaps, how little such Men regard the wise Advice of the Tutor of *Nero*; or, to give our *Stoick* a more honourable Title, of the Companion and Friend of *Burrhus*; for I dare not call him the Correspondent of *St. Paul*. You will laugh, no doubt, at the Parade they make of That, which they ought to conceal; at the silly Pains they take, in exerting their Power, or spending their Riches, to encrease the Indignation, which Mankind justly conceive at the *Manner*, by which they acquired both *one* and the *other*.

To illustrate these Truths, I would have you, for some Reasons, descend no lower than Cardinal *Wolsey*. This *saucy Minister*, who, by the way, could never get rid of the scoundrel Habits of a *low Education*, had some *Knowledge*, more *Wit*, and much more *Impudence*. The Fortune he made was equally exorbitant and rapid. The Use he made of this Fortune was extravagant and ostentatious to the highest Degree. He seem'd industrious to erect Trophies of his *Folly*, and to furnish Proofs of his *Rapine* wherever he went. He adorn'd *Villas*. He built *Palaces*; and his Train out-shone his *Master's* so much, that when he retir'd into the Country, on a Party of Pleasure, the Court became desert. Even *foreign Ministers* attended on him, and found their Account in it; for he had ever some Interest separate from that of his Country. He was zealous for the *Emperor*; zealous for *France*; and zealous for the Court of *Rome*, in their Turns; and, notwithstanding his Parts, he was the *Bubble* of them all.

This little Sketch of Cardinal *Wolsey's* Fortune describes a Man placed in that elevated State, which is the *last* of the three mention'd by *Seneca*; and from whence no Man can *descend* without *falling*. These Falls might be soften'd indeed; and the Means of doing it are finely touched in the *Latin* Author. They will, I doubt not, be as delicately and as strongly expressed in your *English*. But the *giddy Creatures* do the very reverse. Instead of stopping, when their Heads begin to turn, they try to clamber still higher; and every Step they take for Security, enhances their Guilt, and precipitates their Ruin. Unworthy of Love or Esteem, they have recourse to the two sole Expedients, which remain, *Fear* and *Corruption*. By *one* they exasperate Mankind; and whilst they render their Enemies more *cautious*, they render them more *dangerous*. By the *other* they assemble a Number of *false Friends*, who encumber their *Prosperity*, and afford them no Support in the *great and terrible Day of Adversity*. I begin to warm myself, and am in danger of swelling this Letter up to the Size of a two-penny Half-Sheet; which being absolutely forbidden, by one of the fundamental Rules of our Profession, I take my Leave of you till next Week, and am, dear Mr. D'Anvers,

Your faithful, humble Servant,

Dec. 26.

1726.

JACK HINTER.

I AM very much obliged to the Writer of this excellent Letter, whose *Hints* only are of more Importance than the laborious unmeaning Discourses of several Authors, or the tedious Harangues of some frothy Orators. I hope the Publick will excuse my printing those undeserved Compliments on myself, which nothing should have prevailed on me to do, (as common a Practice as it is amongst all my *Brother-Authors*,) but my Unwillingness to suppress any Thing,

Thing, which comes from so valuable a Correspondent. Were I a young Man indeed, and fond of the vain Reputation of an Author, such Commendations would be apt to elate me too much with an Opinion of my own Parts ; but there can be little Danger of this in One, who does not write from any such Motives, but from a sincere Zeal for the Honour of his King, and the Welfare of his Country ; which I can assure this Gentleman are the sole Ends of my present Undertaking ; and for that Reason, I shall be very proud of his future Assistance.

Gray's-Inn,

Dec. 26. 1726.

CALEB D'ANVERS.



N^o 9.

Monday, January 2.

*Præsentī TIBI maturos largimur honores,
Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras,
Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.* HOR.



HERE is nothing, in which the Generality of Mankind are so apt to be mistaken, as in their Opinion of *great Men*. They commonly judge by the outside ; and where they see Power, Riches, and Splendor, they hastily conclude, that there must be great Parts and Abilities in Proportion. As for Honesty, it is quite out of the Question ; for even the vulgar Herd know better than to look for that Qualification in a modern *great Man*. But most Persons, who have not been much conversant in publick Affairs, entertain a better Opinion of their Superiors than they generally deserve. They
 imagine

imagine them, at least, to be Men of extraordinary Capacities, whatever their moral Principles may be; and think it impossible for any Person to sit long at the Helm, and influence large Dominions, who is not endowed with uncommon Sagacity, Penetration, Experience, and the most extensive Knowledge of all *domestick* and *foreign* Affairs.

However requisite to such a Post these Talents may be, yet if we look round *Europe*, I believe we shall find that too many *great Men*, in all Courts, are not fully qualified in these respects. I am afraid it will appear that *some* owe their Grandeur to pimping, informing, or the Interest of a Court Mistress; *others* to the Weakness or Vices of a Prince, whom they flatter and indulge in his Pleasures; that *some* rise by doing dirty Jobs for a *great Minister*, and screening him, in distress, from the Resentments of a People, whom he has injured and provoked; *some* by the Influence of over-grown Companies, or the Strength of powerful Alliances; nor shall we want Instances of *others*, whose Ignorance and Incapacity for publick Business have been their only Recommendations. In short, we shall observe, upon a strict Survey of the Rise of *great Men*, that sometimes Chance, and several unaccountable Accidents, as the Death or Fall of great Competitors; sometimes the Power, Caprice, and Obstinacy of a Faction, or the Indolence, Inactivity, or bad Designs of a Prince, are the chief Instruments of their Advancement; and we shall seldom find it owing to those useful and valuable Endowments, which are necessary to constitute a truly *great Man*.

In those refined Ages, indeed, and in those Countries, where almost every thing is managed by the Force of *Money*, (as it was in the Court of *France* during the last War) there does not seem to be that Necessity for great Accomplishments, which there was when the Fate of *Europe* depended on the ge-

nuine Strength and Vigour of national Constitutions ; or on the Wisdom, Experience, and Sagacity of publick Ministers. For this Reason, a Man might make a great Figure in *Politicks*, at that Court, with half the Abilities, which *Walsingham* or *Burleigh* could do here in their Times, who thought fit to steer their Administration by well-weighed Counsels and Integrity, instead of exorbitant Pensions and Bribes ; and saved the Nation immense Sums of Money by the Application of *wise Heads* in Conjunction with *un-corrupt Hearts*.

The Character of a *great Man* was not to be acquired, in those Times, by understanding the paltry Business of a *Money-Scrivener*, or a *Stock-jobber* ; by a Skill in Usury, Brokage, and the Tricks of *Exchange-Alley* ; or by colloquing with certain *great Bodies* of Men, in order to defraud, bubble, and beggar the rest of the Nation ; not by suborning false Judgment, and hiring Men to prostitute their Consciences for sordid Lucre. Neither was it, in those Times, thought to consist wholly in the Flowers of *Rhetorick*, and a certain Knack of *Haranguing* in publick ; especially in studying the *Foibles* of Mankind, and applying to *those Parts*, which are always most open to Deception. I do not mention This, from any Contempt of that excellent Endowment ; or to derogate, in the least, from Those, who are happily possessed of it ; but only to shew that *Oratory* and *Elocution* are not absolutely necessary to the Character of a *great Man* ; much less that they are the *only Qualifications* requisite to form a *Prime Minister* ; who, instead of possessing these *Quack* Endowments, ought to be a Man of great Knowledge, Depth, and Penetration in publick Affairs. He should be perfectly acquainted with the *political State*, not only of his own Country, but likewise of all *Europe* ; with the Interest, Projects, and Views of foreign Courts ; with the Arts of Peace and War ; with a deep

deep and masterly Comprehension of Schemes, Treaties, and Negotiations; a piercing Foresight into future Events, and a solid Judgment of present Occurrences; and, to crown all, with a cool deliberating Head, and a stedfast, unshaken Resolution, to act, upon all Occasions, as it shall seem to be most for his Master's Service, and the Interest and Honour of his native Country.

I could wish that all Men in *Power* and *Favour*, or Those, who are in the way of being so, would give themselves the Trouble of reading a Letter, supposed to be written by Sir *Francis Bacon* to Sir *George Villars*, Duke of *Buckingham*, at that Time the great Favourite of King *James I.* in which they will find some excellent Directions for the Behaviour of Persons in that high Condition, delivered with such a noble Spirit of Freedom, Boldness, and Simplicity, as became the Pen of that excellent Person. This Letter may be seen in a Book, call'd *Cabala*, and is well worth every Man's Perusal; but it being, at present, grown pretty scarce, I will anticipate the Reader's Pleasure with some remarkable Extracts out of it.

He begins with an Apology for undertaking such a Task; by assuring him that he is no *Courtier*, nor versed in *State Matters*; and, indeed, his Advice seems very extraordinary, at this Distance, to a Man in such a Station; for, through the whole Course of his Letter, He recommends Persons of *Ability*, *Knowledge*, and *Integrity* to his particular Notice and Distinction, as the *fittest Persons* to fill up all the *great Offices* of the Kingdom. He forewarns him to avoid *Flattery* himself, and to discountenance it in others; talks of *Justice*, *Learning*, and *Merit* with a very high Air; and seems to conclude, that the *Good of his Country*, and the *true Interest* of his Prince ought to be the principal Views of every *great Man*; which, as romantick as they may seem, were not

altogether unfashionable Topicks in the good old Days of Queen *Elizabeth*; a Reign, which our Author presumes to lay down as a Pattern to all succeeding Princes.

He begins with the CHURCH in this manner. “ The *Archbishops* and *Bishops*, next under the King, have the Government of the Church and ecclesiastical Affairs. Be not *You* the Mean to prefer any to those Places for any *By-respects*; but only for their *Learning, Gravity, and Worth*. Their *Lives* and *Doctrines* ought to be exemplary.

“ You will, *says he*, be often solicited, and perhaps importuned to prefer Scholars to Church-Livings. You may further your *Friends* in that Way, *ceteris paribus*. Otherwise, remember, I pray, that These are not Places merely of *Favour*. The Charge of Souls lies upon them; the greatest Account whereof will be required at their *own Hands*; but *They* will share deeply in their Faults, who are the *Instruments* of their Preferments.”

He next proceeds to the LAW; of which he speaks thus. “ Let the Rule of Justice be the *Laws* of the Land; an impartial Arbiter between the King and his *People*, and between one Subject and another.” *Again,*

“ As far as it may lie in you, let no *arbitrary Power* be intruded. The People of this Kingdom love the *Laws* thereof; and nothing will oblige them more, than a *Confidence* of the free enjoying of them. What the *Nobles*, upon an Occasion, once said in Parliament, *nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, is imprinted in the *Hearts* of all the People.”

He goes on thus.

“ But because the *Life* of the Laws lies in the due Execution and Administration of them, let your Eye be, in the first place, upon the Choice of *good Judges*. These Properties had They need to be furnished with; to be *learned* in their Profession;

“ *patient*

“ *patient* in hearing; *prudent* in governing; *power-*
 “ *ful* in their Elocution to persuade and satisfy both
 “ the Parties and Hearers; *just* in their Judgment;
 “ and, to sum up all, They must have three Attri-
 “ butes; they must be Men of *Courage*, fearing God;
 “ and hating *Covetousness*. An ignorant Man can-
 “ not, a *Coward* dares not be a *good Judge*.

“ By no means, *says he*, be you persuaded to *inter-*
 “ *pose* yourself, either by Word or Letter, in any
 “ Cause depending, or like to be depending in *any*
 “ Court of Justice; nor suffer any other great Man
 “ to do it, where you can hinder it; and by all
 “ means dissuade the King himself from it, upon the
 “ Importunity of *any*, for Themselves, or their
 “ Friends. If it should prevail, it perverts Justice.
 “ If the *Judge* be so just, and of such *Courage* (as he
 “ ought to be) as not to be inclined thereby; yet it
 “ always leaves a Taint of Suspicion behind it.
 “ Judges must be as chaste as *Cæsar’s Wife*, neither
 “ to be, nor to be suspected to be, unjust; and, *Sir*,
 “ the Honour of the *Judges*, in their Judicature, is
 “ the King’s Honour, whose Person they represent.”

Concerning PARLIAMENTS he speaks thus. “ The
 “ true Use of *Parliaments*, in this Kingdom, is very
 “ excellent; and they should be *often* called, as Af-
 “ fairs of the Kingdom shall require; and continue as
 “ long as is necessary, and no longer; for *then*, they
 “ will be but *Burthens* to the People, by reason of
 “ the PRIVILEGES, justly due to the Members of the
 “ Two Houses and their Attendants; which their
 “ just Rights and Privileges are religiously to be ob-
 “ served and maintained.”

He goes on thus. “ For the great *Offices* and *Of-*
 “ *ficers* of the Kingdom, I shall say little—Only, in
 “ the general, I advise This. Let them be set in
 “ *those Places*, for which they are probably the *most*
 “ *fit*.

As to EMBASSIES, *says he*,—— “ I will tell you
 “ what

“ what was the Custom in the happy Days of Queen Elizabeth; whom, it will be no Disreputation to follow. She did vary, according to the Nature of the Employment, the Quality of the Persons she employed; which is a good Rule to go by.

“ If it was an *Embassy of Gratulation or Ceremony*, choice was made of some *noble Person*, eminent in *Place*, and able in *Purse*; and he would take it as a Mark of *Favour*, and discharge it without any great *Burthen* to the Queen's Coffers, for his own *Honour's Sake*.

“ But if it were an *Embassy of Weight*, concerning Affairs of STATE, choice was made of some *old Person*, of *known Judgment, Wisdom, and Experience*; and not of a *young Man*, nor *wayed in State-Matters*, nor of a *meer formal Man*, whatsoever his *Title or Outside* were.

“ If *Legier AMBASSADORS or AGENTS* were sent to remain in or near the Courts of those Princes or States, (as it was ever held fit to observe the Motions, and to hold Correspondency with them upon all Occasions,) *such* were made choice of as were presumed to be *vigilant, industrious, and discreet*; and had the *Language* (and, I believe, I may add, could adapt themselves to the MANNERS) of the *Places* whither they were sent.”

Concerning WAR, he declares himself in this manner. “ Wars are either *foreign or civil*. For the *foreign War* by the King upon some neighbouring Nation, I hope we are *secure*. The King, in his pious and just Disposition, is not inclinable thereunto. His Empire is long enough, bounded with the *Ocean*; as if the very *Situation* thereof had taught the King and People to set up their *Rests*, and say, *ne plus ultra*.”

On a *civil War*, or *Rebellion*, and the Suppression of them, he makes this Observation. “ If God shall bless these Endeavours, and the King return to his
“ own

“ own House in *Peace*, when a *civil War* shall be at
 “ an end ; *Those*, who have been found *faithful* in
 “ the Land, must be *regarded* ; yea, and *rewarded*
 “ also ; the *traiterous* or *treacherous*, who have *missed*
 “ others, severely punished ; and the *Neutrals*, or
 “ *false-hearted Friends* and *Followers*, who have star-
 “ ted aside, like a *broken Bow*, be noted *carbone ni-*
 “ *gro.*”

He concludes thus. “ I have but one Thing more
 “ to mind you of. You serve a great and gracious
 “ Master ; and there is a most hopeful young Prince,
 “ whom you must not *desert*. It behoves you to
 “ carry yourself *wisely* and *evenly* between them
 “ both. Adore not so the *rising Son*, that you for-
 “ get the *Father*, who raised you to this Height ;
 “ nor be you so obsequious to the *Father*, that you
 “ give just Cause to the *Son* to suspect that you *neg-*
 “ *lect* him.” D.



N^o 10. *Friday, January 6.*

Et tenuit nostras numerosus HORATIUS aures. Ovid.



SHALL always have the greatest Re-
 spect for the Family of the SHALLOWS,
 whom I have Reason to look upon as
rising Men ; several of them having al-
 ready distinguished themselves as the
 greatest *Ornaments* and *Supports* of their
 Country, both in *Church* and *State*. For this Rea-
 son I cannot postpone the following Letter ; especi-
 ally since I am resolved to preserve the utmost Impar-
 tiality in this Undertaking, and was unwarily imposed
 on by a *former Letter*, which I am inclined to believe,
 upon

upon maturer Thoughts, to be very disingenuous, and heartily wish that it had not obtained a Place in this Paper; but I hope the *learned Divine*, who may be prejudiced by it, will accept of this Apology, and have the Candour to excuse the Inadvertency of an *old Man*, who is ready to make him all the Reparation in his Power, by publishing the following Letter in his Defence.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq^r.

S I R,

AS you have published a Letter containing some Account of the Life of HORACE, said to be delivered by the famous Mr. *Henly*, in his academical Oration on *Wednesday* the 21st of last Month, I hope you will pay the same Regard to This, which comes from one of his constant *Hearers*, and is design'd to vindicate our *modern Orator* from the Imputation of several Passages, which seem very injurious to his Character, as well as to the Memory of that *antient Poet*.

Your Correspondent begins with a just Commendation of that *ingenious Divine*; whose Institution he allows to be an *useful Undertaking*; but from the Manner, in which he has represented that learned Entertainment, I cannot help concluding, and must take the Freedom to declare, that either the *Letter-writer* entirely misunderstood Mr. *Henly*, or that he had some secret ill Intention of prejudicing the Town against his *Orations*.

This Writer, in his Character of HORACE, observes that he calls himself *Epicuri de grege Porcum*, i. e. literally translated, *a Swine of Epicurus's Herd*; from whence he makes Mr. *Henly* infer, that He was somewhat *fat*, and very *dirty*; whereas This is only a *metaphorical Expression*; and in the Use of *Metaphors* an Author is not obliged to include all
the

the Properties of the Thing, from whence he takes it; as it would be easy to prove from numberless Instances out of the best Writers, antient and modern. That *Horace* was *fat*, we have his own Word, and the Confirmation of several Writers; but that he was *dirty*, is not any where confessed by Himself, nor charged against him by others; nor did Mr. *Henly* mention any such thing. This Expression therefore ought to be understood so, as to denote the *Fatness* only, and not the *Filthiness* of the *Swine*.

The Charge of *Horace's Dirtiness* is farther urged from this Passage.

————— *Non ego paucis*
Offendar Maculis —————

which every School-boy knows to be also a *metaphorical* Expression; and that it alludes to *Inaccuracies* of *Stile* and not to any Want of *Delicacy* in *Dress*; yet your Correspondent makes Mr. *Henly* affirm, that from these two Passages it is manifest that *Horace* was little better than a *Sloven*; whereas I must insist on it that he said no such thing; as indeed he seems to have no Manner of Foundation to do; since in the Line immediately before That, quoted to prove him a *Sloven*, he describes himself in the Figure of a *BEAU*.

Me pinguem & nitidum, bene curata cute, vises.

I am ready to grant that *Horace's* Fortune was originally very *small*; and that he had increased it considerably, as Mr. *Henly* observed and proved, not only from the Passage quoted by this Writer, but also from the following one.

————— natum & in tenui Re
Majores pennas nido extendisse loqueris.

Tho' my paternal Estate was very inconsiderable, yet by a laudable Ambition I have made very great Additions to it.

But Mr. *Henly* did HORACE the Justice to observe, that what he wanted by *Inheritance*, he made up in *Virtue*.

Ut quantum generi demas, virtutibus addas.

which this Letter-writer has, I am afraid, *purposely* omitted.

I must likewise agree with him, that *Horace* was very *choleric*, as he acknowledges himself; but with this Alleviation, that he was *easy* to be reconciled; of which likewise your Correspondent takes no Notice.

Iraſci celerem, tamen ut placabilis eſſem.

But I am perfectly astonished at this Writer's Assertion, that *Horace* married a Woman of *Lombardy*; which he fathers upon the learned *Heinsius* and Mr. *Henly*; neither of whom, to my certain Knowledge, ever asserted any such thing; nor does *Horace* himself, as free as he is in relating all the other Particulars of his Life, take the least Notice of this Circumstance.

I cannot undertake to vindicate his *Morals*; which, from many of his Writings, appear to be *lewd* and *obscene*. It is very probable, as your Correspondent observes, that he used to divert Persons of Distinction, now and then, with inditing and singing *smutty Catches*; but I'll be answerable for his good Sense so far as to declare, that if he were to live in *England*, and see his fine Ode to *Neæra* set to the wretched Tune of *Joan Glover*, he would not offer to entertain any Persons of Fashion, especially *Ladies of the first*

first Quality, with such bare-faced and stupid Ribaldry.

The next Charge against him, of being *covetous*, seems to be equally unjust; for, if we may take his own Word for it, as I am willing to do, he plainly insinuates the contrary, where he says,

*Si neque Avaritiam neque Sordes, ac mala lustra
Objiciet vere quisquam mihi —*

If no Man can justly tax me with Avarice, and a sordid, niggardly Spirit, &c.

Mr. Henly took Notice of This, and observed, that his Invitation of *Mecænas* to a poor Supper (which is the only Proof this Author brings for *Horace's Covetousness*) is only an Instance of his great *Modesty*; and, as that *learned Orator* remarked, he had himself often met with an elegant Entertainment, where he was invited only to a Piece of *Mutton*.

Having given this Account of *Horace's* private Life, he proceeds to the Figure, which he made in Publick; and tells us, that his first Appearance was under *Brutus*, in the Character of *Tribunus Militum*; which the *Letter-writer*, in a most unaccountable Manner, translates, *Exempt of the Beef-Eaters*; an Order of Soldiery, which was never known in the *Roman Commonwealth*, nor in any other Nation, I believe, unless in our own happy Country of *Great Britain*.

The next Post, says he, that *Horace* enjoyed, was *Scriba Questorius*; called by *Madam Dacier*, *Secrétaire de l'Epargne*; which, strictly translated, is *Secretary of THRIFT and FRUGALITY*; but it is by this Author unhappily render'd *Secretary of the TREASURY*; between which, I presume, there is some Difference in most Countries.

After this, says he, *Afinius Pollio* assures us, that he was sent Ambassador to *Gaul*.

Legatus apud Gallos missus fuit, Man-lio & Daiio Consulibus.

I wish the *Letter-writer* had been pleased to acquaint us where he discovered any of *Afinius Pollio's* Writings; which are generally supposed to have been long since extinct. Neither do I remember, in all my reading, to have met with the least Mention of *Horace's* being sent Ambassador to *Gaul*; nor can I find, upon the strictest Examination of the *Fasti Consulares*, any such *Consulship* as that of *Man-lius & Daiius*.

He goes on to tell us that, during his Stay at this Court, he grew somewhat *cleaner* and *sprucer*, and apply'd himself to the *Knowledge of Men and Manners*; to which End, he has wrested a Passage in *Quintilian*; which, in the Original, is as little to his Purpose as any of those before-mentioned.

He concludes this extraordinary Account with telling us that, about this Time, there seems to have been some Design of making him *Secretary of State*; but that he never attained to this Employment, which is imputed to his *extreme Modesty*; whereas, I believe your Correspondent is the only Person that ever heard of any such Design; and I have so great an Opinion of *Horace's Modesty*, that I am persuaded he could never be guilty of so ridiculous an Ambition; for he seems, through his whole Works, to be fully satisfied with the Honour of being admitted into the Favour and Conversation of *Augustus* and his chief Favourites, whom he used to divert with his inimitable *Wit* and *Pleasantry*; being, as this Author justly observes, a very *comical, little, laughing Fellow*; but he knew his own Interest better, than to hazard the Loss of their good Opinion, and become the Jest

of the whole Court, by aspiring to an *Employment*, for which he knew himself to be utterly unqualified.

I hope, Sir, that these few Remarks will convince you how much this *Letter-writer* has injured our celebrated Orator by such an unjust Representation of his ingenious Entertainment; which must be owing either to his Inattention, or an unfriendly Design of discrediting that useful Institution, notwithstanding his fair Professions to the contrary; for I cannot possibly impute it to any other Cause. I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

N.

TIM. SHALLOW.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

Invented and made only by Solomon Porch, at the Sign of the great Chair in Westminster, the true political Perspective, which encreases or diminishes any Object at pleasure. This Instrument, it is hoped, may be of great Service in all publick Affairs; it being made large enough for several hundred Persons to look through at once. By turning one End of it, Dangers may be magnified and seen imminent. By turning the other, Debts may be lessened and removed to a greater Distance. It is very useful at Sea, to discover Invasions before they are intended; and by its multiplying Quality, can, if thought necessary, make two or three small Ships appear like a large Fleet. Where Spectacles may be also had for the true reading any Treaty, Memorial, Foreign or English News, or any other publick Paper whatsoever.

Beware of Pretenders, for such are abroad.



N^o II. Monday, January 9.

*Criminibus debent Hortos, Prætoria, Mensas,
Argentum Vetus, & stantem extra Pocula Caprum.*

Juv.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,



HOUGH the Reflections of one of your Correspondents, who subscribes himself *Mercator*, on some *Frauds* lately discover'd at an *East-India* Sale, are very just in the main; yet I must take the Liberty to except against an Inference or two, which he has drawn from them, and beg Leave to add some farther Observations on that Subject.

I am fully of this Gentleman's Opinion, *That the utmost Care ought to be taken that no Corruptions and Abuses should be admitted into Trading Companies; or, since the best Precautions are often vain, that they should never escape with Impunity, when discover'd.* How far the Case of Mr. *Ecclestone* may fall under this Head, and his Practices be subject to an Imputation of *Fraud*, I shall leave the World to determine, from the Complaint of *those Persons*, who are supposed to be injured by them, and the Proceedings of the *general Court* of the *East-India Company*, as well as from that Account, which has been made publick in the *Whitehall Evening Post*; together with your Correspondent's Observations upon it.

But

But I can by no means agree with this Gentleman, that we are now obliged to suppose Mr. Ecclestone entirely innocent, from the Resolutions, which were taken in that Assembly; which ended only in an *Adjournment* of the Question, *sine Die*, whether he was guilty or not; to which peculiar Method of Proceeding they were induced, no doubt, by very good Reasons; for had his *Case* been as *clear*, or his *Defence* as *full*, as the Author of that Paper seems to represent it, the Business of the Day would, in all Probability, have concluded in an unanimous Vote of his *Innocence*, instead of such an extraordinary *Suspension* of their Judgment; which leaves the Affair of his Conduct totally *undecided*, just as they found it, when they first met together.

Whether the Examination of this Matter is ever to be resumed either by the *same Assembly*, or by some *higher Power*, I cannot pretend to determine; but I will be free to declare, with your Correspondent, that it is absolutely necessary, for the full Justification of the *Company*, as well as Mr. *Ecclestone*, that a Point of such Consequence to all *fair Traders* should have some farther Enquiry made into it; especially at this Juncture, when we seem to be in no small Danger of being involved in an *expensive War*, in order to support that particular Branch of Commerce.

The Reasons for this will still appear much stronger, if it be true (as I have often heard it asserted) that Mr. *Ecclestone* himself, in his *Defence*, as it is called, did not pretend fully to *justify* his own Conduct; but, on the contrary, seem'd to acknowledge that he had been led by *bad Precedents*, together with the *Frailties* and *Infirmities* of human Nature, into some Practices, which, upon serious Reflection, he found Reason to repent of; and that he had been unhappily guilty of some *Mistakes* and *Neglect* in the Duty of his Office, as well as the poor *Warehouse-Keeper*; in Extenuation of which, I am told, that he desired

to look back to his *former Behaviour*; and hoped, if they had, at any Time, found him useful to *Trade*, or instrumental in the Service of the *Company*, that they would overlook this *Miscarriage* and indulge him for once, in the *Frailties* of his Nature.

I am very unwilling, on any Account, to interpose myself between *unhappy Men* and *Mercy*; especially since we are informed, by a late *Courant*, that some Persons concerned in the Management of the *Ostend Company*, who are subject, it seems, to the same *Infirmities*, and have been guilty of such kind of *Mistakes* and *Neglect* in their Duty, have met with the like Lenity; tho' such Indulgences are inconsistent with the antient Politicks of those Countries; for Sir *William Temple* informs us, that the great Trade of the Netherlands was formerly owing to nothing more than to the *Exactness* of their Regulations, and to the Severity of their Justice against every Abuse in it. And as to the Case of former *Merit and Services*, the great Earl of *Clarendon* tells us, in his Speech against the *corrupt Judges* in King *Charles the First's* Reign, when he carried up an *Impeachment* against them to the House of Lords, that if they appeared to their Lordships under the Reputation of *Prudence and Integrity*, in all Cases, except These presented to them, Their Lordships would be at least of the same Opinion, that *He of Lacedæmon* was of the Athenians. If they carried themselves well, when Time was, and now ill, they deserve a double Punishment; because they are not good, as they were, and because they are evil, as they were not.

However, it is to be wished (and I hope not to be doubted) that whatever *Lenity* may be thought proper to be used towards these *unhappy Men*, it will in no manner impede the *strictest Enquiry* into the Bottom of this Affair, in order to prevent, for the future, the like *Infirmities*, *Mistakes*, and *Neglect*; and whensoever, or wheresoever this seasonable Enquiry shall be made,

made, I think it cannot be improper that the following *Queries* (which I have heard often put in private Conversation) should also be considered, *viz.*

- Q. I. Whether the *Governors* and principal Persons in their *Factories* abroad do not generally raise very great Estates; which may sometimes be made by divers unwarrantable Practices, and the Oppression of the *Merchants* in those Countries, to the Prejudice of the Interest of their Masters in *England*.
- Q. II. Whether their *Super-Cargoes* to *China*, (where the Company have no settled *Factory*) being invested with a full Power to dispose of the whole Cargoes of their respective Ships, and lay out the Produce of them in the Goods of the Country, do not sometimes put off great Quantities of *Silver* upon the Account of *Themselves* and some particular *powerful Men*, at double or treble the *Market Price*, to the manifest Damage of the *Company*; the *Purchasers* of such *Silver* finding their Recompence in the Sale of their *COUNTRY Commodities*, at the same *exorbitant Rates*, for the *Company's Use*?
- Q. III. Whether their *Captains* and other *Officers* do not frequently exceed their *Indulgences*, by bringing home much greater Quantities of Goods, than are allowed by the Regulations of the *Company*, to their own unjust Advantage, and the apparent Detriment of the *Proprietors*?
- Q. IV. Whether the above-mentioned Practices, and many more of the same corrupt Nature, are not sometimes well known to particular *Directors*, and by them connived at or encouraged for a Share in the Plunder?
- Q. V. Whether, if all or any of these Practices and Corruptions are at any Time in Use, the Persons guilty of them, or any of them, have not

thereby manifestly broken their *Oaths* to the *Company*, and shamefully violated the *Trust* reposed in them?

Q. VI. Whether the accidental Discovery of so *extraordinary a Fraud*, as is said to have been made at a late Sale, ought not justly to awaken the *Proprietors* and *Directors* to a Suspicion, that some others of their *Officers* and *Servants* may have *mistaken* or *neglected*, if not manifestly transgressed, their respective Duties, besides this *unhappy, poor Man*, whom they have lately found guilty of some *natural Infirmities*, and *suspended* from his Office? And whether the strictest and most publick *INQUIRY* would not be proper at this Juncture, in order to vindicate the Reputation of their *innocent Officers*, by punishing the Offences of the *Guilty*?

Give me Leave to conclude, Sir, with one of Sir *William Temple's* Observations on *Trade*, from his accurate Account of the united Provinces of the *Netherlands* before-mentioned.

“ It is, *says he*, no constant Rule, that Trade
 “ makes Riches; for there may be a *Trade*, which
 “ *impoverishes* a Kingdom; as it is not going often
 “ to Market that enriches the *Country-Man*; but,
 “ on the contrary, if every Time he comes there,
 “ he *buys* to a greater Value than he *sells*, he grows
 “ the *poorer*, the oftner he goes; but the only and
 “ certain *Scale* of Riches arising from *Trade* in a Na-
 “ tion; is the Proportion of what is *exported*, for
 “ the Consumption of *Others*, to what is *imported*
 “ for *their own*.

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant,

C. D.

CIVICUS.

I think.

I think myself highly obliged to the Author of the foregoing Letter, and must confess that I have myself frequently heard Complaints of the same Practices, mentioned in these *Queries*; which seem, at this Time, to deserve and demand the *severest* Scrutiny. I have often been assured, that the *East-India Company* have several *Governments* in their Disposal, of much *greater Value* than any in his Majesty's Gift; not excepting even that greatest and most honourable of all, the *LIEUTENANCY* of *IRELAND*; which we have the more Reason to believe, because we have seen several Persons return from those Employments, after a Stay of *three* or *four* Years only, laden with immense Wealth; affecting the Port and Grandeur of *British Noblemen*; and cultivating Alliances with the most powerful Families in the Kingdom. But the greatest Grievance is, that they commonly discover the same *governing Spirit* here, which they exercised abroad, and attempt the same Kind of *Dominion* and *Authority* over the Countries where they settle, which they found practicable in those *foreign* and *arbitrary Commands*.

Gray's-Inn, Jan. 7,
1726.

CAL. D'ANVERS.



Friday,



N^o 12. Friday, January 13.

*Sed quanto Ille magis Formas se vertat in omnes,
Tanto, Nate, magis contende tenacia vincla. Virg.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,



THE Payment of the *Publick Debts* and the Redemption of the *Duties*, which they have occasion'd, are Subjects of such general Importance to the Kingdom, that I doubt not you will accept, in a candid Manner, of any Thoughts, which appear to have this View; tho' Things seem to be so unfortunately managed at present, that you are the only Author of this Kind, from whom I can, with any Degree of Confidence, expect such a Favour.

I presume, Sir, that you have read a little Piece, just published, entitled, *Remarks on a late Book, called, An Essay on the publick Debts of this Kingdom, &c.* as well as the Observations that have been made upon it in the *London Journal* on Saturday the 31st of last Month; upon which I think it necessary, for the Information of those Persons, who are but little acquainted with this Subject, or into whose Hands this Piece may not have fallen, to make some farther *Remarks*.

The *Writer* of the Letter in the *London Journal* begins with a pompous Eulogium of the *Author* of the *Essay*, (whom, for some Reasons, which I may hereafter mention, I take to be *Himself*;) and a very indiffe-

indifferent Character of the *Remarker*, by telling us that the former seems to be a very great Master of the Subject he treats of; whereas it must appear to every one, who will read the Remarks with any Attention, and be at the Pains of comparing the Quotations, by reading the whole Paragraphs that he takes them from, that the Author of the Remarks does not only not know any thing of the Subject he is writing upon, but that he has dealt in a very extraordinary and disingenuous Manner with the Author of the *Essay*; and seems not to have any View to set his Countrymen right in the great Question of the publick Debt; but, under Colour of making some poor Remarks upon a Book, which has deservedly gain'd Esteem in the World, takes an Opportunity of venting his personal Resentment against Those, who have a great Share in the Administration of the Affairs of this Kingdom.

As to the first Part of this modest Paragraph, which relates to the Author of the *Essay*, I must observe that the *Remarker* does not seem in any Part of his Book to deny, that he is a very great Master of the Subject he treats of; but only endeavours to shew, that he has apply'd his Talents to a very bad Use; and I have some Reason to believe, that great Part of his Resentment against the *Remarker* proceeds from his having discover'd a Design, which the Author of the *Essay* has taken so much Pains to conceal.

Whether the Author of the Remarks knows any Thing of the Subject he is writing upon, I shall leave the World to judge and determine; but, for my own Part, upon reading his Performance with the closest Attention, and comparing his Quotations very exactly with the Paragraphs from whence he takes them, I must be free to declare, that I think he has fully executed his Purpose, as it is expressed in the Title Page of his Book; which was to prove,

that

that the *Essay* is written with an *evil Tendency*, and that the Author's *Design* was to prepare the Nation for *farther Duties* and *new Debts*; which Point he seems to have clearly demonstrated by divers Passages and Quotations out of the *Essay*.

It is farther obvious, that the *Remarker* does not pretend to *dispute the Exactness of the Author's Calculations*; nor deny, for *Argument's Sake*, that they would operate in the *Manner which he asserts*, provided they were strictly applied; but, as his *Design* led him, he desires his *Countrymen to beware of the Doctrine, which seems to be couched under this flattering and delusive Scheme*; a *Doctrine* so ill disguised, that it may be discovered by any Man with the *least Attention*, and without *knowing any thing of this Subject*, so far as it relates to *Figures, Calculations, and the Particulars*, of which the publick Debt consists.

If therefore the *Letter-writer* had thought fit to have said any Thing to the Purpose, his proper Business would have been to shew that this *Objection* against the *Essay* was groundless; and that the *Remarker* had no Reason to charge the *Author* with such a pernicious *Design*; whereas he does not attempt to prove This, but flies off to another Point, quite foreign to the present Purpose, concerning STOCK-JOBING, (by him called PUBLICK CREDIT) which the *Remarker* takes no Notice of, thro' his whole Book.

But there appears to be such a *Sameness* in this Gentleman's Writings and such a peculiar Propensity to *extraordinary Assertions*, that I must beg Leave to trouble you with another Letter on what he has farther offered in that Paper.

In the mean time, since the *Letter-writer* has thought fit to treat the *Remarks* in so *disingenuous* a Manner, and to condemn them by wholesale, without producing one Passage out of them, or offering the

least

least Reason for his Severity ; it will not, I hope, be thought improper to shew, by a Quotation or two, the true *Design* of this Piece, and how much it has suffered by this Author's Misrepresentation.

He begins with stating the Author's *Scheme* very exactly ; which he sums up in this Manner.

“ If in the Year 1727, the whole publick Debt
“ of this Kingdom (by which I mean, *All* that the
“ *Publick* owes, whether it be *publickly known*, or
“ not) shall really amount to no more than *fifty*
“ *Millions*. I F in the same Year the Income of the
“ *sinking Fund* may be certainly computed at a Sum
“ of *one Million*. I F we can be absolutely sure that
“ the said Sum of *one Million* will, from Year to
“ Year, be punctually applied, in the Manner before-
“ mentioned, to the Purposes, to which it is appro-
“ priated. I F we may assuredly depend upon it, that
“ *no Minister*, for the future, will be induced, *in any*
“ *possible Exigence of Affairs*, real or pretended, to lay
“ Hands upon this *sacred Treasure*, and divert it to
“ *other Purposes*. I F we can undoubtedly promise
“ our selves to be free from any Wars, Insurrections
“ or Troubles, for a certain large Number of Years
“ to come ; or, I F the *sinking Fund* can be suppo-
“ sed to make a *greater Progress* under the Incum-
“ brances of an *expensive War*, than in a Time of
“ *profound Peace*. I say, *if* all these Suppositions
“ are not ridiculous Chimæra's, but well-grounded
“ Presumptions, then is our Author's *Scheme* a *ra-*
“ *tional Scheme*, and we may rely upon seeing the
“ publick Debt totally discharged by it, within the
“ Time proposed ; nay, we may carry our Debts
“ to the utmost Extravagance, in Confidence of ha-
“ ving them, one Time or other, fully discharged
“ by a sinking Fund of *one Million*, according to the
“ Rules of *geometrical Progression*.

In the next Place he undertakes to shew the Author's *secret Design*; which, he says, seems to "be
 " as far as He can judge, to prepare the Nation for
 " *new Debts*, (could any Government be either so
 " weak, or so wicked as to follow his Directions,)
 " under the popular Pretence of exhibiting a *Scheme*
 " for paying the *old*; for were the Author's only
 " Design to prove the Efficacy and Sufficiency of
 " the *sinking Fund* for paying our *present Debt*, he
 " could have no Occasion to carry its Progress any
 " farther than this End; nor is it of any Advantage
 " to his Argument, to demonstrate that such a Sum
 " so applied, will not *only* pay off our *present Debt*,
 " but *also* any farther increased Sum, which we shall
 " please to add to it. I say, it can be of no Advan-
 " tage to his Argument to suppose any *farther Debt*;
 " since if it be sufficient to pay the *present*, we de-
 " sire no more. To carry his Calculations therefore,
 " with so much Pains, farther than we now have,
 " or, I hope, ever shall have Occasion for them,
 " bears an ill Aspect, and must be allowed to be al-
 " together unnecessary and impertinent to his pre-
 " sent Purpose, if he had no other *Design*. How-
 " ever it be, an honest *Briton* does not love to hear
 " the frequent Repetition of *farther Duties* and *new-*
 " *invented Funds*, or to see any *Calculations*, which
 " appear to have this Tendency; nor would he have
 " such broad Hints given to *Men*, who are ready
 " enough of themselves to lay hold of all Occasions
 " of this Nature.

The Author of the *Essay* having asserted *that the Lands, Estates, Expence or Commerce of Great Britain will yet easily admit of farther Duties, sufficient to furnish new Funds, to answer the Interest of such Sums, as any publick Occasion whatsoever, that he can possibly represent to himself, can call for*; the *Re-*
marker goes on thus;

" Was

“ Was ever any Author guilty of such an extra-
 “ vagant Assertion; or, of such a flat Contradiction
 “ to the common Sense and Knowledge of a whole
 “ Nation? Is there not already a *Land-Tax* upon our
 “ *Estates* as large as can be reasonably desired in a
 “ Time of *Peace*? Are not all our *ordinary Expences*
 “ burthen'd with Duties; or is there any considera-
 “ ble Branch of Commerce, which does not pay its
 “ Custom? Is there scarce any Thing, that we eat,
 “ drink, wear, or in any Manner use, which does not
 “ contribute to the Necessities of the Government?
 “ Are not many Things doubly, trebly, and even
 “ quadruply loaden? Is not This generally lamented
 “ by all People; and can our Author, who pretends
 “ to understand the State of the Nation so exactly,
 “ be ignorant of it? Or, does he imagine that all the
 “ World have lost the Use of their *Eyesight* and *Feel-*
 “ *ing*, except himself?

“ What therefore shall we say to a Man, who
 “ thus insolently sports with the Calamities of a Na-
 “ tion, and lays wanton Plans for *future Ministers*
 “ (since I am sure they can have no Influence upon
 “ the *present*) to oppress his Fellow-Subjects with
 “ such grievous Burthens, as neither *we nor our Chil-*
 “ *dren shall be able to bear*?

But the most unjust Imputation of all against the
Remarker is, that he has taken this Opportunity of
 venting his personal Resentments against *Those, who*
have a great Share in the Administration of the Af-
airs of this Kingdom; whereas I can, with great Con-
 fidence, assert that no Writer whatsoever has, at any
 Time, in so small a Book, mentioned these Gentle-
 men so *often* or with *more Respect*. Nay, in one
 Place, I think he carries the Point too far, and shews
 almost too servile a Regard even for the *best of Mi-*
nisters, where he proposes to have an *Act of Parlia-*
ment made on Purpose to *secure* them in their Em-
 ployments *during Life*, and to have a new *Form of*

Prayer inserted in our *Liturgy* for their *Preservation* and *Continuance*; but though This may be esteem'd, perhaps, too high a Strain of Deference to the *greatest* and *worthiest* of Men in that Station, by setting them too much upon an Equality with their *Royal Master*; yet, if it should, at any Time, be thought expedient, I shall chearfully submit to the *one*, and conform to the *other*; being resolved not to dissent from the publick Worship, nor to go once the seldomer to *Church* on that Account.

I hope, Sir, This will be thought sufficient to shew the *Disigenuity* of the *Letter-writer*, and convince the World, that such a desultory Manner of treating the *Remarks* must proceed from a Conscience of his Inability to support the *Essay* against the Charge, which is brought against it in that Book. But as he has thought fit to open another Field of Argument by advancing some *new* and *curious Tenets*; I must beg the Favour of you to reserve me a Place in your Paper one Day next Week, in Order to insert some Observations upon them, from,

S I R,

Your Humble Servant,

N

BRITANNICUS.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

Whereas the Publick has been most grossly imposed on, and abused by the late invented golden Trusses for preventing of Ruptures, which it is now known have proved ineffectual; This is to give Notice to all Persons, that a Preparation of Steel is making at a certain Place, over-against the Horse-Guards; which will have a much better Effect, by entirely changing the Constitution, and making it more strong and vigorous for the future.

Monday

N^o 13. Monday, January 16.

*Non fumum ex fulgore sed ex fumo dare lucem
Cogitat*——

Hor.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,



INCE you have given my Brother *Civicus* so kind a Reception, I flatter myself that it will not be disagreeable, if I let you into some Secrets relating to the *E—st I—a C—y*; and acquaint you with the Behaviour of the *fa-vourite Director*; who is the *DIRECTOR of Directors*, and their *SCREEN-MASTER GENERAL*.

This Gentleman is of their Committee of *T—ry*, and by those Means is a perfect Master of all the Accounts of the *Company*; and is besides so ready and able a *Speaker*, that They entirely depend upon him to defend them against the Clamour of their *general Courts*; and, to give him his Due, he has both the *Affurance* and the *Address* to persuade them, that their *Directors* are paying off their Debts; when, at the same Time, they are enriching *Themselves* and *their Creatures*, at the Expence of the *Company*. This being the Case, the rest are forced to submit to him in every Thing. He makes *Directors*. He makes *Secretaries*. He makes *Clerks*. He makes *Governors*. He makes *Chaplains* to their *Factories*. He makes their *Officers* and *Soldiers*; and, to sum up all, He has made to himself an *immense Fortune*. But not satisfied with This (whether out of

vain Glory, or to lay other Parts of the World under Contribution) *He* has pick'd a Quarrel with the great *Mogul*, the *Emperor* of *China*, and the *Sophy* of *Persia*; and, tho' by these Means, the *Company's Ships* may be seiz'd, and their *Trade* prohibited; yet, if They will take his Word, it is all for the better. He has declared that the *D—ch E—st In—a Company* have acceded upon a Promise, that our *I—a C—y* will bear the whole Expence of the War, and give them a good, handsome Sum into the Bargain; and that we may have more Friends upon the same Terms; meaning, as I hear, the two *Insurances*, and the *charitable Corporation*. He says that the *Copper Merchants* have it under their Deliberation; and that it is not doubted but they will likewise take our Money, when They have punished a Person, who has cheated them, and are convinced, that nobody will give them more. He seems to value himself much upon the Zeal of one of the Principals, *viz.* the *B—k*; and says that They will be ready, upon Demand, with their *hundred Thousands*; but I find it is most People's Opinion, that They are playing their old Game of lying by, 'till they are assured of their INTEREST. The *S—th S—a Company*, which was at first a Principal, and the most nearly concern'd, has, as we are told, being very necessitous, taken Money on both Sides; but it is not doubted that this *Gentleman* will fix them at last; it being a *Game* he is perfectly acquainted with. The *An—s*, I think, are allow'd by all Sides (like the *Duke of Lorraine*) to stand *neuter*. The two *Water-Offices* have offered their Assistance. The Demands of the one are very exorbitant; for They insist upon having their Engine kept in Repair. The other, being composed of *publick-spirited Men*, will do it *gratis*, for the Honour of it, being at present out of Business; but, in my humble Opinion, They ought to be reserved as *Mediators* and *Peacemakers*,

makers, if they can furnish Water enough to cool St. Stephen's Chappel. This we are told is the State of our Affairs; but the Gentleman, out of his great Modesty, will not strike the Bargain with any of them, without the Sanction of a *general Court*; which he designs to call very soon, and does not doubt that his Measures will be crown'd with Success, if the *Court* will do as he wou'd have them. He has had a *private Meeting* already with several of the *Proprietors* at his Friend's in the City, where they came to the following *Resolutions*, viz.

“ That the hearty Thanks of the Company be re-
 “ turn'd to their *Directors*, for their great *Care* and
 “ *Vigilance* in discharge of their Office.

“ That, notwithstanding their Stock was fallen from
 “ 180 *per Cent.* to 130; They were sensible of the
 “ great *Blessings* they enjoyed under their *happ*y *Di-*
 “ *rection*.

“ That They would maintain and support their
 “ *Directors* against all their open and secret *Enemies*
 “ both at *Home* and *Abroad*.

“ That if any Prince or Potentate (how great so-
 “ ever) should give himself Airs to any Person em-
 “ ploy'd by this *Company*, they will sufficiently enable
 “ their *Directors* to chastise his Insolence.

“ That they will give Power to their *Directors* to
 “ make a considerable *CALL*, and to borrow *what*
 “ *Money They please*; for which the *Company* will be
 “ answerable.”

These *Resolutions*, I am told, were unanimously agreed to; and *Those*, who were not already employ'd in the *Company's* Service, had an Assurance from this Gentleman that they should be provided for upon the first *Vacancies*.

Now, Sir, I beg you will publish this Account; before a Meeting of a *general Court*; that the *innocent*

Proprietors may be apprised of what is intended. I am, with great Respect,

S I R,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

C. URBANICUS.

P. S. I had forgot to tell you the Occasion of the Quarrel, which was thus. The *Great Mogul* has been heard to say, more than once, that all his *own Dominions* were his *own*; and that he had consented to a *Trade* with the *Emperor of China*; but I never heard what Offence the *Sophy of Persia* has given to our *Company*; unless They are in some private Treaty with the *T—ky C——ny* in behalf of the *Grand Seignior*.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

In a few Days will be published, PROPOSALS for
Printing

A more accurate and correct Map of the World, than any, which has hitherto appeared; shewing the many gross Mistakes made by former Geographers in the Description and Situation of Europe; and proving the Balance to have hung wrong for this last Century; Muscovy and Spain being lately discovered to be contiguous, and the German Continent to extend to the East and West-Indies; and setting right many other remarkable Errors too long to be enumerated. The Whole is formed on the most exact Plans and newest Observations of modern Geographers. Subscriptions are taken in at the Brazen-Head in Channel-Row, Westminster, at Four Shillings; and 'tis hoped the whole Work will be finished by May-Day next.



Friday,



N^o 14. Friday, January 20.

*Verum ita Rifores, ita commendare dicaces
 Conveniet Satyros, ita vertere seria ludo,
 Ne, quicumque Deus, quicumque abhibebitur Heros,
 Regali conspectus in auro nuper & ostro,
 Migret in obscuras humili sermone Tabernas.* Hor.



Man, who has lived but half as long in the World as I have done, cannot avoid having a great many melancholy Reflections, on seeing Things of the most serious and solemn Nature turned into *Ridicule*. This Method of Writing was first introduced by *Cervantes* in *Spain*, and *Rabelais* in *France*; from whence it was brought into *England* by King *Charles II.* at his Restoration; where it immediately grew into Credit from that Antipathy, which the People had conceived against the fanatical Purity and Starchness of the former Reign. Ever since that Time it has continued to encrease amongst us, and is now grown to such an Excess, that the gravest Subjects are frequently treated in this light and ludicrous Manner; of which I could give a Multitude of Instances; but I believe it will be sufficient to mention only two Books lately publish'd; namely, *Captain Gulliver's Voyages*, and *An Enquiry into the Reasons of the Conduct of Great-Britain, &c.* the last of which seems to be a servile Imitation of the other, as That is of the *French* or *Spanish* Author before-mention'd, and might be better entitled *Don Quixote* in *Politicks*; the Reflections of *Pantagruel* on the present State of Affairs; or, *Gulliver* turn'd *Statesman*.

It is evident to every Reader of the meanest Capacity, that the Author of this curious Piece proceeds on the Model of those Writers, and that his Design is to ridicule *Statesmen* and *political Matters* in the same Manner that *Cervantes* exposes Books of *Chivalry*, or *Captain Gulliver* the Writings of *Travellers*, by publishing a Collection of the most palpable *Falshoods*, *Absurdities*, and *Contradictions*, in a grave and serious Manner, with the same solemn Grimace and repeated Professions of *Truth* and *Simplicity*.

But I must observe, that this *Mock-Enquirer* is not only guilty of very unseasonable and indecent Mirth, by turning to Jest Things of the highest Concern, but is also somewhat unhappy in his Imitation of those great Masters; for, tho' the Account which he gives of publick Affairs is full as *romantick* and *incredible* as the *Adventures*, which They relate; yet he falls infinitely below them in Diction and manner of Writing; which in Them is elegant and majestick; whereas in this Author the Stile is manifestly as *indigested* and *ungrammatical*, as the Tenour of his Book is *fabulous* and *improbable*; but perhaps This may be done on purpose, in order to make the *Banter* the stronger.

Indeed we may, in some Measure, impute this Humour, of turning serious Things into ridicule, to some of our late theatrical Entertainments; for I cannot help thinking that the great Encouragement, which has been given, for some Years past, to the wonderful Conceits of *Scaramouch* and *Harlequin*, has embolden'd several Persons, and especially this Author, to represent the great Affairs of Princes and Kingdoms in the same *jocose* and *farcical* Manner.

What Success this Piece may meet with in an Age and Nation, which is too apt to be pleas'd with such fanciful Productions, I know not; but it cannot be expected that a Man of my Years should approve of it, in any Degree; for, on the contrary, I am astonish'd that any Person should presume to publish such *po-*
litical:

litical Drollery, and make the most important Affairs of *Europe*, which seems to be just on the Brink of a bloody and expensive War, the Subject of *publick Mirth* and *Entertainment*.

It is not improbable that some Person, who has more Leisure, or a better Opinion of this Piece than I have, may think it worth his while to examine the *Tendency* of it in a serious Manner. For my Part, I think it deserves only *Contempt* and *Ridicule*; and I can make no doubt that every impartial Man in *Great Britain* will look on it in the same Light; but as it is not my Custom to condemn any Book, however *false* or *absurd*, without some Reason, I think it proper to make the following Observations on this Treatise.

The Author seems impatient to let us into his Design; which I think sufficiently explains itself in the very first Page; where he tells us, “ that *Curiosity* itself, the lowest Principle of all our *Enquiries*, will force its way into such a Scene, and will expect or invent some Account of so surprizing a *Change*, from a *Calm* hardly *paralleled* by any *past Prospect*.”

For my Part, I never esteemed the natural *Curiosity* of Mankind to be so *low* a Principle, as is here represented; but I can easily believe that this Author is actuated by some *higher* Principle, as he seems to intimate himself just below; where he says, that this Principle grows *stronger*, when it is join'd to *Self-interest*, and becomes a *personal* and *national Concern*; which I take to be the Case of the *Enquirer*, whatever it may be of the *Enquiry*; for I readily understand how this Affair may be a *personal Concern* to the Author; and I think it ought to become a *national Concern* to defeat his End.—But to proceed.

A *Parallel* to a *Calm* is manifestly a *Solæcism* in Language; and a *PAST Prospect* is just as proper as a *FUTURE Retrospect*; both which are what we usually call *Absurdities*; but as *Questions* go farther in convincing some Persons than the strongest *Arguments*, I must

must beg leave to enquire of this *Enquirer* how he thinks any Prelate would like the *PAST prospect* of a *better BISHOPRICK*.

As to the Duke *de Ripperda*, if what is said of him be true, I am heartily glad that he is out of Power, and secured in the Castle of *Segovia*; tho' I presume it will be thought somewhat incredible that a Man, who has discovered such a *rank, personal Malignancy* against his Majesty, should have the Confidence to fly for Refuge, when in Disgrace, to his Majesty's Ambassador, or to think that *Great Britain* would endanger a Rupture with the Kingdom of *Spain*, only to protect such an *inveterate Enemy* from their Resentment.

In Page 33, we find *Suspicious*, or something stronger than *Suspicious*, built upon *Appearances* of another *Suspicion*; which several *Suspicious*, to the Number of about *seven* or *eight*, are at length made to amount to a *Certainty*.

Indeed, we are told that *Ripperda* did, upon a certain Occasion, declare in Conversation a *secret, offensive Treaty*; which ought to be look'd on as a *private Proclamation* of a *secret Treaty*.

Having thus settled it as a *Certainty* that there is a *declared, secret, offensive Alliance* between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, he proposes, in the next Place; to give us some Light into the *Nature* of it, and tells us, that when he has done This—*Let them that be blind, be blind still*; which Expression is look'd upon, by some of his Friends, as a little too *open*, by discovering the little Use, which his Book will be of, unless his Readers resolve to continue *blind still*.

But above all, commend me to those two quick-scented *Custom-House Officers* in *Ireland*; who, upon searching *three Russian Ships*, driven in thither by Strefs of Weather, found all the *Symptoms* of *Enmity* to his Majesty. I would humbly recommend these

Gentle-

Gentlemen to better Employments; since They may be of great Use to any *Ministers*, by their excellent Talent at discovering Ships that are *disaffected*, and finding out all the *Symptoms of Enmity* in Vessels, that have false Bottoms. This puts me in mind of a Piece of an old Ballad, which celebrates the same useful Quality in that renowned Prince King *James I.*

*For louder and louder,
Quoth the King I smell Powder,
And down he went into the Cellar;
And the King was an excellent Smeller.*

In the same Page we are told, concerning these *three Ships*, “that when they were safe in *Spain*, it was given out by *one* of the greatest Men in the Court of *Russia*, and written by *another* great Man from his Mouth to *another* at *Stockholm*, in order to influence the *Swedes*, &c.” which puts me in mind of another Scrap of Poetry in the *Turtle and Sparrow*, to the same Purpose.

*Sometimes, forsooth, upon the Brook,
I kept a Miss. An honest Rook
Told it a Snipe; who told a Stear;
Who told it Those, who told it her.*

I am surprized that this Author should complain (as he does in more than one Place) of the *extravagant Manner*, in which the Duke *de Ripperda* was honour'd and aggrandized by the King of *Spain*; because I had always such a Respect for Men in high Stations, that I thought a *prime Minister*, who served his Master honestly, however he might behave towards *foreign Courts*, could not be loaded with Honours and Riches, and Grandeur in too *extravagant* a Manner.

In another Place, speaking of the same great Man, he says, *Who can we believe, if not a prime Minister?* Which, applied to Men of such Eminence, ought certainly to hold true; but as it relates to *One*, of whom this Author has given such an infamous Character, it seems not altogether conclusive; for we may reasonably expect as much *Veracity* in a private Country Gentleman, as in *such a prime Minister*.

I shall take no Notice of his pleasant Argument for *paying* our Debts, by plunging *farther* in Debt; because this Method of Reasoning has been advanced before, in another Book, written in the same Spirit, and requires no farther Observations, than what have been already made upon it.

But I cannot neglect to observe, with how much Ease and Dexterity he has made *Don Carlos* the greatest Prince upon Earth; who, by marrying the eldest *Arch-Dutchess*, may possibly come to be *Emperor*; may be King of *France*; and may be King of *Spain*; which is somewhat like a *Welch Lady* of my Acquaintance, who, if an Uncle, three Brothers, and two Cousins happen to die, may be a considerable Fortune.

I make no Doubt that the *Pretender*, according to Custom, is very active at this critical Conjunction, and will set all Measures on Foot, which he thinks will facilitate his Designs; but I am sorry to see this Affair treated in so *ludicrous* a Manner by the Author of the *Enquiry*; for, by founding it on a Number of *Suppositions* and *Conjectures*, he makes it look like *Scrub's Plot* in the *Stratagem*, who concludes *thirdly and lastly, it must be a Plot, because I don't know what to make of it.*

D. C.



Monday,

N^o 15. *Monday, January 23.*

 Ecce iterum *Crispinus!* — JUV.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,



HAVE already shewn, that the Author of a Letter, published in the *London Journal* on the 31st of last Month, occasioned by the *Remarks* on an *Essay on the publick Debts, &c.* has either mistaken or wilfully avoided to take Notice of the true Drift of that Pamphlet; which was only to prove that the *Design* of the Author of the *Essay* was to prepare the Nation for *farther Duties* and *new Debts*, without making the least Attempt to overturn the Foundation of his *Scheme*, which has been since consider'd in so clear and masterly a Manner as will, I believe, admit of no *Reply*. But since the Author of that Letter, finding it impracticable to defend the *Essay* against this Charge, has had Recourse to another Point concerning *Stock-Jobbing*, on which Subject he has advanced several uncommon Propositions, I must now desire to trouble you with some *Remarks* on that Head.

I observe, in the first Place, that the principal View of this Letter seems to be to dissuade the *bonest, undesigning* Creditors of the Publick from selling out of the Funds, at this Juncture, that the *crafty Men*, who are in *Secrets*, may dispose of their Stocks at a *better Price*, in order to *buy in* again, when the

H

Stocks

Stocks are sunk much *lower*, as they may probably have some Reason to expect.

I am as much concerned, as this Author can be, to see any clandestine and sinister Methods made use of, in order to depreciate *publick Credit*, and heartily wish that it were much higher than it is at present; though I cannot agree with him, that this *Fall* is occasioned only by a LITTLE RUMOUR of our *entering into a War*. I must also remark that although the *publick Credit* ought, by all just Methods, to be kept up at this Time; yet that putting a greater Value on the Price of our Stocks than they are really worth, is not the proper Way to support it; but, by giving it a sudden and false *Rise*, will occasion at length a greater and more precipitate *Fall*. I will therefore affirm, that since there is so great a Share of the Property of this Kingdom invested in these fluctuating Commodities, every Proprietor has a Right to be acquainted, at all Times, with their genuine Value; that he may not be imposed on in the Sale of them by Persons *more knowing* than himself. Nay, I will go still farther, and venture to declare that the *Rise and Fall* of these Commodities do, in no small Degree, affect every other Kind of Property in these Kingdoms; as was too sensibly felt in that fatal Year 1720; and therefore that a Man, who has *no immediate Concern* in these Securities, may, notwithstanding the *Letter-writer's* Assertion to the contrary, *write or speak*, provided he *writes or speaks* only what is *true*, on these Subjects, without any *bad Design*; but whoever, either by his *writing or speaking*, endeavours to persuade the publick Creditors, that their Securities are, at any Time, worth more than they really are, *I will be free to declare* (as this Author expresses it) *that he must do it with a very infamous Design*.

But

But what can he possibly mean by saying, *that the only Enemies, whom we can be supposed to have to do with, can give no Interruption to our Commerce to any great Degree; as may be plainly shewn, if Occasion requires?* I should be very much obliged to him, if he would be pleased to *shew me This plainly;* since I think the *present Occasion does very much require it;* for are we not likely to *have to do with SPAIN;* and will not our *Spanish Trade* (which has been constantly thought, of all other, the *most valuable*) be *not only stopt* by such a War, but also be in great Danger of being, in a considerable Degree, lost for ever, by its taking *another Channel;* as well as by the Encouragement that will be certainly given to *Manufactures* in those Countries; which, when once established, will, in all Probability, be for ever afterwards supported?

It is too well known that our *Woollen Manufacture* in the *North and West* does already feel the Mischiefs of *Interruptions in Trade.* The *Russian Army,* which used to be cloathed by *us,* have, for some Years past, contracted with the King of *Prussia* for the same Commodities. We see that the *Manufactures* in all Parts of *Germany* improve daily; that they likewise spread in *Poland, Russia, &c.* and, which is still worse, that those Nations *undersell us.* What can be the Reason of This, but that our People, being loaded with heavy Duties on the several Materials necessary to the *Woollen Manufacture,* cannot work so cheap? and yet the Author of the *Essay is for continuing these Duties* for ever.

But what will be the natural Effect of This? If so many heavy *Duties* render it impossible for our *Countrymen* to work as *cheap* as the People Abroad; if, in Consequence of This, *Manufactures* are set up and supported in *foreign Parts,* ours at Home must suffer more and more every Day in Proportion. By these Means numbers of Families will be reduced to starve:

and This, by the same Consequence, will *lessen* the *Funds*, provided for paying the Interest of the *publick Debts*; the Burthen of which must then be thrown on *Land*, or the publick Creditors lose their Estates; and even the *landed Estates* will besides suffer by every Diminution of our *Manufactures*; for the *less* People get, the *less* they will have to *spend*, and the Produce of *Land* must sink in its Value for want of *Consumption*

What renders this Assertion of the *Letter-writer*, that a *War with Spain* will give but little Interruption to our *Trade*, the more unaccountable, is, that it appears, as I am informed, by the *Custom-house Books*, that in the Year 1717 (which was the Year before our last unhappy Difference with *Spain*) our *Exports* thither amounted to the Value of *seven Hundred, forty-nine Thousand, one Hundred, ninety-one Pounds*; whereas, in the Year 1719, they amounted only to *one Hundred forty-eight Thousand, seven Hundred, forty-one Pounds*; so that the *Exports* in the last of these Years was diminished by *six Hundred Thousand, four Hundred and fifty Pounds*; and I wish this Author could *plainly shew* us, that the same, or a like Difference, will not happen again in the same Circumstances.

I need not mention the Encouragement, which is always given, at such Times, to the Practice of *Privateering*; nor that the Subjects of some Powers in Alliance with us may, perhaps, clandestinely engage in this lucrative Employment.

This extravagant Assertion (whether it proceeds from *Ignorance* or *Shamefulness*, I shall not determine) is so near a-kin to several Propositions of the same Kind in the *Essay on the publick Debts*; particularly to That, where he says, that an Increase of Figures is not a real Increase of the Quantity of any Sum; and That, where he assures us, that the *Lands, Estates, Expences, and Commerce of Great Britain*,
will

will yet easily admit of a great many more Duties and Taxes; there is, I say, such a near Resemblance between all these Propositions, that I cannot help supposing them to come from the *same* extraordinary Hand.

But there are other Assertions, almost as extravagant, in this *Letter*; of which I must not forget to take Notice.

It is, for Instance, very surprizing (if any Thing hereafter can be thought so in *this Writer*) that he should say, the *Stocks* were artfully blown up too high, somewhat more than a Year past; when it is well known *who* seemed to congratulate Themselves on that extraordinary Height of *publick Credit*, (for so it was then called) as the Effect of *wise Measures*; and it is as well known *who* were the most busy in *selling out* before and immediately after the *Hanover Treaty* was finished, in order to make their best Market of that *artful Rise* of the *Stocks*; which, with the Apprehensions of publick Troubles, occasioned that great *Fall*, so much complain'd of; and whether *Those*, who occasion'd it, may justly be esteemed *designing Men*, and *Enemies of the Government* or not, let others judge; but it could not, I think, be expected that *such* a Character should be fixed on them by this Author.

It is farther worth enquiring, how he comes to reckon the *Interest* of Money to be, on *that Day*, (*December 21.*) not more than *four per Cent.* by the *Premiums* on Bonds. But the Author was very much in the Right to *antedate* his *Letter ten Days*, in order to give that artful Proof of the *Interest* of Money; since it is well known that, at the Time of its *Publication*, those *Bonds* were sold at *par*.

Neither is the Denomination of the *Rate* of Interest, said to be given for the publick *Loans*, a certain Proof, (as this Author supposes) of the State of *publick Credit*; for This must be judged according to

what the Publick does *really* pay for such Loans. The Interest may be called *three per Cent.* and yet, by a Kind of *Management*, very practicable, and not unusual in Contracts with *monied Societies*, the Publick may at least pay to the Rate of *five per Cent.* or more.

There is another Sort of Management sometimes practised with *monied Societies*, by giving them some *Bargain*, which may be *more valuable* to Them, and *more detrimental* to the Publick, than *really* and *openly* to give *five, six, or even ten per Cent.* on the Loans.

May not *Tallies*, which carry 3 *l.* per Cent. only in *Appearance*, be disposed of with as much Interest due upon them, as may make the Rate of Interest equal to 4 *l.* or 5 *l.* per Cent. to the Party, who receives them?

As to what he says about *buying Stores on equal or better Terms than any Trader or Society of Men*; it is well known that the *Navy and Victualling Bills* carry an Interest at *five per Cent.* and though the Interest does not commence for the first *six Months*, yet *This* is, and has constantly been, *allowed in the Prices*, which is just the *same* as if it did commence.

He ends, as he began, in a very extraordinary Manner, by telling us, that the *Proprietors of the publick Debts* have, for their *Security* of the Payment of their *Principal*, as well as *Interest*, the *Lands and Manufactures, Trade and Arts of Great Britain*; which is indeed very *true*; but it is at the same time so *melancholy* a Consideration, and so heavy a *Mortgage* on the *Estates and Industry* of every *Briton*, that a prudent Author would have chosen to pass over this Circumstance in Silence, since it can tend only to create *Uneasiness* in the Minds of the People.

I hope none of my Readers will understand any Part of this Letter in any other Sense than as some Observations naturally arising from the *wild and extravagant* Assertions of this Writer; a Liberty, which I shall continue to take, for the Honour of my King,
and

and the Welfare of my Country,, till I am assured that He and his Coadjutors have some particular Privilege to write on these important Subjects, just in what Manner they please, without being molested with any *Answers, Remarks, or Animadversions:*

I am, SFR,

Your humble Servant,

C. N. BRITANNICUS.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

Speedily will be publish'd,

A short and easy Method of acquiring DULNESS; or, the Art of being unintelligible, so as not to be found out by the dearest Friend, or nearest Relation; with proper Rules to damp Imagination, and prevent Elocution. By a Person, who has, for these many Years last past, professed Non-conception, and Difficulty of Utterance; the Whole in a few Words, the Author not being Master of many. To be had only at the Hand and Pen near Whitehall.



N^o 16. *Friday, January 27.*

In HOC SIGNO vinces.



HAVING as yet given the Reader little besides grave Discourses on publick Matters, and foreseeing that, during the Session of Parliament, I shall be obliged to continue daily in the same Track, I am willing to take this one Opportunity of presenting him with something, which has no Relation

at

at all to publick Affairs, but is of a Nature purely amusing, and entirely void of Reflection upon any Person whatsoever.

My Friend *Alvarez* (a Man not unknown to many here, by his frequent Journies to *England*) did some time since make me a Present of a *Persian* Manuscript, which he met with while he follow'd the Fortunes of *Meriweis*. An exact Translation of the first Chapter has been made, at my Request, by the learned Mr. *Solomon Negri*, and is as follows.

The First Vision of Camilick.

IN the Name of God, ever merciful, and of *Haly* his Prophet. I slept in the Plains of *Bagdad*, and I dreamed a Dream. I lifted my Eyes, and I saw a vast Field, pitch'd with the Tents of the mighty, and the strong ones of the Earth in Array of Battle. I observ'd the Arms and Ensigns of either Host. In the Banners of the one were pictur'd a Crown and Sceptre; and upon the Shields of the Soldiers were engraven Scourges, Chains, Iron Maces, Axes, and all kinds of Instruments of Violence. The Standards of the other bore the Crown and Sceptre also; but the Devices on the Shields were the Balance, the Olive Wreath, the Plough-Share, and other emblematical Figures of Justice, Peace, Law, and Liberty. Between these two Armies, I saw a King come forth, and sign a large *Roll of Parchment*; at which loud Shouts of Acclamation were heard from every Quarter. The *Roll* itself flew up into the Air, and appear'd over their Heads, encompassed with Rays of Glory. I observed that where ever the second Army moved, this glorious Apparition attended them; or rather the Army seem'd only to move, as That guided or directed. Soon after, I saw both these Hosts engaged, and the whole Face of the Land overspread with Blood. I saw the King, who had sign'd and broken that *sacred Charter*,

Charter, drink out of a golden Cup, fall into Convulsions, gasp and die.

I then saw another King take his Place; who, in the most solemn Manner, engaged to make the Words contain'd in the *Roll* the Guide of his Actions; but notwithstanding This, I saw both Armies again encounter. I saw the King a Prisoner. I saw his Son relieve him, and I saw the Chiefs of the other Army put to Death. Yet that victorious Son himself bow'd his Head to the *Parchment*; which now appear'd with fuller Lustre than before. Several other Battles ensued, with vast Slaughter on both Sides; during which the *celestial Volume* was sometimes clouded over; but still again exerted its Rays, and after every Cloud appear'd the brighter. I observed those Heroes, who fought beneath it, tho' ever so unfortunate, not once to abate their Courage, while they had the least Glimpse of that heavenly Apparition in their View; and even Those, whom I saw overthrown, pierced with ghastly Wounds, and panting in Death, resign'd their Lives in Smiles, and with Eyes cast up to that glorious Object. At last the long Contention ceased. I beheld both Armies unite and move together under the same divine Influence. I saw one King twelve Times bow down before the bright Phænomenon; which from thence-forward spread a Light over the whole Land; and, descending nearer to the Earth, the Beams of it grew so warm as it approach'd, that the Hearts of the Inhabitants leap'd for Joy. The Face of War was no more. The same Fields, which had so long been the Scene of Death and Desolation, were now cover'd with golden Harvests. The Hills were cloath'd with Sheep. The Woods sung with Gladness. Plenty laugh'd in the Valleys. Industry, Commerce, and Liberty danced hand in hand thro' the Cities.

While I was delighting myself with this amiable Prospect, the Scene entirely changed. The Fields and Armies vanished; and I saw a large and magnificent
Hall,

Hall, resembling the great *Divan* or Council of the Nation. At the upper End of it, under a Canopy, I beheld the *sacred Covenant*, shining as the Sun. The Nobles of the Land were there assembled. They prostrated themselves before it, and they sung an Hymn: *Let the Heart of the King be glad; for his People are happy! May the Light of the Covenant be a Lanthorn to the Feet of the Judges; for by This shall they separate Truth from Falshood. O Innocence rejoyce! for by this Light shalt thou walk in Safety; nor shall the Oppressor take hold on thee. O Justice be exceeding glad! for by this Light all thy Judgments shall be decreed with Wisdom; nor shall any Man say thou hast erred. Let the Hearts of all the People be glad! for This have their Grandfathers died; in This have their Fathers rejoiced; and in This may their Posterity rejoyce evermore!*

Then all the Rulers took a solemn Oath to preserve it inviolate and unchanged, and to sacrifice their Lives and their Fortunes, rather than suffer themselves or their Children to be deprived of so invaluable a Blessing.

After This, I saw another and larger Assembly come forward into the Hall, and join the first. These paid the same Adorations to the *Covenant*; took the same Oath; they sung the same Hymn; and added a solemn Form of Imprecation to this effect. *Let the Words of the Roll be for ever in our Eyes, and graven on our Hearts; and accursed be He, who layeth Hands on the same. Accursed be He, who shall remove this Writing from the People; or who shall hide the Law thereof from the King. Let that Man be cut off from the Earth. Let his Riches be scatter'd as the Dust. Let his Wife be the Wife of the People. Let not his first-born be rank'd among the Nobles. Let his Palaces be destroy'd. Let his Gardens be as a Desert, having no Water. Let his Horses and his Horsemen be overshrown; and let his Dogs devour their Carcasses!*

ses!—In the midst of these Execrations enter'd a Man, dress'd in a plain Habit, with a Purse of Gold in his Hand. He threw himself forward into the Room, in a bluff, ruffianly Manner. A Smile, or rather a Sneer, sat on his Countenance. His Face was bronzed over with a Glare of Confidence. An arch Malignity leer'd in his Eye. Nothing was so extraordinary as the Effect of this Person's Appearance. They no sooner saw him, but They all turn'd their Faces from the Canopy, and fell prostrate before him. He trod over their Backs, without any Ceremony, and march'd directly up to the Throne. He open'd his Purse of Gold; which he took out in Handfuls, and scattered amongst the Assembly. While the greater Part were engaged in scrambling for these Pieces, He seiz'd, to my inexpressible Surprise, without the least Fear, upon the sacred *Parchment* itself. He rump'd it rudely up, and cramm'd it into his Pocket. Some of the People began to murmur. He threw more Gold, and they were pacified. No sooner was the *Parchment* taken away, but in an Instant I saw half the august Assembly in Chains. Nothing was heard thro' the whole Divan, but the Noise of Fetters, and Clank of Irons. I saw Pontiffs in their ecclesiastical Habits, and Senators, clad in Ermine, linked together like the most ignominious Slaves. Terror and Amazement were impressed on every Countenance, except on That of some few, to whom the Man continued dispersing his Gold. This He did, till his Purse became empty. Then He dropt it; but then too, in the very same Moment, He himself dropt with it to the Ground. That and the Date of his Power at once expired. He sunk, and sunk for ever. The radiant *Volume* again rose; again shone out, and reassum'd its Place above the Throne; the Throne, which had been darkened all this Time, was now filled with the Effulgence of the Glory, which darted from it. Every Chain dropp'd off in an Instant. Every Face regained its former Chearfulness.

ness. Heaven and Earth resounded with *Liberty! Liberty!* and the HEART OF THE KING WAS GLAD WITHIN HIM. O.



N^o 17. Monday, January 30.

Speciosa verbis; Re inania aut subdola; quantoque majore Libertatis imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad infensius Servitium. Tac.



It is wonderful to observe the *Vicissitude* and *Revolutions* of all Things. If we look into Nature, the most minute Particles of Matter are in a perpetual Flux, and always passing out of one Form into another. This is beautifully represented by the Antients under the Allegory of * *Proteus*, who could turn himself, according to the Fable, into all Manner of Forms and Shapes, in order to avoid the Importunity of Those, who sought his Advice; by which are signified to us the various Mutations of Matter, and the Folly of Those, who pry too nicely into the Secrets of Nature.

States, Kingdoms, and Empires, are subject to the same *Vicissitudes*; and, like the great Mass of all Things, undergo various *Revolutions* in their Laws, Manners, Policy, and Religion. Those, which, in the preceding Ages, were *free States*, are now sunk into the Dregs of *Slavery*; and others, which formerly groan'd under *Bondage*, have since shaken off their *Servitude*,

* *Vide Sir Francis Bacon's History of the Ancients.*

and enjoy at present the Blessings of *Liberty*. Several Nations, which were of old the most famous for *Learning* and *Politeness*, are now degenerated into *Barbarism* and *Ignorance*; whilst others again, where nothing formerly prevailed but *Savageness* and *Brutality*, are, in our Days, become the most *civilized*, and the greatest Nurseries of *Letters*; so that we may say of Kingdoms, as the Scripture speaks of Mankind, that *They flee as it were a Shadow, and never continue in one Stay*.

The same *Inconstancy* is likewise to be observed in the Opinions of Mankind, and the Practices of different *Parties*; who will be found, upon strict Examination, to shift Sides, and mutually interchange their Measures, together with their Principles, in certain Courses and Revolutions of Years.

Nothing is more evident from the whole Tenour of the New Testament, from the Writings of the primitive Fathers, and the Consent of heathen Antiquity, than that the Christian Faith was first promulgated as a *Gospel of Peace*; and ordained, by its divine Founder, to be propagated only by *Persuasion* and *gentle Methods*, in the same Manner that he had instituted it, and proceeded to propagate it, whilst on Earth; but it is equally certain, that the *Christian Religion* was no sooner established by these gentle Measures, and had brought the *temporal Powers* into its Interest, than her corrupted Followers, elated with Success, began to deviate from the Example and Precepts of their great Master, by turning the Engines of this World against Those, who did not immediately own the Light of the Gospel, and setting up *the Sword of the Flesh*, in Opposition to the *Sword of the Spirit*; which our blessed Lord had appointed to be the only Weapon made use of in the Cause of his Religion.

On the other hand, the Imposture of *Mahomet*, which was first founded in Blood, and propagated by the Weapons of this World, seems to be grown a pa-

cifick Religion, and to support itself by the same Methods, by which *Christianity* was first established. We seldom hear of any Persecutions set on Foot in those Countries on a religious Account; nor do we find in their Histories any great Massacres, Crusades, and consecrated Butcheries committed there, for the Propagation of their Faith, since the first Establishment of it by those Measures; but, on the contrary, They seem to allow of great Liberties in Matters of Religion, and to grant a free Toleration to all Sects of *Christians*, for the Exercise of their Faith, upon no very hard and unreasonable Terms.

In this Respect, therefore, the *Christians* and *Mahometans* seem to have changed Sides; and however They may continue the same in Points of *Faith*, (which perhaps might also be disputed) They certainly run counter to their respective Leaders, and mutually depart from the Examples, which They left them, for the Propagation of their different Faiths. I need not observe on which Side the Advantage lies; nor put the Reader in mind who have changed *for the better*; but shall only take Notice, that all *Christian* Persecutions, as well as every Species and Degree of them, on Account of Religion, are heighten'd with this Aggravation, that they are directly opposite to the plainest *Directions*, as well as the *Example* of our blessed Lord; whereas the Deviation of *Mahometans*, from Force and Severity to Lenity and Moderation, seems to be unattended with any positive Injunction of their Leader to the contrary.

The same *Vicissitudes* may be also traced in *civil Affairs*, and the Conduct of *political Factions*; whose Principles and Opinions will be found to revolve in certain Periods; and, by imperceptible Degrees, fix in opposite Extremes. The Minds of the most rigid Partisans and State-Bigots are subject to the same Revolutions with other Men, and fluctuate from one Opinion to another, in the same Manner that *Matter* appears under

under different Shapes, and passes through a Variety of the most opposite Forms. This is a notorious and undeniable Truth; of which every Man will soon be convinced, who looks narrowly into the Histories of all Countries, and takes a strict Survey of the several *Parties*, which have prevailed in them; of their Professions, Conduct, and the Measures, on which they have proceeded for several Years together, under different Circumstances, and in different Situations, according as They have *prevailed*, or been *overpowered* by opposite Factions.

Of all Nations in the World, the *English* is most remarkable for its Fickleness and Inclination to change. We are always in a Flux of Opinions, and never continue fixed in any long together; which is the Reason that we have undergone so many Shocks, Convulsions, and Vicissitudes in our Constitution; perhaps more than any other People whatsoever. Whether this proceeds from that *Liberty*, which we enjoy beyond other Nations; or from the natural Instability of our *Climate*, (as some have imagined) seems to me a needless Enquiry; but it may not be improper to give a remarkable Instance or two of what I have been speaking.

To go no farther back than the Reign of King *Charles I.*—The two great Factions, which at that Time divided the Kingdom, were the *Puritans* and the *Church-Party*; the former of whom distinguished themselves by their laudable Zeal against the exorbitant Measures of the Court; the Incroachments of the *Prerogative*; and manifold Invasions of the Liberties of the Subject both in *Church* and *State*; of all which Grievances they demanded a Redress, and desired that Matters might be settled on a better Foot for the future. On the other hand, the *Church-Party* or *Royalists* went servilely into the Projects of the Court, and undertook to maintain the Grandeur of the *Prerogative* against

what they called the republican Schemes and Demands of the *Puritans*. But as soon as an End was put to these unhappy Contests by the prevailing Strength of one Party, and the tragical Death of that unfortunate Prince, Things immediately took another Turn. The victorious *Puritans* began to oppress in the same manner with Those, whom they had subdued; and the humbled *Royalists*, in imitation of their old Antagonists, grew very clamorous Advocates for the Rights and Immunities of the People.

At the *Restoration*, the Tables were turned again. The *Royalists*, under the new Denomination of *Cavaliers*, or the *Court-Party*, and afterwards of *Tories*, resumed their old Spirit of exalting the *Prerogative*, when they were again exalted in Power; and the *Puritans*, now called the *Country Party* or *Round-Heads*, and sometime afterwards *Whigs*, became once more the popular Advocates and Sticklers for Liberty.

Since that Time, those two great Bodies have several Times chopp'd about, and reciprocally changed Sides, just as their Leaders have happened to be *in* or *out* of Power.

I believe, it would be no hard Matter to prove, both from History and Reason, that great Numbers of Men, who now flourish in Wealth and Favour, under the gracious Denomination of stanch *Whigs*, would, for the same Actions, have been esteemed ardent *Tories* about *forty* Years ago; and that others are branded with the odious Appellation of *Tories* under this Government, for the *same Practices*, by which the *Whig-Party* made themselves popular in *former Reigns*.

I design, in some future Paper, to present the Reader with a System of *ancient Whiggism*, as it stood in the Reign of King *Charles II.* in Opposition to the System and Measures of the *Tories*; from
whence

whence our *modern Whigs* may judge of their own Likeness to the *Whigs* of those Times, and determine how far They may think it proper to recognize the Principles and Practices of their Predecessors.

In the mean Time, the Reader will draw this Inference from what I have already observed; that it is Time to cast off the Delusions of *Party*, and to be no longer satisfied with NAMES instead of THINGS. Let us act like wise Men; and remember that *Liberty* is the same divine Blessing, whether it be dispensed to us under a *Whig* or a *Tory* Administration; and that *arbitrary Power*, or any Degree of it, cannot alter its Nature; but is equally pernicious, and equally destructive of the *British* Constitution, by whatsoever Hands, or under whatsoever Shapes, it shall be imposed on us. The *Effects* will be equally felt, though the *Means* may be artfully concealed. And it farther deserves our Consideration, that although this Evil is equally mischievous, as to its real Effects, by whomsoever it is obtruded on us; yet it receives some *Aggravation*, and becomes circumstantially *more grievous*, when it is introduced under the *Disguise*, and by the *pretended Champions* of *Liberty*; because, in that Case, the Invasion of our *Rights* is attended with the grossest Affront on our *Understandings*; and we are treated, at the same Time, like *Children*, as well as *Slaves*.

D.





N^o 18. Tuesday, February 7.

* NOVO SPLENDORE resurgit.



IT has been often observed, and particularly in a late famous ENQUIRY, that *Satire is easier than Praise*; which can have no other meaning, than that those Men, on whom *Praise* is commonly bestowed, are, for the most part, so corrupt, and guilty of so many vile and unworthy Actions, that it requires a very nice and masterly Address to form a *Panegyrick* in such a Manner, that the generality of Readers shall not understand the Author in an *ironical Sense*, and take his *unjust Compliments* for *Banter, Grimace, and Ridicule*. When therefore it is said, that *Satire is easier than Praise*, we can only infer, that the *Pravity* of human Nature affords us more *Topicks* for one than for the other; and when we are told, that it is very difficult to bestow *Praise*, it must be understood of those *Panegyrist*s, whose Business it is to varnish over *Vice*, and lavish their *Encomiums* on *unworthy Objects*; for *Pliny* very justly observes, in his excellent *Panegyrick* on that good Prince, whom he celebrates, *that it is an easy Task to return Thanks to one, who deserves them; since as every Man is witness of his Virtues, so no Body can suspect that the Author is not in earnest.*

* This Paper was publish'd after the Suspension of the Craftsman for about a Week; occasion'd by the Taking up of Mr. Amhurst, Mr. Francklin, and other Persons, suppos'd to be concern'd in it.

Merenti.

Merenti Gratias agere facile est, Patres conscripti. Non enim periculum est ne, cum loquar de Humanitate, exprobrari sibi superbiam credat; quum de Frugalitate, Luxuriam; quum de Clementia, Crudelitatem; quum de Liberalitate, Avaritiam; quum de Benignitate, Livorem; quum de Continentia, Libidinem; quum de Labore, Inertiam; quum de Fortitudine, Timorem.

This gives me an Opportunity of discoursing upon *Irony, Innuendoes, and double Meanings*; which, I hope, cannot be thought unseasonable at this Time; when some Persons, push'd on by a mercenary, officious Zeal, without *Knowledge or Judgment*, have endeavour'd to explain my Writings, by these mysterious Methods, into a *Libel upon the Ministry*; are calling upon the *secular Arm* to justify their Absurdities; and, by false Informations, have drawn an *innocent Gentleman* into my Quarrel.

I am confident that every Man will acquit me of such a Design, who knows what *Irony* means; and that it is a *Figure in Rhetorick*, made use of to ridicule any Person, by praising him for Qualities, of which he is known to be destitute, or for the Contraries of which he is remarkable. Thus when a common Strumpet is extoll'd for her Chastity; a Debauchee for his Temperance; or a corrupt Minister of State for his disinterested Love of his Coutry; the *Irony* holds good, and every Body understands the Author's meaning as well as if it had been express'd in the plainest Terms. But where would be the *Irony*, or the *Satire*, in calling *Lucretia* chaste, *Cæsar* valiant, or *Cato* just? — Would not the World believe such a Man *in earnest*; or laugh at his *Folly and Impotence*? — It could not therefore be my Design, in any of the preceding Papers, to asperse the *present Administration*, in an ironical Manner, without being guilty of so great a Weakness as to imagine, that I could impose Characters upon the World, of which

Those

Those Gentlemen are a living and exemplary Confutation.

I am sure my Writings do not give the least Handle for such an Imputation. I am ready to *enter the Lists* with any of my Enemies upon this occasion. Nay, I will DEFY *the worst of them* to stand forth, and produce one Passage, where the Name of any Man in Power is mentioned with the least shew of Disrespect. But if they will charge me with *double Meanings* and *Designs*, which my Soul abhors; if they will apply anonymous, ill Characters to their *Patrons*; and, when any general Strokes of Satire occur, will cry, This is all aim'd at * * * * * or * * * * * or * * * * * I hope I shall not be answerable (at least in the Opinion of those *honourable Gentlemen*) for the Malice or Ignorance of such Interpreters.

I suppose it will be granted, that there have been and, perhaps, that there still are some *wicked, ignorant and corrupt Men*, who have met with undeserved Preferment in *Great-Britain*, as well as in other Countries; which however ought to be no Reproach upon any Government; because it is what the best Management, Care and Circumspection cannot always prevent. The Land of *Liberty*, the Seat of *Learning*, the Nursery of *Heroes*, the Favourite of Heaven, even this now *happy and envied Nation* (as the Author of the *Enquiry* very justly calls it) is not exempt from *worthless and mischievous Members*, whose *Principles and Practices*, if not defeated, tend to its Destruction. ——— Against *These* I have drawn my Pen; and against *These only*. What is there in all This, to fix upon me the severe Imputation of reflecting upon *great, powerful and virtuous Men*? ——— Many bitter Things have I uttered, from the unfeigned Indignation of my Heart, against *ambitious, corrupt Statesmen; tyrannical Officers; and treache-*

rous Guardians of popular Liberty; against unjust Stewards, Embezzlers, or Squanderers of publick Money; against Stockjobbers, Plunderers and ENCROSSERS; against Men, who have too much Cunning in Office, and Men, who have too little; against State Harpies and political Blunderers. —

Can any Body, without the most apparent Folly or Impudence, calls this a *Libel* upon the *Ministry*; who are all just Stewards; gracious Magistrates; uncorrupt Administrators of publick Money; endued with a proper Mixture of the *Serpent*, and the *Innocence* of the *Dove*; and, in every Part of their Characters, quite the contrary to what I have endeavoured to expose?

Let Those therefore, who truly deserve it, bear their Displeasure; Those, who, by explaining innocent Meanings into Scandal, and by drawing imaginary Parallels, have prostituted their great Names in the Mouths of Libertines and Buffoons.

The Reader will observe, from what I have already said, that my present Design is to wipe off a false Accusation, which might do my Character a great deal of Prejudice, and not to bedaub them with nauseous Panegyrick, *which cannot possibly do their Reputation any Good.*

Thus much I thought necessary to speak on the present Occasion; though I am sensible that some Persons would have chosen to be silent; but I had rather, at any Time, do a just Thing, than a popular or profitable one; and when I lie under the least Imputation of having injured any worthy Gentlemen in their Reputation, especially my Superiors, I think my self obliged, in Duty both to them and my self, to remove all Grounds of such a Suspicion, and stop the Influence it may have upon weak Minds.

I flatter my self that I have sufficiently done This; and that, for the future, no great Man will be prevailed on to entertain an ill Opinion of me, by the false Representation of any mischief-making Persons,
who

who (I am well convinced) will spare no Pains to create a Misunderstanding between us.

All that I can add more upon this Head is, that as I always had an Esteem for *Men in Authority*, suitable to their Merit; so I will let slip no Opportunities of displaying it to the World by the most publick and open Marks of Respect and Veneration.

Primâ dicte mibi, summâ dicende Camcênâ.

Having cleared my Way thus far, methinks I find my self wonderfully easy in my Conscience, and in a Disposition to proceed with great Chearfulness and Alacrity in the Prosecution of this Undertaking.

I design, in a short Time, to consider the Case of *Irony* and *Innuendoes* in a *judicial* Light; and how far a *forced, distant, or inverted* Construction of any Sentence is consistent with common *Equity* and the *Liberties* of this Nation, when a *plain, natural and obvious* Meaning is ready at Hand.

In the mean Time, the Publick will give me leave to assure them, that, as long as the *Liberty of the Press* flourishes in any Degree; of which we have no Reason to doubt under this most excellent Administration; as long as the *Habeas Corpus* Act remains *unrepealed* or *unsuspended*; the *former* of which, I hope, will never come to pass; and I can see no Occasion, at present, for the latter; as long as there is one *Printer, Bookseller or Publisher* in *London or Westminster*, who shall not be intimidated to proceed in this Undertaking; I am resolved not to desist, till I have compleated my Design; and if, through any want of Skill in Language, and Unhappiness in Style; or by the *Querks, Subtleties, and nice Distinctions* of *State-Lawyers*, I should be understood in any Sense contrary to my own Meaning, as well as to the *Laws*; I shall readily submit to any *Hardships*, which I may suffer on that Account, and close this dark Evening of a long and laborious Life, but ill-requited for all my
past-

past-endavour'd Services, by giving up myself as a Sacrifice to the Resentments of Power, Pride and Ambition ; contenting myself with this Reflection, that I have always pursued what I thought the true Interest of his sacred Majesty King GEORGE, his illustrious Royal Family, and the Welfare of GREAT BRITAIN.

D.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

In a short Time will be publish'd,

A New METHOD of CONTROVERSY; Or, An easy Way of SHORTNING Debates, by allowing only one Side to publish their Thoughts. Printed for T. W. in Pater-noster Row. By whom will be likewise published at the same Time,

The MONITOR Extraordinary; containing some FARTHER Reasons for abolishing the Liberty of the Press; in which the Arguments of all the WHIG Writers, ancient and modern, on this Subject, will be entirely confuted.



Friday,



N° 19. Friday, February 10.

*Si Te Propositi nondum pudet, atque eadem est mens,
 Ut bona summa putes alienâ vivere quadrâ;
 Si potes illa pati, quæ nec Sarmentus iniquas
 Cæsaris ad mensas, nec vilis Gabba tulisset,
 Quamvis jurato metuam Tibi credere Testi. Juv.*



Nothing can administer more Relief from the Pain, which Those of a generous Mind feel, upon seeing worthless Tools advanced and preferred to Men of real Merit, than the fordid Dependance and vile Subserviency, to which they are obliged to submit. When a Wretch, without Merit or Parts, finds Favour in the Eyes of a *great Man*, and is taken into his Service, he must become an absolute Creature to his Will, and stick at nothing to carry on his Designs; for it was on this Account only, that he was promoted above Men of Virtue and Understanding. He must assert Falshoods, maintain Absurdities, and reconcile Contradictions. He must be a Pimp, a Parasite, and a Buffoon, as Occasion requires. He must jump over Sticks, and lick up the Spittle of his Master. He must lie, swear, suborn and betray. He must have no Opinions nor Conscience of his own. His Passions and Appetites must be always under Command; and his Heart and his Tongue move only by Direction. In short, he must be as mechanical as a *Clock* or a *Puppet*; acquiring That by *Habit*, which is *Necessity* in them; but above all, he must be constantly

ly ready at a dirty Job, and take it as a particular Honour to be concern'd in Actions, which deserve the Gallows. Nay, he will sometimes find himself obliged to mortify a corrupt Heart, and thwart a mischievous Disposition, by being employ'd in the Cause of Truth, Virtue, Honesty and Justice, whenever they happen to strike in with the Views and Interest of his *noble Patron*.

It is very pleasant to observe the Conduct of *these Men*, when they have a bad Cause to palliate, or some necessary Falshood to defend; to see how the poor Creatures are forced to shuffle, evade and prevaricate; how they will bob, turn and double like an hunted Hare, till they are driven to the last wretched Shifts of appealing to *Authority*, and making it *Treason* to dispute or expose their Absurdities; tho' at the same Time (which makes it still more diverting) they generally assure us that, as for themselves, they are perfectly *unprejudiced*, and speak without any Attachment to *Parties* or *Persons*.

If you ask their Opinion of any *publick Transaction*, or of a *new Book*, which has any Thing of a political Nature interspers'd in it, they will either totally decline any Answer, till they have a proper Cue given them; or hæsitare, shrug up their Shoulders and demur. If you press them farther, they will look round them very circumspectly on every Side, to see that no suspicious Person is near, who may happen to catch an unwary Word out of their Mouths, and carry it to their *Masters*. If They find that the Coast is clear, perhaps they will vouchsafe to favour you with a tedious, long-winded Period, in the Form of an Answer, dropt out by Piece-meal, Word after Word, in the most cautious and deliberate Manner; keeping up your Attention with broken Sentences, Suppositions, and dark Intimations, fill'd up with wise Nods, Winks, and political Grimaces, for half an Hour together; and, at length, leaving you to conclude, either that

they *understand nothing of the Matter*, or else dare not trust you with their *real Opinion*.

I stepped, one Day last Week, into a Coffee-house near *Covent-Garden*; where I found a Knot of these abject Creatures in dispute with another Set of Men, who seem'd to be more disinterested. Their Discourse turn'd on a *certain worthy Gentleman*, who had very much encumber'd his Estate by several vexatious *Lawsuits*, and the bad Management of his *principal Servants*.

Both Parties professed an equal Respect for him; but one of Those, who seem'd to be most heartily and truly his Friends, began to bewail his Circumstances, and hoped that the Experience of his past Conduct would induce him to retrench his *Expences*; to live more *neighbourly*; and endeavour by *Frugality* to recover his Affairs.—To which one of the *Creatures* reply'd, with some Vehemence, that he was of a different Opinion, and thought the best way for his Friend to *get out of Debt*, was to borrow *more Money*; live just in the *same Manner*; keep the *same Servants*; and go to *Law* with every Man, who gave him the least Provocation.—The Company began to stare at This; upon which, said he, I know, Gentlemen, that this Assertion may seem somewhat odd to those Persons, who are not thoroughly acquainted with these Subjects, and have not accustomed themselves to this Manner of Reasoning; but I will undertake to demonstrate the Justness of it to the meanest Capacity; whereupon he call'd for a Pen and Ink, and scrawl'd over a Sheet of Paper, with Figures, Schemes, and Calculations; by which means he puzzled the Understandings of the Company in so masterly a Manner, that his Opponents were obliged to give up the Point, and drop the Dispute.

This made him proceed with more Freedom and Alacrity, by assuring us that it was undeniably a great Advantage to any Gentleman to be in debt, and mortgage

gige his Estate; because, said he, it keeps those Persons, who *lend* the Money, in a constant Dependence on him, who *borrow*s it; and strengthens the *Title* to his Estate, by lodging his Securities in *other Hands*.

The same Gentleman was pleas'd to observe, that the Practice of STOCK-JOBING, as it seems to be established in this Kingdom, was one of the greatest Blessings, which a Nation can enjoy; as it makes Money *circulate*, by confining it to a *few Hands*; encourages *Trade*; promotes *Industry*; and is of great Advantage to the *woollen Manufacture*.

He told us farther, that the best Form of Government in the World is That, where the most *absolute* and *unlimited Confidence* is reposed, not in the *Prince* himself (which has been a common Error in Politicks) but in his *Ministers*; and he did not scruple to assert that *England* always prosper'd most, and made the greatest Figure under those Reigns, in which the PRIME-MINISTERS have been known to preside over their SOVEREIGNS.

I was quite thunder-struck with such extraordinary Maxims, and went away full of Admiration of our northern MACHIAVEL.

Now I am upon this Subject, I must not forget to take Notice with what great Dexterity these Gentlemen can invert their Opinions, and chop about with every Breath of State-Wind; for it is one of the main Branches of their Duty, not only to *say any thing* to serve a Turn; but likewise, if it be found expedient, to *unsay* it again and maintain the other side of the Question, with equal Confidence and Vigour; a Part, which I have often had the Pleasure to see them act, with the utmost Facility, and without any Marks of Shame or Remorse.

I need not go far back for Instances of This. Almost every Body can remember the Time, when an Alliance between *Britain* and *France* was represented, by *certain Gentlemen*, as the most unnatural Conjunction

tion in the World. It cannot be forgot what Pains were taken to demonstrate This from the very *Climate* and *Situation* of the Country; from the *Genius*, *Manners*, *Trade*, and *Manufactures* of the People; but, above all, from that *old, innate, hereditary Enmity*, which they have been found to bear to this Nation. Nay, they went so far as to brand them by wholesale as a profligate Race of Men, who were incapable of *Friendship* and *Fidelity* to any of their Neighbours. The *bona fides* of *France* was become as proverbial as the *Punick Faith* of old, and esteemed a sort of Paradox in Politicks; infomuch, that it was judg'd unsafe to put any Confidence in their most solemn Assurances. I could not, at that Time, approve of such general Reproaches on a brave and great Kingdom, which I looked on as too violent and partial; and I bless God for sparing my Life so long, as to see these zealous Patriots convinced of their Mistake, and fully satisfy'd that the *French* Nation is capable of being a true and faithful Ally to *Great Britain*.

But we may still bring this Affair much nearer to the present Times—What was more talk'd of, about a Year ago, than the formidable Strength of the King of *Prussia*? We were told, by some Persons, that he had such a numerous and powerful Army on Foot; so well officer'd and disciplin'd; that he was almost *singly* able to meet the *Emperor* in the Field?—What his Majesty of *Prussia* has done since to forfeit the good Opinion of these Gentlemen, I know not; but it is plain that their Language is strangely alter'd of late. Indeed they still own that he has a *large Army*; but then it is chiefly compos'd of *forced Men*; is so *ill paid*; and there is such Danger of their *revolting*, that his Assistance is now scarce worth our Acceptance.

On the other hand, *Gibraltar* seem'd to lose Ground, at the same Time that his *Prussian* Majesty flourish'd in their Esteem; for it is well known *who* were industrious, about a Year ago, in representing that Fortresses,

trials, especially in the City, of much *less Importance* than it was generally esteem'd; but now Things are quite alter'd. The King of *Prussia* is grown *inconsiderable*; and *Gibraltar* is thought of the *utmost Consequence* to *Great Britain*.

The same almost may be said of the *Ostend Trade*; which has been alternately represented as a Matter of *very great* and of *no Importance*, at different Times, for some Years past. It is certain that, at one Time, *ten thousand Pounds* was esteem'd too high a Purchase of it. But, I think, the Abolition of it is now generally allow'd to be of *very great Importance*—to the *East-India Company*.

Before I conclude, it is proper to observe, that these time-serving Wretches form all their Notions of Mankind, according as they are *in* or *out* of Favour with their Patrons. For this Reason, it is no uncommon Thing to hear a Man extoll'd in their Discourses as an *Angel* one Day, and degraded into a *Dæmon* the next. Not only his *Probity*, but his *Abilities* also, which were before universally acknowledged, shall immediately lessen in their Eyes, and shrink up like a *Gourd*, as soon as the Influence of the Court Sun is withdrawn from them. Experience every Day gives us sufficient Proof of This; which is so true, that I remember, about six Years ago, I happened to be in a publick Coffee-house, where I heard one of the *greatest Orators* of the Age, who was at that Time under a little Cloud, represented, with the general Approbation of the Company, as a *mere Babler*.

It is farther observable, that when any Person, from a true Zeal for his King and Country, thinks himself obliged to oppose the wicked Views of *great Men*, these abandoned Prostitutes are always ready with the cry of *Disaffection*, *ill Designs*, *Change of Principles*, *Disappointments* and *Revenge*; which they would have regarded as a full Answer to the strongest Rea-

sons and Representations ; for judging of others by their own sordid Views, they think it impossible for any Man to be actuated by any other Principles than *Self-Interest*, *Ambition* or *Resentment*.

By these Means they hope to discountenance *Truth*, and bring *Publick-spiritedness* and *Patriotism* into contempt-

But such kind of Reproaches come very awkwardly out of *their Mouths* at present ; since they were so lately confuted by the Practice and Example of ONE, (whose Authority, with *Them* at least, is undisputed) who, within the Memory of almost every Child, did himself take the Liberty to dissent from his Superiors, in the most publick, violent, and (I might say) outrageous Manner ; and, speaking, at that Time, like a *Country Gentleman*, exclaim'd very loudly against such Reflections as *unjust*, *unparliamentary*, and tending only to establish an *absolute Dependance* on the COURT.

What I have said, on this Head, can only relate to *bad Ministers* and *unworthy Dependants* ; for a *great Man*, who has nothing but the Good of his Country at Heart, has no Occasion for such *Tools*, and would scorn to make use of them ; from whence it is natural to infer, that we may, at any Time, in a great Measure, judge of the *Designs* of *Statesmen* from the *Favourites* they chuse, and the *Instruments* they employ.

D.



Monday,



N^o 20. *Monday, February 13.*

*Ploravere suis non respondere Favorem
Speratum meritis.* HOR.



S. it is very melancholy to consider the great *Decay of Learning*, which is, at present, universally complain'd of ; so nothing can be more provoking, than to hear the sorry *Excuse*, which is made for it, by imputing it to *want of Encouragement* ; a Pretence so false and idle, that it can proceed from nothing but the *Unwillingness* of all Men to acknowledge their own *Deficiencies* ; which makes them apologize, in this ridiculous Manner, for the present *Dearth of Wit and Learning*, by the pretended want of *Patronage and Favour*.

They endeavour to impose this Assertion upon us for Truth, by telling us that *polite Literature* is a tender sort of Plant, which shoots up and flourishes, whilst it feels the warm, enlivening Beams of the Sun ; but pines, languishes and dies, when it is left in the Shade.

Now, though This should be admitted to be true, as much as it contradicts an old Maxim, that *Wits are always born so* ; yet the Inference, which they draw from it, in Defence of our modern *Dulness and Stupidity*, is so notoriously false and unjust, that nothing but the great Regard, which I have for some Men in Power, could induce me to confute it in this publick Manner.

Indeed, for my part, I am fully against the *old Proverb*, and firmly believe that the Smiles and Fa-
 your

your of a Court tend as naturally to promote Learning, and excite the Industry of Mankind in cultivating their Parts, as the Influence of the Sun does to ripen and improve the Fruits of the Earth. As ridiculous as This may seem to some People, yet Those, who have had as much Experience as my self, and have made the same Observations, which I have done, will find that it generally holds true. For this Reason, it is my Opinion, that nothing can be a greater Encouragement to useful Learning of all Kinds, than to see Men of great Abilities and liberal Understandings placed at the Head of Affairs, in all the great Employments of the Kingdom; who, to shew their own good Sense, will fill up the inferiour Offices, which are in their disposal, with Persons of known Ability, Merit and Service; and always prefer such a Man to one, who comes to them with no Qualifications or Pretensions whatsoever, unless it be a round Sum of Money, or the Interest of some near Relation, who is perhaps as worthless a Tool as himself,

WHEN Things are seen to go on in this Manner, it spreads an Air of Chearfulness and Satisfaction over the Face of a Kingdom; gives Life and Vigour to the Industry of its Inhabitants; and quickens the Application of all Those, who have no other Way to distinguish themselves in their Country, than by Worth, Capacity, and Knowledge.

And though, even under such a just and impartial Distribution of national Favours, some would be still left to repine under Disappointments and fancy'd Neglect, because no Government is large enough to satisfy the Necessities and Expectations of all; yet it would, in a great Measure, silence their Murmurings and Complaints, when they saw this Method observed, of always having a Regard to Merit, and could not object that *Fools* or *undeserving Creatures* were advanced above Them.

Whereas,

Whereas, when the contrary Method prevails ; when no Regard is had, in the Disposition of Offices and Favours, to the *Fitness* or *Unfitness* of Men ; when Ability, Merit, and former Services are of no Weight in the Scale ; when all useful Arts and Sciences are held in Contempt ; when the Muses pine in Obscurity, and Learning is look'd on as a Disqualification, rather than a valuable Endowment ; when, in short, the Favours of *great Men* are heaped only on Themselves, their own Relations and immediate Dependants ; when all Places of Trust, Honour, and Profit center in *two* or *three Families* at most ; when Pensions, Presents, Grants, Patents and Reversions are either *sold* or *engross'd* ; and every thing runs in the same foul Channel of *Corruption* and *Self-Interest* ; then, I say, Men of Merit and Ability have just Reason to complain, remonstrate and protest ; and it is ridiculous to expect that Arts, Wit or Learning should flourish, in any Degree, under such a rapacious, selfish and usurious Administration.

I have formerly seen something too much like This in *England* ; but, I bless God, That melancholy *past Prospect* is now vanished ; and we have the particular Happiness to live under an *Administration*, which is not only composed of the *ablest Heads*, and most *uncorrupt Hearts* in the Kingdom, but hath also been constantly observed to shower down their Favours on those Persons only, who possess the same excellent Talents and Dispositions with themselves. Ignorance and Insufficiency, joined with a sordid, complying Spirit, are no Recommendations in these halcyon and truly *golden Days* ; but Probity, Capacity, Knowledge and Learning are, of themselves, the best Pretensions ; and *Merit*, of any Kind, is the certain forerunner of *Notice* and *Distinction*.

Let the most inveterate Malecontent, the most malignant Observer of our present Happiness, look carefully into the *CHURCH*, and take a strict Survey of all

all our late *ecclesiastical Promotions*; whether they be of the right reverend Fathers the BISHOPS, or of other inferiour Pastors and Curates. Let him, with the same strict Eye, review our *civil Offices*, where the Business of the STATE is more immediately transacted; and I will defy him, with all his Spleen, Disappointments and Prejudices about him, to instance by Name one individual Person, of either sort, who does not seem, as it were, cull'd and selected from the whole Nation, as the most *proper* Man to execute and adorn his respective Function or Employment.

Let him afterwards turn his Eye to the Commonwealth of *Letters*; and I will challenge him, with the same Confidence, to instance any Period of Time, when *Wit* and *polite Literature* were more openly and amply encouraged than at present; not excepting even the two famous Reigns of *Augustus* and *Louis le grand*. How many *Men of Wit* could I mention, who have been lately advanced to Posts of great Profit and Honour? What a multitude of generous Presents, Pensions, and Stipends could I enumerate, if I thought it agreeable to the Modesty of the Donors? Methinks I behold a *Mecænas*, a *Pollio*, a *Somers*, or an *Halifax* in almost every great Family. But how am I struck with Raptures, when I cast my Eyes on HIM, who sits at the Helm, and does not disdain to patronize the *Muses*, at the same Time that he supports and adorns the *State*? Let his *own immortal Poet*, who is himself a Witness and Partaker of his Munificence, sing his Praise, to which I find myself unequal.

*The Streams of Royal Bounty, turn'd by THEE,
Refresh the dry Domains of Poesy.*

This Complaint, therefore, of want of Encouragement, is so ridiculous and unreasonable, that it can proceed only from a few little *Wit-wou'ds*, *Sciologists*
and

and *Poetasters*; who, not having Merit enough to distinguish themselves, have recourse to this poor Refuge, and are willing to screen their own Incapacities under so plausible a Pretence; for the *want of Encouragement* to real Wit and Learning is so far from having any Foundation in Truth, that we have, for some Years past, seen the greatest Encouragement given to the Sound only, the Shadow, and the Echo of them. What squeezing and crowding have there been at the Raree-shews of *Harlequin* and *Scaramouch*; at the Entertainments of *Madam Violante*, her *Tumblers* and *Rope-dancers*; at the strange Tricks of *Posture-masters* and *High German Artists*; besides some *other Diversions*, which I chuse not to mention? Nay, I am told, that we may soon expect a new Sett of Comœdians from *Lapland*; who are coming hither, under great Protection, to divert the Nobility and Gentry of this happy Kingdom; and will, it is said, excel every Thing, which was ever yet seen on the *British Stage*.

This is a sufficient Demonstration to me, that there will be no *Encouragement* wanting to Men of *Wit* and *Learning*, when I see most of the greatest Personages in the Nation hugging and caressing the dull Apes and Mimicks of them, in so extraordinary a Manner.

I hope these dissatisfy'd, repining Spirits will at least allow that, however other Parts of Learning may have been neglected and despised, yet no *Encouragement* has been wanting to *satirical Writings*; and if they do not soon produce some excellent Pieces of *this Kind*, I think they will be fairly left without any Excuse, and I shall be willing to give them up to all the Severity of the Patrons of the *Ancients*.

Indeed, we have had some very good Specimens of this sort of Writing already published; *one* of which seems to lash Mankind in too severe and general a Manner. However, as there is a great deal of *Wit* in that Book; so I am sorry to say, for the Sake of human

human Nature in general, and of my own Country in particular, that, I am afraid, there is *too much Truth in it.*

I heartily wish that all Books of *this Kind* may have their Effect, as far as it is for the Interest of this Kingdom; and I doubt not that they will convince *some Gentlemen* of the fond Mistake, which they seem to have long entertain'd, and of the Truth of my Lord Shaftsbury's Observation, *viz. That if Writers are of no Consequence to the Publick, it must be their own Fault.* A.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

Just Publish'd,

An ENQUIRY into the Reasons of the Conduct of a certain Author, with relation to the present State of Affairs in Europe.

Printed in the same Size with a former ENQUIRY, in order to be bound up with it.

—— quid non mortalia pectora cogis
AURI sacra fames?

To be sold by T. W. in Pater-noster-row; of whom may be had, just publish'd,

Itinerarium Theologicum; Or, An exact Computation of the DISTANCE between BANGOR and SALISBURY; and from thence to WINCHESTER and DURHAM. Actually survey'd and measur'd. With some Reasons offer'd to shew that HEREFORD lies out of the Way. And also an Account of all the dirty Roads and bad Passages from one Place to another.

Fabula quanta fui? ——

N^o 21. *Friday, February 17.*

*Curse on his Virtues! They have undone his Country.
Such popular Humanity is Treason.* CATO.



*P*opular Affection, when justly obtained, (that is, by truly promoting the Interest of the People) is the highest Honour, which a Mortal can enjoy, and one of the surest Marks of publick Felicity; for when a Man possesses the general Love of any Community, it is natural to infer that the Community esteem him their general Benefactor; and certainly no Respect, Honours or Reward, which the People can bestow, are too great to testify their Gratitude to Him, who approves himself worthy of that Character.

Popularity therefore, in this Sense, on this Foundation, and under these Restrictions, is due to every *true Patriot* (a Character, indeed, somewhat scarce!) and is a good presumptive Proof of the Happiness of that Nation, under which it is obtained. But this desirable Blessing is so often acquired by false Means, bestowed on worthless Objects, and apply'd to bad Ends, that an honest *Briton* cannot be too cautious on whom he confers it, nor how he is influenced by it, when conferr'd by others. The vulgar Multitude judge honestly of publick Affairs, as far as they come within their Knowledge; and, having no Hopes of sharing in the Administration themselves, desire only to live quietly and easily, in the free Enjoyment of what they daily earn; incumbered with as few Taxes and Drawbacks, as the real Necessities of the Pub-

Jick will admit. For this Reason they always respect, and, in a manner, venerate Those, who seem to consult their Interest, and endeavour to preserve them in the secure Possession of their Rights and Privileges. But they are so liable to be imposed on by false Shews, and artful Pretences, that we are not always to look upon their Favour as the Badge of real Patriotism, and a truly publick Spirit; for, on the contrary, we shall find that it is too often acquired by sinister Methods, in order to carry on some crafty and pernicious Design. The wisest and best constituted Governments of old (especially the famous Republicks of *Greece* and *Rome*) were so sensible of This, that it was made criminal for any of their Members to affect uncommon *Popularity*, and conciliate too much the Minds of their Fellow-subjects. Accordingly we find, in their Histories, several Instances of the most eminent Patriots, who were banished, and otherwise treated as Enemies to their Country, only for rendring themselves too much beloved by general Largeesses and Donations, or other extraordinary Acts of publick Beneficence; for which Severities those Nations have been often reproached, by succeeding Ages, with Injustice, Barbarity, and Ingratitude; but if we examine their Conduct, in this Particular, with Candour and Impartiality, I believe we shall find that they acted a very prudent and commendable Part. They seemed to judge very rightly of human Nature. They knew the Temptations of *Power*, and how *Popularity* is apt to turn the wisest Heads, and corrupt the purest Hearts; for which Reason, they thought it impolitic to let the most deserving of their Fellow-subjects possess a Power, which he might turn against them, or trust their Liberties to the private Virtue and Integrity of any Man whatsoever.

Indeed, the Histories of all Nations, as well as of theirs, abound with so many Instances, in which the Favour of the People has been most traiterously abused

fed and perverted to wicked Purposes, that, to a serious and thoughtful Mind, their Conduct stands in need of no Justification; for whenever we read of any great professed Patriot, who falls under signal Disgrace or Punishment, on Account of his popular Interest and Esteem, though acquired by the justest Methods, we ought not to interpret it as proceeding from any ill Will to Virtue or publick Good; but as the Effect of political Precaution, and of the Jealousy of a wise People for their ancient Rights and Liberties.

But there is another sort of *Popularity*, which is infinitely more dangerous than what I have been speaking of, and has been more studied, in these latter Ages, by ambitious and designing Men. I mean *Popularity* among the *chief Persons* of any Nation; which becomes still more dangerous and vile, when it is cultivated by *venal* and *corrupt Methods*. This is indeed the most comprehensive Method of becoming *popular*, as it saves abundance of Trouble in cajoling the Affections of the Vulgar, and stooping to a thousand little pleasing Arts, to which some modern great Spirits do not care to submit.

A Man, who sets up for a diffusive and universal Love of the People, must put himself under several uneasy Restraints in his Behaviour, and guide every Action of his Life with the utmost Caution, Tenderness, and Circumspection. He must be courteous, affable and generous; must submit to the wayward Tempers of a fickle Multitude, and adapt himself to every Character. He must be *all Things to all Men*, and humour them in all their various Appetites, different Views, and fantastical Opinions. He must humble himself to the Pride of the lofty; consult the Interest of the avaritious; and conform to the Intemperance of the Libertine. He must drink or pray, whore or cant, be a Saint or a Sinner, just as

his Company shall please to prescribe, or set him an Example.

Whereas a Man, who is Master of the other compendious Method, and has it in his Power to put it in Practice, will find no Occasion to study the Inclinations of the People, nor even so much as pretend to a Zeal for their Interest. He knows a much shorter Way to compass his Designs, by bringing over a whole *Borough*, a *City*, or a *County* at once into his Interest; and obtaining, by these Means, the general Assent of the Nation to his own ambitious Designs. He becomes, in this Sense, very *popular*, at the same Time that he is universally *odious*, and retains the *Vox Populi* on his Side, in spite of their Teeth.

Nor is it at all difficult to accomplish such a Design, in a vicious and depraved Age, when Profuseness, Extravagance, and a general Spirit of Libertinism grow predominant in any Nation; especially among Persons of a superiour Rank, who are intrusted with the Rights and Liberties of the People; for when once Luxury has fix'd a deep Root in their Minds, it will soon get the better of their noble Faculties. It will emasculate, soften and melt down all those stubborn Virtues, which are the natural Effects of Temperance and Frugality; the Consequence of which is, that a Man thus debauched and effeminated will, in order to support himself in the same vicious Manner, fall into any Measures, which are dictated to him with a Prospect of Advantage, and sacrifice the most valuable Rights of his Country for a fashionable Town-house, a splendid Equipage and an elegant Table.

But as it is very easy for any Man in Power to acquire this sort of *popular Affection*; so it is hardly possible to withstand its Influence, or disappoint its Designs.

There are some Hopes that a Man, who arrives at *Popularity*, by Courteousness, Affability, and a munificent

nificent Spirit, may really be in earnest, and exert these amiable Virtues from a natural good Disposition, and without any private View ; for it is possible, at least, even in this Age, that a disinterested Zeal for the publick Good may be the prevailing Passion in some Breasts ; and that there may still exist a few particular Men, in whom the innate Love of their Country remains uncorrupted with any sordid and mercenary Considerations. There may be others, who, though they have not the same noble and sincere Affection for the Publick, yet are fond of *Popularity*, for the sake of *Popularity*, and find their Ambition sufficiently gratify'd by the Shouts and Acclamations of a numerous Multitude. Nay, even supposing that a Man endeavours to insinuate himself into the *popular Favour*, with a bad Design ; yet, if he does not attempt it by corrupting the *Leaders* and *Guardians* of the People, the Danger to the Publick is not very great ; for it is impossible for the craftiest Brain to impose very long on the Majority of a Nation. He may, for some Time, reign in Esteem, and trapan the Affections of his Countrymen by plausible Pretences, artful Declarations, and a seeming Concern for their Service ; but when his latent Designs appear, (as at length they must) the People will withdraw their Affections ; his general *Popularity* will be turn'd into a general *Odium* ; and he will feel the Resentments and Indignation of Those, whose Favour he has abused.

But the Case is quite otherwise with Those, who make themselves popular by *venal* and *corrupt* Methods. *Money*, the Root of all Evil, is also the strongest *Cement* in the World. It binds together Persons of the most opposite Complexions, and is a more lasting Tie than Honour, Friendship, Relation, Consanguinity or Unity of Affections. When any Person therefore takes an annual or other Salary for giving his Opinion that *black* is *white*, it is in vain

for us to endeavour to convince him of the contrary. Persuasion to such a Man is of no effect, and Reasoning is thrown away upon him. The strongest Arguments leave no Impression on his Mind, and the clearest Truth has no Charms in his Eyes. He is enlisted in the Service of his Patron, and must always fight on that Side, let the Cause be what it will, from which he receives his Pay. It is ridiculous to talk of *Right* to a Man, who is præ-engaged, and hired to judge *wrong*; or to argue about Justice, Conscience, and Equity with one, who has tasted the Sweets of acting upon different Principles.

It is a Labour more difficult than any, which *Hercules* overcame, to prove that there is any inherent Malignity in a *good Place*; or that any Actions can be unjust, or any Arguments invalid, which are supported and enforced with the Rhetorick of a *thousand Pounds a Year*.

Ambitious and ill-designing Men, in former Ages, were not ignorant of This. They knew how precarious, as well as troublesome, that sort of *Popularity* is, which subsists only upon the Foundation of worthy Actions; and how permanent That, which is established upon Self-interest, Bribery and Subornation.

Tacitus informs us, that *Augustus* paved his Way to Dominion by these Methods; for having laid aside the Title of *Triumvir*, and taking upon himself only the Character of *Consul*, under a specious Pretence that he had nothing at Heart but the good of the People (whose Favour he at first cultivated by several generous Actions,) He grew *insolent* by Degrees, and at length engrafted the whole Power of the Empire into his own Hands—*Insurgere paulatim; munia senatus, magistratum, legum in se trahere, nullo adversante; cum ferocissimi per acies aut proscriptione cecidissent; cæteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus & honoribus extollerentur; ac novis ex rebus aucti, tuta & præsentia, quam vetera & periculosa mallet. Neque*

que provinciæ illum rerum statum abnuebant, suspecto senatûs, populique imperio ob certamina potentium & avaritiam magistratum; invalido legum auxilio, quæ vi, ambitu, postremo PECUNIA turbabantur.

We had, not many Years ago, an Instance amongst ourselves of a *great Man*, who supported himself in Power, for several Years together, by the same Methods; the most shining Part of whose Character consisted in an easy, insinuating Address, and his skilful Management of *popular Assemblies*. He was particularly famous for a certain happy Talent at finding out the *weak Sides* of Mankind, and his Dexterity in applying a *Bribe*; for having been used to take Money himself, in a *corrupt Manner*, before he was in Power, he knew by Experience the most *genteel* and *agreeable* Method of offering it to others. But History informs us that, notwithstanding the Assistance of immense Sums of *Money*, which procured him great Veneration in a *certain Place*, whilst living; yet his Death occasioned a general Joy, even among some of his most abandoned Creatures (who, at length, grew weary of his Yoke) and the Memory of his Name and Actions hath been ever since held in universal Abhorrence.

A.



Monday,



N^o 22. Monday, February 20.

— Dii talem terris avertite Pestem ! Virg.



S there must be, in all well-regulated States, a Variety of Officers, in a due Subordination one to another, for the Management and carrying on the Business of the Publick ; so the Nature and Power of these Officers vary, in different Nations, according to the different Constitutions of their respective Governments. For this Reason, in absolute Monarchies, we generally find a Person invested by the Prince with the sole Management and Direction of all his Affairs, under the Title of PRIME MINISTER ; who is, by Virtue of his Office, as he commonly proves himself to be by his Actions, an *arbitrary Vice-Roy* or *Deputy Tyrant*. But the Power of such a *Minister* seems to be inconsistent with the Nature of a *free State*, whether a *Commonwealth* or a *limited Monarchy* ; (unless it be upon extraordinary Occasions ; as the *Roman Dictators* were created of old) because the absolute, uncontroulable Will of *one Man* has been generally found to end in the Destruction of *Liberty* in general ; and though it may be said that a *limited Monarch* cannot delegate *more Power* than he is invested with himself, and therefore cannot make any of his Ministers *absolute* ; yet every such Prince has *too much Power* to be reposed in the Hands of any of his Servants ; for Experience shews us, that a worse Use is commonly made of the *Regal Authority*, when in the Possession of a *private Subject*, than under the Direction of the *Prince* himself ; and there

there seems to be an obvious Reason for This; since a King, who is possessed, during Life, of all the Power, Prerogative, and Jurisdiction, which are agreeable to the fundamental Laws of the Country over which he reigns, and has the same Rights intailed on his Posterity, cannot, without being a Man of very ill Principles, have any farther Views; because his true Interest, upon a little Recollection, will instruct him to confine his Thoughts within these sacred Barriers. Whereas a *Minister*, who is in great Power to-day, and perhaps afraid of losing it to-morrow, (especially, if he be a Man of a *small, paternal Inheritance*) will be tempted to amass exorbitant Wealth by indirect Methods, and aggrandize his *own Family* at the Expence of the Publick. Nay, even supposing the Case of a *bad Prince*, who, through the Instigations of Ambition, or a cruel, tyrannical Disposition, should be inclined to oppress his Subjects, I believe the Bulk of the People would be much more easy under any Hardships, which could be laid upon them by their *Sovereign*, than such as they should suffer from one of their *Equals*.

This is sufficient to shew, that the Office of a *Prime Minister* is, in its Nature, of dangerous Consequence to a *free People*; but there is another Consideration, which, though it be not of the same Importance, ought to make every rational *Briton* join his Voice and his Interest against such an over-grown Power in any of his *Fellow-Subjects*; for,

When a *Prince* reserves the Prerogative in his own Hands, or divides it amongst a certain Number of his Subjects, to be administer'd in an *equal* Manner (as it has been most usual in this Kingdom) the royal Smiles, Favours and Honours, as well as the Offices of the Kingdom, both great and small, are commonly distributed in the same *equal* and *impartial* Manner. Whereas, when the whole Power of the Crown has been lodged in a *single Hand*, we may observe that Grants, Titles

Titles and Preferments have been generally *monopolized*, and the whole Bounty of a Court thought little enough to satiate the craving, hungry Appetites of *one Family*.

Nay, we have seen this Spirit of *Rapine* and *Voraciousness* carried to such an height, under some Administrations, that, not content with all the *Crown* has had in its Power to bestow, they have attempted to engross the Favours and Suffrages of the *People*; nor do I want Instances to shew, that opposing only the *Welsh Cousin* of a *great Man* has been call'd *opposing the Ministry*, and look'd on as a Mark of *Malignancy* and *Disaffection*.

As inconsiderable and self-interested as this Observation may seem, yet it certainly ought to have some Weight in a free Nation; for the present most excellent Bishop of SARUM very justly observed, in answer to one of his Opponents in a late famous Controversy, that, altho' no Man has a *natural Right to a Place at Court*; yet every Man has a *Right to get one, if he can*. And, if the old, beaten Topick of all the *Whig-writers* can be justify'd, that a Kingdom was not made for one Man, meaning the PRINCE, it could not surely be designed only to gratify the Pride, Avarice, and Ambition of a PRIVATE SUBJECT.

But as such a Power in any *Minister* is contrary to the true Interest of the *People*; so it is also of dangerous Consequence to the *Prince himself*; especially in a *limited Government*.

An *absolute Monarch* indeed, who is under no Restraint but his own Will, may raise a Favourite to what height of Power he pleases, without being under any great Apprehensions from his Treachery or Ambition; because he can pull him down, when he begins to grow insolent, with the same high Hand that lifted him up. But a *limited Monarch*, who, in order to reign happily, is obliged to preserve an Harmony and good Understanding with his People, (who are,

by

by the Constitution, join'd with him in the *legislative Power*) ought to be very cautious how far he aggrandizes any of his Servants, or trusts the Power out of his own Hands; because a *Minister*, who has the Disposition of *Preferments* and *Honours*, may strengthen himself so much by *Cabals*, *Alliances*, *Obligations*, and *immense Wealth*, that it may become dangerous for the Prince to displace him; even though he should be, *personally*, as ill-beloved by *himself*, as he is by the *Generality of his Subjects*.

I have now before me a little Book, intitled, *Rules of GOVERNMENT; or, a true Ballance between SOVEREIGNTY and LIBERTY; said to be written by a Person of Honour, immediately after the late CIVIL WAR; and now published (in 1710.) to prevent another.* Though this Treatise is chiefly written in an *High-Church Strain*, (which I presume, will be no Objection to its Authority at *this Time*) yet it contains some honest Directions upon this Subject, which I beg leave to transcribe.

He tells us, in one Place, (speaking of *Counsellors*) that *Overgreatness in one, or over-strict Combination in a few, may be both dangerous to a Prince.* In another Place he says, that it is a great Fault in a Prince “ to
 “ look upon no Man *himself*, but through a *Glass*;
 “ or as the Image of a Man is reflected unto him
 “ from a *Favourite*, or some *great Officer*; for This is
 “ to *strengthen their Root*, and *weaken his own*; for
 “ here, though the *Guilt* is his, the *Obligation* is
 “ another's. This makes him have *many Attendants*
 “ but *few Servants*; for Servants, placed about him
 “ by *great Men*, are rather *their Spies* than *his Ser-*
 “ *vants*. Such *Unconcernedness* as This, who are
 “ about him, makes him appear like a *Town blocked*
 “ *up*. He can *freely* receive no Provisions he stands
 “ in need of; and his own Servants are disheartened,
 “ by perceiving *great Mens Friends* or *Servants* every
 “ Day preferred or gratified before them. This
 “ Course

“ Course chills all *Publick-spiritedness*; for Men, introduced by *Favourites*, think they shall last no longer than their *Patrons*, who are often *changed*, or in the *Wain*; and so they come unto a Court like *Harvest-Men*, who serve only in a short Time to reap That, which others *plowed* and *barrowed*; or they work only in *fair Weather*, and when the Corn is carrying into the Barn.

The same Author gives as wholesome Advice to *Ministers of State*, in the following Paragraph; which I do, by these Presents, humbly beg Leave to recommend to the serious Consideration of all *great Men* in the several Courts of *Europe*.

“ A wise Counsellor, says He, will not engross too many *Affairs* into his own Hands, nor encroach upon *other Mens Offices*; nor be apt to *undervalue* them in it, to raise his *own Credit* by the Loss of *other Mens*; for he that does good Offices to *others*, is in the best way to make *heartly Friends* to himself; and he must be patient to hear other Mens *Advices*; nay, with some Respectfulness, bear their *Follies*; and he must be unconcern'd when his *own Counsels* are not comply'd with, or are laid aside.

I shall leave these wholesome Directions to Those, whom they may concern, and conclude with observing in general, that the Office of a *prime Minister* seems to be calculated for an *absolute Government*; though, in my Opinion, even such a Government would fare much better, if the Prince would vouchsafe to manage his Affairs himself. But the Power of such an Officer is entirely repugnant to the Safety of a *free State*; which is so fully demonstrated by *History* and *Experience*, that I need not insist upon it any farther. In Governments purely *popular*, I cannot, at present, recollect any Instance of such a *Minister*; unless it be of the famous *De Wit* in *Holland*; whose terrible Fate will, in all Probability, deter others from attempting such a Power. In *England* we have been
often

often pester'd with these over-grown, rapacious *State-Leeches*, in former Times; but for several Years past we have been pretty free from them; the first great VILLARS, Duke of BUCKINGHAM, being the last Minister of that sort in this Kingdom; and I hope, the last we shall ever see here!—I have already presented the Reader with some of those excellent Instructions, which were given him for his Behaviour in that high Station, by that great and good Man Sir *Francis Bacon*, in the Infancy of his Power; and I design very speedily to shew what an ill Use he made of them, in a short Review of his *Life and Conduct*; which will farther corroborate what I have said in this Paper, and prove that such an exorbitant Power, as is before described, is prejudicial to the *Liberties* of this Nation; to the Honour and Welfare of a *British King*; and to the true Interest of a MINISTER himself.

D.

N^o 23. *Friday, February 20.*—*Timores inter & Iras.*

Hor.



IT is an old established Maxim in Politics, that a true-bred Statesman should have no private Passions; that is, He ought to be a Man of such a sedate, steady, and determined Temper, that he may not be interrupted, in the Conduct of his Schemes and the Pursuit of his Interest, by those light and sudden Passions, which are apt to agitate and ruffle weak Minds. Nay, some grave Reasoners

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soners and Refiners upon this Subject have gone farther, and maintain'd that a *stanch Politician* ought not only to be exempt from Intemperance, Effeminacy, and other common Frailties of human Nature; but should also enfranchise his Mind from the Dominion of what are commonly call'd the nobler Passions; that he should be incapable of Love or Hatred; that he should not suffer himself to be sway'd by any vulgar Notions of Gratitude, Honour or Justice; nor be tempted to desist from the Execution of his Designs by the frail Impulses of Pity and Remorse; that he should have no Regard to Friends, Relations or Benefactors, when it interferes with his private Views; nor resent, as other Men do, the most provoking Injuries or the highest Obligations, when his Interest (that great ruling Principle) instructs him to forget either.

I am not, I confess, *Machiavillian* enough to approve of such Maxims, or to propose them as Lessons, which ought to be follow'd. They have been, God knows, and still are too much practiced in most Courts, to stand in need of any Recommendation, or to be discountenanced by any Arguments. Happy, alas! would it be for the World, if all *great Men* wanted any Instructions of this sort; or were backward to consult their own Interest, by sacrificing to it all other Considerations, both of a publick and private Nature!

There is indeed one Rock, which many of the ablest State-Pilots, with all their *dispassionate Indifference*, have not been able to avoid; even though they have been amply forewarn'd, by the calamitous Fate of their Predecessors, to use the utmost Caution and Circumspection to keep clear of it. I mean that *Insolence* or *Impetuosity* of Temper, which Power is apt to beget in great Minds, and commonly ends in Ruin and Disgrace; for Passion and Vehemence tend, more than any thing else, to exasperate and provoke Indignation,

tion, as well as to unbosom the secret Thoughts, and discover those Foibles or ill Designs, which it should be always the Business of a *great Man* to conceal.

When such an *over-bearing Spirit* gets the better of a Man of an honest and worthy Disposition, it is a real Misfortune to the Publick; but when it possesses a corrupt Mind, we ought to congratulate the Society in which it prevails; for Experience teaches us to look on Rage, Choler, and Impatience of Opposition as the last Struggles and Convulsions of an *expiring Minister*.

Some Men are born with this violent, imperious Frame of Mind; which seems to have been the Case of Cardinal WOLSEY; who was naturally a Man of such an arrogant, domineering Temper, that he could not keep it from breaking out in the grossest, personal Insults, even upon his *Royal Master*, who had honoured and aggrandized him with Power and Wealth in the most partial and extravagant Manner; and as his own Interest and most immoderate Ambition could not restrain it, so it occasioned that grievous and ignominious Disgrace, under which he afterwards fell. But there are others, who, being naturally Men of a more placid, courteous and affable Disposition, have been betrayed into the same *Vehemence* and *insolent Behaviour* by a long Run of Power, Prosperity, and Success. Whilst the Sun shone upon them, and the Ship sail'd briskly before the Wind; whilst most of the Passengers approved their Conduct, and flatter'd their Abilities, you could see nothing but Smiles on their Faces, and the utmost Complaisance in their Behaviour. They preserved an Ease, Serenity, and outward Benevolence in all their Department; which extended even to those few, who dissented from the Majority, and complain'd of their Management. But as soon as Things took another Turn; when the Clouds began to gather, and the Billows to rise about them; when most People were seized with a Pannick,

and their late Obsequiousness was converted into Murmurs and Discontent ; then their Behaviour was seen immediately to change ; and from the most obliging, humble and condescending Creatures in the World, they have grown the most peevish, captious, and dogmatical Wretches upon the Face of the Earth ; for having been habituated, from the Applause and Adulation, which were formerly paid them, to believe themselves *infallible* in all their Proceedings, they now looked on the least Contradiction or Opposition, as a personal Affront to their Understandings, proceeding from some personal Resentment, and a manifest Outrage on their Grandeur and Authority.

We meet with an Instance, in some Respects, of this sort in *Weston*, Earl of PORTLAND, who was *Lord High Treasurer* in the Reign of that unhappy Prince King *Charles I.* — My Lord *Clarendon* informs us, that this *great Man* “ did appear, on the
 “ sudden, wonderfully elated, and so far threw off his old
 “ Affectation to *please some very much*, and to *dis-*
 “ *please none*, in which Art he had excell'd, that in a
 “ few Months after the *Duke of Buckingham's* Death,
 “ he found himself to succeed him in the *publick Dis-*
 “ *pleasure*, and in the Malice of his Enemies, with-
 “ out succeeding him in his *Credit* at Court, or in
 “ the Affection of any *considerable Dependants* ; and
 “ yet, though he was not superior to all other Men
 “ in the *Affection*, or rather *Resignation* of the King,
 “ so that he might dispense Favours or Disfavours ac-
 “ cording to his own Election, he had a full Share in
 “ his Master's Esteem ; who looked upon him as a
 “ wise and able Servant, and worthy of the Trust
 “ he repos'd in him ; and received no other Advice
 “ in the large Business of his *Revenue* ; nor was any
 “ Man so much his *Superior*, as to be able to lessen
 “ him in the King's Affection by his Power. So that
 “ he was in a Post, in which he might have found
 “ much Ease and Delight, *if he could have contained*
 “ *hemsself*

“ *himself within the Verge of his own Province ;*
 “ which was large enough, and of such Extent, that
 “ he might, at the same Time, have drawn a great
 “ Dependance upon him of very *considerable Men,*
 “ and appeared a very useful and profitable Minister
 “ to the King ; whose Revenue had been very *loosely*
 “ *managed* during the late Years ; and might, by In-
 “ dustry, and Order, have been *easily improved.* And
 “ no Man better understood what Method was neces-
 “ sary towards that good Husbandry than *He.*

“ But I know not by what Frowardness in his Stars,
 “ he took more Pains in examining and enquiring in-
 “ to *other Mens Offices,* than in the Discharge of *his*
 “ *own ;* and not so much Joy in what *He had,* as
 “ Trouble and Agony in what *He had not.* The
 “ Truth is, He had so vehement a Desire to be the
 “ *sole Favourite,* that he had no relish of the Power
 “ he had — *He tells us afterwards,* that he found
 “ the Number of his *Enemies exceedingly increased,*
 “ and others to be *less eager* in the Pursuit of his
 “ Friendship, and every Day discovered some *Infir-*
 “ *mities* in him ; which, being before known to few,
 “ and not taken Notice of, did now expose him to
 “ *publick Reproach* and to *private Animosities.* And
 “ even his *Vices* admitted those Contradictions in
 “ them, that he could hardly enjoy the pleasant Fruit
 “ of any of them.

“ No Man, *says He,* had greater Ambition to
 “ make his *Family great,* or stronger Designs to leave
 “ a *great Fortune* to it — *That, in order to do this,*
 “ he had avowedly and sowerly crossed the Pretences
 “ of *other Men,* and restrained the *King's Bounty*
 “ from being exercised almost to *any* — which,
 “ from the Duke's Death, ran in narrower Channels,
 “ and never so much over-flowed as *toward Himself,*
 “ who stopped the Current to *other Men*”.

The *noble Historian* goes on thus. “ He was of
 “ an *imperious Nature,* and nothing wary in disoblig-

“ing and provoking other Men; and had *too much*
 “*Courage* in offending and incensing them; but, af-
 “ter having offended them, he was of so unhappy a
 “*feminine Temper*, that he was always in a terrible
 “*Fright* and *Apprehension* of them.

And just after, He says, “That he quickly lost the
 “Character of a *bold, stout* and *magnanimous Man*;
 “which he had been long reputed to be in *worse*
 “*Times*; and, in his most prosperous Season, fell
 “under the Reproach of being a Man of *big Looks*,
 “and of a *mean* and *abject Spirit*.

“To conclude; all the Honours the King con-
 “ferr’d upon him (as he made him a Baron, then an
 “Earl, and *Knight of the Garter*) could not make
 “him think himself *great enough*. Nor could all the
 “*King’s Bounties*, nor his own *large Accessions* raise
 “a Fortune to his *Heir*; but after *six* or *eight* Years
 “spent in *outward Opulency*, and inward Murmur
 “and Trouble that it *was not greater*; after vast
 “Sums of Money, and great Wealth gotten, and ra-
 “ther consumed than enjoyed; without any Sense or
 “Delight in so great Prosperity, with the Agony that
 “it was *no greater*; he dy’d *unlamented by any*; bit-
 “terly mentioned by most, who never pretended to
 “love him; and severely censured and complained of
 “by Those, who expected *most* from him, and de-
 “served *best* of him; and left a *numerous Family*,
 “which was, in a short Time, *worn out*, and yet
 “*out-lived* the Fortune that he left behind him.

I am sensible, that I have, in some Measure, de-
 parted from the first Design of this Paper, which was
 to expose the Absurdity and Folly of *Passion* and *Vehe-*
mence in publick Ministers. But there is something
 so particular and remarkable in the Character of this
great Man, that I could not avoid the Opportunity of
 being so somewhat circumstantial in my Relation of it
 from so masterly an Hand. It cannot however be sug-
 gested, with any Reason, that I dwelt so long upon it,

in order to draw any *invidious Parallel*; (which has been, of late, objected against some of us *political Writers*) because I know no Man at present in being, in whom *all* these Circumstances can be supposed to concur. To put an End therefore to this Digression, without any Apology, I will humbly beg Leave just to observe, that such an haughty, blustering and imperious Behaviour is in no Place more unbecoming than in a *popular Assembly*; where all the Members, considered as such, are equal to one another, however their Circumstances may differ in other Respects, as to Wealth, Favour, Titles or Power. It is therefore highly derogatory to the Honour and Privilege of such an *Assembly* for any Person to presume so far on any *extraneous Superiority*; as to insult, menace, and brow-beat the rest of his Brethren; which discovers a strong Intimation that he thinks his dictatorial Voice should always be uncontradicted and definitive; and that they meet there together in order to jump unanimously into all his Opinions; to gratify his Pride only; and facilitate his Designs.

Caius Fabius, the famous *Roman Tribune*, was a Man of this hot, insolent and ungovernable Temper; but it ought to be considered, in his Excuse, that in him it was a *natural Infirmity*; that He was sensible of it himself; was ashamed of it; and endeavoured, by all Methods, to keep it under; as appears by the following Story, recorded by *Plutarch*.

This Author tells us, in the Lives of those two celebrated Brothers, *Tiberius* and *Caius*, “ That the
 “ one was *smooth* and *sedate*; the other *rough* and
 “ *passionate*; even to such a Degree, that often, in
 “ the midst of his Orations, he was so much hurried
 “ away by his *Passion*, even against his own Will,
 “ that he descended to give ill Language, and strained
 “ his Voice in such a Manner, that he could not pro-
 “ ceed in his Speech. For a Remedy to this Excess,
 “ He made use of an ingenious Servant, one *Licinius*
 “ by

“ by Name, who stood constantly behind him with
 “ a *Pitch-pipe*, or musical Instrument to regulate his
 “ Voice by ; and whenever he perceived his Master’s
 “ Tone alter, and grow harsh with Anger, he breath-
 “ ed a soft Note with his *Pipe* ; at the hearing of
 “ which, *Caius* immediately bated the Vehemence
 “ of his *Passion* and *Voice* ; grew mild ; and was easily
 “ recalled to Temper.

I have often lamented that no Author has thought fit to give us a particular Description of this curious Instrument, for the Instruction and Use of Posterity ; and as often wonder’d that none of our ingenious *Mathematical Instrument-makers* have attempted something of that Nature. I am sure it would amply reward all their Pains and Labours ; especially if they could obtain a *Patent* for the sole making and vending thereof ; which could not certainly be deny’d to the Reviver of so useful a Machine in an Age, which seems to stand in great Need of it. But till that is done, I would humbly recommend it to be considered, whether the *Opera* might not be made useful to the State, by placing the celebrated Sig. *Sinesino* and other *Italian Artists* behind some of our *popular Orators*, in order to soften and modulate the Tone of their Voice, and thereby preserve a *Moderation* and *Decency* in our public Debates. A.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

Just published,

PRELUM TRIUMPHANS ; Or, a full Vindication of the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS ; extracted from the Writings, and enforced by the Example of the Right Reverend Father in God BENJAMIN, late Lord Bishop of BANGOR ; in Answer to the MONITOR and the LONDON JOURNAL.

—quantum mutatus ab ILLO ! Virgil.

Printed for T. W. in Pater-noster Row ; and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. Price 1 s.

Monday,

N^o 24.

Monday, February 27.

*Content, with Hands unsoil'd to guard the Prize,
And keep the Store with undesiring Eyes. Tickel.*



A good natur'd writer is always better pleas'd with an Opportunity of recommending Virtue than of chastising Vice; but in either Case, if he would be agreeable to his Readers, at the same time that he proposes to be useful to the World, it will be proper for him to pitch upon some *great Man* to be as it were the Vehicle of his Instructions to the Publick, by making him the Subject either of his Panegyrick or his Satire,

I do not hold it always needful for an Author to be searching into Antiquity, in Order to retail out some musty Hero of former Days, and recommend him as a Pattern to the present Age. If our own Times furnish us with Examples of Men laudable for any remarkable Virtues, I cannot see any Reason why an impartial Writer should not set forth such Persons in their true Lustre, publicly avowing them as Ornaments of the present Age, and exhibiting them as Examples to Posterity. But if such truly worthy Men are to be met with in *lower Life*, it will be still better, and have much more Weight; since *Flattery*, in such a Case, or *mercenary Views* (to the Imputation of which we Authors are often liable) can never be laid to his Charge.

I have in my Eyes a Man, and will venture to name him to the Publick, whom, when I have drawn his Character, all Mankind must agree to be an illustrious Model of Virtue and Integrity for after Ages, He is
One,

One, that has long had the Management of a *publick Revenue*; and yet all the World is convinc'd that he has not improved his Circumstances, nor added one Shilling to his Fortune by it. The Subjects pay their *voluntary Taxes* into his Hands, with Pleasure, because they are satisfy'd that what they do pay, for the *publick Service*, will be employ'd to no other Purpose; and that no *Calls* will, at any Time, be made on the Proprietors, but when there shall plainly appear to be an absolute Necessity for so doing. Every Body has a sanguine Confidence in his Integrity, being satisfied that he is *uncorrupt himself*, and will never suffer his *inferior Officers* to plunder by his Authority or Connivance. The *publick Treasure* is expended with Prudence and managed with Frugality. He carefully looks into every Branch of his Office, and will not permit any, who are under him, to embezzle the publick Money, or run away with any Part of the Revenue; much less with the *whole Revenue*; as, by letting it lie long neglected in any *under Officer's* Hands, They might possibly be tempted to do. He is not only free from Corruption, but guards himself against all *Neglects* in the Discharge of his Duty, and looks on Crimes of *Omission*, in such a Case, to be full as unjustifiable as Crimes of *Commission*; since if the Publick is *defrauded*, or loses a considerable Sum of Money, it is of but little Consequence to them, whether the *Treasurer* puts it in his own Pocket, or lets any of his *Deputies* put it into theirs, or squander it away. He gives fair, regular and distinct Accounts of every Farthing, which he expends for the *publick Service*, and has always shewn the utmost readiness to supply Those, who have a Right to ask for them, with any *Papers* or *Vouchers*, that may be judged necessary for the explaining any Part of his *Account*. He is, in short, a Man of undoubted *Integrity*; of consummate *Wisdom*; and of exemplary *Gravity*. He is composed and sedate in his Conduct; rigid in his Morals; and tall in his Person; slow in his Speech, yet

using

using many Words; and to conclude all, a *TREASURER with clean and empty Hands!*

I am persuaded, that every Reader must, by this Time, perceive that I can mean no Body, in my Description of the foregoing Character, but that very worthy and excellent Man Mr. KIPLIN, *Treasurer to that honourable Corporation, the Royal Academy of MUSICK.*

This great, able and honest Minister has, of late, had two very formidable Powers to contend with. I mean the Companies of *Drury-Lane* and *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*; who have entered into an Alliance, which seems very *unaccountable* in two Powers, who were but lately such mortal Enemies, *that they could hardly be kept within the Bounds of common Decency towards one another, by all the Address and Mediation of the Town*; and yet, at the same Time, *privately run into one another's Arms, and unite in Designs destructive to the Rights of the ACADEMY, with all the Marks of cordial Affection and a resolute Friendship.*

But notwithstanding all these Difficulties, (to his Honour be it spoken) He has not yet put us to one Farthing Expence on the Account of *secret Service*; and I am confident that he will always scorn to *shelter* any Sum under that Head. If he cannot *conquer*, he will not *corrupt*; and as He has Veteran Troops in the *Opera Service*, he thinks them sufficient for his Purpose, without hiring or standing in Need of *mercenary Auxiliaries*. *Friends*, who are to be had for *Money*, and *Enemies*, who are to be *subdued* by it, are, in his Opinion, equally despicable.

The *Italian Comedians*, in this Warfare, were willing to have acceded; but he wisely discovered that they were very likely to become an *expensive Ally*, and so dexterously got rid of them. Happy is it for this Society (of which I have myself the

Honour to be a Member) that we have so worthy and uncorrupt a Man in the Management of the *Treasure* of it! With what Contempt do I look down on the *greatest Men*, when I compare them with Mr. KIPLIN, and find them inferior to him in Virtue and Integrity?

The Earl of *Leicester*, in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, was a very great Man; but you will find this said of him in the *Memoirs* of his *Life*; (p. 78.)

ROBIN playeth the BROKER in all his Affairs, and maketh the uttermost Penny of her Majesty every Day!

Happy, thrice happy Mr. KIPLIN! of whom This cannot be said with any Justice, even by your Enemies!

I remember another unlucky Application made to a late Treasurer (I mean in Queen *Anne's* Reign) from one of Sir *John Suckling's* Plays.

There's little ROBIN, in Debt within these few Years, grown FAT and FULL.

But who can impute to Mr. KIPLIN, that he is either FAT or FULL?

I could produce a thousand Foils out of History to illustrate the Character of this upright, great Man; but One more shall suffice. When the *Earl of CLARENDON* was impeached, the Largeness of his Fortune and the sudden Acquisition of it was made an *Article* against him. In his *Answer* he acknowledges that if the *Fact* could be proved, the Consequence of *Guilt* would be undeniable; and, in his *Defence*, he urged that he was not really possessed of the Wealth, which the World supposed him to be. The only Inference, which I shall draw, in Behalf of Mr. Kiplin, is, that if *immense Riches* be alone a sufficient Proof of *Guilt*, *Poverty* ought certainly to be allowed a Mark of the utmost Honour and Integrity. Such a Man I will pronounce Mr. KIPLIN to be, and do hereby recommend him as an Example and Pattern to all TREASURERS, present and to come.

C.
A D V E R.

Just Published,

A Condolatory Epistle to his Royal Highness DON CARLOS; occasioned by the reported Pregnancy of her IMPERIAL Majesty, the Empress of GERMANY, and her MOST CHRISTIAN Majesty, the Queen of FRANCE.

DON CARLOS, by marrying the eldest ARCH-DUTCHESS, cannot fail of being EMPEROR; so that DON CARLOS may possibly be at once EMPEROR, King of FRANCE and King of SPAIN.

Enquiry into the Reasons, &c.

Printed for T. W. in Pater-noster-Row.



N^o 25. *Friday, March 3.*



S it it is my Design, in the Course of these Papers, to pay the utmost Regard to all the kind Assistances of my Correspondents, as far as it shall be consistent, in any Measure, with the original Intention of this Undertaking; so I must rely on the good Nature of these Gentlemen; who will, I hope, indulge me in some Liberties, that it will be necessary for me to take with their Letters, by *adding* or *retrenching*, where I see Occasion for so doing; as well as in the Publication of them; in which it will not always be proper for me to observe the same Order of Time, in which I receive them. On the other Hand, I am ready to assure them, that I will never presume to take any wanton, or officious Freedoms of this Sort, by making any Alterations, but where I think it absolutely
N necessary

necessary or expedient for the better carrying on this Design; nor will I use any Partiality in preferring one Letter to another, any farther than as it conduces to the same End; so that every Gentleman's Thoughts may appear in their proper Place, at the most seasonable Time, and consequently to the best Advantage.

I hope this general Apology will satisfy all Persons, who shall please to favour me with their Correspondence; and that it will, in particular, excuse me to the Gentleman, who obliged me with the following Letter, as well as to Those, whose Thoughts have not yet seen the Light.

To CALEB D'ANVERS. Esq;

S I R,

WHEN your UNCLE died, he was possessed of several *Plantations* in the *West-India* Colonies, which are now vested in you, amongst his other Estates, by Virtue of his last *Will* and *Testament*. They were then in good Order, and in flourishing Circumstances; for as he was sensible of their Value, and how beneficial they were to his Estate in *Staffordshire*, he wisely encouraged his *Tenants* to improve them. But alas! how have they since gone to Decay, through the rapacious Temper of *some* of your *Stewards*, and the Ignorance of *others*, who had the Care and Management of them! by which Means, many of your *Tenants* have been obliged to remove; and it is thought that others will follow, to the great Detriment, if not the utter Ruin, of those Estates. Good Mr. D'ANVERS, make some Enquiry into those Affairs, before it be too late. Consider the Consequence to your own Interest, as well as to Them. Should they continue under the same or any other Discouragements, how will you be able to vend many Commodities, which are produced from your

your Estate in *Staffordshire*? Has not that Estate been improv'd from twenty to thirty Years Purchase, since those *Plantations* have been in your Family? Will it not be affected in Proportion as they decline? How will you cultivate those Lands, or procure new *Tenants*, should the present Possessors quit their Leases? It is high Time to look into the Conditions granted by your *Uncle*, which encourag'd them to go over (at the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes) to settle those Lands and to see them punctually perform'd; and since such great Advantages arise from the Labour of those industrious People, it is certainly your Interest rather to augment than diminish their Privileges, as it may induce others to go over, and by those Means the Value of your *Estates* will be increased proportionably.

The World is perfectly convinc'd of your humane and compassionate Temper; of which the Appointment of your *Stewards*, from Time to Time, are certain Demonstrations; but then your own Interest and the Ease and Satisfaction of your *Tenants* seem to have been very little, if at all, considered.

I am inform'd that *one of your Plantations* will admit very great Improvements, having some thousand Acres of manurable Land belonging to it, which has hitherto been neglected and uncultivated. Is it not your Interest to send over an able, judicious Person to manage it; one that understands the Nature of Soil; who has some Knowledge in Trade; and will be at the Pains of looking into former Mismanagements, and rectify them; one, who considers Mankind as his *Fellow-Creatures*; and tho he has a Superiority over your *Tenants*, yet will not treat them as his *Vassals*, and invade their just Rights and Properties, in manifest Breach of the laudable Precepts of your *Family*?

It is reported, that some of your *Tenants* had taken a Resolution of acquainting you with their *Grievances*, which were become almost insupportable; and accordingly wrote you a *Letter*, in the most humble and

submissive Terms; but notwithstanding the fair Speeches of *one* of your Servants, and his Promises to deliver it, there are some Grounds to believe that it never came to your Hands; for it was soon after taken up dirty and torn in St. *James's-street*, where he either designedly or carelessly dropped it.

A NEIGHBOURING GENTLEMAN, who is of *French* Extraction, has two or three *Plantations*, at no great Distance from yours. It is almost incredible, what vast Improvements he has made on them within a few Years; for however strictly he pursues the rigid Maxims of his *Predecessors*, yet he justly considers that the only Way to make them flourish, is to grant his *Tenants* and *Servants* such Priviledges as may induce them to go over and settle there. By such like Methods his *Plantations* thrive to that Degree, that wanting more Land, he makes no scruple of running to his next Neighbour, who is his UNCLE; and 'tis thought that in Time he will jostle him out of the Whole. If he uses so near a *Relation* after that Manner, what may you expect, whenever it is convenient for him, or he has it in his Power? For whatever *Professions* he makes to you may be only *grimace*. Very few of your Friends imagine him to be *sincere*; or that he has any *real value* for you. In short, Mr. D'ANVERS, I don't like the Principles of that *young Gentleman*, who has made such early Discoveries of the same Temper and Disposition, which his *Grandfather* was of; and He was so *litigious* an old Gentleman; that 'tis well known he was all his Life at *Law* with his *Neighbours*; that he seldom had less than *two* or *three Suits* at a Time, upon his Hands, and sometimes *seven* or *eight*; and that he bore an *implacable Enmity* to your UNCLE, who had the Goodness to support *Those*, who were not otherwise able to go to *Law* with him, in Defence of their just *Rights* and *Properties*.

As I have been at his *Plantation*, as well as yours, I intend hereafter, if I find it will be acceptable, to
give

give you some other Hints, which may be useful; for I have Reason to believe that you have very imperfect Notions of them, as well as your *domestick Servants*, under whose particular Province they are; either through the Multiplicity of other Affairs, which engrosses so much of their Time, that they cannot give the Attention which is necessary; or the false Representations of your *Stewards* abroad, to cover their own *sinister Designs*. It is no new or uncommon Thing, when they find their *Schemes* for enriching themselves, at any Rate, meet with Opposition, to load your *Tenants* with Terms of Reproach; as *seditious, turbulent Spirits, Jacobites*, and such other opprobrious Names, as they imagine will render them obnoxious to your *Self* or your *Domesticks*. Notwithstanding This, I dare venture to affirm, that no Part of Mankind can be more steadily and heartily attached to your *Person* and *Interest* than they are; nor are they wanting in such Demonstrations as are in their Power, or their remote Situation will admit of. They are indeed tenacious of their *Rights* and *Liberties*; but, as they claim no other Privileges, than what they enjoy'd in their *native Country*, and pay the Obedience, which is due to you as their rightful and lawful LANDLORD; it cannot be supposed that their insisting upon what they are intitled to by *Birth*, will be disagreeable, when it is understood, that This is their only Aim and Design, and that they contend for nothing more.

I am, with the utmost Submission,

SIR, Your most Obedient, and
most Faithful Servant

WILL. BRITON.

Hampstead Jan.

3. 1726.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In a few Days will be published,

A GENERAL APOLOGY for all MINISTERS OF STATE, from SEJANUS down to the present Times; in which the Complaints of Mismanagement, Corruption, and Oppression will be demonstrated to be groundless, and occasion'd only by Envy, Faction, Disappointment and Revenge. To which will be added, A Catalogue of those eminent Writers, upon whose Authority this Work will be built.

Nec Pudor obstabit——— Juv.

Printed for T. W. in Pater-noster Row.



N^o 26. Monday, March 6.

*Si defendere delictum, quam vertere malle,
Nullum ultra verbum aut operam insurebat inanem,
Quin sine Rivali, TEQUE & TUA solus amares. Hor.*



HAVING taken on myself the Character and Profession of a publick Writer, I design, by Degrees, to retail out to my Countrymen all the various Observations, which I have been treasuring up for these many Years past; and, like my immortal Predecessor, the *Spectator*, to print my self out. If all, that I shall thus communicate, should not happen to be thought Subjects of Instruction, yet I hope at least they will be looked on as Matters of innocent Amusement.

When I first set forth in the World, and was capable of making any Reflections on publick Affairs, the Mismanagement and Corruption of King *Charles the Second's* Reign furnish'd the common Topicks of Conversation; and I very well remember, that nothing

thing gave keener Disgust, or was mention'd with more Asperity by the *Whigs* of those Times (who stiled themselves the *Country Party*) than that *unnatural Conjunction*, as it was then called, of the Powers of *England* and *France* to destroy the Republick of *Holland*; which was a Circumstance of such Importance to *Europe*, that it occasion'd many and various Speculations on the Rise and Progress of that *popular State*; as well as on the great Danger, to which it was reduced, of being entirely subverted by that War.

The Counsels of *England* took this unhappy Turn, as it was then generally esteem'd, and began to swerve from their true Interest, as well as from their former Conduct, under the Administration of Sir THOMAS CLIFFORD, who was at that Time at the Head of the TREASURY; a Man of a voluble Tongue, but of a bold and enterprizing Spirit, without Knowledge or Capacity equal to his Designs. He had, in several Instances, discover'd his Enmity to *that State*, before it broke out into Measures of Hostility. He begun with complaining of Incroachments upon TRADE, and spirited up our *East-India Company* to bring Remonstrances against them; which were, in that Reign, made Use of as the *Pretences* of War, and as constantly laid aside, upon Conclusions of Peace. Sir *William Temple* says (in a Letter to his Father upon this Occasion) *that our Pretensions upon the Business of Surinam, and the East-India Company have grown high, and been managed with Sharpness between us and the States, and grounded (as Monsieur de Witt conceives) more upon a Design of shewing them our ill Humour than our Reason.* The Minister represented them as treating even the PERSON of the KING ill, and endeavoured to render them odious to the People, by setting them forth as treacherous in all their Negotiations and Professions. Nay, he went so far as to practice upon Sir *William Temple* to join with
him

him in such *false Representations* as would best serve his pernicious Purposes; a Method, which has been too common under bad Administrations; but it was rejected with Scorn by that able, and honest Ambassador, as we may find in the same Letter before cited, where he says, that being very hardly press'd by Sir *Thomas Clifford* to resume the Affair of *Surinam* and the *East-India Company*; and, in case of the Non-compliance of the *Dutch*, to let the King and all the World know how basely and unworthily the States had used him; and to declare publicly how their Ministers were a Company of Rogues and Rascals, and not fit for his Majesty or any other Prince to have any Thing to do with. — He answered very calmly, that he was not a Man fit to make SUCH DECLARATIONS.

This evil Minister was so intent upon another War with *Holland*; that He resolved, by any Methods, to pick a Quarrel with them, and provoke them to some Action, which might be made the Pretence of justifying it to the People, and representing them as the Authors of it. Accordingly, within a Year after this unwarrantable Attempt upon that great and worthy Man, he bethought himself of another Stratagem; which, in his Opinion, could not fail of producing the desired Effect; for the same Author informs us, that a Yacht being sent over to *Holland* to bring home his Lady and Family from the *Hague*, the Captain received publick Orders from Court, that if he came in sight of the *Dutch Fleet* (which was then floating in the Channel) he should sail thro' them, and fire at those Ships, which were next him, till he made them strike Sail, or till they shot at him again. He passed, it seems, into *Holland*, without seeing them; but as he returned (with the *Lady Temple* and her Children aboard) he met the Fleet, and pursued his Orders, by sailing through them, and making several Shot at those near him; upon which, the *Dutch Admiral* (not suspecting the Reason of such an unaccount-

countable Procedure, and believing them to be in some Distress) immediately sent a Boat aboard them, and went afterwards himself to enquire into the Occasion of their firing; and being acquainted by the Captain with his Orders, he said it was a Point they had received no Instructions about from their Masters, and did not know how that Affair was agreed on between his Majesty and the States; but though it were settled, yet, as he justly observed, the Captain could not expect that the Fleet and Admiral should strike to a Yatch, which was but a Pleasure-Boat, or at least served only for Passage, and could not pass for one of the King's Men of War. To which the Captain reply'd, that he had his Orders, and was bound to follow them. However, the Admiral let them pass safely through his whole Fleet, without offering any return of Hostility; and thereby, in a great Measure, defeated the quarrelsome Design of the English Ministry.

But Clifford was determined on a Rupture; and at last struck a Blow, which put it out of the Power of the Dutch to prevent it, by attacking their Smyrna Fleet, and thereby commencing a War, the fatal Consequences whereof have been ever since felt in Europe.

About the same time, it was observable that this daring Minister was created a Peer, and made Lord High Treasurer, for proposing the Expedient of shutting up the Exchequer; which was the last Shift he had left, desperate as it was, to support his Master under those Difficulties, in which he had involved him, by such precipitate and extravagant Counsels.

I cannot forbear taking Notice in this Place (which, I hope will not be esteemed an improper Digression) what an insuperable Antipathy and Rancour the Generality of the People of England, and especially the whole Body of the Whigs, had conceived at that Time, and have ever since retained, till very lately, against the French Nation; as if an Alliance, or even a friendly

friendly Correspondence with them were of the most dangerous Consequence to the Interest of this Kingdom. I have now before me, a Book, entitled, *The Secret History of EUROPE*, in three Volumes, written no longer ago than the *last Reign*, by one of the hot-brain'd Zealots of *that Party*; which is stuffed, in almost every Page, with the bitterest and most indecent Reflections on that *great People*, as well as on *Those*, who were supposed, at that Time, to be in their Interest. I will beg Leave only to quote a Passage or two, from which we may judge of the Spirit of the Author, as well as of *Those*, who were then known to care for him, and encourage his Works.

Having mentioned the *ecclesiastical Commission* of King *James the Second's* Reign; he endeavours to justify some of the Gentlemen, who were concerned in that *illegal Commission*, and particularly the late Duke of *Buckingham*; for which Purpose he produces a Passage out of the Letter, which his Grace, then Earl of *Mulgrave*, wrote to Dr. *Tillotson*, after the *Revolution*.

“ I appeal, *says his Lordship*, to the unquestionable
 “ Testimony of the *Spanish Ambassador*, if I did not
 “ zealously and constantly take all Occasions to oppose
 “ the *French Interest*; because I knew it *directly op-*
 “ *posite* both to the *King and Kingdom's Good*, which
 “ are indeed Things inseparable, and ought to be ac-
 “ counted as a fundamental Maxim, in all Councils
 “ of Princes;

Upon which, this *secret Historian* and *furious Partizan* makes the following Observation.

“ This, *says he*, his Lordship wrote, when there
 “ was no War declared against *France*; and This is
 “ the Maxim that I shall ever labour to advance in
 “ the Minds of all *honest Britons*; frankly confessing,
 “ that whatever Denomination I may pass under for
 “ my Love of *Liberty*, and our happy *Constitution*, I
 “ never

“ never was, and never shall be a WHIG, farther than
 “ is explained in the Assertion of this noble Lord,
 “ that the *French Interest* is *directly opposite* to the
 “ Good of my *Queen and Country*; and that the In-
 “ terest of my *Queen and Country* are inseparable.
 “ 'Tis for This, and This only, I write; and shall
 “ continue so to do, as long as it is thought to be of
 “ any Service.”

He tells us, in another Place, upon King *James's* admitting Monsieur *Barillon* and the Count *de Lau-son* into all his Councils, that “ the former would, at
 “ that Time, have frightened the *English* with Re-
 “ presentations of the Power and Bigotry of the House
 “ of AUSTRIA; it being the Policy of the *French*,
 “ to represent that House as *impotent* or *powerful*, as
 “ *Enemies* or *Friends* to the PROTESTANTS, ac-
 “ cording as the *present Turn* is to be served by it.

And, in another Place, he says, “ Tho' I shall ne-
 “ ver contribute to the Infraction of any Treaty with
 “ any Prince whatsoever, I shall always have an Ab-
 “ horrence for a *French Interest*, so *contrary* to that
 “ of *England*.”

I could cite a Multitude of Passages to the same Effect, out of this Book; which is indeed full of them, from the Beginning to the End. Nor is he the only Author of this Kind; for it would be an easy Task to produce a Cart-load of Books, Pamphlets and loose Sheets, published by Men of the same Stamp, since the *Restoration*, in order to inculcate the same malevolent Principles of Aversion to *France* into the Minds of the People of this Kingdom.

For my Part, as I always disapproved of these general Invectives my self, even when they were most *current* and *fashionable*; so I cannot help declaring my Agreement with a late ingenious and courtly Writer, who very justly observes, “ that 'tis not the
 “ *Emperor*, nor *France*, nor *Spain*, nor this, nor
 “ t'other Potentate, to whom we must keep up a
 “ *perpetual*

“ perpetual Opposition, or grant a constant Assistance.
 “ Power will always be fluctuating amongst the Prin-
 “ ces of Europe, and wherever the present Flow of it
 “ appears, there is our Enemy; there the proper
 “ Object of our Fears.

But, to return. I must observe that however the State and Circumstances of Affairs in Europe may have lately altered; and however Parties may run at present, it is certain and demonstrable, that our Alliance with France, in King Charles II's Reign, was, to give it the softest Name, a manifest Blunder in Politicks; since that War, thus unjustly and unadvisedly entered upon, raised France to such an Height, by joining with Her to over run the Netherlands, that it was the chief, if not the only Occasion of the two last consuming Wars, (which cost us so much Blood, and involved us in so much Debt!) and had very near destroyed that popular State, which had, in its Rise and Progress, surprized the whole World; a State, which, by its excellent OEconomy, not only raised it self to that Height, in which it once flourish- ed, and to which it is now, in some Measure, restor- ed; but has also furnished, by their Example, some excellent Instructions to all free States, for their Conduct, (making proper Allowances for the differ- ent Constitutions of their Governments) which I beg Leave to transcribe from Sir William Temple.

One Circumstance, which he mentions as an oc- casion of their Greatness, “ was the Simplicity and
 “ Modesty of their Magistrates, in their way of Liv-
 “ ing; which is so general, says he, that I never
 “ knew one among them exceed the common, fru-
 “ gal, popular Air; and so great that, of the two
 “ chief Officers in my Time, Vice-Admiral de Rui-
 “ ter, and the Pensioner de Witt, (one generally
 “ esteemed by foreign Nations as great a Seaman,
 “ and the other as great a Statesman, as any of their
 “ Age) I never saw the First in Cloaths better than
 “ the

“ the commonest *Sea Captain*, nor with above one
“ Man following him, nor in a Coach ; and, in his
“ House, neither was the Size, Building, Furniture,
“ or Entertainment at all exceeding the Use of every
“ common Merchant and Tradesman in this Town.
“ For the Pensioner *de Witt*, who had the great In-
“ fluence in the Government, the whole Train and
“ Expence of his Domesticks went very equal with
“ either common Deputies, or Ministers of the State ;
“ his Habit grave, and plain, and popular ; his Ta-
“ ble, what only served turn for his Family or a
“ Friend ; his Train (besides Commissaries and
“ Clerks kept for him in an Office, adjoining to his
“ House, at the publick Charge) was only one Man,
“ who performed all the menial Service of his House
“ at Home ; and, upon his Visits of Ceremony, put-
“ ting on a plain livery Cloak, attended his Coach
“ abroad ; for, upon other Occasions, he was seen usu-
“ ally in the Street on Foot and alone, like the com-
“ monest Burgher of the Town. Nor was this
“ Manner of Life affected, or used only by these
“ particular Men ; but was the general Fashion and
“ Mode among all the Magistrates of the State ; for
“ I speak not of the military Officers, who are reckon-
“ ed their Servants, and live in a different Garb,
“ though generally modester than in other Coun-
“ tries.”

He concludes this Head, as I will this Paper, with the following excellent Observation.

“ Thus this stomachful People, who could not
“ endure the least Exercise of arbitrary Power or
“ Impositions, or the Sight of any foreign Troops
“ under the *Spanish* Government, have been since
“ inured to all of them, in the highest Degree, un-
“ der their own popular Magistrates ; bridled with
“ hard Laws ; terrify’d with severe Executions ; en-
“ vironed with foreign Forces ; and oppressed with
“ the most cruel Hardships, and Variety of Taxes,

“ that was ever known under any Government. But
 “ all This, whilst the Way to *Office* and *Authority*
 “ lies through those *Qualities*, which acquire the
 “ general Esteem of the People; whilst no Man is
 “ exempted from the Danger and Current of the
 “ *Laws*; whilst Soldiers are confined to Frontier-
 “ Garrisons, (the Guard of inland or trading Towns
 “ being left to the Burghers themselves) and whilst
 “ no *great Riches* are seen to enter by *publick Pay-*
 “ *ments* into *private Purses*, either to *raise Families*,
 “ or to feed the *prodigal Expences* of vain, extrava-
 “ gant and luxurious Men; but all *publick Monies* are
 “ applied to the Safety, Greatness, or Honour of the
 “ *State*; and the *Magistrates* themselves bear an *equal*
 “ *Share* in all the Burthens they *impose*. ”

C. D.

N^o 27. Friday, March 10.

Quondam LETHARGO *grandi est* & *oppressus*.
 HOR.



F all the Distempers, which are inci-
 dent to a State, none seems to be of
 a more dangerous Consequence than
 what may properly be called a POLI-
 TICAL LETHARGY; which lays
 all the noble Faculties, generous Passi-
 ons, and social Virtues, as it were by *Opium*, in a
 profound Trance; and thereby leaves publick Mini-
 sters at their Discretion, and under a strong Tempta-
 tion to do whatever their Ambition dictates with Im-
 punity, and without Observation.

When

When the generality of any Nation are seized with this Malady, it stupifies and benumbs all their Senses in such a Manner, that they cannot feel the most acute Pains, nor perceive the heaviest Burthens, the sharpest Calamities, or the most grievous Indignities, that are imposed upon them. A Man in a *Lethargy* is, to all Intents whatsoever, whilst it continues upon him, a dead Man; having no more Notion of Health or Sicknes, of Pleasure or Pain, of Riches or Poverty, of Liberty or Slavery than one, who has lain a Year in his Grave.

A *political Lethargy* is, in every Respect, like a *natural one*; with this Aggravation, that whereas the *latter* affects only Individuals, by rendring the World joyless to them, at the same Time that it exempts them from all Sense of Pain, Loss and Imposition; the *former*, besides these Influences on private Persons, extends it self to the Publick, and makes Posterity feel the Effects of our *Insensibility*.

This *popular Disease* proceeds, like other Distempers, from different Causes, and may be discover'd by various Symptoms; which it behoves me, who profess my self a *political Physician*, to point out to my loving Countrymen.

Sometimes it is, in a Manner, inborn and arises from a natural Coldness and phlegmatick Temper of Mind, uninform'd with any publick Principles, or any Regard for the Honour and Welfare of the Community. When This happens to be the Case, and such a languid Disposition is mixt with the Blood, and interwoven with the Constitution, (which will appear by a profess'd *Neutrality*, and *Indifference* in all publick Affairs) it is in vain to apply any Remedy, or endeavour at a Cure. The strongest Reasons, and most urgent Exhortations will have no more Effect upon such a Man, than upon a natural *Idiot* or *Lunatick*; with whom he ought to be laid aside, and dis-

regarded by the Publick, as a Defect in the Creation, and the useleſs Lumber of a Commonwealth.

Sometimes it proceeds from Pusillanimity, or Indolence; from the Fear of Opposition, or a false Notion of Quiet and Tranquility. There are many Men, who do not want Abilities to discern the Grievances of the Publick, nor Inclinations to see them redress'd; and yet through a mean and dastardly Spirit, and a Desire of living easy, as it is call'd, chuse to sit down contented, and patiently submit to any Oppression, rather than stir a Finger against the Oppressor, or run the least Hazard in the Cause of Virtue and Liberty. As they have too much Sense and Integrity to concur with the *publick Enemy* in any of his pernicious Designs; so they are very free, upon all Occasions, to express their hearty Wishes to see them defeated and overthrown. But they are so much terrify'd with *great Names* and *blustring Speeches*, that they are not only disheartned from appearing against them themselves, but do all that lies in their Power to discourage others, by magnify'd Difficulties and frightful Representations. They seem to distrust the Judgment of all Opponents, at the same Time that they applaud their Zeal; and look upon them, at best, as a Sort of *frantick Enthusiasts* for Liberty, and *well-meaning Malmen*.

If such Principles should ever prevail, and the Generality of Mankind should imitate the Conduct of these *negative Patriots*, what an hopeful Condition would the World be soon in? There would, no Doubt, be excellent Management, and most blessed Measures pursu'd in all Nations, provided *Ministers* were left, in this Manner, *to do every Thing which should seem good in their own Eyes*, without any Opposition or Animadversion!

By the same Method of Reasoning, it would be easy to prove, that it is ridiculous to insist on the strict Observation of any *moral* or *christian Duties*, whilst

whilst there is so general a Current against them, and so little Probability that any Preaching or Fains will ever be able to banish Vice and Wickedness intirely out of the World. Yet as the Prevalence of Immorality will not excuse the Clergy from being zealous in their Exhortations against it ; so it is equally unjustifiable, and least of all becomes Men of that Function, to discountenance publick Virtue and the Love of their Country, by representing the Practice of them either as dangerous or romantick ; and improving, by these Means, on the slavish Doctrine of *passive Obedience*, by extending it even to the *worst of Ministers*.

But as it is the Duty of every honest Man to stand up, and contend, upon all Occasions, for the Rights and Liberties of his Country, however powerfully they may be, at any Time, invaded ; so I have the Satisfaction to observe, that we do not want Instances in History, where a small Opposition, vigorously carried on and maintain'd with Constancy, has been found to prevail over the strongest Combinations. Even *Despair* sometimes inspires Men with such Resolution as makes them forget all Danger, and surmount all Difficulties, leading them on to Victory and Triumph. This seems to have been the Case of the *Locrians*, as *Justin* relates it, who marching into the Field, with only *fifteen Thousand* Men, against the *Crotonians*, who had no less than an *hundred and twenty Thousand*, and giving over all Hopes of *Victory*, resolv'd to fall bravely in Battle, and unanimously agreed to fight it out to the last Man ; despair having inspired every one of them with so much Ardour, that they esteemed an *honourable Death* a kind of *Victory*. But this glorious Resolution had another Effect, and ended in the Defeat of their Enemies, notwithstanding so great a *Disparity* in Numbers. *Dum mori honeste quærunt, feliciter vicerunt ; nec alia causa victoriæ fuit, quam quod desperaverunt.*

The same Author, in another Place, tells us that the *Crotonians* being soon after invaded by *Dionysius*, with great Disadvantage on their Side, made a more obstinate and successful Resistance with a *small* Number of Men against a *vast Army*, than they did before with *so many Thousand* against an *Handful* of the *Locrians*. Upon which the Historian makes this judicious Remark; *Tantum virtutis Paupertas adversus insolentes Divitias habet, tantoque insperata interdum speratâ victoriâ certior est.*

There are so many Instances of the same Kind to be met with in the *Roman* and *Græcian* Histories, as well as in the Annals of most other Nations, that it would look like Pedantry or puerile Ostentation to quote any more. Nor do these Things depend on the Veracity and Authority of antient Writers, but are sufficiently confirm'd by the History and Experience of later Times; which will furnish us with several Examples of the most powerful and formidable *Superiorities* in Number, which have been overcome by the Unanimity, Vigour and Resolution of *inferior Parties*.

The Republick of *Holland* was reduced to such Distress, somewhat above *Fifty* Years ago, by the united Arms of *England* and *France*, as I mentioned in my last Paper, that the Lords of *Amsterdam* assembled together, in order to consult what Measures to take. It even became a Question in Debate, *whether they should not send their Keys to the French King at Utrecht*; and we are assured that some of them were so much intimidated and possessed of such cowardly Tempers, that they were not ashamed to argue publickly, in that Assembly, for the *Affirmative*; which perhaps might have been carried, if it had not been prevented by Monsieur *Tulip*, (one of the Burgomasters, a Man of a brave, invincible Spirit,) who ran to the Window, and vow'd if they did not lay aside all Thoughts of submitting to *France*,
he

he would call out to the People (who were crouding about the *Stadthouse*) and have them torn to Pieces; which put an End to that scandalous Dispute.

Thus that great State was, in a Manner, rescu'd from immediate Destruction by the Magnanimity of *one Man*; as it was afterwards fully secured in the Possession of its former Liberties by the heroick Fortitude and Conduct of the young Prince of ORANGE, (that immortal Deliverer of his own Country, as well as of ours) to whom only it is owing that they have ever since continued to make a Figure amongst the Nations of the Earth.

These Examples, and a Multitude of others, with which every Man's Reflection will supply him, are sufficient to shew, that the strongest Confederacies of Power, or the most violent Torrents of Corruption ought not to discourage us in the Cause of Virtue, nor induce us to despair of Success. I shall therefore only add, under this Head, that as those sneaking, timorous *Semi-Patriots*, who dare not openly avow their Opinions, or act according to them, are always treated with Contempt by the *Enemies of their Country*, whose Measures they have not the Courage to oppose; so they ought to be look'd on in the same Light by the *Affertors of Liberty*, whom they meanly forsake, and not to reap any Advantages from the Manumission of their Country, (when that is effected) to which they were afraid to contribute their Assistance.

Such Men deserve the same Rebuke, which St. *John* gave to the *luke-warm Laodiceans*.

I know thy Works, that thou art neither cold nor hot. I would thou wert cold or hot.

So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my Mouth.

But to return to the *Causes of a political Lethargy*; which is occasioned by nothing more commonly or
more

more effectually than by a general Spirit of Luxury and Profusion; or a prevailing Appetite to soft effeminate Inventions and wanton Entertainments. For as these Things tend to enervate the Mind, so they have always been found to engross the Attention, and divert the Thoughts from reflecting on other Matters of the utmost Consequence; which, under such an Infatuation, cease to give us any Satisfaction or Concern.

When the Spirit and Morals of a People are dissolved in *Voluptuousness*, and its constant Attendant, *Corruption*, they give themselves up intirely to the Pursuits of private Pleasure, and care not how the great Affairs of the World go on, as long as they can proceed, without Interruption, in the full Enjoyment of their favourite Diversions.

And though *ill designing Ministers*, in all Ages, have constantly made use of these Methods to throw their Fellow-subjects into such a *Letbargy* as I have been describing, in order to carry on their wicked Designs with Safety, and many flourishing Kingdoms have been thereby destroyed; yet such a deceitful *Siren* is PLEASURE, and has such an alluring Power over those Minds, in which it has once found Admittance, that it is a Matter of the utmost Difficulty to free Mankind from its Tyranny, or convince them of their Danger, till it is too late to avoid it.

It is well known that the Subversion of the *Roman Commonwealth* was chiefly occasioned by such a prevailing Dissolution of Manners; which was too nearly our own Case, in the luxurious Reign of King *Charles II.*

But it is the peculiar Blessing of this Nation at present, that we live under an *Administration*, which does not stand in Need of any such Arts to blind the Eyes of the People, or lay us asleep in *Luxury* and *Indolence*; for, on the contrary, they seem to be so conscious of their Integrity, and the Justice of their Cause, that they make use of all Methods to awaken

our

our Attention, and encourage us to examine their Conduct. It is well known under whose Direction a *late famous Book* was written; and by whose Authority it has been dispersed through the Kingdom; which, being an APPEAL to the Publick, gives every Man a Liberty to make such farther *Enquiries* into the Matters which it treats of, as he thinks proper; since it is ridiculous to suppose that any Persons should pretend to submit their Actions to the Judgment of the People, and at the same Time not suffer the People to deliver their Judgment. We cannot therefore have any Apprehensions of Danger, whilst Affairs are conducted in so *candid* and *impartial* a Manner; nor suspect any *ill Designs* in Men, who have condescended *first* to toll the Alarm-bell; which may possibly excite others to raise it, and ring it out in the Ears of the Nation. D.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

Just Publish'd,

The SCREEN SCREEN'D; Or, a SPIRITUAL SALVO for a POLITICAL CONSCIENCE. By a R. R. Casuist and Stickler on both Sides.

Out of thine own Mouth will I condemn thee.

Printed for T. W. in Pater-noster-Row.



Monday,



N^o 28. *Monday, March 13.*

CHURCHMEN *are woeful, awkward Politicians.
They make lame Mischief, though they mean it well.
Their Int'rest is not finely drawn and hid;
But Seams are coarsely bungled up and seen.*

Dryd. Don. Sebast.



Though it is generally esteem'd an indecent, as well as an invidious Task, for a Man to mention himself, or extol his own Family; yet in some Cases it becomes not only excusable, but even praise-worthy; especially when it is made necessary for our *Self-defence*; which I hope will be thought a sufficient Apology for what I have already said, and may hereafter have Occasion to say concerning *my self*, in Answer to the Calumnies and Misrepresentations of my Enemies.

The Family of D'ANVERS (as the Name is now contracted from the old Writing *De Anvers*) is of very ancient standing, and of no inconsiderable Note in this Kingdom; which I could easily prove from the most authentick Books of Heraldry; as I could, from other undoubted Authorities, that several of our Family have distinguish'd themselves not only in the polite Professions, but in the more immediate Service of their Country, both in Church and State, in the Camp and the Cabinet, with great Ability, and uncorrupt Virtue; especially, of late Years, in the HOUSE OF COMMONS.

But as the truest Patriots are commonly most exposed to Obloquy and Reproach, so our House has not
been

been able to escape the Malice of evil-minded Men, *who shoot their Arrows against us, even bitter Words*; and, for want of any just Ground of Complaint or Reflection, they take a mean Pleasure in having Recourse to our *Name*; which, being of *foreign* Extraction, they endeavour to render odious to the People of this Kingdom; who are remarkable for a peculiar Fondness of their *own Country*, and (I hope I may say without Offence) too partial a Prejudice against *all others*.

As these are known to have been general national Reproaches, at all Times, and against all Persons, as well as *us*, who have not the Happiness to be of *English* Birth or Extraction; so I could not have the Weakness even to hope that I should avoid them under a *publick Character*, which naturally tends to excite *Envy* in some, and *Hatred* in others, who are engag'd in a different Cause; for which Reason, a Man in these Circumstances must expect that every little Story to his Disadvantage will be trump't up, and the least Handle for Reflection laid hold of by his *Adversaries*, in order to defeat his Designs, and promote their own.

I have sufficiently experienc'd this already in my own Case; and especially with Regard to that *popular Prejudice*, of which I have been speaking, against every thing that is FOREIGN. My Enemies seem to take abundance of Delight in ridiculing my *Name*, and have been most unmercifully witty and scurrilous upon that Occasion. They strenuously maintain, that we came originally from ANTWERP; because, as they observe, the *French* Name of that Town is ANVERS; which being at present in Possession of the EMPEROR, they argue from thence, that I must be of the *Imperial Faction*, and in the *German Interest*.

I shall not undertake to disprove or deny this Deduction of our *Original*; having the fullest Reason to believe that it is just (if Tradition, History, and Family

mily Records may be depended on) and that we came over hither, from *Germany*, with Archbishop CRANMER, at the Beginning of the *Reformation*, in order to avoid the Persecution, which was set on Foot in those Parts against *Luther* and his Followers; to whose Doctrines our Family became early Profelytes, and have ever since immoveably adhered. I am therefore so far from being ashamed to derive my *Original* from thence, that I shall always esteem it as the greatest Honour to be ally'd, even at such a Distance, to a Nation, where the pure Gospel of *Christ* was first reviv'd from the Corruptions of *Rome*; and to which his most excellent Majesty King GEORGE (the present Ornament and Defender of the same Protestant Faith) as well as his Royal Family, for many Ages, have owed their illustrious Nativities.

But, whatever my *Extraction* may be, and whatever grateful Respect or hereditary Affection I may retain for a Nation, which was once the *dulce natale solum* of my Ancestors; yet it shall never prevail over my Duty to this Kingdom, which has vouchsafed to adopt me; nor draw me into the *Imperial Interest*, when it is inconsistent with the Welfare of *Great-Britain*. On the contrary, no Body can have a stronger Abhorrence of the Measures, which have been lately taken against us by the *common Enemy*; nor behold, with more Indignation, the famous *German Faith*, which has been so long proverbially used for the most religious Adherence to *Treaties* and *Engagements*, declining into a Term of Reproach, and sullied with Accusations of *Ingratitude* and *Perfidiousness*.

Upon reading the *Memorial*, lately presented to his Majesty by Monsieur de PALM (for which that Minister has been justly dismiss'd) I was extremely surpriz'd to find Language us'd in it, which would have appear'd indecent between *Gentlemen*; and is much more so between *crown'd Heads*. This seems the
more

more extraordinary from his *Imperial Majesty*, because the utmost Respect has been paid to his great Character; and, whatever the Zeal of some private Gentlemen might urge them to say, yet no *hard Names, unprincely Epithets, or inflaming Language* has been publickly made use of, in the Height of all our just Indignation against him. But my Surprize ceased, when I was inform'd, that *this Memorial* was pen'd by a *German Bishop*, in conjunction with a *Renegado French Jesuit*, who has as much Influence over *Him*, as He has over some *Ministers* at that Court. These two Persons are, as I am told, employ'd at present in drawing up the *Answer*, which is promis'd in the *Memorial*, to the ENQUIRY lately publish'd here, and so often mention'd in this Paper.

But as the only Hopes of our Enemies seem'd to consist in the general Disinclination of the People to *new Wars, Debts and Taxes*; and the chief Design of this insolent *Memorial* was to exasperate and inflame the Kingdom against the *present Ministry*, by representing them as the *sole Authors* of the Disturbances of *Europe*; so we have the Satisfaction to see them grievously mistaken and disappointed in their Expectations; for it appears from the *ADDRESSES*, which have been lately sent up from all Parts, that there never was a more vigorous Spirit of *British Zeal and Loyalty* amongst our Countrymen, than what has discover'd itself upon this Occasion. Every *Gazette* abounds with the warmest Professions of *Re-sentment and Indignation* against the Enemies of their Country, and of their chearful Submission to any Burthens, which it may be judged necessary to lay upon them; in order to destroy the *Ostend Company*; to support *Gibraltar*; to defeat the Designs of a *Po-pish Pretender*; and restore the Tranquility of *Europe*. The good People of *Totnes*, in particular, are so far from being, in any wise, uneasy, under the *four Shillings per Pound, Land-Tax*, that they have made

a *Free-will Offering* of the other Sixteen, and of every Thing else, that is dear and valuable to them. Nay, that they might not leave the least Room for our Enemies to triumph, either at Home or Abroad, they did not confine themselves to the ordinary Method of *Addressing*, by declaring their Affection to his Majesty, and their Resolution to support *Him* in this vigorous Manner, but seem to be in the most dutiful Raptures with the Zeal of his *glorious Parliament*, and the Conduct of his *most incomparable Ministry*; in which uncommon Strain of Loyalty, they have been very laudably seconded by the Gentlemen of *Lynn-Regis*, and by some other Burroughs of NORFOLK and SUSSEX.

There is indeed a noble Spirit, which animates all these *Addresses*, and makes them well worth the Perusal of every curious and honest *Briton*. I will instance only one more, *viz.* That from the ancient and loyal Corporation of *Shrewsbury*; which, speaking of our ALLIANCE, says very justly, as well as very elegantly, *that it will, in Time to come, render the HANOVER Ensigns more illustrious than the confederated Eagles of the Roman and Russian Empires, and bind up the Golden Fleece of Spain in the renowned Garter of Great-Britain.*

Such extraordinary Manifestations of Zeal, Satisfaction, and Concurrence with Those at the Helm will, I doubt not, extinguish all the vain Hopes of our Enemies, and give the greatest Mortification to this *prelatical Incendiary*, when He sees all his vile Sophistry rejected by the united Voice of the People, as it has been already condemn'd by their Representatives assembled in Parliament.

This *Prelate*, it seems, had obstructed his own Preferment in the Church by several Writings and Discourses, containing Positions, which had render'd not only his *Orthodoxy*, but even his *Christianity* suspected; so that despairing to rise as a worthy
Church-

Churchman, he determin'd to try his Fortune as a *Politician*; and has since wholly neglected *spiritual* for the Sake of *temporal Affairs*.

I cannot forbear observing, upon this Occasion, that nothing does Religion more Prejudice than to see Those, whose Profession and Duty it is to inculcate a Contempt of this World for the sake of a better, busying themselves in worldly Cares, and promoting Differences and Animosities among Mankind; for it is plain that *such Churchmen* have no Notion of any other *future State*, than that of TRANSLATION.

When *Ecclesiasticks* thrust themselves into the publick Affairs of this World, their Actions are generally rash and cruel, and their Language unmannerly and scurrilous; for as, like *Ladies*, they are by their Petticoats protected from the Consequences of *Railing*; so, like them too, they commonly make no small use of that *Privilege*.

But, farther; a *Churchman*, who meddleth with State-matters *without knowing them*, must be a *weak* Man; and He, who *does know them*, must be a *dishonest* Man, because he must have bestowed that Application upon them, which was only due to his own Profession. I look upon such a Man to be guilty of *Sacrilege* in the highest Degree; for instead of *erving* at the Altar, by which he *lives*, he *robs* the Altar, at which he does *not serve*.

The late Bishop *Burnet*, who concern'd himself in *those Affairs* as much as any Man, and understood them better than most modern Churchmen, was so conscious of This, and so sensible that *such Matters* did not belong to him, nor become his *Function*, that in his Works we frequently meet with the severest Censures of such Practices; which the Force of Truth extorted from Him, at the same Time that they included the strongest Condemnation of *Himself* and his *own Actions*.

I will conclude with the pleasant Observation of an *English* Author (of the *same Stamp* with this seditious *German Prelate*, tho' not of the *same Function*) who says, *That a Parson in Politicks is like a Monkey in a Glass-shop, where he commonly does a great deal of Mischief, and cannot possibly do any Good.*

A. C.



N° 29. Friday, March 17.

Assentior Platoni, nihil tam facile in animos teneros atque molles influere quam canendi sonos, quorum dici vix potest quanta sit vis in utramque partem; namque et incitat languentes & languefacit excitatos; et tum remittit animos, tum contrahit; civitatumque hoc multarum in Græcia interfuit, antiquum vocum servare modum; quorum mores lapsi ad mollitiem, pariter sunt immutati cum cantibus; aut hac dulcedine, corruptelaque depravati.

Cicero, lib. 2. de Legibus.



AS I am very much obliged to the ingenious Author of the following Letter, so perhaps it will be expected that I should make some Apology to the *Beaumont* for publishing a Discourse, which tends so directly to impugn their most darling Entertainments; but I hope the *Polite* of both Sexes will have the Goodness to consider that it is the indispensable Duty of a Man, of my Age and Character, to correct Vice and Folly of all Kinds, and under all Shapes, without any Regard to Parties or Persons. I sincerely wish that there may be no Weight in any of my Correspondent's
Reasons

Reasons or Examples; and that we may prove the singular Instance of a Nation, upon whose Morals Luxury, Corruption and unmanly Diversions shall have no Influence. However if any Gentleman of the *Academy* thinks he can refute these Objections, and prove that no bad Consequences ought to be justly apprehended from *such Entertainments* in a *warlike* and *trading* Nation, I shall always be ready to give his Thoughts a Place in my Paper; for as the sole End of this Undertaking is to discover *Truth* and expose *Vice*, so I will never give into that low and contemptible Method of *Controversy*, which has been lately introduc'd, by suffering the World to see only *one Side* of the Question in Debate.

To CALEB DANVERS, Esq;

S I R,

A Discourse on *Operas*, and the gayer Pleasures of the Town may seem to be too trifling for the important Scene of Affairs, in which we are at present engaged; but I must own my Fears, that they will bear too great a Part in the Success of a WAR; to make the Consideration of them foreign to it. A very little Reflection on History will suggest this Observation; that every Nation has made either a great or inconsiderable Figure in the World, as it has fallen into *Luxury* or resisted its Temptations. What People are more distinguish'd than the *Persians* under *Cyrus*, nurs'd up in Virtue, and inur'd to Labours and Toil? Yet (in the short Space of 220 Years [1]) They became so contemptible under *Darius*, as scarce to give Honour to the Conqueror's Sword. The

[1] *Liv.* lib. 9. cap. 19.

Spartans, and the Long-rulers of the World, the *Romans*, speak the same Language; and I wish future History does not furnish more *modern* Examples.

When the Mind is enervated by *Luxury*, the Body soon falls an easy Victim to it; for how is it possible to imagine that a Man can be capable of the great and generous Sentiments, which Virtue inspires, whose Mind is fill'd with the soft Ideas, and wanton Delicacies that Pleasure must infuse? And were it possible to be warm'd with such Notions, could it ever put them in Execution? For Toils and Fatigues would be Difficulties unsurmountable to a Soul dissolv'd in Ease. Nor are these the imaginary, speculative Ideas of a Closet; but such as have been the Guide and Policies of the wisest States. Of This we have the most remarkable Instance in *Herodotus*.
 “ The *Persians*, after their great and extended Con-
 “ quests, desired *Cyrus* to give them Leave to re-
 “ move out of their own barren and mountainous
 “ Country into one more blest by the Indulgence of
 “ Providence. But that great and wise Prince, re-
 “ volving the Effect in his Mind, bid them do as
 “ they would; telling them, at the same Time, that
 “ for the Future they must not expect to command,
 “ but obey; for Providence had so order'd it, that an
 “ effeminate Race of People were the certain Pro-
 “ duce of a delicious Country.” What Regard the
 great Historian had to this Opinion may be easily col-
 lected from his reserving it for the Conclusion of this
 excellent Piece. And the Case is directly the same,
 whether *Pleasures* are the natural Product of a Coun-
 try, or adventitious Exoticks. They will have the
 same Effect, and cause the same extended Ruin. How
 often have they reveng'd the Captive's Cause, and
 made the Conqueror's Sword the Instrument of his
 own undoing? *Capua* destroy'd the bravest Army,
 which *Italy* ever saw, flush'd with Conquest, and
 commanded by *Hannibal*. The Moment *Capua* was
 taken,

taken, that Moment the Walls of *Carthage* trembled. What was it that destroy'd the Republick of *Athens*, but the Conduct of *Pericles*; [2] who by his pernicious Politicks first debauch'd the People's Minds with Shews and Festivals, and all the studied Arts of *Ease* and *Luxury*; that he might, in the mean Time, securely guide the Reins of Empire, and riot in Dominion? He first laid the Foundation of *Philip's* Power; nor had a Man of *Macedon* ever thought of enslaving *Greece*, if *Pericles* had not first made them Slaves to Pleasure. [3] That great Statesman *Tiberius* clearly saw, what was the surest Instrument of arbitrary Power; and therefore refus'd to have *Luxury* redressed, when Application was made to him in the Senate for that Purpose. Artful Princes have frequently introduced it with that very View. *Davila* tells us, that in an Interview and Semblance of Treaty with the King of *Navar*, *Catharine* of *Medicis* broke the Prince's Power more with the insidious Gayeties of her Court, than many Battles before had done. But there is a single Passage in [4] *Herodotus*, which will supply the Place of more Quotations. " When
 " *Cyrus* had received an Account that the *Lydians*
 " had revolted from him, he told *Cræsus*, with a
 " good deal of Emotion, that he had almost deter-
 " mined to make them all Slaves. *Cræsus* beg'd him
 " to pardon them; but, says he, that they may no
 " more rebel, or be troublesome to you, command
 " them to lay aside their Arms, to wear long Vests
 " and Buskins. Order them to sing and play on the
 " Harp; to drink and debauch; and you'll soon see
 " their Spirits broken, and themselves changed from
 " Men into Women; so that they will no more re-

[2] *Plut. in Pericl. & Demost. Orat.* [3] *Tac. An. lib. 2. cap. 33.* [4] *Herod. lib. 1. cap. 155.*

“bel, or be uneasy to you for the future.” And the Event answer’d the Advice. They are puny Politicians, who attack a People’s Liberty directly. The Means are dangerous, and the Success precarious. Notions of Liberty are interwoven with our very Being; and the least Suspicion of its being in Danger fires the Soul with a generous Indignation. But He is the Statesman formed for Ruin and Destruction, whose wily Head knows how to disguise the the fatal Hook with Baits of Pleasure, which his artful Ambition dispenses with a lavish Hand, and makes himself popular in undoing. Thus are the easy, thoughtless Crowd made the Instruments of their own Slavery; nor do they know the fatal Mine is laid, till they feel the goodly Pile come tumbling on their Heads. This is the finish’d Politician; the darling Son of *Tacitus* and *Machiavel*.

But, thanks to Providence, the sacred Monuments of History extend the short contracted Span of human Life, and give us Years in Books. These point out the glorious Landmarks for our Safety; and bid us be wise in Time, before *Luxury* has made too great a Progress among us. *Operas* and *Masquerades*, with all the politer Elegancies of a wanton Age, are much less to be regarded for their Expence (great as it is) than for the Tendency, which they have to deprave our Manners. *MUSICK* has something so peculiar in it, that it exerts a willing Tyranny over the Mind, and forms the ductil Soul into whatever Shape the Melody directs. Wise Nations have observed its Influence, and have therefore kept it under proper Regulations. The (5) *Spartans*, vigilantly provident for the People’s Safety, took from the famed *Timotheus’s* Harp the additional Strings, as giving his Musick a Degree of Softness inconsistent with their Discipline. The divine

(5) *Cicero, lib. 2. de leg. cap. 39.*

Plato is expressly of Opinion, that the *Musick* of a Country cannot be changed, and the *publick Laws* remain unaffected. Heroes will be Heroes, even in their *Musick*. Soft and wanton are the warbled Songs of (6) *Paris*; but (7) *Acbilles* sings the God-like Deeds of Heroes. A noble, manly *Musick* will place *Virtue* in its most beautiful Light, and be the most engaging Incentive to it. A well wrought Story, attended with its prevailing Charms, will transport the Soul out of itself; fire it with glorious Emulation; and lift the Man into an Hero; but the soft *Italian Musick* relaxes and unnerves the Soul, and sinks it into Weakness; so that while we receive their *Musick*, we at the same Time are adopting their *Manners*. The Effects of it will appear in the strongest Light from the Fate of the People of *Sybaris*; a Town in *Italy*, strong and wealthy; blessed with all the Goods of Fortune, and skill'd in all the Arts of Luxury and Ease; which they carried to so great an Excess, that their very *Horses* were taught to move and form themselves as the *Musick* directed. Their constant Enemies, the People of *Crotona*, observing This, brought a great Number of Harps and Pipes into the Field, and when the Battle began, the *Musick* play'd; upon which these well-bred *Horses* immediately began to dance; which so disconcerted the whole Army, that 300,000 were kill'd, and the whole People destroyed. Though this Story seems a little *fabulous*, yet it contains, at least, a very good Moral.—What Effect *Italian Musick* might have on our polite Warriors at *Gibraltar*, I can't take upon me to say; but I wish our *Luxury* at home may not influence our *Courage* abroad. O.

(6) *Hor. lib. 1. Od. 15.*

-----Grataq; fœminis,
Imbelli cithara, carmina divides.

(7) *Hom. Iliad. 9. 189.*



N° 30. Monday, March 20.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,

THOUGH you have not published, according to your Promise, *an Account of the whole Affair of your Man-ROBIN; and the Motives, which induced you to proceed, in a gentle Manner, with so ungrateful and refractory a Servant;* yet, it is very pleasing to your Friends, that they can now safely communicate their Thoughts, since you have ordered your Letters to be taken in by your Bookseller. Indeed, Mr. D'Anvers, it was no small Grievance to have them intercepted, and stifled, as they were very frequently before; for, how shall your poor *Tenants and Servants* be redress'd, when they are injured, if the *Channel*, through which their Complaints are to be convey'd, is interrupted or stopped up?

To give you one Instance of the Candour of your *Servants*, and their Regard to the Interest of your *Tenants*, amongst many others, which may be enumerated. They were often applied to, in relation to some *Acts of Violence*, committed by the Count PHILIPPEAUX's *Servants*, without receiving any manner of Satisfaction, except fair Speeches, and Promises, which they are very bountiful in bestowing. Yet, I am informed, that they have *since* made Use of those very *Complaints*, upon some other Differences between you and that Gentleman, which are like to end in a troublesome and expensive *Law-suit*; not that those

those unhappy People will be in any wise the better for it; but it serves a Turn at this present Juncture. Had They advised you to resent those Abuses in time, it might have prevented some other Injuries, which you have sustain'd; for *Mankind are apt to impose on Those, who will either bear it, or make the least Concession.*

It has often grieved me, when I was at *one of your Plantations*, which is esteemed the most considerable of them all, to see the ruinous Condition it was in, and the little Care that was taken to improve, or keep it in order; for it was over-run with Weeds, and the Enclosures were all broken down; so that no Man's Property could be distinguished, or asserted. The Neighbours Cattle ranged in the Corn-Fields, and Meadows; and your *Tenants* were daily insulted, nay plundered, without being able to obtain any kind of Redress. Your *Stewards* and *Servants* at home, as well as Those abroad, were too intent upon their own *private Affairs*, to have any Regard to those Oppressions, or indeed to your Honour and Interest, which were affected by them; and how can it be otherwise, when your *Plantations* are generally under the Direction of *indigent* and *ignorant* Persons? Can you reasonably expect to be better served by such Men; or that your Interest, in those Parts, can be improved, or even preserved from Destruction, unless more Care is taken of them? What Complaints are daily made of the insolent Behaviour of some of your *Domesticks*, and the *corrupt Practices* of others? If They, who are under your Eye, behave in that manner, is it not reasonable to lay Those under a greater Restraint, who are at a distance, and vested with Powers too extensive to be repositied in the Hands of any Mortal; *the Generality of Mankind being Tyrants in their Nature, and not to be trusted with an unlimited Power?*

I could wish, *Sir*, that you would now and then, of an Evening, come *incog* to the publick Coffee-houses, as some of your Predecessors have done; for then you will be truly informed of the Opinions and Sentiments of Mankind, who cannot be suspected of any sinister Designs, since you will, by those Means, be unknown to them.

It was pleasant enough, the other Day, to hear one of your *menial Servants*, (a Creature of ROBIN'S) after many Invectives, and base Insinuations, assert, with a confident Air, that you are not the Author of the *Craftsman*; but that those Papers are written by some of your *discarded Servants*, to vent their *Spleen* and *Malice*; and that they impose upon the World, by prefixing your Name to them. Nay, he had the Assurance to mention some particular Persons, who are not only incapable of any low Designs, but are as eminent for their *Wit* and *fine Parts*, as for their *Probity* and *untainted Virtue*.

I cannot help making one Observation more. Since you appointed Dr. King Physician to your Family, and recommended his *Nostrums* to the World, your *Servants*, and some of your *Tenants* in *Staffordshire* are so wonderfully fond of his Prescriptions, that they look on Those, who are not of so happy a Constitution, as to be able to swallow or digest them, either disaffected to your Person, or to be in an ill Habit of Body; for my Part, tho' I have a very great personal Regard for you, and perhaps may allow the *Doctor* to be an ingenious Gentleman; yet, methinks, 'tis very hard that a Man must be abused, or suffer in his Character, because he has not the same Opinion of your *Operator*. It is certain, whatever Improvements he hath made, he does not pretend that those *Nostrums* are his own; but that he learnt them of the famous Dr. CATILINE; nor, indeed, are they *infallible Remedies*; for they only *patch* and *palliate*, and have not been known to perfect any one Cure. This

is evident from the continual *Supplies*, with which he is obliged to furnish his *Patients*, lest They should otherwise relapse into their *former* Distempers.

Now, *Sir*, give me Leave to make some Mention of myself, and to desire a Favour of you. I was once a very active Man, and have been in several Parts of the World ; but as I am advanced in Life, I feel some of the Infirmities of old Age creeping upon me, *viz.* a strong Propensity to get *Money*, and to live in a *sedentary Way*. I should therefore be glad of a *Place*, that will bring in *much*, and require *little* to be done for it. Several of my Neighbours, by your Bounty, enjoy themselves after that manner ; which makes me desirous of doing the same. What I am most inclined to, is a *good Benefice* ; for I am informed that you have several in your Gift. I am not, indeed, in *Orders* ; but why may not I act by a *Deputy*, as well as another ? I am sure, it is altogether as reasonable, and may as justly be dispensed with, as many Things, which are tolerated by your *favourite Servants*, in whom you confide. I must own myself defective in some fashionable Qualities ; and that I am one of those unfortunate Fellows, who dare not act repugnant to *Reason*, or the Dictates of my own *Conscience*. It is likewise a Misfortune to me, that I am not allied to, nor even acquainted with any of your *Domesticks* ; and therefore I might probably fail of obtaining their Favour and Recommendation, though I was master of the *necessary Talents* of *lying, pimping, &c.* but, notwithstanding these Discouragements, I have hopes of overcoming them, if you are disposed ; for I am master of some *Arguments of such Weight*, as seldom fail to convince Men of their Reason and Understanding. Nay, rather than be disappointed, I will allow them *one Half* of the Profits ; as I am told many others do ; for certainly there is a good deal of Reason and Truth in an old *English Proverb*, that, *Half a Loaf is better than no Bread.*

O.

Q

A D.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Next Week will be published;

The REASONABLENESS of CONFORMITY to the Measures of a COURT; in which all political Examination and private Judgment will be proved to be absolutely and properly inconsistent with the Nature and End of Civil Government. To which will be added, An Appendix; containing some persuasive Considerations on the PROFITABLENESS of such CONFORMITY.

—quocunque modo REM. Hor.

Printed by W. W. and sold by T. W. in Pater-noster Row.

By whom will be published, a new Paper, intituled,

The LYE OF THE DAY; N^o 1. demonstrating that Liberty tends to the Destruction of a free People; and that Patriotism is only Treason in disguise; with some Arguments to shew that a JACOBITE and a DISSENTER from the PRESENT MINISTRY are synonymous Terms.

To be continued every Day in the Week, except Sundays. By a Club of Gentlemen near St. JAMES's.




Friday,

N^o 31. *Friday, March 24.*

— *Dic, SENIOR, bullâ dignissime, nescis
 Quot habeat veneres aliena pecunia? nescis
 Quem tua simplicitas risum vulgo moveat, cum
 Exigis à quoquam ne pejeret, & putet ullis
 Esse aliquod numen Templis, Aræq; rubenti.*

Juv.

*  T must be Matter of great Satisfaction to me, in the Prosecution of this Undertaking, that no Arguments have been urged by any of the Writers, who have sprung up against me, but such as would equally serve to discredit the Zeal of the worthiest Patriots or the best-designing Authors, and might as justly be made use of to defend the *worst Ministers*, that ever were in the World, as to vindicate *Those*, for whose Service they have been advanced.

Though none of the Writings of my Adversaries have met with such a Reception from the Publick as can make me in any wise uneasy, or be thought to deserve any Answer; yet it may not be improper to take a short Review of the general Topicks, which

* N. B. Though Mr. *Francklin* had been taken up for Printing the *Vision of Camilick*, [N^o 16.] yet the first Prosecution in *Westminster-Hall* was grounded upon *this Paper*; but by a Flaw in some of the Forms of Proceeding, it came to nothing.

have been most insisted on; from whence it will appear to what low Shifts and miserable Subterfuges they have been driven; and how even *those Men*, who have formerly written with Credit and Success, are obliged to sacrifice their Reputation, when they engage in the Defence of an unjust Cause.

One great Charge, which I have suffered under, in common with many other Gentlemen, is, that I was moved to this Undertaking by *personal Prejudice*; and write out of *Pique, Disappointment and Revenge*; a Charge, which has been very loudly and confidently repeated by every vile Tool and wretched Court-scribler against me. Nay, some of them have gone farther; and, not content with setting me forth as a *disgusted Malecontent*, have endeavoured to foist *Disaffection* upon me, and make me a *Jacobite* in spite of my Teeth. Though I am conscious of my own Innocence in all these Particulars; yet I am not in the least astonished at such Imputations; because it is a known Artifice of *bad Ministers* to represent all Disapprobation of *their Measures*, as proceeding from the *same Motives*; and to pronounce any Opposition, which *They* meet with, to be the Effect of some secret Design against the *Prince*, whom they serve. But as This is my hard Lot at present, so I have the Pleasure to reflect that it hath been equally the Fate of many worthy Men in all Ages; and particularly of some *most incomparable Persons*, but a few Years ago; as I shall prove at large in my next, by a faithful Abstract of *those Papers*, which were published at that Time against them; and in a succeeding one, I will produce the *Answers*, which *They* and their Seconds made to those Objections; leaving the Reader to determine, whether they will not equally serve to vindicate the Conduct of *those Gentlemen*, who suffer at present under the like Imputations.

The next Objection, which has been frequently made to these Papers, is that I am guilty of *Disingenuity* and

and a mean Design of calumniating Men in high Stations under *feigned Characters*, and by other indirect Methods, such as *Ironies, Allegories, Parallels*, and remote *Innuendos*; which are called low Arts; unworthy of a generous Adversary; and certain Marks that I am not influenced by any Regard to the *publick Good*; but by *private Views* and *sinister ill Designs*.

In order to make This the more plausible, a great deal of Pains hath been taken to distinguish between *Calumny* and *just Accusation*; which are, no doubt, very essentially different from one another, as a certain worthy Author judiciously observes, when he says that “ In *one Case* a Man must produce his
 “ *Evidence*; name his *Witnesses*; give his *Reasons*;
 “ be particular as to *Persons, Places, Times, Circum-*
 “ *stances*. In the *other*, you will meet with little
 “ else than *Innuendos*; *general Positions*; meer *As-*
 “ *sertions* without *Proof*; *Failings* magnified into
 “ *Faults*; *Overights* represented as *high Crimes*;
 “ the *Circumstances* of Things over-looked; *odious*
 “ and *invidious Cases* put; *different Times* compared,
 “ without the *Difference* of the *Circumstances* of
 “ Things, &c.” from whence it is inferr’d, that no Man in Power ought to be *accused*, but in such a *publick, open* and *judicial* Manner; and that all other Methods of exposing or attacking his Reputation, however justly, are *base* and *scandalous*, and ought to be rejected with *Contempt* as meer *Obloquy* and *Scandal*.

I shall make but one general Reply to all this delicate Reasoning, and leave those *political Casuists*, for the future, to ring the Changes on the same darling Topick, as long as they please, without any Interruption.

In the first Place, I absolutely deny the Truth of this Charge; or that I have any other Design in my present Undertaking than to expose *Vice in general*,

and vindicate the Honour of my Country, without alluding to *particular Persons*. But if two Cases happen to be so much alike, that the generality of the World will compare what I relate of *former Times* to the *present*; or if any *great Men* will apply bad Characters to Themselves, I do not think my self answerable for *such Applications*; since I cannot direct the Opinions of the Publick, nor prevent the Reflections of another Man's Conscience.

In the second Place, I cannot agree with this Author that all Methods of *accusing* great Men, except in a *judicial* Manner, are either *mean* or *unjustifiable*; for I must here take the Liberty to distinguish, in my Turn, between *Accusations* of *private Persons*, and of *Men in Authority*. In the *former* Case, the Laws are always open; and the Party injured may reasonably expect Justice, without any Apprehensions from the Power or Riches of the Criminal; which makes all other Kinds of *Accusation* impertinent and scandalous; but in the *latter*, we must not always rely on the most equitable Proceedings or the justest Determination; for *great Men* have frequent Opportunities of screening themselves, in such a Manner, by *Cabals*, *Alliances*, *Corruption*, or the *Favour* of an indulgent Prince, that it is commonly very difficult to bring them to condign Punishment; even when they are guilty of the most notorious Oppressions, and are publickly complained of as the Nuisances of their Country.

As there are Times for all Things, so there is more especially a proper Season for bringing *great Offenders* to Justice; which ought not to be undertaken rashly and unadvisedly, but with due Deliberation, and at fit Opportunities, when there is a general Cry for Vengeance and Redress. Things must be first set in a true Light; the Eyes of the People must be open'd; the Force of Prejudice must be overcome; the Influence of Power must be withdrawn; and several preparatory

tory Steps are necessary to be taken, before an *overgrown Criminal* can be brought to a fair Tryal, or Justice can be done to an injur'd Nation.

To accuse a *publick Minister* in the *Zenith* of his Power, would be Madness or Folly; because such a fruitless Attempt must end in his Triumph and the Completion of his Designs. Accordingly we may observe, that several *wicked Ministers*, when they have found themselves waining in their Authority, have defy'd their Adversaries with more than ordinary Insolence, and endeavoured to provoke them to a *publick Accusation*, before Matters were sufficiently ripen'd for it; well knowing that an *abortive IMPEACHMENT* would serve their Turn as well as the most comprehensive *Act of INDEMNITY*.

But it has always been a Practice, under the most corrupt Administrations, to quote *Examples* and draw *Parallels* out of History, in order to prove what Effect the same Male-practices have had on different States, or on the same States in former Ages; nor can This be look'd upon as disingenuous or a Libel on the *present Ministers* of any Kingdom, any more than a Comment on the *Ten Commandments* can be called a Libel on every *notorious Sinner* in the Parish.

I grant, indeed, that it would be more *honourable*, as well as more *useful*, to write without *Disguise*, provided it were equally *safe*. But would not any Man be esteemed a *Lunatick*, who should, in plain Terms, attack such a Monster as *Wolfey* or *Buckingham*, in the Plenitude of their Power; especially, if he has any *parallel Instances* at Hand; or can throw the same Thoughts under *Shades* and *Allegories*? I appeal to those Gentlemen, who seem most disturbed at this manner of Writing, whether they thought it, in any wise, *disingenuous*, when they practis'd it themselves, with great Freedom, both in the *late* and the *present* Reign.

If such Objectors were to put their Meaning into plain *English*, it would run much in this Manner. "For God's sake, Gentlemen, why don't you speak out, and subject yourselves to *those Penalties*, which we long to inflict upon you? Methinks, it is very *disingenuous* in you to sculk behind the *Laws*, and publish nothing but what you can *justify*."

Such a Complaint of *Disingenuity* is very extraordinary at this Juncture; for it seems highly unreasonable to expect that any Man should speak or write on these Subjects, without *Reserve*, at a Time, when even *supposed Ironies, imaginary Parallels, and forced Innuendos* are, by some Persons; thought not to be exempt from the Penalties of the Law.

However, if these worthy Gentlemen, who so courteously invite us to lay our selves open to the Mercy of *great Men*, will undertake to obtain a farther Extention of the *Liberty of the Press*; or procure a sufficient Warrant for writing with Impunity, and without any Restraint, on these Subjects; I don't know what I may be tempted to do; but till I am assured of such an Indemnification, I shall content myself with publishing these plain, general, inoffensive Lectures of *political Morality*, for the Discharge of my own Conscience; and leave my loving Countrymen to make, or not to make, any *Applications*, as they shall judge proper.

The most extraordinary Objection against me is, that I have presumptuously advanced several untowardly Arguments against *publick Corruption*, and perversely endeavoured to recommend *Frugality* as a national Virtue; but I have This to urge in my Excuse, that however the *former* may prevail amongst us; and however the *latter* may seem to have been discountenanced; yet so much *Decency* has been hitherto preserved, that no Person, except the Author of a late Pamphlet, intituled, *CLODIUS and CICERO*, has

has thought fit openly to defend the *one* or explode the *other*.

These, it seems, were mean, prevaricating Compliances, in the Opinion of this Writer; who resolved to be more *ingenuous* himself; and, scorning to mince Matters, or conceal any Truth, hath not been ashamed to spread Abroad in the World a publick and avowed Defence of *Bribery, Corruption, and Venality*.

He tells us very frankly that “Some *publick Corruptions* there are of that Strength and Prevalence, that, however *shameful* and *pernicious* they may be, they must yet be suffered to *remain* ;” and seems to insinuate (at least by a stronger *Innuendo* than can be charged upon my Writings) that, *such is the Situation of Things, that Measures strictly Virtuous would bring present Confusion; and that an endeavour to reform would overturn the Constitution.*

In order to enforce these worthy Tenets, he produces several Examples of great Men, who have perished in the Defence of *popular Liberty*, and in their Attempts to remove *publick Corruptions* and *Enormities*, *viz.* the two famous *Gracchi*; *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, Kings of *Sparta*; and the *second Brutus*; from whence he seems to draw this Conclusion: that *no Man, for the future, ought to make the like Attempts*; whereas, methinks, the proper Inference of an honest *Briton* should be, that *we ought to follow the Example of those noble Patriots, in asserting the Liberties of our Country, and not to be deterr'd by any Difficulties, or even Death itself, from pursuing the same glorious Cause.*

He then, with an insulting Air, puts the following Questions. “What have availed all our *sumptuary Laws*? What all Those against *Gaming* and *Duelling*? What Those against *Bribery*? Only to demonstrate how much more Force there is in *Luxury, and Vanity, and Avarice*, than there is in
“ *Laws*

“*Laws with all their Penalties?*” This is indeed too true; but I am willing to hope that they have, at least, some Influence, and may possibly keep many Men from being more bare-faced in their Iniquities. They hang over their Heads *in terrorem*; and may, in any flagrant Case, be put in Execution; for which Reason, however ineffectual they may be at present, I should be very sorry to see them *repealed*.

He endeavours to discourage *publick Frugality* (which he acknowledges to be an *excellent Virtue*) in the same manner that he patronizes *publick Corruption* (which he allows to be a *shameful and pernicious Vice*) by telling us that it was the *Bane* of the Emperor *Galba*, who was murdered by his Soldiers for refusing to *bribe* them; upon which he observes, that “the *Romans* were then come to that pass of *Sordidness* and *Venality*; that they would not do their *Duty*; no, not save their Country without *Lucre*, and *Wages extraordinary*. This was a *melancholy Evil*; but it was *necessary*; for *without it*, the State could not *subsist*.

I need not explain the *Doctrine*, which is imply'd in this Paragraph; since it is so very obvious, that it cannot possibly escape the shallowest Apprehension.

I will conclude with one more Objection to these Papers; which is, that such *general Invectives* (as they are called) might be equally applied to *any Ministers*, however *bonest* and *virtuous*; whereas I think it might be much more strongly objected against these Writers, that their *general Apologies* and *Panegyricks* would equally serve to flatter and defend any *Administration*, however *corrupt*; for my Papers, which consist of *general Satire* against wicked Men, will lose their Effect and cease to be severe, when they are apply'd to Persons, who are *not guilty*; or, at least, *not generally supposed to be guilty* of the Crimes, which they condemn; whereas the Writings of my Adversaries, especially of the *Author*, whom I mentioned last,

last, are not calculated so much to prove the Innocence of *those Persons*, for whose Service they are published, as to palliate *confessed Guilt*, and vindicate *notorious Corruption*. D.



N^o 32. Monday, March 27.

—quiescant porro moneo, & desinant
Maledicere, Malefacta ne noscant sua. Ter.



S the blackest Designs are often cover'd with the fairest Pretences, in order to prevent Detection and impose on the Publick; so the best Dispositions, and the worthiest Actions are subject to ill-natured Glosses and false Representations. I have met with some modern Philosophers, who maintain that *Courage* proceeds originally from *Fear*; that *Humility* is commonly founded in *Pride*; and *Liberality* to others derived from *Self-love*; but the *political Virtues* are more especially liable to such invidious Comments, which the Malice of opposite Parties is always ready to fix upon them; from whence it comes to pass, that the warmest *Patriotism* and sincerest Concern for the *publick Good* are often set forth in the most opposite Light, and imputed to *private Pique*, *Disappointment*, and *Ambition*. This was the Case of several *honourable Gentlemen*, who were most infamously aspersed and insulted, about *nine Years* ago, for RESIGNING *their Employments*, and withdrawing their Concurrence to some *Measures*, which were then carrying on.

That the Truth of what I have been observing on this Head may the more evidently appear, I have thought

thought fit to present the Reader with some remarkable *Extracts* out of a malicious Treatise, which was published at that Time with the Countenance of *Authority*; tending chiefly to blacken the Characters of *two most excellent Persons*, who have out-lived those Aspersions, and reign at present in the highest Favour of their Prince, and the general Esteem of their Fellow-subjects.

Extracts from a Pamphlet, intituled The DEFECTION consider'd, &c. Printed in the Year 1717.

(Page 9.) “ Strangers think these Quarrels among
 “ Men, whose Principles are the best calculated for
 “ the Good of Mankind, must have some *extraordi-*
 “ *ary Reasons*. They can’t well imagine that *They*,
 “ who have caused those Divisions, have nothing to
 “ object against the *present Administration*; and that
 “ it is chiefly for the Sake of a *single Person*, who,
 “ not content with the most beneficial Posts, threw
 “ up in a *Pet*, because he could not *govern every*
 “ *Thing*; and then confederated with such, as, till
 “ the Moment he declared himself a *Country Gentle-*
 “ *man*, he continually represented as the *vilest* of Men,
 “ and *Traytors* to their *King* and *Country*.

(Page 19.) “ Men in high Stations, tho’ they have
 “ fine and florid Parts, yet if they want *solid Sense*
 “ and a good Stock of *real Virtue*, to enable them to
 “ bear their Grandeur with *Moderation*, grow *giddy*
 “ and *insolent* upon their Exaltation; and, believing
 “ every thing due to their *superior Merit*, form
 “ Schemes of *ENGROSSING* their Royal Master, and
 “ think they are affronted if any of their *Creatures*
 “ (how well soever they may deserve it) are turn’d
 “ out; or their Prince bestows his Favours without
 “ their Leave; and rather than suffer This, they
 “ will throw up, though in the Middle of a *Se-*
 “ *ssion*, and not scruple to embroil the publick Af-
 “ fairs,

“ fairs, in order to make themselves necessary; and
 “ to force the Prince to part with Those, who, he
 “ he judges, best deserve his Kindness, and to em-
 “ ploy none but *Them* and *their Creatures*.

(Page 20.) “ That such a Design was on Foot,
 “ when the King went abroad, is plain from *two*
 “ *Persons* threatening to lay down, if that *most noble*
 “ *Peer*, employed since with so much Reputation,
 “ was made the *third Secretary of State*. This *In-*
 “ *solence*; their great *Intimacy* with a *G—l* in dis-
 “ grace; and *trusty Horace* being officiously sent with
 “ a Scheme for the Parliament’s sitting, during the
 “ *King’s Absence*, shocked many People; though far
 “ from imagining they were capable of acting what
 “ since has been done.

“ If a *certain Gentleman* contrived this Scheme to
 “ get the *Staff*, and govern *England*; even his *Instru-*
 “ *ments* can’t hope to keep their Posts, but by an *ob-*
 “ *sequious, slavish Compliance*; for whosoever is *in-*
 “ *solent* to his *Prince*, will be *intolerable*, when in
 “ Power, to his *Fellow-subjects*; and He must have a
 “ vitiated Taste indeed, who thinks it not better to
 “ serve a *good King*, of whose Favour he may be sure
 “ as long as he does his Duty, than be a *Slave* to any
 “ *Fellow-subject*; especially *One*, who lately would
 “ have thought himself very fortunate, if, instead of
 “ forming Schemes for *governing these Kingdoms*, he
 “ could have found Means of being freed from the
 “ *Inconveniencies* he then labour’d under.

“ *Quitting of Places* is no Crime; but if Several
 “ cabal to throw up, when the Government has most
 “ Occasion for their Service, in order to force it to
 “ comply with their unreasonable Demands; This
 “ is a very *criminal Conspiracy*; especially in *that*
 “ *Person*, who has not only got *incredible Sums* for
 “ *himself*; but who could ask nothing of his gene-
 “ rous Master (and all the World knows, he is none
 “ of the *most modest* in asking, for his *Children*, *R—*

“ *lations and Friends*, but what has been given him.
 “ This must fill every honest *Briton* with Indignation
 “ against such *vile Ingratitude*.

(Page 25.) “ A *brave Man*, if driven to Extremity,
 “ would rather employ one, who had been an *open*
 “ *Enemy*, than a *treacherous Friend*; who has con-
 “ vinced the World, that there is no *Tye* capable to
 “ hold him; but that he is ready to sacrifice every
 “ thing to his *Interest, Ambition and Revenge*.

(Page 29.) “ Most People thought (and I own I
 “ was of the Number) that the Usage *this Gentle-*
 “ *man* met with from the *Tories* was sufficient to
 “ shew that no Price could gain him; but, in truth,
 “ they did not consider, that after the *Whigs* had
 “ been charged with *cheating and plundering* the Pub-
 “ lick, and no Proof was made of it; a *Vote* of the
 “ *House of Commons*, of a *Breach of Trust* and *notori-*
 “ *ous Corruption* in any Man among them, who had
 “ been employed in such eminent Posts, would be of
 “ more Advantage to the *Tories*, than all the Services
 “ he could do them; and They were sure he should
 “ do them no Hurt, being resolved to *expel* him the
 “ House.

(Page 35.) “ A Man once sent to Prison for *Bri-*
 “ *bery and Corruption* (no Matter whether the Mo-
 “ ney was for *Himself* or his *Creature*) becomes as
 “ *hardened*, as a Wench sent to *Bridewel* for a less
 “ Fault; but could he offer 90,000 *l.* for *one Pur-*
 “ *chase*; or were he worth but half as much, as his
 “ Friends say he is, supposes several *such Jobs* must
 “ have been done; without which a *Government*, ac-
 “ cording to Lord *H——t*, is not worth serving.

(Page 36.) “ It cannot be denied, that Things are
 “ now in so good a Method, and so quickly expedited
 “ in the Treasury, that the *Lords Commissioners* never
 “ rise, till they have dispatched whatever Business
 “ comes before them; so that, at their last Adjourn-
 “ ment, there was not a Paper left undetermined.

There

“ There is now no Complaint of a *certain Office* held
 “ in the *Strand*, or any where else, which disposed of
 “ *Places* to the highest Bidder; or of *Grants* of *Places*
 “ in *Reversion*, or for *Life*, to *Children* and *Relati-*
 “ *ons*.

(Page 41.) “ People were surprized to find so little
 “ Regard paid to the frequent *Petitions* of the *Mer-*
 “ *chants*, complaining of the *Interruption* of their
 “ *Trade* in the *Baltick*, and the taking such *Numbers*
 “ of their *Ships* by the *Swedes*; and that, even while
 “ we had a royal *Navy* in the *Sound*, they were per-
 “ mitted, with *Impunity*, to act * the *Pirates*; but
 “ *GYLLEMBORG's* *Letters* help to explain this *My-*
 “ *stery*; where we find that the *Ships* taken from us
 “ were to serve as *Transports* to their *Army*. Had
 “ not this *hellish Conspiracy* been seasonably discover-
 “ ed, what *Sums* might not the *Posts*, which a *certain*
 “ *Gentleman* then enjoyed, have gained him by *this*
 “ *Invasion*; since no *Expence* would have been
 “ thought too great to have quickly got rid of those
 “ barbarous *Ravagers*?

“ If another *Person* (as it was reported) said just
 “ before he was removed, that *He had rather see an*
 “ *Army* of *Swedes* here than the *Act* about *Occasional*
 “ *Conformity repealed*; I should not wonder, consi-
 “ dering from what *Priests* he got his *Church-Poli-*
 “ *ticks*; and by what *artful Men* he has all along
 “ been wholly governed in *State-Matters*.

(Page 46.) “ Every one was at first surprized to see
 “ that though all the *Rebels* might have been, with
 “ little *Expence*, tried in the *North*, where they were
 “ taken, and where the *Witnesses* were ready at hand;
 “ yet none but the *poorer* and *meaner Sort* were there
 “ tried; but all of any tolerable *Condition* or *Sub-*
 “ *stance* were, at a great *Charge* to the *Government*,

* As the *Spaniards* have lately done in the *West-Indies*.

“ brought to Town.—This, I say, surprized People,
 “ till they considered that no *Bargains* could conve-
 “ niently be made but *here*; and that *here* was the
 “ *Money* of the Party, as well as their common *Ren-*
 “ *dexvous*; and that it might well be presumed, they
 “ would not *spare their Purses* to save the Lives of
 “ *Those*, who had ventured every thing for the Cause.
 (Page 48.) If Men are in haste to grow *Rich*, there
 “ is, no doubt, more to be got by *not Prosecuting*, or
 “ by *Saving*, than *Hanging*; and we may guess at
 “ the Reason, why *two Persons*, (not to mention o-
 “ thers) *One*, who knew there was such plain Evi-
 “ dence against him, that, in despair, he stabbed him-
 “ self; and the *Other*, though now a *new Ally*,
 “ thought so great a Criminal, with such full Proof
 “ against him, as not to be admitted to Bail on any
 “ Terms, were *both* dismissed without any *Prosecution*.

I will beg Leave to add a Paragraph or two from
 another Pamphlet, written in the *same Spirit*, and
 published at the same *Time*, intituled, *An Answer*
to the Character and Conduct of R—t W——le,
Esquire; with an exact Account of his POPU-
 LARITY.

(Page 14.) “ There is no Crime a Man can be
 “ guilty of, which I more abhor, than that of *Bri-*
 “ *bery* and *Corruption*, whatever *Qualifications* he
 “ may have; whether it be in *speaking* or *writing*
 “ well. If once he gives himself up to *Touching* (as
 “ they call it) I give him over as *incurable*; for if he
 “ is detected and rebuked, he will be apt to think
 “ that his Punishment will make him *popular*; and if
 “ he ever comes into Play again, he will be MORE
 “ VORACIOUS than ever; and, if not more *cunning*,
 “ his having been once in a *Goal* will make him so
 “ *considerable*, that whatever R——y you charge him
 “ with, he will only *swear* at you; and, in an *impu-*
 “ *dent* Manner, *dare* any one to tell what they know
 “ of

“ of him. But his *Impudence* will not be all; for,
 “ he that hath once forfeited his *Character*, is not
 “ unlike a Woman that hath lost her *Modesty*. That
 “ Man, who hath once committed a *Breach of Trust*,
 “ either towards his *King* or *Country*, I do believe
 “ there is a *Consideration*, that would tempt him to
 “ *sell* either or both, as well as their *Favour*, at a
 “ Time, when he has *more Friends* unprovided for,
 “ than can support *Themselves*.

(Page 19.) “ The King’s Favours, we may now
 “ expect, will be no longer confined to *one Province*;
 “ and there, for most part, to *one Family*; but they
 “ will be dispersed as generally as the Sun shines,
 “ throughout the whole Kingdom, amongst his Ma-
 “ jesty’s loyal Protestant Subjects.

“ Those, who enjoy his Majesty’s Favours at pre-
 “ sent, if they conduct themselves as they ought to
 “ do, shall no more be *sent to*, or obliged scanda-
 “ lously to *truckle* and (what they call) *come down* to
 “ this or that *Man*, for his being acquainted with or
 “ related to a *certain Family*; He that has most *Me-*
 “ rit, and deserved best from his King and Country
 “ will be duly *preferr’d*, without asking him where
 “ he was *born*, or whom he is *related to*? If he has
 “ *Merit* and *Loyalty*, He need now *no Money* to ad-
 “ vance him, since ROBINOCRACY is banished.
 “ We shall have no *Pensions* ask’d for *disaffected*
 “ *Relations*; no *Thousands a Year* to any *disaffected*
 “ *Man*, because He is *Uncle* to a *Man in Power*;
 “ nor shall an *honest Man* be turned out of Place, for
 “ an *Uncle* to be quarter’d on his *Successor*. I shall not
 “ mention any *Thing of Reversions* granted to *Chil-*
 “ *dren*; because they may grow up to be *honest Men*
 “ and deserve them.

(Pag. 22.) “ Tho’ some People have been pleased
 “ to compliment *Him* so far, as to throw themselves
 “ out of *Employments*; I am apt to believe there
 “ are some, even of them, who will be very far

“ from *oppressing* the King's Servants, because Mr.
 “ *W——le* is not one of them; or that They
 “ will venture to say, as *others* have done, that the
 “ King's Service was become a *Burthen*, too great
 “ for a *Man of Honour* to bear ——— and I doubt
 “ not, but there will come a *Day*, when *this Charge*
 “ will not only turn upon the *Authors* of it; but
 “ that it will also be attended with such *Punishments*,
 “ as are adequate to the *Ingratitude* and *Presumption*
 “ of the Man, who has dared to say, that there was
 “ any Thing in the *King's Service*, either *unjust* or
 “ *dishonourable* for any Man whatever to transact.

(Pag. 23.) “ Since you are pleased to commend
 “ Mr. *W——le's* OEconomy in the *T——y*;
 “ his great Skill in preventing *publick Credit* from
 “ sinking; and that the *publick Debts* were not *in-*
 “ *creased*, but in a fair way to be *lessen'd*; at least
 “ that it would have been so, had He been suffered
 “ to continue in the Management, and his nice Notions
 “ and Judgment in improving Things relating to FO-
 “ REIGN TREATIES; I shall tell you what I have
 “ heard of Him; and in the first Place as to *publick*
 “ *Credit*; the *Citizens* will say, that He opposed a
 “ Motion that was made for a Resolution of Parlia-
 “ ment to support *publick Credit*; but perhaps you will
 “ say, He only did it in Opposition to a *particular Per-*
 “ *son*, who refused to draw with him; but be That as it
 “ will, every Body finds *publick Credit* so much the
 “ better since his being *turn'd out*, that every Thing has
 “ risen 20 *per Cent.* more than it was during his *Ma-*
 “ *agement*; from whence you may judge, that the Peo-
 “ ple, who have all along supported the Government,
 “ and who must again do it, in Case of Necessity, have
 “ a much better Opinion of their Fortunes being in
 “ the Hands of the present Administration, than of
 “ their being in His; and that they will hardly ever
 “ care to trust a *Man* with their *Estates*, who shall
 “ take upon him to say, that *publick Credit is no more*
 “ *than what you are pleased to make it.* (Pag.

(Pag. 32) “ In the mean Time, you had best for-
 “ bear calling Ministers a *Faction*; or take upon you
 “ to censure the *King*, because Mr. *W——le* is out
 “ of *Humour*. You make those Comparisons with
 “ King *Charles's* and King *James's* Ministers. Turn
 “ your Eyes to the *Norfolk Troop*. I believe you'll
 “ find them much such *Flesh and Blood* as those *mer-*
 “ *cenary, corrupt and arbitrary* Statesmen in those
 “ Reigns; but until you see some *such Behaviour*,
 “ believe me that your Comparisons are very odious.
 “ There is a great deal of Difference between a *Man*,
 “ that has been *convicted*, and *One* that has not. You
 “ may be fond of your *Friend*; but whatever im-
 “ partial Man reads the *Journals* of the *House of*
 “ *Commons*, he will be persuaded, as I am, that a
 “ certain *country Gentleman* has, once in his Life-
 “ time, been as *corrupt* and as *mercenary* as any, even
 “ of King *Charles's Courtiers*.”

In this virulent, scurrilous and inhuman Manner were these *excellent Persons* treated, at that Time, for only dissenting from the *Measures of the Court*, and voting with the *Minority*. We see the Resentment against them ran so high, that not only *Spleen, Prejudice, Self-interest, Ambition, Disappointment* and *Revenge* were laid to their Charge; but even *Breach of Trust, Extortion, Bribery* and *notorious Corruption*; which it is observeable, have not been alledged or even insinuated against some *other Gentlemen*, who have lately had the Misfortune to lie under the *former Imputations*.

I designed, in my next, to have laid before the Reader the Answers, which were made by *these Gentlemen* and their *Friends* to all those Accusations; but as the PRESENT STATE OF GIBRALTAR and its great IMPORTANCE to this *Island* seem to require some *immediate Considerations*, I must beg Leave to defer the Sequel of this Paper till *Monday* next. D.



N^o 33. Friday, March 31.

— bene parta tueri.



Having been very unjustly charged with *Disaffection* to his Majesty, and *ill-will* to some of his *Ministers*; I am resolved to use my utmost Endeavours to demonstrate the contrary; for as no Time or Circumstances shall ever abate that ardent Zeal and passionate Devotion, which I have always express'd and exerted for the *Protestant Succession* in the present Royal Family; so I will never withhold that just Tribute of Praise, which *Those*, who have the Honour to be employ'd in the Administration, shall at any Time deserve.

I cannot therefore neglect the present Opportunity of doing *those Gentlemen* Justice, by endeavouring to remove those uneasy Thoughts and never-ceasing Fears, which the People of these Kingdoms have been observed to entertain for the Preservation of GIBRALTAR; for though I cannot, upon any Account, blame the Vigilance and Jealousy of my Countrymen, for their undoubted Rights, Privileges and Acquisitions; yet I hope to convince them that their Apprehensions are entirely groundless and imaginary.

In the present Scene of Affairs, the Eyes of all *Europe*, as well as of these Kingdoms, seem to be fixed, with different Views, on that *invaluable Fortrefs*; and on the Issue of those Hostilities, which are now carrying on before it; for the Event of which the Heart of every honest *Briton* is manifestly alarm'd and agitated with a Variety of different Passions.

But

But as it is generally acknowledg'd by the best Judges, and has been often publicly declared, to be utterly *impregnable* in itself by any *outward Force*; so we may rest assured, from the following Considerations, that it will never be tamely given up, either in an *open* or *clandestine* Manner.

For, as it was obtained by our Arms, according to the strictest Law of Nations, in open War; and yielded to us by a solemn Treaty of Peace; so has it since been confirm'd to us by many subsequent Treaties, and all the considerable Powers of *Europe* became Guarantees for it; nay, *Spain* itself, by acceding to the *Quadruple Alliance*, became a Guarantee, and relinquish'd all Pretensions to it in Virtue of any *Promise* that might have been given, which was *previous* to that Treaty; and indeed it is the only valuable Benefit, that we have received for all that immense Profusion of Blood and Treasure, which has intailed upon us such an heavy Burthen of *Debts* and *Taxes*.

As to a late pretended *Promise of Restitution*, which the King of *Spain* insists on, enough has been said, by a Person of great Weight and Authority, to convince the World, that it was only a *ministerial Promise*; and therefore not *obligatory*; but even supposing it otherwise, I cannot help thinking it more advisable even to break our Word, for once, with our Neighbours, (as they have frequently done with us) than to give up a Place of the utmost Consequence to this Kingdom against the united Voice of the whole People.

Especially, if it be farther consider'd, that as it is not probable *Spain* should give us an Equivalent; so the vigorous Defence and Preservation of it seems to be the chief, if not the only Reason, that can make the People easy under those extraordinary Expences, which have been already incurr'd, and will be farther incurr'd by our present *Misunderstanding* (for I
am

am not yet allowed to call it a *War*) with our Neighbours.

I hope the projected *Invasion* and Attempt, in Favour of the *Pretender*, is now pretty well blown over; and as to the *Affair of Ostend*, tho' the *Abolition* of that Charter is, no doubt, of some Consequence to the *East-India* Company, and perhaps to the Nation; yet it cannot, upon any Account, be brought in Competition with a Place, upon which so much depends, not only in relation to all our beneficial *Trade* in general, but likewise on other Considerations; for however necessary or advantagious our *East-India* Trade may be, whilst *other Nations* carry on a Traffick to those Parts; yet I believe it will not be denied, that if all the States of *Europe* would unanimously agree to leave it off by consent, it would be for the common Interest of them all.

Let that be as it will, the *Ostend Company* does not seem to be of so much Importance, either to *Great-Britain* or to the *Empire* as to engage us in an expensive War about it; and therefore I should not, in the least, doubt of seeing a speedy Accommodation of that *Affair*, provided it were the only Matter left in Dispute.

I cannot therefore but look on *Gibraltar* as the chief Occasion of all our late Differences with our Neighbours; as it is the *only Point*, about which we can be *essentially* concerned in the impending War; and therefore it is ridiculous to surmise, that, after we have concerted so *prudent an Alliance*, and employ'd our *Fleets* so successfully in its Defence, it will ever be surrender'd by *Treaty*, or given up by *Connivance*; for if That were intended, what occasion could there be for the Formality of a *Siege*, and for sacrificing so many brave Lives on both Sides to no Purpose? Or, what can be more monstrous, than to imagine that, after we have made such a glorious Buffle with our *Fleets* and *Armies*, and convinced our Enemies that they

they cannot wrest it out of our Hands by *Force*, we should make a *free Gift* of such an inestimable Jewel, and undo all the Work of above *twenty Years*, in a Fit of good Humour?

It cannot surely be expected that we should always be the Bubbles of *Europe*, and grow such proverbial Tools in *Negotiation* as constantly to lose in the *Cabinet*, what we gain in the *Field*, at the useless Expence of our Blood and Treasure, and continually suffer by *Victory* and *Success*.

No, I thank God, Experience hath taught us more Wit, and Providence hath given us more Honesty; so that we have the justest Reason, for the future, to expect that the *British* Arms will be employ'd only in the Cause of *Britain*; that we shall fight only our *own Quarrels*; defend our *own Rights*; and let our Enemies have the Glory of becoming the *heroic Dupes* and *Quixot-Champions* for the Liberties of Mankind.

With what uncommon Joy, Exultation and Triumph must it fill the Heart of every honest *Briton*, when he reflects on the royal Warmth, with which his Majesty had the Goodness to recommend to his Parliament the Support of *Gibraltar*; justly calling it of *infinite Advantage* and *Security* to our *Trade* and *Commerce*; when he considers the remarkable Zeal and Vigour, which both Houses expressed in their Concurrence with his Majesty's Recommendation; and that extraordinary Spirit of Loyalty and Resolution, which his dutiful Subjects have display'd in their *ADDRESSES*, upon this Occasion, from all Parts of the Kingdom; not only professing their chearful Acquiescence under those Burthens, which they feel at present, but their Willingness to submit to much greater; and *some* even to give up *all*, and sacrifice their *Lives* and *Fortunes*, in the strictest Sense, to the Welfare of their Country, and the Confusion of his Majesty's Enemies?

There

There never was a more hearty and general *Unanimity* between any Prince and both Houses of Parliament; or between the united States of the Legislature, and the united Voice of the whole People, than what has discover'd itself on the present Occasion.

To This let us add the * *Steadiness* and *Fidelity* of the *present Ministry*; who are so far from being suspected of holding any *criminal Correspondence* with our Enemies, that, on the contrary, too much Zeal has been objected against them by some modern *Malignants*, who have maliciously insinuated that they have brought a dangerous War upon us by using *unnecessary Precautions*; and providing, in too hostile a Manner, against *Attempts*, which, it is said, were *never intended*.

As we may therefore depend on the Integrity of the *present Administration*; so if any *future Ministers* should, either for *Gain*, or to keep off a *War* (which they shall foolishly draw upon themselves, and not have the Skill to manage) be inclined to make their Peace with a *RESTITUTION* of this *impregnable Bulwark*, we may comfort ourselves with this Reflection, that they will not have the Rashness to do it, nor *dare* to give up a Place, which is so deeply rivetted in the Affections and Esteem of the whole Nation.

Whatever *Promises* therefore some *former Ministers* may have either made or advised, concerning the *Restitution* of this Place, we may be assured that *Those*, at present in Power, will not think themselves obliged to fulfil them; much less to make or advise any other; for they will, no doubt, have more Regard to the *Welfare* of their Country, as well as to their *own Interest* (which are *equally* concerned) than to encourage or even listen to any Proposals of that Nature.

But, farther; as the Concurrence of his Majesty, both Houses of Parliament, the Ministry, and the

* Vide the Address from Lynn Regis.

whole Kingdom in their Opinion of its Value, will secure it against *Corruption* at Home; so the natural Strength of the Place, the Bravery of our Troops, and the Assistance of our powerful *ALLIES*, will be sufficient to defend it Abroad; for though, perhaps, it may be the *natural Interest* even of our *Friends* to wish that Fortrefs in any other Hands; yet I will never believe but that it is their *political Interest* to maintain it in its present Possession; and notwithstanding the Suggestions of evil-minded Men, nothing shall induce me to entertain the least Distrust of their *Fidelity*; especially if it be true that a *great and extraordinary Minister* did make himself answerable for the *French Faith* in a *Place*, where he could not be understood to trifle or prevaricate.

In This only will their *Fidelity* appear; for as we are sensibly concerned *only* about the Preservation of this Place; so they can have no Opportunity of demonstrating their religious Observation of Treaties so much, as by contributing their utmost and immediate Assistance towards raising the *Siege* and defeating the Attempts of our Enemies.

I have, in this Paper, purposely declined to enter into the Particulars of the *Importance* of Gibraltar, designing them for another Paper or two, which shall be published very speedily, in order to animate the Zeal of my Countrymen in its Defence, and confirm them in that high Opinion of its Value, which they have so justly conceived.

In the mean time I may, I hope, take the Liberty to apply the memorable Sentence of Sir RICHARD STEELE, concerning the *Demolition* of Dunkirk, to the present Occasion; since *the British Nation could not more justly expect the Demolition of that Place, than it now does the vigorous Defence and Preservation of GIBRALTAR.*

D.



N^o 34. Monday, April 3.

Falsus honor juvat, aut mendax Infamia terret
 Quem nisi mendacem & mendosum? Hor.



Am obliged, by Promise, in this Paper, to lay before the Reader the *Answers*, which two *honourable Gentlemen*, their *Friends* and *Seconds* made, about *nine* Years ago, to the *Calumnies*, *Aspersions* and *Imputations*, which some mercenary *Writers* endeavoured to fix upon them, for *resigning* their *Employments*; for as I have already published an *Abstract* of the *Charge*; so common *Justice* calls upon me to exhibit the *Sum* of their *Defence*; which I now proceed to do with great *Pleasure*, leaving every *Reader* to make the proper *Application*.

EXTRACTS from a Pamphlet, intituled; *Some Persons vindicated* against the Author of the *DEFLECTION*, &c. and that *Writer* convicted of *Malice* and *Falseness*.

By R—— W——, Esq;

(Page 4.) “ It seems to be the modern *Vice* of the
 “ *Times*, and peculiar to the *Divisions* of this *Age*,
 “ *viz.*) That as soon as any *Man*, for *what Reason* so-
 “ *ever*, thinks fit to *decline* the *Party* he was engaged
 “ with, *that Party* endeavours to *blacken* and *aspersion*
 “ him; load his *Conduct* with *Reproaches*, and his
 “ *Person* with *Calumny*, in the *grossest* *Manner*,
 “ without *Respect* to the *Dignity* or *Quality* of his
 “ *Per-*

“ Person, or the *Character* he has, born even among
“ *themselves*; and, which is still worse, without re-
“ spect to *Truth or Justice, Humanity or Charity*;
“ much less *Religion*.

“ It often happens, and indeed 'tis natural to be-
“ lieve, that it is *generally*, if not *universally* so; that
“ this is done to smother the *real Causes* and *De-*
“ *fects* in the *Party*, from which those Persons draw
“ off; that the *Knavery*, which could not be *compli-*
“ *ed with*; the *Lengths*, which could not be *run*; and
“ the many *secret Practices*, which were *dislik'd*, and
“ the *Dislike* of which may have been the *real Causes*
“ of declining the *Service* they were in, might be
“ *concealed*.

“ Gentlemen in *high Posts* in the Government,
“ and in the Administration of publick Affairs, may
“ find themselves *uneasy* in their Employments, upon
“ many Accounts; (too many to mention here) and
“ may chuse rather to *quit* their Employments, than
“ to serve in the *Manner* and with those *Uneasinesses*
“ they suffer'd; and yet it does not follow, that they
“ have the *least Deficiency in their LOYALTY* to
“ their *Prince*; who, perhaps, is not at all the *Cause*
“ of those *Uneasinesses*, nor any way *party* to them;
“ but 'tis very hard that. *Those*, who really were the
“ *Cause*, and whose *Measures* the *Persons declining*
“ chose rather to quit the *Profits* and *Honours* of the
“ *Service*, than to comply with, should be at Liberty
“ to *saddle the Offence*, given *only to those Men*, upon
“ their *MASTER*; and reproach *those Men* with want
“ of *Duty*, who really wanted only to be able to
“ serve, *without submitting their Judgments* in Cases,
“ which they could not think it *reasonable*, or for
“ their *Master's Service* to comply with.

“ In a Word, 'tis a *Scandal* in the highest Degree
“ unjustifiable, that when *Differences* may happen a-
“ mong the *Managers* of publick Affairs, the Persons,
“ who *quit* the *Service*, must always be charged with

“ *Disloyalty and Disaffection*; and, which is worse,
 “ with *DESIGNS*; which is the *new Calumny* raised
 “ upon the *Persons* now to be spoken of.

(Page 9) “ Before I enter into the Labyrinth of
 “ Words without Meaning, which cram’d this cla-
 “ morous Libel, it is decent to enquire one Thing of
 “ its Author, *viz.* whether it was *Forgetfulness* or a
 “ Sense of the *Impossibility* of performing it, which
 “ was the Occasion that, throughout his whole Book,
 “ he has not so much as attempted to charge *these*
 “ *Persons* with any * *Mismanagement* in the great *Em-*
 “ *ployments*, which they have born the Weight of,
 “ through the Administration of the *present or past*
 “ *Reign* !

(Page 15.) “ *Ministers of State* have always a Right
 “ of preserving their *own Principles*; and a Liberty
 “ of *adhering* to what, in their Judgment, they
 “ think is for the *Service* of their *Country* and the *In-*
 “ *terest* of the *Master* they serve; otherwise they were
 “ *Slaves by Office*; and while they were impowered to
 “ preserve the *Rights and Liberties* of their *Fellow-*
 “ *Subjects*, they were deprived of *their own*. It is
 “ no *Derogation* from the *Sovereign* to say, that this
 “ *Liberty* is allowed to *all* his Majesty’s Servants,
 “ tho’ they were to have the Misfortune to *differ* in
 “ their Judgment from that of the *Sovereign himself*;
 “ and our own Government is not without many *Ex-*
 “ *amples* recent in Memory, where This has been
 “ practised without any Offence; the Minister of
 “ State, who has the Misfortune to differ in his Judg-
 “ ment, having nothing to do, but with Duty and
 “ Respect to *resign* his Employment.

“ “ Much more then is this Right and Claim their
 “ just Due, when the *Person*, with whom they *differ*,
 “ is not only not the *Sovereign*, but even their *Fellow-*

* *Vide* the *Craftsman*, N^o 32. or the *Defection consider’d*.
 Page 29, 37, 41, 46, 48, &c.

“ *Servant* in the Administration; and whose Judgment, tho’ founded ever so well upon right Principles as to *Duty*, must be allowed to be *equally* subject to *Mistake*, as that of our *own*. In this Case the *Minister* differing and faithfully representing the *Reason* of his Judgment, may have, perhaps, no *Misfortune* in his Judgment, but That of being *over-ruled*; which, in *some Cases*, may be *as much* a Misfortune to *his Country*, as to *himself*, and *more too*.

(Page 16) “ Now whether this was the Case of the Persons, whom this *Libeller* defames; or whether it was not; yet for the Purpose let me suppose it was; many Reasons forbidding me entering here on the Specification of the Particulars. The *Libeller* is not ashamed to fight under the Protection of the *present Ministry*; as if no Man durst suppose any Thing, how much soever in his *own Defence*, which might look like a *Reflection* that Way; but he shall be *driven from this Cover*; for, without any *Reproach* upon, or *Offence* to the *present Ministers of State*, I shall suppose that they may *differ* with others, and others from them; or that any *Ministers of State* may *differ* in their Sentiments one from another; and yet may be all *equally* and *sincerely* attached to his *Majesty’s Interest*, and to the *Servitude* of their *Country*; nor is there any Design, in whatever is said here, so much as to insinuate that the *Ministers*, from whom these Persons differ’d in the Administration of publick Affairs, were not *sincerely* embarked in the *general Interest*, however they might be of a different Opinion as to the *Means*. The Business here is not to accuse any, or reflect upon any; but to defend *innocent* Persons against *unjust* Accusations and Reflections, and detect the *Malice* of them. The Question here is not to suggest that the *Ministry*, from whom these *accused Persons* are said to divide, are *Enemies* to the Interest of King *GEORGE*, and the Interest of their *Country*; but to

“ make appear the Malice of *Those*, who pretend that
 “ the *others* are so.

(Page 26.) “ It is evident, that there has not *one*
 “ *Vote* there (*i. e. in Parliament*) gone contrary to the
 “ *King's Desires*. Even That of *asking Money*, without
 “ a *Specification of the MANNER of disposing it*, tho'
 “ opposed by *many Gentlemen*, whom *these Persons* had
 “ no Influence upon, yet pass'd the House with the
 “ highest Demonstration of *Duty and Confidence* to and
 “ in his Majesty's Prudence, and his Royal Inclinations
 “ to do nothing but what should be for the Good of
 “ all his People.

“ Why does not this *Libeller* give *one Instance*,
 “ wherein the King's Affairs have been *distressed*; and
 “ why does he not explain what he means by these
 “ Men's *hazarding all*? Are the King's Affairs in a
 “ *distressed Condition*? Or, are they not in the most
 “ *flourishing Condition* that ever they were in; or that
 “ ever this Nation knew the *publick Affairs* in?

(Page 29.) “ Do these *Libellers* think that the Re-
 “ putation of *these Persons* must sink under their *Ca-*
 “ *junny*, for the bare, single Step of *disagreeing* with
 “ the *other Statesmen*, whom they were embarked
 “ with; and not perhaps concurring with their *Me-*
 “ *thods* in Management? Must they be JACOBITES,
 “ because they do not consent to King GEORGE's
 “ *Business their Way*? May not both be equally sin-
 “ cere in the *royal Interest*, though they cannot set
 “ *Horses together in the Forms*?

“ Why does not this *Libeller* let us know what it
 “ was that they ever did, or offered to do, that was
 “ injurious to the King's Interest, during the whole
 “ Time of their Management? To tell us what *Mea-*
 “ *sures* they take *now*, and what *Instruments* they think
 “ fit to use *since*, is to enter upon a new Argument;
 “ in which whoever dips, must account also for the
 “ *Usage* they have received from a *scandalous, cla-*
 “ *mouring Set of Men*, as well in Pamphlets, Libels,
 “ News-

“ News-Papers and Conversation, as *elsewhere*; which
 “ may have obliged them to act in their *own just De-*
 “ *fence*, and for the effectual clearing up their *own*
 “ *Reputation*.

(Page 30.) “ The Quotation from the *Libel* inti-
 “ mates *those Persons* getting *immense Sums* by his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Bounty. If the *Libeller* had not been
 “ known to be a Man, who never laid much Stress
 “ upon the *Proof* of any Thing he said, or ever en-
 “ deavoured to be recommended to the World for
 “ his *Veracity*, he would perhaps have thought him-
 “ self obliged to have mentioned some of those *im-*
 “ *mense Sums* these Persons have gained; shew’d how
 “ exorbitant they were; how unjustly gotten; and
 “ by what Methods. He would have laid open and
 “ exposed the * *Corruption* of their Administration,
 “ and the like; where have they made a *Property* of
 “ his Majesty’s Authority, or a *Prey* of his Subjects?
 “ Whose *Ox*, or whose *Ass* have they taken? Who
 “ complains of *their Exactions*; *their Extortions*;
 “ *their Delays*; or *their Injustice*?

EXTRACTS from a Pamphlet intituled, *The Defection*
detected, or Faults laid on the right Side.

(Pag. 4.) “ To accuse *Gentlemen*, who are irre-
 “ prochable for *Loyalty* and *Conduct*, of Want of
 “ both; to arraign them for *Ingratitude* and
 “ *Treachery*; to insult them with odious *Misrepre-*
 “ *sentations*, are Actions so flagrant and offensive to
 “ good Manners, that (let the *Quality* of the Per-
 “ son so doing, or so encouraging to be done, be ne-
 “ ver so great or conspicuous) the Injustice of so cri-
 “ minal a Demeanor calls loudly for the Animadver-

* *Vide* the *Craftsman* and *Defection* as directed before; or a Pamphlet intituled, *An Answer to the Character and Conduct of R..... W....., Esq; &c-*

“ fion of fuch, as have any Regard for *unfollied* Re-
 “ putations and *unblameable* Characters.

(Page 17.) “ When they were in *Place*, how were
 “ they not careffed and adored! Now they are *out of*
 “ *Employment*, how not derided and vilified! As if
 “ *Reason, Eloquence* and *Merit* were annexed to an
 “ *Office*; and thofe Excellencies of *Precaution* and *Ma-*
 “ *nagement*, that made them the Objects of the
 “ *Whigs* Admiration and Esteem *before*, had no longer
 “ Duration than their Abode in *COURTS*. As if
 “ to be difatisfy’d with *some Mens* Proceedings was
 “ to act in Difobligation of all the *whole Party*; and
 “ to refufe an implicit Affent to *some of their Fellow-*
 “ *fervants* Schemes was to act in Contempt of their
 “ *Master’s*.”

EXTRACTS from a Pamphlet intituled, *The Refigners*
Vindicated; Part I.

(Page 6.) “ If the Cafe of the Duke of *Northum-*
 “ *berland* can bear any Parallel, I defire him to apply
 “ his *Insolence, Covetoufnefs* and *Ambition* in the right
 “ Place. I am fure, *He* has a lefs Title to it, who
 “ attempts to fhine but in *one Capacity*, than *They*,
 “ who would make us believe they have a Genius for
 “ *half a Dozen different Employments*.

(Page 8.) “ ———One would imagine there was
 “ fomething like Magick in *Places* and *Preferments*.
 “ A Man no fooner fteps into them, but he has all the
 “ Perfections of a little *Divinity*; and he is no fooner
 “ *out*, but the Charm is undone, and he becomes the
 “ moft *disagreeable* and *infamous* of Mankind.

“ While Mr. *W*———le was at the Head of the
 “ *T*——y, the Encomiums of fome Men ran fo high
 “ upon his Adminiftration, that the *Cecil’s, Godol-*
 “ *phin’s*, and *Halifax’s* were thought little, in refpect
 “ of his fuperior Merit. The *Whigs* were fo charm-
 “ ed with him, that hardly any Thing was conduct-

“ ed

“ ed without consulting him as an Oracle. His ad-
 “ mirable Address in the Affairs of the House; his
 “ masterly Eloquence and nervous Reasoning were the
 “ Subjects of all Conversation. Now these very Per-
 “ sons think his Oratory *calm* and *lifeless* as a cer-
 “ tain *great Man's* Prayers; his Wit and his Argu-
 “ ment have lost all their Force; and even common
 “ Sense left him, the Minute he left his Places. Thus
 “ we see that *Sense* and *Integrity* are merely *topical*,
 “ and a Man must act within the Compass of a pre-
 “ scrib'd Circle, or he runs a Risque of forfeiting his
 “ *Understanding* or his *Morals*.

(Page 9) “ ——— How This can be called a *criminal*
 “ *Conspiracy*, I cannot understand; unless all *Refig-*
 “ *nation* implies *Guilt*, in the same Manner as he
 “ makes all *Continuance in Place* to imply *Merit*. An
 “ *honest Man* may be dissatisfied. He may think it
 “ improper to act in particular Conjunctions, without
 “ incurring the Censure of any Body; and who can
 “ doubt, but that he has good Reasons, as the World
 “ goes, when he sacrifices his *Interest* to his *Opinion*?
 “ ——— It is *unjust* and *uncharitable* to attribute an
 “ Action of such Consequence to *Pet, Whim, Hu-*
 “ *mour* and *Passion*; and He knows little of the
 “ World, who imagines *These* carry such a Sway
 “ with Men of a *sedate* Temper; and it shews that
 “ the Writer was put to *poor Shifts*, when he was
 “ forced to read us such *false Ethicks* for a Reason.

(Page 18) “ ——— They must be but ill read
 “ in human Nature, who can encourage such un-
 “ worthy Usage of *One*, whose *former Merit* they ac-
 “ knowledge; such Liberties frequently *returning*, in
 “ a *double Proportion*, on the Heads of the *Revilers*.
 “ *Lipsius* has a fine Observation on this Occasion.
 “ *Qui Libellos famosos in lapsam Dignitatem edunt,*
 “ *sibimetipsis supplicia parant; multa quoniam necesse*
 “ *est esse ficta; multa in pejus detorta; plurima, quæ*
 “ *ad Rem erant, oblita. Occasio inde Læso data est*

“ *contumeliam fortiter repellendi; & etiam quæ vera*
 “ *sunt ex fictorum Refutatione minuendi; quid quod*
 “ *idem acrius Lædentis vitia intuetur, undequaque op-*
 “ *probria retorquenda colligit, & replicaturus Cautio-*
 “ *nem Accusationis vi commiscet.*

In this ample, learned and rational Manner were those *honourable Resigners* vindicated from the vile Aspersions and most unjust Imputations of their Adversaries. Whether the same Arguments may not be applied in behalf of *some Gentlemen* at present (who have been loaded with the same Imputations; *Bribery, Extortion* and *Corruption* excepted) let the Reader determine; but as it might be expected that I should say something on this Head, which has been so much insisted on, I thought proper to treat it in this Manner; for though I am sensible that such *personal Altercations* are foreign to the Merits of the Cause; yet *Argumenta ad Hominem* have always been allow'd; and where *Objections* are merely *personal*, a well-grounded *Recrimination* is a sufficient Answer.

I shall now proceed in my general Design, and not suffer myself to be diverted by any *Objections*, which are not more *considerable*, or have some Relation to the Subject in Debate. D.



Friday,

N^o 35.

Friday, April 7.



THE Port and Town of *Gibraltar* being become the Subject of most Conversation, and its Preservation the Object of every honest Man's Hopes and Wishes; the great Consequence of it to this Kingdom never more justly deserved our Attention than at this Time, if consider'd only in *two* Points; *first*, as it preserves to us the Conveniency, Protection and Security of our Trade to the *Streights*, above That of all other Nations; more especially in Regard to the *Algerines* and *Sallee-men*, who are influenced by it to continue their *Treaties* made with us; which they never do longer with any other Nation than till they find it their Interest to break them; *Secondly*, in respect to the great Advantage, which the Possession of that Place hath already given us, when in War with *France* and *Spain*; and consequently will always give us again upon the like Occasions, whilst we continue to keep it.

First, in respect to our *Trade*; for as it commands the Passage or Entrance of all our Navigation into the *Mediterranean*, both in Peace and War; so it is equally necessary, and as much our Interest to keep it ourselves, as it is for any Gentleman to keep Possession of the Gate, which leads to his own House; it being in the Power of Those, who possess this Port, at all Times to interrupt, annoy, or hinder whom they shall think fit in their Trade, by keeping only *two* or *three* Ships of War constantly on that Station; in the same Manner almost as the *Danes*, by the Possession of *Elseneur*,

com-

command the Passage into, and out of the *Baltick*; so that if this Port were in the Hands of any other Nation, it would be in their Power likewise either to permit us to navigate or trade within the *Streights* or not, as they should think fit; unless a very strong Squadron were constantly kept at the Entrance of the *Streights-Mouth* to secure the Passage, and to be relieved from Time to Time by fresh Ships; which would put us to a much greater Expence than we are now at, in keeping the Place in Dispute.

Before *England* was in Possession of *Tangier*, on the opposite Side of the *Streights*, we were never able to deal with the *Algerines* and other *Turkish Rovers*; who, for near a hundred Years, had carried on a *successful piratick War* against the Commerce of this Nation, and never could be reduced; till, by the Situation and our Possession of the above mention'd Place, we distressed them so much, not only by taking their Ships going in and coming out of the *Streights*, but also by retaking such of their Prizes, as they had taken in the Ocean, that at last they were forced to be content with such a Peace as we would give them; the Continuance of which is now owing to nothing so much as to our having been, for many Years past and at present, in the same Condition to chastise those *Rovers*, by the Possession of *Gibraltar*, as we were before by the Possession of *Tangier*.

The Security of our *Italian, Turkey, and Fish Trades* intirely depends on our Possession of this Place; and should we ever lose it, or part with it, it is very reasonable to believe that both the *Algerines* and *Sallee-men* would soon break with us again; so that, in such a Case, the abovesaid Branches of Trade would almost wholly fall into the Hands of our Rivals the *French* from *Marseilles*; who, by their Situation, are always ready at Hand to furnish those Markets, as soon as they are in Want; while we, on our Part, shall be obliged to carry on that Trade by the tedious Methods of
Fleets

Fleets and Convoys; and, at last, perhaps, come long after the Market is supplied by our *Rivals*. Besides all This, the Article of *Insurance*, which would certainly run much higher than usual under these Circumstances, would prove a heavy Charge on our Goods, more than on Those of other Traders, which would thereby very much affect those Branches of our Trade and Navigation.

Nay, the Mischief would not stop here; for as the *Algerines*, of late Years, cruise in Summer Time at the Mouth of our Channel (where they lately took a very rich *Ostend East-India Ship*) and as some of them have also come into our very Ports two or three Years successively; so it is possible, that if we should lose *Gibraltar*, they may become, being so well acquainted with our Channel, a much more dangerous Enemy to us, than ever they were formerly; and may attack all our Trade in general, as the *St. Malo Privateers* did in the late Wars, whenever they shall find that they can carry home their Prizes without Interruption; which is not to be done, unless we should be dispossessed of *Gibraltar*, and thereby take the Bridle, which had hitherto restrained them, out of their Mouths.

Secondly, in Respect to our Neighbours; *Gibraltar* is situated in such a Manner, that it is in the Power of the present Possessors to cut off any naval Communication, between one Port and another, of each of those *two very powerful Kingdoms*, with which we have had such frequent Occasions to be at War for almost these forty Years past; who would soon turn the Tables upon us, if they should recover this Place out of our Hands; especially in Times of any Rupture between us; nothing being more self-evident than that it gives to Those, who are Masters of it, the Sovereignty and Command of the Commerce and Navigation of the *Mediterranean Sea*, and makes it impracticable for any other Nation to trade there, without

their Leave. And farther, by our Possession of this Place, all Nations within the *Mediterranean* will be obliged to court our Friendship, or fear our Power; particularly the *pyratick States*; who, beholding Vengeance so near at Hand, will be thereby deterred from attempting to interrupt our Trade, while they are destroying that of all others.

Neither is this Advantage all that we reap from the Possession of *Gibraltar*; for it hath put into our Hands almost all the *Freight-Trade* into the *Mediterranean* for many Years past; especially That of the *Hamburgers* and *Hollanders*, who have made use of *British* Bottoms only, to carry on their Commerce in those Seas, till very lately; when the *Dutch* obtained a Peace with the *Algerines*, as it is said *by our Means*; whereby we are likely to lose one of the greatest Advantages at present belonging to the Navigation of *Great-Britain*; which we before enjoyed, whilst those Merchants made use of *English* Ships, finding it dangerous to venture their Estates in any other.

But laying aside all other Considerations, there cannot be a stronger Proof of the Importance, which the Possession of this Place hath been to us, than that it hath in a Manner destroyed the naval Power of *France* from the Hour of our taking it to the Conclusion of the second *French War*; nor indeed could they ever send any naval Stores round about into those Seas, without an apparent Danger of their falling into our Hands, in going through the *Streights*; so that the greatest Part of their Fleet hath become useless ever since, and never appeared at Sea again, but lay rotting in their Harbours.

It would be needless to inforce this Argument with many other Instances, which might be given of the Advantage of this Port; but it must not be forgot that its Promixity to *Cadix*, the great Mart and Centre of almost all the Riches of *America*, gives us the greatest Opportunity of commanding that Port, and
the

and the Trade frequenting it from the *West-Indies*; which, in Time of War with *Spain*, may be reckoned of no small Consideration or Importance.

Whether therefore we look on *Gibraltar* either in a *mercantile* or a *political* Light; *first*, as it not only secures all our own Commerce to *Italy*, *Africa*, and the *Levant*, from the Insults and Annoyance of those terrible Enemies the *Algerines* and other *Turkish Rovers*; but also helps us to the *Carriage-Trade* of several other Nations; or, *secondly*, as it cuts off all Communication between the Ports of our most formidable Rivals, and thereby renders their naval Force very precarious and inconsiderable; the Possession of this Place seems to be of such Importance, that I am at a Loss to guess what *Equivalent* could be given us for it. I am sure, at least, that any one of the foregoing Considerations, taken singly, would more than over-balance all the Expence, which the Nation at present feels on that Account.

But once more, and to conclude. As the Advantages of *Gibraltar*, which result to this Kingdom from the foregoing Particulars, are fully confirm'd and demonstrated by the Experience of many Years past; so the Preservation of it, at this Time, is of much greater Importance than it ever was before, as will appear by considering the present State of Affairs; that *Manufactures* are springing up in most Parts of *Europe*; and that several powerful States are endeavouring to vie with us in *Commerce* and a *Maritime Forces*; which ought to put us on the strictest Guard, and determine us not to part with a Place, which is manifestly of so much Advantage, by securing and improving our own Trade and Navigation; as well as by defeating the Attempts of our *Enemies* and *Rivals*.

O



N^o 36 Monday, April 10. 1727.

*Quorum id Perfidiâ et Perjurio fiat, Deos nunc
Testes esse, mox fore Ultiores.* LIV.



S there are no Doctrines or Tenets, however ridiculous or absurd, which have not obtain'd some Favourers and Profelites; so there never were any Actions, however vile or impolitick, which have not been coloured over by designing Men (the Managers and Conducters of them) with plausible Pretences and artful Representations. *Dunkirk* was not sold to the *French*, nor *Tangier* demolish'd, in the Reign of King *Charles II*, without some specious Reasons, besides that prevailing one of *Money*, to justify those Measures, and impose on the Publick; and though the Folly and Wickedness of those Actions have been since fully condemned by all Men of Sense as well as *Historians*; and the Effects of them (especially of the vile Bargain for *Dunkirk*) were severely felt in our late Wars with *France* and *Spain*; yet it cannot be forgot what Interest was used, in the last Reign, to rescue it from that just Sentence of Destruction, which was passed upon it by the Treaty of *Utrecht*; and though perhaps the same Kind of Arguments, which procured the Sale of this Place in the former Reign, were employed to prevent its Demolition in the latter; yet it is evident that they had not the same Weight with the *Queen* and her *Ministry*.
When-

Whenever, therefore, I look back on these Transactions, I can easily account for any Objections, that I meet with in Conversation, against the Importance of *Gibraltar*, or any Reasons that I hear urged for its *Restitution*; which, by reflecting on past Occurrences, do not so much raise my Astonishment, as they provoke my Indignation.

But as I have, in my last Paper, given the Reader a short and plain Sketch of the Advantages, which we receive from this Place; so it cannot be improper to examine the Objections against it; which we shall find to be just the same, that were formerly made Use of against our Possession of *Dunkirk* and *Tangier*.

In the first Place, it is said, by some ignorant and unthinking Persons, that the Possession of this Place puts the Nation, every Year, to a greater *Expence* than it is worth. In Answer to This, it is sufficient to observe that the whole Charge of maintaining it, in Times of *Peace*, does not amount to much above *fifty Thousand Pounds* a Year; which is no great Article in *seven* or *eight Millions*, that are usually raised for the *current Expences* of the Government, and the *Interest of the Debts*; and might easily be saved by cutting off only *nine* or *ten useless Pensions*; or some other *unnecessary Burthens*.

As to its Expence in Time of *War*, I think I have said enough in my former Paper to prove, from the Importance of it, that let it be what it will, it cannot be more than it is really worth; and if so, how ridiculous and unreasonable would any Parsimony be, in this Case? Have we not, for thirty or forty Years past, made War at the Expence of *Hundreds of Millions*, and lost *half a Million* of Men, to obtain Kingdoms, Principalities and Dominions for *other Princes*; and shall we now think much of a necessary Expence for maintaining and defending our *own just Right and Property* against Those, for whose Sake

we have lavished away such immense Sums in a voluntary Manner?

An ingenious Writer on this Subject makes the following Observation, concerning the Charge of maintaining *Gibraltar*, and such Objections against it.

— “ Strange and surprizing Instance of our *new*
 “ *Frugality* and *good Husbandry*! that we, who for
 “ thirty Years together, have rioted in Millions;
 “ and, ’till Heaven blessed us with the *present Mini-*
 “ *stry*, never minded what we gave; nor to whom;
 “ we, who drained the Exchequer, and mortgaged
 “ the Nation, should now, from a Principle of
 “ *Saving*, sacrifice the sole Fruit of all our Expences,
 “ to prevent a Charge, which is but equal to That
 “ of a few *useless Pensions*! Thank Heaven, from
 “ lavishing Millions, we are grown thrifty in *Pounds*,
 “ *Shillings* and *Pence*.

However, this Evil might, long ago, have been remedied, and may still be remedied, by the Probity and good Management of the *present Ministers*; for it is generally believed that if the Place in Dispute had been declared a *free Port*, like *Lezborn*, on our first Possession of it, being full as commodious as that for Trade; and if a *civil Government* had been established there, instead of a *military One*; it would long since have maintained itself by a moderate Duty on all Goods imported and exported; and would thereby have deprived the neighbouring Ports of *Spain* of great Part of their Trade; by which Means there would have been no Complaint of its present Charge; but, on the contrary, the Profits made by its Governors, added to the other Advantages of a *free Port*, would, in all Probability, have been more than sufficient to have eased the Government at home of that Burthen.

But if, for want of such a Regulation, these and the like Arguments shall be esteemed valid, and it should be thought adviseable to give up this *im-*
portant

portant Place, in order to avoid *Expence*; the next Demand, perhaps, which the *Spaniard* will make on us, will be to surrender our Colonies in the *West Indies*; then *Plymouth*, *Portsmouth*, and so on; with which it would be equally reasonable to comply, because we should be at a great *Expence* to defend them against their Attempts; and thus we may continue giving one Thing after another, till we become the Scorn and Contempt of the whole World.

It is said farther, that even supposing the *Spaniards* should take this Place, or it should be delivered up to them, we might still expect to have the Advantage of the Port and Harbour upon all Occasions. This is just as reasonable, as it would be for a Man to part with his Coat off his Back, or his Sword from his Side, in order to borrow them, or beg the Use of them, when he stands in need; and, in all Probability, will meet with a Denial.

Another Objection is, that the *Spaniards* will never be easy whilst *Gibraltar* is in our Hands; and therefore it is necessary to part with it, in order to procure a Peace, and settle the Tranquility of *Europe*. I have before observed (and indeed the whole Kingdom has observed it in their *Addresses*) that this Place has been yielded to us by solemn Treaties, as well as acquired in lawful War; and that the King of *Spain*, by acceding to the *Quadruple Alliance*, renounced all Claim to it, whether by *Promise* or otherwise, which was *previous* to that Treaty. But supposing it true, that the King of *Spain* will not be contented without it; must *Peace*, as well as *War*, be always negotiated at *our Expence*, and must *our Interest* always be sacrificed to the Tranquility of *Europe*? It is well known that, in the Reign of King *Charles II.* the *Spaniards* demanded the Restitution of *Jamaica* with as much Importunity as they now demand That of *Gibraltar*; yet by obstinate Refusals (even in that Reign, which was none

of the best) and long Possession, we seem to have silenced them on that Head; as I doubt not we might soon do on the other, by the Exercise of a little publick Virtue and Constancy to our Country.

The same ingenious Author, before cited, has a very just Remark on this Occasion.

“ Has any *English Ministry*, says he, ever presumed to propose to the King, to deliver up the Dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verbden*, in order to procure a Peace in the North; to settle the so much desired Balance of Power there; and to prevent the Charge to *England* of sending out annual Fleets at a very great Expence? And yet, it is said, his Majesty, before the last Treaty with *Sweden*, pretended no Title to those Countries, but a Mortgage from a Prince, who had no other himself but Conquest. And dares any one propose to a *British King* the delivering, to a baffled and subdued Enemy, the most important Place in the World to the Trade and naval Empire of *England*; the Key of the *Mediterranean*; the Terror of our Enemies; and the best Pledge of our *new Friendships*; and This too, after we have an undoubted Title to it; to which *those Nations* are Guarantees, who have the *greatest Interest* to wrest it out of our Hands?

Indeed; some Men have been so weak as to make This an Argument for its Restitution. We must, say they, consent to deliver it up, because even our *Friends* and *Allies* join with our *Enemies* in this Demand. “ I confess, says the same Author, there are many *Reasons* why *They* should desire it; (*particularly the French*) but they are *unanswerable Reasons* too, why *we* should hear such a Proposition with Horror.

I must beg Leave to quote one more Passage from this Writer.—— “ God has now sent us a *Ministry*, who will mend all those Faults, which *They* were the

“ the first to *condemn*. The Interest of the Publick is
 “ their Interest. They have no *secret Purposes* to
 “ serve by *dark and shameful Treaties*.—In fine, they
 “ have no *desperate Game* to play, to defend them
 “ from the Effects of *desperate Measures*; nor have
 “ they, like the others, been trepann’d and out-wit-
 “ ted by *France*; nor have any ungenerous Advantages
 “ been taken of their *Credulity*, when they had en-
 “ gaged Themselves and their Country *beyond Re-
 “ treat*.

Upon the whole, we may rest assured, that this
important Fortress (the Strength and Glory of *Great
 Britain*) will never be given up either by a *publick
 or private Treaty*, upon any Consideration whatsoe-
 ver; but we may conclude with the Gentlemen of
Hertfordshire, that, “ whatever the *Enemies to our
 Peace* may conceive from the intriguing Schemes
 “ of their *selfish, enterprizing Politicians*, we doubt
 “ not but that good Providence, which so signally
 “ protects his Majesty and these Kingdoms, will *abate
 “ their Pride* and *confound their Devices*. D

Friday, April 7.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,

THOUGH I frequently employ my Thoughts for
 the Service of my Country, yet I know no
 Way of communicating my *Projects* to the World,
 unless you will be pleased to take them into your
 Protection, and recommend them to the Publick.

The common Subject of all Conversation, and the
 beaten Topick of most Pamphlets, at present, is that
 abominable *Corruption*, which is said to prevail in al-
 most all *Assemblies*. Whether This be really true, or
 whether it is only Matter of popular Clamour, I can-
 not take upon me to determine; but let it be which
 it

it will, I think I have found out a *certain* and *infallible Remedy* for it. I cannot indeed say that it will immediately remove the *Evil*; but I am confident that it will destroy all the *bad Effects* that may proceed from it.

What I would propose, Sir, is, that every Person, who shall be hereafter known to *vote*, on any Occasion, for a *Bribe*, *Gratuity*, or *Pension*, or shall be under any other *pecuniary Influence*, should be distinguished, as all other Animals are, that are *vendible*, by some outward and visible Token; and as you may know an *Horse*, that is to be *sold*, by a Piece of *colour'd Riband* on the Bridle; or as the *Courtezans*, in some Countries abroad, are obliged to wear an Habit different from modest Women; so I would have all *corrupt Persons*, who prostitute their Voices for Hire, be obliged to wear a *Knot of Ribands* under their left Ear; that all People might know them as they walk along the Street. This *Ear-mark*, for aught I know, may be the only Way to make Mankind ashamed of *Corruption*, and will certainly have this good Effect at least, that it will soon destroy all those foolish *Party Notions* of *Whig* and *Tory*, which have so long made Distinctions amongst us, and kept honest Men, on both Sides, from discovering that they meant, in Truth, the *same Thing*, however they might differ in their *party Denominations*.—— Happy will it be for this Kingdom, when there shall be no other Distinction prevailing amongst us, but That of the **KNOTTISTS** and **ANTI-KNOTTISTS**!

Before I resolved to send you this *Proposal*, I communicated it to a Friend of mine, who is a *dry Joker*, and a great Lover of a *Pun*. He told me that he knew, in this Kingdom, a Set of as *knotty-headed* Fellows as any in Christendom; but I, who am a grave Man my self, reproved him for such a ludicrous Conceit; and told him that he ought not to turn serious Things into Ridicule.

I leave

I leave it, Sir, to your Judgment, whether it will be proper to extend this Regulation to the *Clergy*; because, perhaps, it may, *HEREAFTER*, be an indecent Sight to see a whole Bench of B——s dressed out in a Set of *new Knots* *alamode des Mesdemoiselles Francoises.*

I am, Sir, with profound Respect,
Yours,

JOHN ENGLISH.

N. B. These new-invented *Court Ear-knots* for *Pensioners* and *Hirelings* will be exposed to Sale, on *Wednesday* next, in *Westminster-Hall*, the *Court of Requests*, *Arlington-Street*, and at most other publick Places about *Town*; where *Gentlemen* may be accommodated with them, from *Time to Time*, made after the newest Fashion, and at reasonable Rates

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N^o 37, *Friday, April 14. 1727.*



AS every Government has undoubtedly a Right to defend itself; and since the wisest *written* Laws cannot effectually provide for its Safety against all Emergencies; so it must be endowed with an absolute unlimited Power, upon all extraordinary Occasions and unforeseen Events; for without such a reserved Power, every Government will be continually in Danger of being overturn'd by the subtle Machinations of powerful and ill-designing Men. But, on the other Hand, this extraordinary Power ought never to be exerted but upon extraordinary Occasions, in Times of real Danger and in Cases of the utmost

most Extremity; for, if it should come to be prostituted and hackney'd about upon every little Job and pretended Occasion, the Essence of a free State will be entirely lost, and this great *extraordinary Power* will be turned to the Destruction of the People, which it was designed to prevent. Indeed the the only Difference between a *despotick* and a *free Government* consists in This; that an arbitrary Governor has no Law but his Will, and therefore always acts by an *unlimited, extraordinary Authority*; whereas, the Governor of a free People has Rules prescribed to him for his Conduct, and is limited by *Laws* in the ordinary Course of his Government; and therefore never acts in an absolute, unlimited Manner, but when, upon *extraordinary Occasions*, the People think fit to intrust him with such a Power. Thus the *Roman Dictators* were never created but on the greatest Emergencies; invested with an absolute Authority in all Affairs, both civil and military; till the Occasion, on which they were created, ceased, and the Danger was over. This Power, whilst it continued only *temporary*, was the real Security of the State; and, upon several Occasions, preserved it from Ruin; but when once it became *ordinary*, and the *Dictator* made himself *perpetual*, it immediately swallowed up the Liberties of that glorious People; and the *Roman Commonwealth* relapsed into its antient Tyranny and Servitude.

In *England*, we frequently exercise this *extraordinary Power*, in Opposition to the *ordinary Form* of our Government; sometimes, by taking off the legal Restraint upon our Kings, and investing them with a Sort of *Dictatorial Authority*; as in the Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, in Times of a Conspiracy, Rebellion, or imminent Danger. Sometimes the Legislature exercises this Power itself (as it undoubtedly has a Right to do) by *Attainders*, or *Bills of Pains and Penalties*

ties, ex post facto; but it has never yet been exercised, and I hope never will, but upon great and extraordinary Emergencies.

There is another Power of this Nature, which our Princes, or Ministers, by their Authority, exercise upon the like Occasions, *viz.* That of *opening and reading Letters at the Post-Office*; which I suppose to be one of the antient *Prerogatives* of the Crown; because I never heard of any *Statute-Law* to this Purpose; for the Act *Nono Annæ*, intituled An Act for establishing a *general Post-Office* for all her Majesty's Dominions, seems rather to allow of it, under some *Restrictions*, as a *prior Right* inherent in the Crown, than to *create and enact* such a Power; as will appear by the following Clause.

“ And whereas Abuses may be committed by wilfully opening, imbezzeling, detaining and delaying Letters or Packets, to the great Discouragement of Trade, Commerce and Correspondence; for Prevention thereof, be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that from and after the said first Day of *June* one thousand seven hundred and eleven, no Person or Persons shall presume willingly, or knowingly, to open, detain or delay, or cause to procure, permit, or suffer to be opened, detained, or delayed, any Letter or Letters, Packet or Packets, after the same is or shall be delivered into the general, or other, Post-Office, or into the Hands of any Person or Persons employed for the receiving or carrying Post-Letters, and before Delivery to the Persons to whom they are directed, or for their Use; EXCEPT by an *express Warrant* in writing, under the Hand of one of the principal Secretaries of State, for every such opening, detaining or delaying, &c.

But as the Exercise of this *extraordinary Power*, from whencesoever originally derived, or howsoever

authorized (whether by any former *Prerogative*, or by the Power in *this Clause*) has never been publicly examin'd, I hope a few Observations on that Head will not be thought impertinent or disagreeable.

It is agreed on all Hands that, amongst *private Persons*, nothing ought to be held more inviolable than the Communication of our Thoughts by a mutual Intercourse of *Letters*. The tender Concerns and reciprocal Endearments of Lovers; the unguarded Intelligence of intimate Friends; the Mysteries of Tradesmen and Mechanicks; the Negotiations, Contracts and Engagements of mercantile Persons; the Views, Expectations and Pursuits of Some; the Misfortunes and Necessities of Others; and the Secrets of Families in general, of whatsoever Kind, which are conveyed in an epistolary Manner, are Things of so sacred a Nature, that, in all civiliz'd Countries, it has been esteem'd highly scandalous to satisfy our Curiosity at another's Expence. A Man of *true Honour* will as soon break open a Lock as a Letter, which does not belong to him; and pick his Neighbour's Pocket, as soon as discover his *Nakedness* in this Respect; for a *Letter*, being the Representative of the Person's Heart, who sends it, ought to pass, without Examination or Interruption, to the Hand to which it is directed; since, otherwise, this *Convenience* will be of little Use to Mankind, who would no more communicate their Thoughts, in a free Manner, upon many Topicks, than they would talk upon them in publick Company. When a Man therefore has set down his Thoughts upon a Piece of Paper, and put his Signet upon it, he ought to be as safe as if he was privately talking to his Friend in his Closet; and I cannot help thinking that Man a worse Kind of *Eves-dropper*, who breaks into this secret Cabinet, than one, who skulks under my Window, or listens thro' the Key-hole.

What

What I have hitherto said relates only to *private Persons*; who cannot, upon any Account whatsoever, be justified in their Violation of these Secrets; but it must not be applied to the *Publick*; which being invested, as I before observed, with a sufficient Power to defend itself, in Times of Danger or Suspicion, cannot be restrained, in the Exercise of its Authority, by little Punctilio's of *Honour*, or the Niceties of *good Breeding*; for as *the Welfare of the People is the supreme Law*, all private Considerations whatsoever must give Place, and be sacrificed to that good End.

Whenever therefore the Government receives Intelligence of any secret and dangerous Transactions, which are carrying on either at home or abroad; or entertains any well-grounded Suspicion of that Nature, it is not only justifiable, but their Duty to examine the *Mails*; and to use all other prudent Precautions, in order to discover and defeat the Designs of their Enemies. Then is their Time to exert this *extraordinary Authority*; in which they seem to act under the same wholesome Commission with that of an old Roman Dictator, *nequid detrimenti Respublica capiat*.

Indeed this Practice of *examining the publick Correspondence*, in Times of Danger, is so well known; and so many wicked *Plots* and *Conspiracies* have been discovered in this Manner, that it is very unaccountable how Men, who are engaged in such hazardous Designs, can be so weak as to carry on their Correspondence in a Way, which is so open and liable to detection; especially since the Art of *decyphering* is arrived to that Perfection; which renders it almost impossible for them to deceive the enquiry of the Government by any Sort of Figures or Characters; nay, supposing that they could find out a Method of writing, which would puzzle the most skilful Adepts in this Art; yet such a dark and unintelligible Correspondence would raise a sufficient Alarm to make a

wise Ministry set all their Emissaries and Engines at Work, and would thereby have almost the same Effect, as if their Meaning were really unriddled.

However, since it is notorious that some Persons, even very lately, have been so audacious, or infatuated, as to transact their detestable Designs in this Manner, it well becomes the Care of a vigilant Administration, to make use of this Authority, whenever there is any *just and well-grounded Occasion* for so doing.

But herein consists the Difference between our happy Constitution in *England*, and several arbitrary Governments abroad; that this Power is never exercised, amongst us, but when there is a *real Occasion*, and it becomes necessary for our *own Safety*. We are never subject to having our Letters ransack'd, and the Secrets of our Families expos'd to the Derision or Resentment of *great Men* and *little Clerks*, but when it is in order to *secure our Liberties*, and *preserve us from Ruin*; nor, indeed, ought it to be commonly practis'd, on the *King's Account*, as well as the *People's*; because it would, in a great Measure, discourage Persons from communicating their Thoughts in this Manner, unless on the most common and indifferent Affairs, and thereby greatly prejudice his Majesty's *Revenue*.

For it is observable that the Reason, given for the *Clause* in the Act of Parliament before cited, is to prevent the *discouragement* to *Trade, Commerce* and *Correspondence*; which I presume will not be the less discourag'd by *Secretaries of State* opening Letters, than by *other Persons*; and therefore even *They* ought not to practise it but upon very urgent Occasions; for which Reason it is added in this *Clause*, that no Person shall open any Letter, even by a *Secretary's Order*, unless by an *Express Warrant in Writing* for *EVERY such opening*, &c. and I am very loth to give Credit to the Suggestions of some Men, that This hath been, at any Time, evaded by leaving a *blank dormant Warrant* at the Office, to be filled up
at

at the Discretion of the *Post-master-general*, by the Direction and for the Service of his *Principals*, as Occasion requires.

It is, I presume, on the same Account, (*viz.* to prevent any *Discouragement* to *Trade*, *Commerce*, and *Correspondence*) that no Person hath yet been, is, or, I hope, ever will be thought proper to be placed at the Head of this *Office*, who is known or suspected to be concerned in any Branch of *Trade* or *Commerce* whatsoever; because it would evidently give Him too great an Advantage over the *Properties* and *Dealings* of his Fellow-Subjects,

But to proceed.—In *slavish Countries* nothing is more common than the Exercise of this Authority, not to secure the Subjects from Danger, but to involve them in it; to make them give Evidence against Themselves, and incur Penalties, which they do not deserve. We shall, in those Countries, often find it made use of (like *AURICULAR CONFESSION*) to gratify the Jealousy, Curiosity or Designs of a *great Man*; by diving into the Secrets of Families, and acquainting himself with all their various Circumstances, Inclinations, Sentiments, Influences and Passions; by which Means he knows how to conduct his own Schemes; for he can judge from hence who are to be brought over to his Interest, and by what Means; whether by Money, Flattery, Places or Power; and can set his Mark on others, whom he finds to be *unmanageable*.

A *Post-Office-General*, thus managed, is a sort of *Microcosm of Intelligence*; which contracts the various Sentiments and Opinions of Mankind within its own little Bounds; and may be compared to a *glass Beehive*, through which the owner can view, at Pleasure, the different Motions, Contrivances and Employments of the little busy Colony within.

How unhappy must that People be, who live in a Country, where such an Use is made of this Authority! and where an Invention, which was first devised

for the Ease and Convenience of the Subject, is so manifestly turn'd to his Injury and Disadvantage ! This is a Circumstance, to which those Nations, who formerly liv'd under Servitude, were not subject ; and is much more grievous than even those Crowds of *Spies* and *Informers*, which are so frequently complain'd of, by *antient Historians*, in the Courts of *Tyrants*. The Slaves of old were only liable to the Information of such Men ; and were in no Danger of having their Packets rifled, and their private Correspondence expos'd to the Sight of jealous Princes or revengeful Statesmen ; by which Means an innocent Jest, an impartial Representation of current News, or an unguarded Expression to a Friend may be made a Mark of Disaffection, and the unjust Cause of a Man's Ruin ; or at least a Bar to all his future Views and Expectations.

The nearest Resemblance to this Practice, which we meet with in antient History, is the Stratagem of a famous Tyrant, whose wicked Actions having rendered him jealous of all his People, even of his own Domesticks, Privadoes, and Bosom Favourites, ordered the Rooms of his Palace to be contriv'd in such a Manner that all Sounds might be convey'd by Pipes into that Part, where he resid'd himself ; so that nothing could be utter'd under his royal Roof, tho' in the lowest Whispers, which his attentive and suspicious Ears could not easily distinguish.

D





N^o 38. *Monday, April 17, 1727.*

*How hard is the Condition of our Sex?
 In all the dear, delightful Days of Youth,
 A rigid Father dictates to our Wills,
 And deals out Pleasure with a scanty Hand.
 To his the Tyrant Husband's Reign succeeds.
 Proud with Opinion of superior Reason,
 He holds domestick Business and Devotion
 All we are capable of knowing, and shuts us,
 Like cloyster'd Idiots, from the World's Acquaintance.*

R. O W E.



Y Design, in this Paper, being to do Justice to Persons of all Conditions and of either Sex; I cannot any longer postpone the following Letter from a *loyal Female Correspondent*, in Defence of the most amiable Part of the Creation; especially, since the Arguments, alledged in their Behalf, are very plausible, if not convincing; and my fair Readers may depend on it, that I still retain too strong a Sense of the Pleasure, which I have formerly taken in their Conversation, to refuse them any Favour in my Power; —at least so reasonable a Request as is now made to me; for according to the Poet,

*Old as I am, for Ladies Sport unfit,
 The Power of Beauty I remember yet,
 Which once inflam'd my Love, and still inspires
 my Wit.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Venerable Sir,

I Have, for a long Time, been a silent Observer of the insolent Superiority, which your Sex has assumed over ours; and of the many pretended Advantages, which they boast of on their Side. They look upon us, for the most Part, as trifling Amusements and pretty Playthings to toy away an Hour with; to divert the Spleen; or soften the Fatigues of ordinary Business. They allow us at best to be good domestick Drudges only, fit to manage the Affairs of a Family; and excuse Themselves to their sneering Companions, for mating with such poor simple Creatures, by saying with a supercilious Air, that we are *necessary Evils*. In short they treat us, as if we were of another Species, as well as of another Sex; and as if there was as much Difference between them and us, as between the rational and irrational Part of the Creation.

Nay, some of the old self-sufficient Philosophers of your Sex (for I will not allow that there are no *Female* Philosophers) have carried the Point so far as to maintain that *Women have no Souls*.--Poor Wretches! I laugh at their Folly, as much as I despise their Arrogance; and as wise as they might think themselves, I could easily expose the Absurdity of excluding us from all the Concerns of the *Commonwealth*.

Indeed too many, even among us, through Custom, Education and early Impressions given them in their Childhood, look upon themselves in the same Light. They have been bred up in this Opinion; and being contented, either through Indolence or want of Thought, with the humble Station, which is allotted them, jog on in their low Sphere, without any Ambition, and really imagine themselves an inferior Sort of Beings to Mankind; possessed with
meaner

meaner Capacities and more confin'd Understandings.—But I, Sir, having strictly examined this Affair, am resolv'd to let you and all the World know (if you dare to publish this Letter) that we not only *have Souls*, but Souls as large and comprehensive, as capable of Improvement and of performing great Actions, as any of you all.

Were it only the pretty *Tupèe* Sparks and fine Dressers of the Age, who care's'd themselves with this Notion, I should not think it worth my while to animadvert upon them; for even the weakest of our weak Sex (as they delight to call us) is more than a Match for the wisest of them. We lead them by the Nose, and make what *Dupes* and *Bubbles* of them we please, at the same Time that they despise us. But what provokèd me thus, is to find that several of the best Writers of your Sex have the same despicable Opinion of us; one of whom says, that *the utmost of a Woman's Character is contained in a domestick Life*. I deny This with both my Hands, and will prove it to be false; but cannot, by the Way, help observing that, provided it were true, it does not become Gentlemen of so much Honour and good Nature (as They love to be thought) to be always insulting their Inferiors with Boasts of their Preheminence; and continually shewing their Wit upon us silly Women, who are in all Respects so much beneath them. Methinks this constant Endeavour to detract from us, looks like a tacit Confession that They do not in their Hearts believe there is so wide a Difference between us, as they pretend.

You say, that in Philosophy, Mathematicks and all Points of abstruse Learning, the Advantage is manifestly on your Side. I grant it; but it does not follow that you have better Capacities than we to attain these Arts, provided ours were equally cultivated and improved. We are not brought up to *Literature*; and yet some of us, by our own Application, have
made

made a considerable Figure in it; whereas how many of those vast Numbers of your Sex, who are kept seven or eight Years at School, and as many at the University, and have no Pains nor Expence spared for the Embellishment of your Minds; how many of you, I say, are there, who, after all This, know nothing farther than the bare Names of some particular Sciences and the Titles of a few common Books?

To upbraid us therefore with your Superiority in *Learning* is just as reasonable, as if one of us should pretend to be a greater Genius than *Sir Isaac Newton*, because she understands *Lace* and *Silks* better.

In *domestick Affairs*, I think you grant us the Precedence. You allow that we are very good *Pastry-Cooks*; that we are perfectly acquainted with the Mechanism of a *Pudding*, or the Structure of a *Pye*; that we can make *Jellies* or *whipt Cream*, and manage a *set Dinner* with great Order and Dexterity. Why even This, as trifling as it may seem, is more than half the Men in *England* can do. But is This all the Business of a good *female Oeconomist*? No; how many Women could I mention, who have, by their wise Conduct and domestick Policy, retriev'd the distress'd Affairs of their Spendthrift Husbands; snatch'd them from the very Gates of a Prison; and rescued them from the last Extremities of Hunger and Infamy? Does not This shew some Wisdom? Does it not bear some Resemblance to redeeming the Miscarriages of a weak Government, and settling the Disorders of a convuls'd State?

Yet such is the Ingratitude of Mankind; and so jealous are you lest we should come in Competition with you for Conduct and good Sense; that whenever any Woman, for the Sake of her Husband and Family, takes upon herself the Administration of Affairs, she is immediately branded by her Neighbours with the Character of a *She-Tyrant*; and the good
Man

Man is call'd *Hen-peck'd*; as if a Woman could not be prudent and discreet, without being a Termagant and a Vixon. From hence comes that witty Saying, *the grey Mare is the better Horse*; and that opprobrious Imputation of *wearing the Breeches*; which can imply no more than that a *wise Woman* is obliged to supply the Place of a *foolish Husband*.

I have hitherto spoken of Women only in a *private Character*. The principal Objection is to be answered still; which is, that they are unequal to *publick Business*, and incapable of managing the great Concerns of *Government* and *War*.

Now, if I had a Mind to be smart upon the fine Gentlemen of the Town, and raily them upon their Negotiations with our Sex; I believe I could puzzle them a little with some Questions, that I could put to them, concerning the Subtlety, Penetration, Fortitude and Resolution of some Dames, whom they have met with. I could ask them whether they think it impossible for a Woman to be *tam Marte quam Mercurio*, (there's *Latin* for you) and whether they never heard of some buxome Lassies, who have been lately discovered in our Armies, after having served with the utmost Gallantry in several Campaigns; but lest I should incur the Censure, which is generally pass'd upon us Women, of being impertinent upon all Occasions, and turning serious Things into Ridicule, I shall carefully avoid every Thing of that Nature, and maintain a due Distinction between the Terms of a *Tea-Table* and the Reasonings of a *solid Lucubration*.

I will not insist upon the Exploits of *Camilla*, *Thalestris*, and divers *Amazonian Ladies*, whom we read of; because, perhaps, you will reject them as fabulous. Neither will I mention any other *Heroines* of remote Antiquity, however well attested, either of our own or foreign Countries; because it will be inconsistent with the Conciseness of a Letter, and I have Instances

Instances nearer at Hand, sufficient for my present Purpose.

To begin no higher than *Q. Elizabeth* of ever glorious Memory; when was the *British* Name, both in Peace and War, both at home and abroad, carried to a greater height than in the Reign of that immortal Princess? Did she not in Person advance against the *invincible Armada*, with which she was threatened from *Spain*; and were not all Affairs of State conducted with as much sound Policy in her Reign as in any we read of either before or since; not excepting even our late *glorious Treaties* and *wonderful Negotiations*?--Do not say that it was owing to her choice of *wise Ministers*; for That may be equally objected against any Prince whatsoever. Besides, it is a certain Sign of *Wisdom* to make such a *wise Choice*; and I will defy you to instance any *weak Prince*, who for so many Years together always had the Happiness to blunder upon such *able Politicians*.

Perhaps it may be expected that I should not, in this Place, omit to mention the late *Queen ANNE*; in whose auspicious Reign the *British* Arms and Name were carried to so great an height; especially during the first nine glorious Years of her Government; and I cannot help observing, even concerning the *latter pacifick* Part of her Life, notwithstanding our zealous Party-Disputes about it, that *those Persons*, who had the Conduct of her Counsels or approved of their Measures, seem to have no Reason, *at present*, to be ashamed either of their *Politicks* or their *Judgment*.

But what will farther inforce this Argument, is the noble Magnanimity and princely Wisdom, with which the present Empress of *RUSSIA* has begun her Reign. She advanced herself to that high Station, which she adorns, by the sole Merit of her extraordinary Virtues; and we are told, with as much Certainty as such Matters can be communicated to us, that the late *CZAR*, her Husband, had so great a Veneration for her Judgment, that he consulted her in all his most
secret

fécret and important Designs. Indeed the Dexterity and Address, which she has already discovered in the Management of publick Affairs, render it not at all incredible; and if she should maintain the Government of that unwieldy Empire with the same Tranquillity and Success, which she has hitherto done, I shall not doubt the Truth of what we have been told; and I hope our ENEMIES in FRANCE (I mean the *Enemies of our Sex*) will allow that there is no Occasion for a *Salique Law*.

I should be ungrateful to my own Country, if I did not, in this Place, take Notice of a PRINCESS, adorned with the unspotted Virtue of the *two first*, and with the great Abilities and Wisdom of them all; a *Princess*, who hath distinguished herself in a remarkable Manner for the *Protestant Religion*, not only as she is perfectly acquainted with the most intricate Points of Divinity (which appears by the Papers between the late famous Mr. *Leibnitz* and the learned Dr. *Clarke*) but as she also refused one of the greatest Titles of this World, rather than comply with *Papish Superstition*. I will only add, that Providence has rewarded her in a manner, worthy of such a pious Resolution, by her near Alliance to one of the greatest Monarchies in *Europe*; and by having it entailed, in the fullest Manner, upon her illustrious Posterity for ever.

I hope you will not be so partial to your *own Sex* as to refuse to do Justice to the whole Body of *Woman-kind*, by inserting this Letter, from

S I R,

Your constant Reader,

A. N.

BRITANNICA.

X

Friday



N^o 39. Friday, April 21, 1727.

*Exemplo quodcunque malo committitur, ipsi
Displicet Autori. Prima est hæc ultio, quod, se
Judice, nemo nocens absolvitur; improba quamvis
Gratia fallacis Prætoris viceret urnam.* Juv.

Abchurch-Lane, April 19.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Worthy Sir,



Aving been, for these many Years, engaged in the Cause of Mankind, by carrying on a successful War against the last Enemy that is to be destroyed, I presume you are no Stranger to my Name or Character; and as you seem to have the publick Good equally at Heart, I beg Leave, with great Humility, to make my Application to you in this Manner.

I do not intend to trouble you, Sir, with an Account of my common Medicines; or with the numberless Cures, however surprizing, which I have performed with them, for several Years past, throughout all Parts of this Kingdom; for these are Points so generally known and so publickly testified, almost every Day, in the News-papers, that I should be inexcusable to my Country, in whose Service you are so seasonably and zealously engaged, should I endeavour to detain you at present, or waste your precious Moments with any tedious and unnecessary Relations of this Nature.

—— *In publica commoda peccem,*
Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caleb.

I shall therefore trespass on your Patience no longer than while I acquaint you with a wonderful Discovery and Improvement, which I have lately made in the Art, Mystery, and Practice of Physick; frankly confessing, at the same time, that I took the first Hint of it from the Writings of an *inveterate Enemy*; but I hope it will not be thought the less valuable or deserving the Encouragement of the Publick on that Account; for, doubtless, a Gentleman of your great Penetration and Sagacity must have observed, that as all publick-spirited Designs are constantly attended with Envy, Clamour, and Ill-will (of which you are yourself an ever-memorable Instance) so a Man of Genius and Capacity can draw Advantages from the Objections, which are made against him, and improve the Malice of personal Enemies to the Service of the Publick.

—— *fas est & ab Hoste doceri.*

But to come to the Point. You may remember, Sir, that about *ten or twelve* Years ago, a celebrated Poet, still living, thought fit to vent his Spleen against me in a smart little Piece intituled, the *WORMS*; occasioned by the universal Fame, even at that Time, of my excellent *Powders*; in which having endeavoured, with more Pleasantry than Argument, to prove that all Mankind were only different Species of *Reptiles*, he has the two following Stanzas, *viz.*

That Statesmen are but Worms is seen
By all their winding Play.
Their Conscience is a Worm within,
That gnaws them Night and Day.

O! M——re, *thy Skill were well employ'd,*
And greater Gain would rise,
Could'st thou but make the Statesman void
The Worm that never dies.

Now, Sir, though this waggish Piece of Wit and Drollery gave me some Uneasiness at that Time, by turning my *Medicines* into Ridicule, and exposing me to the Derision of the Town; yet it started a Thought in my Head, that a Remedy might be prepared to bring away this troublesome *never-dying Insect*; and I have not rested since, till I had brought it to Perfection; which, at length, with great Expence, Study and Labour, I have accomplish'd.

I am willing to take the *Poet's* Word for it, that my Skill has been *well employ'd*; and that so useful a Discovery will amply recompence all my Pains and Application. For though it is generally believed that few *Statesmen* are much afflicted with this *terrible Inmate*; yet, upon a careful Inspection of human Nature, I find it to be a vulgar Error; and am fully satisfied that, notwithstanding the outward *placid Behaviour* and *smiling Aspect* of these Men, (which may be the Effect of *Habit* and *Art*) their own Minds often put them on the Rack, and torment them with Reflections on the vile Measures, which they are pursuing.

I cannot therefore, in the least, doubt that this Notice will be very agreeable to *wicked Politicians* and *ill designing Ministers* of all Nations; who will be glad to hear that a Method is at length found out to silence the Murmurs of a *grumbling Conscience*, and put a Stop to the Remonstrances of that factious *Bosom-malecontent*; especially in the present Scene of Affairs; when several *dirty Jobs* must be done; and the most *unwarrantable Measures* seem necessary to be taken,

taken, by the *Disturbers of the publick Tranquility*, in order to patch up their former *bungling Mischief*, and get rid of those Difficulties, in which they have involved all *Europe* as well as *Themselves*.

In short, Sir, this matchless Invention and *Nostrum* wants only to be known, in order to be universally encourag'd; which makes me apply to you for your Approbation; and, I hope, I need not despair of it, since you have been pleas'd to recommend the *golden Specifick* in so strenuous and effectual a Manner; for though my Brother KING is, beyond all doubt, a very able Practitioner in his way, and his *Specifick* is an excellent Remedy in those Distempers, for which it is recommended; yet give me Leave to observe, that as the *Malady*, which I propose to cure, is much more *grievous* and *painful*, so the *Medicine*, which removes it, ought to be esteem'd the more valuable; for That, which relieves a Fit of the *Spleen* or *Vapours*, will not give Ease to the violent Rackings and Corrosions of a *vulnerated Conscience*. There cannot be a stronger Proof of This, than the Confession and Example of Dr. King himself; who hath lately thought fit to apply to me in this Distemper; and though he has not been under my Care above three or four Days, yet he is visibly on the mending Hand; and I hope to make a perfect Cure of him in a short Time; for he has already discovered very hopeful *Symptoms* of his Recovery; being in a great Measure free from that uneasy *Compunction* of Mind, and those continual *nocturnal Pains*, with which he was heretofore so grievously afflicted.

As I design, for the future, to *advertise* in your Paper, I have sent you a Catalogue of the Cures, which I have already compleated with this new-invented Remedy, testified under the Hands of my *Patients* themselves, according to Custom; and desire they may be inserted in your next *Craftsman*; for

which the Bearer will satisfy your Bookseller. I hope to send you several more in a short Time, and am,

Worthy *Caleb*,

Your constant Reader, Admirer

and Fellow-Labourer,

J—hn M—re.

The Reader may remember that I was under Apprehensions of being pestered with *Letters* and *Advertisements* from all the *Quacks* about Town, when I published my Recommendation of Dr. KING's *Specifick*; and the Event has exactly answered my Expectations; for there is scarcely a Pretender to Physick in this Metropolis or the Suburbs of it, who has not applied to me, either by himself or his Friends, by Word of Mouth or by Letter, directly or indirectly, for the same Favour. It is almost incredible what Multitudes of Petitions I have rejected; what pressing Importunities I have withstood; and what tempting Bribes, of all Kinds, I have refused, rather than contribute, like the late famous Dr. *Ch—n* and others, to any Impositions on the Publick, by prostituting my Name in *venal Certificates* and *Recommendations*. But nothing has surprized me so much as this Letter from Mr. *M—re*; which contains such a shameless Request, that nothing could have induced me to print it, but a Design to expose it. I hope, for the Sake of Virtue and common Honesty, that this *Remedy* is only a Creature of the Author's Brain, and the extravagant Rhodomontade of a boasting, modern *Emperick*; but if there should really prove to be any Truth in this *Discovery*, I think the Use of such a *pernicious Medicine* ought to be prohibited, in a civiliz'd Nation, like *chew'd Bullets*, *liquid Fire*, or *white*

white Gunpowder in War; for as *Virtue* is commonly its *own Reward*, so *Vice* too often escapes without any other *Punishment* than That, which the *Vicious* feel in their *own Breasts*.

It is at least some Satisfaction to an injur'd Nation, to consider that however an exalted Criminal may prosper in his Designs, he constantly carries a Tormentor about him, and secretly executes Justice upon himself; that whatever *Sunshine* he may discover in his Face; or however, by constant Flattery and sumptuous Living, he may keep up his Spirits and support his Grandeur in publick; yet when he retires into his Closet, or lays himself down on his Pillow, he starts at his own Power, and feels the most exquisite Tortures in reflecting on the Triumphs of his Guilt. His Thoughts are disturbed by Day and his Sleep by Night. His own DREAMS destroy his Quiet as much as the VISIONS of others; and he finds as little solid Comfort in the sincere Representations of his *own Heart* as in the sordid Adulation of his *pretended Friends*, or the well-grounded Opposition of his *real Enemies*.

I cannot therefore be so great an Enemy to the Good of Mankind, as to contribute my Assistance, in any Manner, towards eradicating a Principle, which is often the only Check upon wicked Men, and the only Punishment of evil Actions. But if Mr. *M—re* will content himself with continuing his Hostilities as usual, against common Distempers, nobody shall be more ready than myself to recommend him to the World, according to his Desert. Nay, to give him an Instance of my good Will, I will communicate to him a Project, which I apprehend will, in a great Measure, answer all the Purposes of his other Invention, consistent with publick Good and the Welfare of Mankind. I mean by subduing another *Worm*, natural to human Minds, called the *Worm of Avarice*; which is full as *insatiable* as the *Worm of Conscience*.

If my ingenious Friend can, by any *vermifugous* Preparation, bring away or destroy this pernicious *Animalcule*, which commonly fore-runs, breeds and cherishes the *other*, I will not only promise him all the Assistance in my Power, but likewise undertake for the Encouragement and Approbation of all honest Men. A.



N^o 40. Monday, April 24, 1727.

Tros, Tyriusve suat, nullo Discrimine habebo.

VIRG.



HO' nothing is more commonly talk'd of and wish'd for in Conversation, as a desirable Blessing, than a COALITION of Parties, and the Extinction of all those mischievous *Denominations*, which have so long kept up our intestine Divisions and exasperated one Part of the Kingdom against the other ; yet nothing seems to have been really less design'd, or attempted by Persons of *either Side* ; whose Conduct and Proceedings are living Contradictions to their Words and Professions. They are all forward, in their Turns, to lament the unhappy Distinctions, which prevail amongst us ; and at the same Time equally contribute their Assistance to promote and inflame them ; by bringing every Action, either of a publick or private Nature, to this Test, and deciding the Affairs of the World more by Party and Faction, than by Truth, Reason and Equity.

This Spirit of *Animosity* and *Division* is, in a Manner, *hereditary* and *innate* ; or, at least, like the Passion of *Love*, it is easily kindled in youthful Minds, and

and often hurries them into Violence and Excess. Young Men are naturally furious in their Pursuits; and having been carefully train'd up in the Belief of *one* particular Set of Opinions, and in a strong Veneration for *one* particular Body of Men, in Opposition to *another*, distinguish'd by different Names, They think that they cannot adhere to their *Denomination* with too much Obstinacy; nor maintain what are called their *Principles* with too much Zeal and Vehemence. The common Prejudices and early Impressions of Education, join'd with a Deference to the Judgment of Parents and Instructors, seldom fail to produce these Effects. But this Warmth, like the Passion before-mentioned, generally wears off with the Advance of Years. We cool by Degrees, as we grow old, in our Affection for *empty Names* and *idle distinctions*; being taught by Experience that *One* as well as the *Other* is *all Vanity and Vexation of Spirit*.

There are, indeed, some Men, who carry both these Passions along with them to the Grave, and discover all the Violence of Youth in the Impotence of old Age; but what a ridiculous and contemptible Figure do They make in either Case? There is, methinks, a very near Resemblance between an *old doting Partisan* and a *superannuated Lover*; for however excusable or becoming these Passions may be, at proper Seasons, in young Men; such a *political Bigotry* and fondness for *Names*, without any Meaning, are as unbecoming *Wrinkles* and *grey Hairs*, as *Venerly* and *Lewdness*.

But lest I should be misunderstood, or misrepresented on this Subject, as endeavouring to write down all Zeal for publick Good, and discourage all Distinction between the *Friends* and *Enemies* of our Country; I design to explain what I mean by a *Coalition of Parties*, and how far I could wish that all Names of *Distinction* were laid aside.

Every Body knows that, for near a *Century* past, this Kingdom hath been almost continually agitated with Contentions; occasion'd by mutual Jealousies and Uneasinesses between the *Prince* and the *People*, for *Liberty* on one Side, and the *Prerogative* on the other; in which also *Religion* has been not a little concern'd. These Disputes, which have divided the Nation into two great Factions, and brought about several wonderful Revolutions in our Government, seem, at present, to be in a great Measure terminated by the firm Establishment of the *Protestant Succession*, against all Attempts to defeat it; and by the general Affection of the People to his Majesty's Person, Family and Government.

Notwithstanding This, the Names of *Distinction* are still kept up, when our Differences are so generally reconcil'd; and we preserve the same Bitterness, Hatred and Animosity against one another, whilst we are in the *same Interest*, and pursue the *same End*, as when we professed *contrary Views*, and took *Measures* diametrically opposite.

If you ask a *Whig* for his Opinion of a *Tory*, he'll tell you, in general, that he is a *Jacobite* or a *Papist*; a Friend to *arbitrary Government*, and against the *Liberties* of the People both in *Church* and *State*.

Take the Character of a *Whig*, in like Manner, from a *Tory*, and you will hear him describ'd to be a Man of *Republican Principles*; a *Presbyterian*; and a sworn Enemy to the Church of *England*, and the *regal Prerogative*; nay, it will be well for him, if he is not set forth as a downright *Atheist*, or *Libertine*, and an Enemy to *all Government* whatsoever.

But will either a *Whig* or a *Tory*, if you put the same Questions separately to them, acknowledge these *Characters* to be just; or adopt such *Principles* as their own? No; there is not, I believe, one in an hundred of either Party, who would not deny them in the most solemn Manner; and exclaim very loudly against such uncha-

uncharitable Treatment ; the just Inference from which is, that as every Man must be supposed to wish for his own Happiness, and consequently for the Welfare of his Country ; so no Man of common Sense, who hath the least Knowledge of the Constitution of this Nation, can possibly espouse *such Principles* ; and therefore it is very unjust to charge any Person with maintaining Tenets, which he solemnly denies ; and which, being inconsistent with his own Interest, he cannot reasonably be supposed to maintain.

It must be confessed, indeed, that there are still some Persons, who, either from the unhappy Tendency of their Religion, from old inveterate Prejudices, or an unaccountable Way of thinking, are so far Enemies to themselves, as to wish for the Subversion of this Government in Favour of a *Popish Pretender*, and arbitrary Power ; but These, it is to be hoped, are so inconsiderable for their *Numbers*, and more so for their *Riches* and *Strength*, that their Principles ought not to be extended to the whole Body, or even to the major Part of the *Tories*, though they have generally passed, in our party Contests, under that Denomination.

What therefore is to be wish'd, in our present Circumstances, is that all Persons, however distinguish'd by party Appellations, who are truly in the Interest of the *present Government*, and desire the Continuance of it, would consolidate themselves into a Body, and unite in Measures against the *common Enemies* of their Country, whether *foreign* or *domestick* ; that they would forget all their former unreasonable Animosities ; and whilst they are equally exerting their Endeavours to accomplish the *same End*, viz. the Happiness of their Country, that they would not quarrel with one another about any Differences in Judgment concerning the *Means*.

Let the *true Sons of the Church*, and especially the *Clergy*, lay aside all unnecessary Fears or Apprehensi-

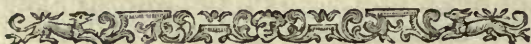
ons of its *Danger* ; and content themselves with those Rights, Immunities and Powers, with which the Law hath invested them, without endeavouring to stretch them any farther. Let the *Protestant Dissenter* acquiesce under that *Toleration* and those *Privileges*, with which the Legislature hath thought fit to indulge him. Let the *Whig* enjoy his *Liberty* and *Property* in its fullest Latitude, without reproaching the *Tory* as an Enemy to both ; and let the *Tory*, in his Turn, drop all his Bitterness and Malevolence against the *Whig*, as disaffected to *Monarchy* and *Religion* ; or rather let the very Names of *Whig* and *Tory* be forever buried in Oblivion ; and let there be, for the future, no other Distinction known amongst us, but of “ *Those*, (as our late glorious *Deliverer* express’d it) “ who are for the *Protestant Religion* and the *present Establishment* ; and of *Those*, who mean a “ *Popish Prince* and a *French Government*. ”

I would not be understood, by such a *Coalition*, to mean a fordid Compliance, at all Times, with the Measures of a *Court* or the Demands of *great Men* ; for as Ministers often have private, selfish Views, separate from the Interest of their Prince, as well as their Country, it is the Duty of every loyal Subject and honest *Briton* to oppose and use all his Endeavours to defeat them. *Cicero* very justly observes, that such a mean *Subserviency* is rather a *Conspiracy* than a *Coalition*. *Si omnia facienda sunt, quæ Amici velint, non Amicitia tales, sed Conjuraciones putandæ sunt.*

Neither do I esteem the *Conjunction* of a few LEADING MEN on both Sides, for *venal* and *corrupt Ends*, to be properly a *Coalition of Parties* ; or such an Union as is desirable in any Nation ; for, at this Rate, *Catiline* and his Associates might have sanctified their *Conspiracy* with the Name of a *Coalition*, because there were wicked Men of *all Parties* engaged in that Design ; but we know in what Light their detestable *Transactions* were look’d upon by the honest Part of
the

the *Roman* People; and indeed all *Combinations*, of this kind, in any Nation, ought to be rejected and abhorred by the united Body of *both Parties*; because both Parties are equally *deserted* and *betrayed* by such *Combinations*.

In fine, by a *Coalition* I mean the cordial Union and Co-operation of Persons of all Denominations in the true Interest and Service of their Country, without any Attachment to *vain Names*; which can serve only to keep alive our destructive Animosities and promote the sinister Views of ambitious Men, at the Expence of our private Happiness and the publick Good. As This is the only *Coalition*, which can either be desired or justified, so I hope my Countrymen will no longer suffer themselves to be imposed on by artful *Demagogues* and ill designing Patrons of *Faction*; especially since Experience has, I think, sufficiently taught them the *Mischief* and *Folly* of such Conduct. Instead of dividing ourselves into opposite Parties, and branding one another with odious Distinctions, let us chearfully concur in the common Cause, and make the Interest of *Great-Britain* the only Rule of all our Actions. Let us not, for the future, run blind-fold into any Proposals, however romantick and unreasonable, because they are offered by *one* Set of Men; nor madly shut our Ears to any Objections, however just and well-grounded, because they are started by *another*. This will be the surest and only Method of restoring *Peace* and *Commerce*; of reviving our drooping *Manufactures*; of lessning our *Debts*, and reducing our *Taxes*; at the same Time that it will most effectually secure us from *foreign Violence* and protect us against *domestick Corruption*.
D.



N° 41. Friday, April 28, 1727.

Quale Portentum neque militaris
Daunia in latis alit æsculetis;
Nec Jubæ Tellus generat, Leonum
Arida Nutrix.

Hor.



Otwithstanding the notorious Infidelity and Libertinism of the Age, in which we live, with regard to all sorts of *Prodigies, Portents* and *Omens*, I am not ashamed to acknowledge some Belief in such extraordinary Appearances, when they are confirmed by subsequent, extraordinary Events; which I think cannot be entirely rejected, unless we discredit the concurrent Testimonies of the best Historians, antient and modern, sacred and profane; particularly *Livy, Clarendon* and *Echard*. I shall not dwell on those wonderful Apparitions, so generally known, which preceded the Assassination of *Julius Cæsar* and the great Duke of *Buckingham*; but hasten to the Point in view, by making some Observations on those equally-surprizing Omens, which happen'd, as it were but yesterday, amongst ourselves.

Indeed the last Year may be justly esteemed a *Year of Wonders*, not inferior to any recorded in History; whether we consider it either with relation to those uncommon, preter-natural Effects, which have raised the Astonishment and Curiosity of the Publick; or to those extraordinary Events, that have succeeded them; the *latter* of which, in my Opinion, ought to be looked on as the Completions or Accomplishments
of

of what the *former* were designed to be *Types, Notices* and *Predictions*.

It would be endless to enumerate all those stupendous Prodigies, mishapen Monsters, strange Sightings and unheard-of Wonders, which have been lately exhibited to our Eyes. Not to mention the *wild human Youth* brought forth by an old *Oak*, in a desert, uninhabited Forest abroad; or the young *Lyons* whelp'd, in so uncommon a manner, at home; we have seen black Swans, white Bears, six-legged Cows, Men with two Heads, flying Horses, speaking Dogs, and dancing Elephants in abundance; which would have employed all the Attention of antient *Oracles* to explain. *Channel-Row* was never so plentifully stocked, as it hath been for the last Summer and Winter, with portentous Rarities of all kinds; which at the same time that they serve to amuse the vulgar and ignorant, excite the Curiosity of learned Men, and prepare their Minds for *Events*, suitable to such ominous Prognostications.

I shall confine myself, at present, to only three of the most amazing *Phænomena*, which have lately appear'd amongst us, *viz.* the famous *Rabbit-Breeder* of *Godalmin* in *Surrey*; the prodigious *three-leg'd Eagle*, which was taken alive this Spring in the *Weald* of *Kent*; and the wonderful *Young-man*, who was deliver'd, but t'other Day, of a chopping Girl in *Fetter-lane*.

As these several Appearances are equally preternatural and astonishing with any that we read of in the History of antient or modern Times; so it would be the most inexcusable Negligence in a publick-spirited Writer to let them pass without any Comment or Examination at a Time, when we are surprized, on every Side, with the most unexpected Occurrences and Events; to which these *Phænomena* seem to bear so manifest a Relation.

For this Reason, tho' I do not pretend to any great Depth in *Augury*, *Aruspicy* and *Oracular Learning*, I cannot suffer myself to be entirely silent on a Subject of such Consequence to this Kingdom; and I hope that any Ignorance or want of proper Abilities, which I may discover on this Occasion, will be thought at least more excuseable than the shameful Silence and Neglect of others, who are better qualified for such a Task.

I know the World is, at present, generally prejudiced against the poor Woman of *Godalmin*; and look upon the reputed *Rabbit birth* as a common Cheat, Forgery and Imposture; which can be imputed only to the Inconsistency of some *Relations*, that have been made of this Affair, and the prevailing *Infidelity*, before-mention'd, with regard to *Prodigies* of all Kinds. But I have always profess'd and shall constantly pay such a Deference to learned Men, of all Professions, in their respective Employments, and especially to the Faculty of *Physick*, that I could never be induced to join in the common Cry, by detracting from the Credit of this Story, and presuming to be wiser than Men of the greatest Experience, most profound Judgment and unquestionable Integrity, who were so deeply concerned in this Affair; and, having made these Studiës the Business of their Lives, must be supposed better acquainted with them than any other Persons.

Tho' I have myself suffer'd a great Deal of Slander and Ridicule, in common with these *skilful Adepts* and *Operators*, for my Credulity in this Matter; yet I found myself, every Day, more and more confirm'd in the Belief of it, by what has *since happen'd amongst us*; of which I take that surprizing Occurrence to be a *remarkable Presage*; and I think no body can doubt it any longer, after the full *Discharge* of Mrs. *Tofts* from her Confinement, and all future Enquiry about it; which I am confident she would not have obtain'd, if there had been any reasonable Grounds to form a *Prosecution* against Her.

The Truth therefore of this wonderful *Conception* and *Delivery* being thus establish'd, as I think, beyond all Dispute; it remains to be considered what Event such an *anomalous Production* can be supposed to prognosticate or point out to us; but This is a Subject of so tender a Nature, that it is not yet a proper Season to enlarge upon it any farther. I must therefore leave it, at present, to the Conjectures of every discerning Reader; not in the least doubting that Time and a little Patience will explain it, in the fullest Manner, to the most common Apprehensions.

I shall therefore beg Leave to pass on to the second strange and portentous *Phænomenon*, which I have just mention'd and propos'd to consider; namely, the monstrous great *Eagle with three Legs*, which was lately caught by a *Kentish* Shepherd, whilst He was committing the most terrible Ravages on the young *Lambs*, under his Care, in *Romney-Marsh*. This Omen, I think, may be easily understood, explained and apply'd by any Person, who hath the least Knowledge in *Emblems* and *Hieroglyphicks*; for an *Eagle* being the known Symbol of *Empire*, as a *Lamb* is of the *British Woollen Manufacture*; it cannot be doubted that, by this wonderful *triple-leg'd Bird of Prey*, ought to be understood the late Confederacy of *Three* very formidable Potentates, (viz. the *Emperor*, the *Czarina* and the *King of Spain*) in order to suppress our *Manufactures*, and deprive us of our *Trade* and *Commerce*. It is farther obvious to infer (and I observe it with the greatest Pleasure) that as this lordly-feather'd Tyrant and ravenous Invader of *Property* was timely surprized in his Depredations, by the Vigilance and Courage of a careful Shepherd; so those *ambitious, ungrateful* and *daring Monarchs* will be shortly obliged to desist from their exorbitant Demands and unwarrantable Usurpations, by the unshaken Resolutions and most incorruptible Integrity of a *British Administration*.

We may explain the other *heterogeneous Production* in almost the same *political Manner*; for the Circumstance of a *young Man's* being got with Child and actually brought to Bed of a Daughter is so contrary to all the ordinary Laws of Nature, and such a total Inversion of the Properties of his Sex, that it seems to bear no small Resemblance to that **.unaccountable Conjunction*, which, according to a late excellent Writer, *was out of the Road of all Policy*—and of which he found it so difficult to give any *reasonable Solution*.

I know that some Persons have endeavour'd to explain this *Phænomenon*, by applying it to the late *Transmutation of Sexes* at our *Masquerades* and other polite Assemblies; but I chuse rather to adhere to the *former Exposition* as more apposite and more momentous; or at least to apply it to the *latter*, only in a *remote and secondary Sense*.

It may indeed be objected to both these Interpretations, that the *Type* is preceded by the *Anti-type*; and that the *Symbol* or Thing *signifying* comes after the Thing *signified*; which, we are told, by a *late Writer*, often happens in *Prophecies* and *typical Applications*. But I shall leave this Point to be controverted by our modern *religious Disputants*; it being of no Importance in the present Case, which relates to *political Matters*, as it cannot destroy that Analogy or Resemblance between two or more extraordinary Events; which is all that I design or desire to prove in this Paper.

I cannot conclude without observing that as our Enemies have entered into a most *unaccountable Conjunction*, *out of the Road of all Policy* (to which our late *Prodigies* and *Portents* bear so near a Relation) and some *Protestant Princes* have thought fit to join in a

* Vide the *Enquiry*, &c. Page 5, and 88.

* *popish*.

* *popish Plot* against the Liberties of *Europe*; so it no less wonderfully, and as it were, providentially falls out, that a very powerful *Popish Prince* finds himself inclin'd (as no doubt it is his *Interest*) to unite cordially with us, and enter into a *Protestant League*, to defeat such Designs, and curb the Ambition of these *Popish Confederates*.

At the same Time, it must be confessed that This is a Scene of *Wonder* and *Astonishment*, for which we ought to be very thankful to Providence; since this Infatuation of our Enemies, in concerting a Treaty so contrary to their own Interest, is, perhaps, the only Thing, which could have established so firm a *League, Union* and *Friendship* between *Us* and some of our present *Allies*. D.



N^o 42. *Monday, May 1, 1727.*

— *mutato Nomine, de T E*
Fabula narratur,

Hor.



HO' there is commonly a Mixture of good and ill Qualities in the Composition of every human Character, and hardly any Man is either perfectly good or compleatly bad; yet if we judge of Mankind by the Characters, which they bear, either living or dead, we shall generally find them to be all *Angels* or all *Devils*; made up of

* Vide the Enquiry, Page 79.

pure Virtue without any Allay of *Vice*; or composed of *all Vice*, without the least Tincture of *Virtue* or *Morality*.

This prevailing Partiality is sometimes owing to the Weight of those Virtues or Vices, which predominate in every Man's Character, and swallow up his opposite Qualities; sometimes to the Prevalence of Factions and the Force of Flattery and Defamation, according as they are respectively apply'd.

No Man of Antiquity is handed down to us in a more amiable Light than *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, the famous *Roman Orator*; and perhaps no Man's Character, in general, better deserves the Applause and Imitation of the present Age or Posterity; yet some Persons, by viewing only *one Side* of it, have worked themselves into a kind of Enthusiasm for his Name; and having heard so much of his *Oratory* and *Zeal* against *Catiline*, will not suffer themselves to believe that such a Man could have any Failings, Defects, or Infirmities; though it is manifest, even from his own Writings, that he was excessively *vain* of himself; especially of his *Poetry*, which was execrable Stuff; and perhaps he might have several other Frailties, which are now buried in his more distinguished Virtues and Abilities.

I do not design to enter into the Merits of the Quarrel between *Salust* and *Cicero*; nor to justify the severe Things, which are charged upon the latter in the following *Declamation*; but as his Character hath been much hackney'd about of late; and some Persons, both *within* and *without* Doors, have been very busy in making *Comparisons* and *Allusions* to it, I thought it might not be an improper Time to attempt the following little Piece in *English*, for the Use of those Gentlemen, in their future *Parallels* and *Applications*.

SALUST against CICERO.

A

DECLAMATION.

“ I Would submit, however reluctantly, to all
 “ thy false Accusations, O! *Marcus Tullius*, pro-
 “ vided I were satisfy’d that this abusive Language
 “ proceeded rather from ill Judgment than a distem-
 “ per’d Mind. But since I observe that you have
 “ shaken off all manner of *Temper* and *Modesty*, I
 “ will make you some Reply; so that if you have
 “ receiv’d any Pleasure from speaking ill of others,
 “ you may now lose it, by hearing evil of your self.
 “ But where shall I appeal? To whom, *Fathers*, shall
 “ I make my Complaint, that the Common-wealth
 “ is torn in Pieces, and become the Prey of every
 “ *audacious Traytor*? Shall I apply to the *Roman*
 “ People; who are so far sunk in *Corruption*, that
 “ they are ready to sell themselves and their Families
 “ to the best Bidder? Or shall I call upon you, *Fa-*
 “ *thers*; whose Authority is become the Scorn and
 “ Derision even of the most infamous and abandon’d
 “ Part of Mankind? Whilst *Marcus Tullius* takes up-
 “ on himself to defend the Laws and Decrees of the
 “ *Roman* People, and lords it in such a Manner, as if
 “ he were the only remaining Branch of the most
 “ illustrious Family of *Scipio Africanus*; and not,
 “ what in reality he is, an Interloper, an Upstart, an
 “ *emancipated Slave*, a *proscrib’d Criminal*, and but
 “ lately admitted a Citizen of *Rome*. But is there
 “ any Man, who is unacquainted with your Words
 “ or Actions? Have you not liv’d, even from your
 “ Childhood, in such a Manner, that you never
 “ thought it scandalous to submit your Body to the
 “ Lust and Pleasure of others? Did not you learn
 “ even

“ even that *immoderate Eloquence* of *Marcus Piso*, at
 “ the Expence of your *Modesty*? And therefore it is
 “ not to be wonder’d at, if you sordidly make a Pen-
 “ ny of That, which you obtain’d in so infamous a
 “ Manner.

“ As to the *House*, in which you live, you got
 “ Possession of it by Violence and Rapine; for which
 “ Vengeance will one Day overtake you and your
 “ Family. By This you put us in Mind how much
 “ the Common-wealth is changed from what it was;
 “ when such an infamous Wretch as you dwell in
 “ that House, which was once the Habitation of *P.*
 “ *Crassus*, a Man of *Consular* Dignity; yet notwith-
 “ standing all This, *Cicero* tells us that he hath been
 “ admitted into the Council of the immortal Gods;
 “ that he was dispatch’d from thence to this City, to
 “ be the Guardian of his Fellow-subjects; and yet,
 “ without taking upon himself the Name of an *Exe-*
 “ *cutioner*, places his greatest Glory in the Calamities
 “ of his Country; as if indeed your *Consulship* was
 “ not the true Cause of that *Conspiracy*; and there-
 “ fore the Common-wealth was overturn’d at that
 “ Time, when it had You for its *Protector*. But, I
 “ have Reason to believe that you are more exalted
 “ with those notable Feats, which you performed, af-
 “ ter your *Consulship*, in concert with your Wife *Te-*
 “ *rentia*, for the Safety of the Common-wealth;
 “ when you put the Penalties of the *Plautian Law* in
 “ Execution at Home. Some of the *Conspirators*
 “ you condemn’d to *Death*; and punished others se-
 “ verely in their *Pockets*. At this Time, *One* of
 “ them was at the Expence of building you a splen-
 “ did *Villa* at *Tusculum*; *Another* at *Pompeij*; and
 “ a *Third* bought you a fine House in Town; but
 “ *He*, that had *n thing to give*, was in a fair way to
 “ be hang’d; for that Man was certainly just coming
 “ to beset your House; or engaged in a *Plot* against
 “ the Senate; of which you never wanted the ful-
 “ left

“ left *Evidence* to convict him. If these Accusations
 “ are false, give us fairly an Account, what *paternal*
 “ *Estate* you had left you. Let us know what you
 “ have made by *Haranguing* and *Speech-making*; with
 “ what Money you bought your *House*, and defray’d
 “ the immense Cost of building the two *Villæ* be-
 “ fore-mention’d. Or, if you are silent on these
 “ Heads, who can any longer doubt that you have
 “ extorted your Wealth out of the *Blood* and *Bowels*
 “ of your Fellow-citizens? But, I presume, this *new*
 “ *Man of Arpinum*, descended from the Family of
 “ *Caius Marius*, in Imitation of his Virtues, despi-
 “ ses the Envy of the *Nobility*; bestows all his Care
 “ on the Welfare of the *People*; and is not to be
 “ moved either by *Flattery* or *Threatning*. Is then
 “ *Cicero* really possessed of these Virtues? No; he
 “ is a *vain, shuffling, inconstant Wretch*; *humble* to
 “ his *Enemies*; *insolent* to his *Friends*; sometimes of
 “ *one Party*, and sometimes of *another*; faithful to
 “ *neither*; a *wavering, unsteady Senator*; a *merce-*
 “ *nary Patron*; no part of whose *Body* is free from
 “ *Guilt* and *Turpitude*; being composed of a *vain*
 “ *Tongue*; most *rapacious Hands*; a *gluttonous, in-*
 “ *satiable Appetite*; and *cowardly, run-away Feet*;
 “ not to insist on those filthy and most abominable
 “ *Parts*, which common *Decency* will not allow me
 “ even to mention. Yet this Man, as bad as I have
 “ describ’d him, has the Confidence to tell us in a
 “ wretched Distich,

Fortune foretun’d the dying *Notes of Rome*,
 Till I, thy Consul sole, consol’d thy *Doom*.

“ Was *Rome* then happy under your *Consulship*?
 “ No; most *unfortunate* and *miserable*, in suffering the
 “ most cruel, and unrelenting *Banishment* of her Ci-
 “ tizens; whilst you, having thrown the *Common-*
 “ *wealth* in disorder and put all good Men in a Con-
 “ sterna-

“ Iteration, obliged them to truckle to your *Tyranny*;
 “ whilst all Decrees and all Laws were at your disposal;
 “ and whilst you, by taking away the *Porcian Law*,
 “ and seizing on our *Liberty*, established yourself,
 “ singly, in the full Power of *Life* and *Death* over all
 “ your Fellow-subjects.

“ Nor is it enough, that you have done all This with
 “ *Impunity*; but you insult us by recalling it to our
 “ Memory; nor will you suffer us to forget our Bon-
 “ dage. Go on then, *Cicero*, I beseech you, and
 “ compleat your Design. Is it not enough that we
 “ have endured all This; but will you still grate our
 “ Ears with the most odious Repetitions of it? Will
 “ you never cease to torment us with those nauseous
 “ and most offensive Lines,

*Let Arms give place to the pacifick Gown,
 And Eloquence put on the Laurel Crown.*

“ As if you had performed those *Atchievements*,
 “ which you boast of, in a *Gown*, and not in *Armour*;
 “ or, as if there were any other Difference, besides
 “ the Name of *Dictator*, between *Sylla* and you. But
 “ why should I give any more Proofs of your Arro-
 “ gance? The Man, whom *Minerva* condescended
 “ to instruct in all her Arts, and whom *Jupiter* vouch-
 “ safed to admit into the Privy-Counsel of the Gods,
 “ was but lately recalled from Banishment, and
 “ brought into *Rome* upon Men's Shoulders. I beg
 “ of you, O *Romulus* of *Arpinum*! who have ex-
 “ celled, with your egregious Virtues, all the *Pauli*,
 “ *Fabii* and *Scipio's*, to let us know what Rank in the
 “ City you at length claim? In the Interest of what
 “ *Party* you are pleased to be at present? Who are
 “ your Friends, and who are your Enemies? — You
 “ are now become the abject Tool of *Him*, whom you
 “ once accused of being engaged in a *Conspiracy*. —
 “ On what Account did you follow *Him*, since your
 “ Re-

“ Return from your Exile in *Dyrrachium*? You now
 “ abet the Power and Grandeur of *Those*, whom you
 “ called *Tyrants*; and, on the contrary, call *Those*
 “ Madmen, actuated by nothing but *Fury* and *Resent-*
 “ *ment*, whom you formerly esteem’d the *best Men*
 “ and *worthiest Patriots* in the City. You plead the
 “ Cause of *Vatinius*. You have an ill Opinion of
 “ *Sextius*; and pursue *Bibulus* with the most oppro-
 “ bious Language. You commend *Cæsar*; and are
 “ now the most obsequious to *Those*, whom formerly
 “ you most mortally *hated*. You are of one Opinion
 “ when *in Power*; and another when *out of Power*;
 “ and always change your *Principles* with your Sta-
 “ tion. You calumniate this Set of Men, and hate
 “ That, by turns. In short, you are a shuffling *Turn-*
 “ *coat*; and no Faith hath been found in you, either
 “ by *one Side* or the *other*. *A.*

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

This is to give Notice,

To all Noblemen with large Families and small
Estates, decayed Gentlemen, Gamesters, and others, that,
in the great School in Westminster, Boys are thoroughly
instructed in all Parts of useful Learning. The said
School is furnished with a MASTER, and one USHER,
who does all the Business himself, and keeps his Scho-
lars in such order, that the MASTER never attends but
upon some great Occasion. This School is of a more
excellent Foundation than any that were ever yet known;
for the Scholars, instead of paying for their Learning,
are rewarded for every Lesson the USHER gives them;
provided they are perfect in it, and have it ready at
their Fingers Ends.

N. B. *This is no Free School.*



N^o 43. Friday, May 5, 1727.

— prodigus *Æris*.

Hor.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

S I R,



HE Mind of Man being naturally subject to Pride, Vanity and Ambition, it makes us all eager in the Pursuit of Honours, Titles and Distinctions of Preheminence, either in Dress or Appellation. For this Reason a Monosyllable prefixed to a Man's christian Name; a Medal hung about his Neck; or a Piece of colour'd Ribband across his Shoulders, are esteemed of great Value; and by some Persons preferred even to Riches or Power; and, however trifling such Ornaments, Badges or Titles may seem in the Eyes of a morose Cynick, or an abstracted Philosopher; yet, when justly bestowed, they are certainly very useful, expedient and necessary for the Encouragement of Virtue, Patriotism, Fortitude and Merit of all kinds. But as there are different Passions, Appetites and Inclinations peculiar to almost every Nation; so I have observed that the Generality of *true-born Englishmen* are remarkably fond of the Title of *ESQUIRE*; which, beyond all other honourable Appellations, seems peculiarly adapted to the prevailing Humour and Genius of this Kingdom. For tho' a *simple Esquire*, considered as a Point of Heraldry or Precedence, is but one Remove above the Degree of a common Gentleman; yet I have known

seve-

several Persons decline Titles of much higher Rank and Distinction, rather than suffer themselves to be *dis-esquird*; and others, who have submitted to it, with great Reluctance, and after much Importunity, in order to carry on some private End, or to gratify a different Species of Ambition. Nay, some Men have discovered such a Passion for this Dignity, that they have retained the Spirit of it, long after they have parted with the Name; from whence it comes to pass, that *'Squire-Knights*, *'Squire Lords* and *'Squire-Dukes* are no Rarities in this Country.

There is, indeed, something grand, noble and captivating in the very Name and Sound of *Esquire*; which is a popular Appellation, and carries along with it an Idea of *Liberality* and *Munificence*; insomuch that a Man, who makes his Friend welcome at home, or entertains him abroad, is proverbially call'd the *'Squire of the Company*.

I cannot pretend, after all my Researches, fully to ascertain the Origin and Foundation of this Saying; but I presume it might take its Rise from those antient Times of Hospitality, when it was the Fashion for Gentlemen of plentiful Fortunes to live chiefly in the Country; to keep open House; and spend the superfluous Part of their Estates in *Beef*, *Pudding* and *strong Beer*, for the Entertainment of Tenants, Neighbours and Travellers; which is now indeed more politely bestow'd upon Operas, Masquerades and Basset-tables; upon costly fine Cloaths; luxurious living; and the extravagant Diversions of the Town.

As this Method of Life was generally follow'd and kept up by that Order of Men, who were dignify'd with the Denomination of *Esquires*; (*Knights*, *Baronets* and *Peers*, of all Degrees, not being half so common in those Times, as they are at present) it naturally procur'd them the Love of their Neighbourhood, and endear'd their Order to all the inferiour Part of their Fellow-subjects.

But as the best Things in the World are subject to Abuse, and all Men are fond of *Popularity* and *Prebeminence* in their different Stations; so the Credit of this Dignity has produced, in Process of Time, a Multitude of undeserving Pretenders to it; who have prostituted the Honour of *Esquireship* in a most shameful and scandalous Manner, to the great Grief of Those, who justly claim and worthily bear that ancient Appellation.

To say the Truth, Mr. *D'Anvers*, we seem to have *civilized* our selves too far, and carried our *Good-breeding* to an unwarrantable Excess, by confounding all Degrees of Persons and breaking through the most essential Rules of *Heraldry*; for as all the Women in Town are now grown *Ladies* and *Madams*; not excepting even the lowest Scullion-maids, Oysterwomen and Cinder-wenches; so every rakish young Fellow, as soon as he has clapt on a Spit by his Side and pick'd up a parcel of scoundrel, spunging Companions, immediately sets up for an *Esquire*, and saucily ranks himself amongst us.

It must be confess'd indeed that ours is a *military Order*; for which Reason we are call'd in Latin *Armigeri*; but though, for want of a sumptuary Law, every Man is allow'd to wear a Sword, who will be at the Expence of it, and to live in what Manner he pleases; there ought certainly to be some other Qualification required of every one, who dubs himself with this Title, besides a *spendthrift Disposition* and a paltry Piece of *cold Iron*.

It methinks, therefore, it would be a Task well-worthy of our laborious Friend and Brother *John Anstis*, Esquire, that Mirror of our Order, to take this Affair into Consideration, and rescue his Fraternity from the Contempt, into which it hath lately fallen, by the Incroachments of worthless Upstarts and wretched Pretenders.

I heartily wish to see this Matter well regulated ; because, as Things stand at present, those Men, generally speaking, take upon themselves this Character, who have no Title to it, nor any Thing to support it ; whilst several others, who have both, live in a Manner, which does not become Men of such illustrious Distinction.

How many pretty Fellows and fine Gentlemen do we every Day see in this Town, who waste their Substance in the most riotous, dissolute and extravagant Manner, out of the vain Affectation of *Popularity* and the Pride of being at the *Head of their Company* ; which, for this Reason, is generally composed of low, vulgar Sycophants, who repay their Patrons with this favourite Title and a daily Tribute of Flattery and Adulation ?

Nay, this vain Humour is not confined even to such Men ; but hath mixed itself with the common Mass, and corrupted even the lowest of the People. We have *Esquire-Lacqueys*, *Coblers* and *Tinkers* in Abundance ; nor is it any uncommon Thing to see a jolly, roaring Sailor, who hath been sweltering two or three Years in the *West-Indies*, or freezing perhaps as many in the *Baltick*, where he has gone through all manner of Hardships, Dangers and Fatigues, spending the whole Fruit of his Labour upon a sordid Crew of dirty, drunken Parasites ; and at length returning with empty Pockets to the same Drudgery ; fully satisfy'd in his Mind with the Applause, which he had received, and the good Character he hath left behind him.

As we have an Order of Men distinguished by the Title of *Knights of the Industry* ; so I think Those, of whom I have been speaking, may properly be denominated *Esquires of Extravagance* or *Prodigality*. This kind of Vanity is of very fatal and mischievous Consequence in *private Persons* ; but in *political Matters* nothing is more dangerous as well as absurd ; nor can I possibly picture any Thing in my own Imagina-

tion more ominous to this Kingdom, than a *publick Minister*, who being possessed with such a Spirit, should at any Time, hereafter, endeavour to gratify his own Pride and vain Glory, by making *Great-Britain* the SQUIRE of *Christendom*, and lavishly paying the *Reckoning* of all *Europe*.

A.

I am, SIR, &c.

ROBERT BRITON, *Esq;*To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

SIR,

I Have already troubled you with a Project for preventing CORRUPTION, by fixing a *Knot of Ribbands* under the left Ear of all Persons, who shall be known to be guilty of that infamous Practice; and was sorry to find that it should give Offence to any of your Readers. I now send you another Proposal of the same Nature; which, if you are not discouraged by the ill Fate of my first Attempt, I desire you likewise to publish.

I do not pretend, Sir, to claim the Merit of this second Expedient myself; but acknowledge that the Publick is obliged for it to the Author of a late Pamphlet, called *An HONEST SCHEME*, &c. (which Title it seems, on many Accounts, to deserve) where They will find the following Passage Page 29.

“ — . I wish we had the *Roman Custom*, of giving to every *Law* the *Name* of the Man, who was the first Adviser and Promoter of it. Such a Custom would encourage *Patriots* to propose and promote good *Laws*, and would deter *selfish* and *designing Men* from proposing *bad ones*.

I cannot help thinking that this Method would be very serviceable to the Common-wealth, and have a good Effect in the Proposal of such *Laws* as the *Riots*-

Act; the *Septennial-Act*; the *South Sea-Act*; the *Black-Act*; the *Quarentine-Act*; the *Swearing-Act*; the *Coffee-Act*; the *Pot-Act*; and several others of the like sort. At the same time our *Patriots* would be distinguished to Posterity by the *Laws* they proposed; and I should not doubt to see the *W——lian*, *Horatian*, *Y——gian*, and *Sc——pian* *Laws* make as great a Figure in our *Histories*, as the *Porcian*, *Julian*, *Fannian* and *Sempronian* *Laws* of old.

I submit This to your Judgment, and am once more, *S I R,*

Your Humble Servant,

N.

JOHN ENGLISH.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

To be published by SUBSCRIPTION,

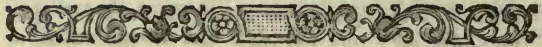
A new Discovery in the Art of NAVIGATION; shewing how a Ship of 800 Tons, or lesser Burthen, may sail from the West-Indies to Europe, and consequently to any Part of the World, without Anchors, Cables, Shrowds, or Sails; whereby those expensive, and unnecessary Articles will be saved to the Nation.

Dedicated to the London and Royal-Exchange Insurance Offices.

Subscriptions are taken in by the Authors, at the Sign of the wise Men of Gotham, near a great Pair of Gates in Broad-Street, London.



Monday



N^o 44. Monday, May 8, 1727.

—tolluntur in altum,
Ut lapsu graviore ruant.



HAVE already had Occasion more than once to mention VILLARS, the first great Duke of *Buckingham*, that absolute Minister and Favourite of King *James* and King *Charles* the First; who was such an amazing *Comet* of

Fame, Power, Fortune and Honour, as hath not been since seen in our Hemisphere; and, it is to be hoped, will never be seen again! But I was induced, for many Reasons, to promise my Readers some farther Account of the Rise, Character and Conduct of that extraordinary great Man; and I think no Time can be more proper to do it, than the present.

I shall not say much of his *Birth* and *Extraction*, which was rather *obscure* than *illustrious*, if compared to that vast Height of Power, to which he afterwards rose; being only the younger Son of a *private Country Gentleman*, though of an antient Family. But being endowed, by Nature, with a very graceful Person and brought up, by the singular Fondness of his Mother, in a manner, which naturally led him to Court, He soon drew upon himself the Eyes of a *Prince*, who, of all wise Men living, it seems, was the most delighted and taken with handsome Persons and with fine Cloaths.

He had not been many Days there before he was made *Cup-bearer* to the King; which was the first Post he

he enjoy'd, and the first lucky Step to all his future Grandeur; *since by This He was, of course, obliged to be much in the Royal Presence; and so admitted to that Conversation and Discourse, with which that Prince always abounded at his Meals.*

“ He acted very few Weeks (as my Lord Clarendon informs us) upon this Stage, when he mounted higher; and being knighted, without any other Qualifications, He was at the same time made Gentleman of the Bed chamber and Knight of the Order of the Garter; and, in a short Time, (very short for such a prodigious Ascent) He was made a Baron, a Viscount, an Earl, a Marquess, and became Lord High Admiral of England, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, Master of the Horse, and entirely disposed of all the Graces of the King, in conferring all the Honours and all the Offices of three Kingdoms without a Rival; in dispensing whereof, He was guided more by the Rules of Appetite, than of Judgment; and so exalted almost ALL of his own numerous Family and Dependants; whose greatest Merit was their Alliance to him; which equally offended the ancient Nobility and the People of all Conditions; who saw the Flowers of the Crown every Day fading and withered; whilst the De-measnes and the Revenue thereof were sacrificed to the enriching a private Family, (how well soever originally extracted) scarce ever heard of before to the Nation; and the Expences of the Court so vast and unlimited, that they had a sad Prospect of that Poverty and Necessity, which afterwards besel the Crown, almost to the Ruin of it.

Being thus advanced to the highest Pinnacle of Fortune, and consequently surrounded with a Crowd of abject Flatterers and Sycophants; some of whom (and particularly no less a Man than Sir Edward Coke) blasphemously called him, *our Saviour*. He began to shew himself in his proper Colours; so that from the

the whole Series and Spirit of his Conduct, we may easily trace his just Character.

He was a Man of such immoderate and insolent Ambition, that not content with all the *Power* He enjoy'd, and all the *Favours, Titles* and *beneficial Employments*, which were heap'd, in so extravagant a Manner, on *Himself*, his *Relations*, and *Dependants*; He could not bear to see any of his Fellow-subjects (though of the *best Families*, the *greatest Abilities*, or the most *unblemish'd Fidelity* in the Kingdom) to partake with him in the King's Favour in any Degree; or to distinguish themselves in any *Affair of Trust, Honour* or *Profit*. This insatiable, engrossing Spirit and Impatience to see any Man gain Reputation or make his Fortune, besides himself, render'd him jealous of the Earl of *Bristol*; who was, at that Time, Ambassador extraordinary at the Court of *Spain*, and had in a Manner concluded the Treaty of Marriage with the *Infanta*, for which he was sent thither; for as the King's Heart was very much set on this Match, and *Buckingham* apprehended that the Successful Management of it would redound too much to the Honour of that Ambassador, he resolv'd to disappoint him by carrying the *Prince* in Person into *Spain*; in which he found it no hard Matter to persuade him, being naturally fond of Adventures; tho' there was some Difficulty in obtaining the King's Consent; but he had now got such an absolute Ascendency over Him, that he soon removed all Objections; and tho' he set out *incog*, yet he appeared there with a splendid Retinue, and put the Nation to a vast Expence.

As the sole Motive to this mad, unadvised Journey (for which any Man ought to have lost his Head) was private Envy to the *Earl of Bristol*; so *Buckingham* was no sooner arriv'd there with the *Prince*, than the same insolent Spirit and exorbitant Ambition engag'd him in a personal Quarrel, not only with
the

the *Ambassador*, but also with the Duke of *Olivarez*, the *prime Minister* of *Spain*; which he was resolv'd to revenge on both of them, by returning into *England*, and breaking off the *Match*.

Accordingly, he came back with the *Prince*, not without great Difficulty and Hazard; and having got a Parliament call'd, engag'd them, by false Representations, and other unwarrantable Influences to dissuade the King from continuing the Treaty of *Marriage*, and immediately to declare War against *Spain*.

My Lord *Clarendon* tells us that, "He engag'd his old unwilling Master and the Kingdom in this War (not to mention the bold Journey to *Spain*, or the Breach of that Match) in a Time, when the *Crown* was poor, and the *People* more inclin'd to a bold Enquiry *how it came to be so*, than dutiful to provide for its *Supply*; and This only upon personal Animosities between *Him* and the Duke of *Olivarez*, the sole Favourite of that Court; and those Animosities from very *trivial Provocations*."

At the same Time, *Cranfield* Earl of *Middlesex*, Lord High Treasurer of *England* (who was one of *Buckingham's* Creatures, and nearly allied to him by Marriage) fell under his *Grace's* Displeasure, for having neglected to supply him with sufficient Sums of Money, during his Absence in *Spain*; and even presuming to dispute his Commands and appeal to the King, whose Ear he had now gained; and thought himself so firmly establish'd in his good Opinion, that he should not any longer stand in need of the *Favourite's* Support. But the *Duke*, upon his Return, being apprized of This, and finding the *Parliament* dispos'd to his Mind, was resolv'd to crush this bold *Rival*, and thereby deter others from presuming to interfere with him in his Majesty's Esteem.

For this Purpose, he prevailed on some leading Men in the House of *Commons* to carry up an *Impeach-*

peachment of *high Crimes and Misdemeanors* against him to the House of Lords; which they undertook with great Readiness, and went thro' with unusual Vigour.

However just or seasonable this Prosecution might be, yet it was generally thought very impolitick for a Man, in his Station or Circumstances, to set it on Foot; and the King himself was so averse to it, both on Account of the great Affection, which he bore to the *Earl*, and also of the bad Consequences, which he apprehended from such a Precedent, that finding the *Duke* positive in this Matter, he told him, in a Passion, "By G—d, *Stenny*, you are a *Fool*; and will shortly repent this *Folly*, and will find that, in this Fit of *Popularity*, you are making a *Rod*, with which you will be scourged yourself; and turning, in some Anger, to the *Prince*, told him, that he would live to have his Belly full of *Parliament Im-peachments*.

But excessive Arrogance and Impatience of Emulation, which often overcome the most self-interested Prudence and political Foresight, had so much got the better of him, that he paid no Regard to these wholesome Admonitions, even from the Mouth of his indulgent Prince; whose Power in both Houses proved so much inferiour to the *Duke's*, that the *Earl*, who was thought, at that Time, to have made a good *Defence*, was at last sentenced in an heavy *Fine*; a long *Imprisonment*; and rendered for ever afterwards incapable of sitting in the *House of Peers*.

Tho' the *King's* Affection was, in a great Measure, alienated from the *Duke*, on all these Accounts; and it was generally believed that he had recall'd the *Earl of Bristol* to get rid of his *imperious Administration*; yet "He was prevail'd on, by that arbitrary Minion, to restrain the *Earl* upon his first Arrival, without permitting him to come into his Presence."

Notwithstanding all This, the King was certainly grown weary of such an *insolent Favourite*; and was resolved either to dismiss him totally from his Service, or to retrench his unlimited Power; at least, this Opinion prevailed so much, that it induced several *great Men*, in both Houses, to withdraw their former *absolute Dependance* on him,

But the King's sudden Death (which, it was thought, happen'd very opportunely for him) and Prince *Charles's* Succession to the Throne procur'd him, as it were, a new Lease of Power, and re-instated him in his former Grandeur; for tho' the *Prince* could not have intirely forgot his *former Insolence* and *personal Indignities* to him; yet the *Duke*, by the Journey into *Spain*, which was very grateful to the *Prince*, and his great Power in his *Father's Court*, had found many Opportunities of extenuating or excusing that Part of his Conduct; which he did so effectually, "that he
 " continued in the same Degree of Favour at the
 " least with the *Son*, which He enjoy'd so many Years
 " under the *Father*.——All Preferments in *Church*
 " and *State* were given by him; all his *Kindred* and
 " *Friends* promoted to the Degree in *Honour, Riches*
 " or *Office*, that he thought fit; and all his *Enemies*
 " and *Envyers* discountenanced, as he appointed."

But tho' he had thus firmly re-established himself in his *Master's* Favour and Confidence; yet he did not long retain his Credit with the *Parliament* and *People*; for the same over-bearing, impetuous Temper, which had hurried him, in the former Reign, into a War with *Spain*, upon a mere *personal Affront*, made him, in This, run as violently into a War with *France*; without any other Provocation, than a Disappointment in an *Amour*; which involved him in several fatal Difficulties, from which he could never extricate himself.

For these two Wars, thus unwarrantably enter'd upon, and the Defeats, which attended them, raised

A a *from the most* a ge-

a general Consternation in the People; and occasion'd general Clamours, Mutinies and Animosities against the Author of them. *Votes* and *Remonstrances* passed against him, in Parliament, as an *Enemy to his Country*; the *Corrupter of the King* and *Betrayer of the Liberties of the People*. In short, all Mouths were open'd against him, and he seem'd to be, once more, hastening to his Destruction.

But, in the midst of this universal Indignation, a bold, obscure Russian, instigated by a false enthusiastical Zeal for his Country, stabb'd him to the Heart in a publick Assembly; and in all probability snatch'd him from a more ignominious Fate, which afterwards besel the Earl of *Strafford* and others, who were engaged in the same kind of Measures; and from which the King's Authority was not able to protect them.

Thus fell this *great Man*, who, as my Lord *Clarendon* assures us, “had by long Practice obtain'd a quick Conception and Apprehension of Business; and had the Habit of *speaking* very gracefully and pertinently. He was, besides, of a most *flowing Courtesy* and *Affability* to all Men, who made any Address to him; and so desirous to *oblige* them, that he did not enough consider the *Value* of the *Obligation* or the *Merit* of the *Person* he chose to oblige; from which much of his Misfortune resulted. — *Nay we are farther told*, that it was never known that the Temptation of *Money* sway'd him to an *unjust* or *unkind* Thing.” — I mention This, because it seems somewhat extraordinary in a Man of his Character.

I must trespass on my Reader so far as add, by way of Corollary to this Paper, a little Fable out of *Osborne's Works*; which I think not impertinent to the present Occasion. He tells us, “that wise *Gundameur* being urged, by King *James*, to relate the intrinsic Cause of the Duke of *Lerma's* Declension, from the most potent Favourite his Catholick Majesty

“ Majesty ever raised, to a Condition so deplorable,
 “ as little if any thing was left, besides a *Cardinal's*
 “ Cap, able to shroud his Head from the Insults of
 “ the Populace ; He made him this metaphorical Pa-
 “ rable.

“ Two RATS, said he, *having tempted their For-*
 “ *tune in pursuit of Livelibood and Honour, fell upon*
 “ *an House of no less Receipt, than Plenty of Provi-*
 “ *sions ; where, for many Years, they lived in the*
 “ *greatest Sensuality their Wills and Wisbes could*
 “ *prompt them to desire ; till overcome by an ambiti-*
 “ *ous Thirst of advancing, together with Themselves,*
 “ *all that could pretend to their Alliance or Friendship,*
 “ *so much Spoil was committed, as did alarm the*
 “ *whole Family, and they becoming thus numerous,*
 “ *had Traps and Poison laid for them in every*
 “ *Place.* C. D.

The END of VOL. I.





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