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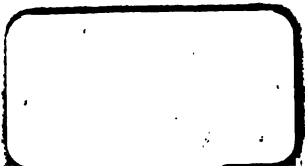
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T H E
LONDON MAGAZINE:
A N D
MONTHLY CHRONOLOGER.

M D C C X X X V I I .



MULTUM IN PARVO.

L O N D O N :


Printed by C. ACKERS, in St. John's-Street; for T. COX, at the Lamb under the Royal-Exchange; J. CLARKE, at the Golden-Ball in Duck-Lane; and T. ASTLEY, at the Rose oyer-against the North-Door of St. Paul's.





T H E

P R E F A C E.

 We must take this Opportunity to return Thanks to the Publick for the great Encouragement they have been pleased to give us, and to assure them, we shall, for the future, spare neither Pains nor Expence, to procure them all the Satisfaction the Nature of our Undertaking can admit of; therefore, we hope, they will continue their Approbation as long as we continue to deserve it, by what they think real Merit, without any false Pretences, or fraudulent Impositions. A Gentleman, who publishes nothing but his own Productions, might perhaps be accused of too much Vanity, if he should pretend to deserve the Approbation he is favoured with; but as our MAGAZINE is a Collection of the most ingenious Pieces we can meet with or procure, either printed or in Manuscript; and as in the making of this Collection, we depend chiefly upon the Pains and Expence we are at in procuring the best upon every Subject; we may be allowed to say, we in some Measure deserve the Approbation of the Publick, as long as we shall, by our extraordinary Pains and Expence,

be able to communicate more perfect Extracts, or more and better original Pieces, than are to be met with in any other Collection of the same Kind.

When we have not Room for communicating the Whole of any curious Piece that has been before published, we shall always endeavour to employ such Persons as are able to give an Extract of it, without being guilty of any Blunder, or of leaving out the most material Passages; and shall never, like some of our Brother Monthly Collectors, pretend to palm upon the World any printed Pamphlet, Poem; or Paper, by way of an original Manuscript of our own: At least, we shall never dare to do any such Thing, knowingly, and with a Design to impose upon the Publick; for if we did so, the Loss of all our Customers would be the least Repentment we could expect. In Love Affairs, indeed, little Frauds and Impositions, even when fully detected, are often excused; but this is an Indulgence peculiar to Lovers; even in Friendship, it seldom or never takes place; and therefore, we think it would be the Height of Impudence in a Printer, Publisher, or Bookseller, to expect any such Indulgence, especially, if the Fraud should be often repeated, and every Time fully detected.

As we shall endeavour to give our Readers full Copies, or proper Extracts, of all remarkable Dissertations, Essays, and Poems, published in this great City, upon any Subject political, moral, philosophical, or humorous; so we shall endeavour to procure, and communicate from Time to Time, some original Pieces never before published; and in this we shall take care not to publish any Original, but what we know to be the Production of some Genius of established Character, or such a one as has been approved of by some of the best Criticks; for as we are never in want of valuable Materials for filling up our MAGAZINE, we have no Occasion to sue for, or to purchase insignificant Scraps at a low Rate, from obscure Persons, or from Authors of no Name in the Commonwealth of Learning, or from Poets who were never heard of but in Grubstreet.

With

With Regard to our Account of the Proceedings and Debates of last Session of Parliament, its being reprinted and published in the other Monthly Collections, as far as they could have an Opportunity, is a sufficient Testimony of its Merit, and a full Evidence that neither of them could have any Thing like it. And our Customers have had this Advantage, that they have always had it in the LONDON MAGAZINE, a Month sooner than it could be had in any other Magazine; with this additional Advantage, that the Conclusion, which we have now published, and which contains many curious Particulars, cannot be had in any other Monthly Collection, for these four or five Months at least. Whether this Advantage in favour of the LONDON MAGAZINE, was foreseen by the Purchasers of the other Monthly Collections, we do not know; but it was certainly foreseen by Dr. Sylvanus Urban himself; (tho' the honest Doctor can no way be accused of being a Conjuror) for in the Gentleman's Magazine for October last, Page 605. Col. 1. Line 15. from the Bottom, he has this prophetick Infinnuation, viz.—‘ And if they should be continued some Months in the NEXT YEAR, our Readers, we presume, will not be displeas'd to have the fullest Account of Matters of such Importance.’—Although few Prophecies can be explained till after they are fulfilled, yet we may venture to explain the Doctor's Meaning in this: He could not foresee, whether we would this Year publish an APPENDIX or no: But he was Conjuror enough to foresee, that if we did, it would not be possible for him, or at least it would not be quite safe for him, to reprint and publish that APPENDIX, till the Month of May or June next; therefore he chose to talk in this prophetick or conditional Way to his Readers, whose Penetration he has always seem'd not to be a bit afraid of, with this honest Intention, that when he should have an Opportunity of reprinting our APPENDIX, they might be induc'd to believe, that what he then published was an original Piece of Intelligence, never before communicated to the Publick. This we take to be the Meaning of the honest Doctor's Prophecy; but whether it be so or not, will best appear from his first Magazine published after next Session of Parliament.

As a few pretended Extracts of Speeches have been published in some other Monthly and Weekly Collections, we think ourselves obliged to acquaint our Readers, that we have had many pretended Extracts of Speeches sent or offered to us since the Beginning of last Session, which would have made a most voluminous and incoherent Piece, if they had been published in the Method or Order we received or might have received them. If it were possible to give the Speeches as they were originally spoken, or if it were possible to give full and regular Extracts of them, we know it would be more agreeable as well as more useful to our Readers; but when this cannot possibly be done, we shall not pretend to amuse our Readers with such imperfect, confused, and blundering Extracts, as may sometimes be purchased for a Trifle, from Persons who have neither Sense to comprehend, Memory to retain, nor Skill to digest what they hear. When such Pieces have been offered to us for Sale, we have rejected them with Disdain; and upon this, we suppose, some of them have found their Way to our Brother Collectors, who seem to be fond of those Pieces they can purchase for a small Price, in order that they may have something to brag of as their own; tho' the Publishing of such Pieces for Sale be really a Sort of Insult upon the Understandings of the Purchasers. Such Pieces might appear tolerable, if they were given gratis at the Anodyne Necklace without Temple-Bar, or the Green Hatch in Holbourn; but who can peruse without Indignation a Thing sold to him, as the Extract of an honourable Gentleman's Speech, in which it is said, — 'A Captain of an English Man of War happened to receive undoubted Advice that the TOULON and MEDITERRANEAN Squadrons, &c.' See Gentleman's Magazine for October last, Page 610. Col. 1. Line 36. — Surely, no such Thing could ever be said by any Gentleman in England, and much less by the honourable and worthy Gentleman it is ascribed to than by most others in Great Britain; for every Gentleman knows that TOULON is the chief French Port for their Men of War in the MEDITERRANEAN; and most Gentlemen know, the Advice then received was, That the BREST Squadron under the Count of Toulouse

had

had passed by the Mouth of the Tagos, steering their Course for the MEDITERRANEAN, where they were to be joined, as they afterwards were, by another French Squadron from TOULON: Nor could BARCELONA be at that Time in any Danger of being taken by the Enemy, for it was then actually in their Hands, not having been taken by the Confederates till above a Year after.

These are Blunders so conspicuous that they betray the Ignorance of the Publisher, as well as the Ignorance and Inattention of the Person who pretends to give the Extract; and many such there are, almost in every one of the few pretended Extracts given by Dr. Urban, and his fellow Handicraftsmen, as they may properly be called, for the Head seems to have very little Share in any Thing they publish. It would be easy for us to fill up our MAGAZINE, at a very cheap Rate, with such wretched Stuff; but if we had no Regard for our Readers, that Respect which is due to those who have a Share in the Government of our Country, shall always prevent our taking any Account, and much more pretending to give any Extract of what is spoken by either of them, without having it first examined and approved by Gentlemen, whose Knowledge and Judgment we can depend on. When we can procure such an Extract of any remarkable Speech, be it at never so high a Rate, we shall communicate it with Pleasure; and in all Debates, where we can procure no such Extracts of any of the particular Speeches, we shall, as heretofore, give our Readers an Account of the Debate in general, without any Prejudice or Partiality for either Side of the Question.

These are our Intentions, in the Prosecution of which we shall spare neither Pains nor Expence; but we are far from pretending to be infallible, or not to be guilty of any Error or Inadvertency: The biggest Merit we can pretend to lay Claim to, is, not to be guilty of any wilful Mistake or designed Imposition; nor to be guilty of such Blunders as must appear to be such, even to the most ignorant Reader; and while our Collection has fewer Faults, and more Perfections, than are to be found in any other

Collection of the same Kind, we hope the Publick will be so good as to excuse those Mistakes we may be led into by Misinformation, as well as those Inadvertencies which may sometimes be occasioned by too much Hurry, and which the best Authors are liable to, when they have not Time to examine carefully their original Draughts.





T H E

LONDON MAGAZINE,

JANUARY, 1737.

Abstract of Dr. STEBBING's Answer to Mr. FOSTER's second Letter on the Subject of HERESY. (See Vol. V. p. 607.)



AFTER above a Year's Silence, Mr. *Foster* has publish'd an Answer to my second Letter. The Reasons of his Delay, he tells us, are

to himself, and with himself I leave them. I do not intend to dispute particular Points with him over again: Those who read with Judgment, will (I hope) see no Occasion for it. But since it is natural to presume that Mr. *Foster* has now given us his *best* as well as his *second* Thoughts, and because the Subject is of great Importance, I think it proper to give such an Account of the present State of the Controversy, as may enable any common Reader to judge where the Merits of the Cause lie.

The general Question is, who are Hereticks in such a Sense as will justify the Church in excluding them from visible Communion? Mr. *F.* says, they are those only who make a Profession contrary to the Christian Faith, against the Conviction of their own Minds. My Opinion is; that whoever openly oppugns the Christian Doctrine, whether with Conviction or against it, whether sincerely or insincerely, is a Heretick; and if he reforms not upon proper Admonition, may and ought to be debarr'd Christian Communion.

Upon this Foot the Controversy at first set out, and has all along proceeded. But Mr. *F.* has in this last Performance started a new Thought, which, because it *seemingly* affects the State of the Question, and is deliver'd out with an Air of Importance, and Show of fair Dealing, must here be taken Notice of.

I beg leave (says he) to subjoin to the Observations I formerly made, &c. (See the whole Passage, with the Marginal Note, which the

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Dr.

Dr. also sets down, in our Magazine for Nov. last, p. 608.)

It is very commendable, no doubt, when Men can bring themselves to acknowledge their Mistakes, whether *real* or *imaginary*. But as to this particular Instance, he has no Merit to plead from it; for nothing depends upon it. Mr. F. now thinks, that Heresies may be formed as well about Rituals as Points of Doctrine. Be it so. What is this to the Purpose? I never had any Dispute with the Gentleman upon this Question, nor ever meant or mean to have any. The Point with me is, Whether *Self-condemnation*, i. e. (as Mr. F. explains) *acting against Conviction*, is necessary to constitute the Notion of a Heretick; and this Question will not at all be affected by adjusting the particular *Matter* about which Heresy may be conversant. Mr. F's first Account of Heresy (as he himself confesses) was, that it was a *Departure from the Faith*. Thus far I found no Fault with him; for this (whether right or wrong) was not the Thing that gave the Offence. But the Offence was taken (and, as I conceive, justly) at his saying, that no Departure from the Faith is Heresy, to the Purposes of Church Discipline, *unless* the Person is *conscious* to himself of his being in the *wrong*.

To speak therefore to the Purpose; Mr. F. founds his Notion of Heresy upon *Tit. iii. 10, 11*. The main Stress of the Argument rests upon the Force of the Expression, *he is condemned of himself*, which he interprets as signifying that he is condemned in his own Mind or Conscience; and thence infers, that no one is such a Heretick as the Church may reject, but he who is *thus* self-condemned. Whether my Interpretation of this Passage (Vol. IV. p. 262.) be right or not; the great Question will still be, Whether his is not *wrong*? And there is this Consideration which shews it to be so,

viz. That if none are Hereticks, or to be rejected as such, but those who act against Conviction, the Apostle has given an impracticable Rule.

Here lies the Difficulty: Which Mr. F. foresaw; and to guard against it had recourse to the Gift of Discerning Spirits, i. e. (as he interprets) the Power of *knowing Mens Hearts* by Inspiration. He is now determined to drop this as a foreign Point; and says, that *whether my Opinion or his, about the Gift of Discerning Spirits, be admitted, the main Controversy will not be in the least affected by it*. Any one will believe that Mr. F. would not have dropt this as a foreign Point, but upon the fullest Conviction that it can never be made to serve his Purpose; and thus much is manifest, that allowing to Mr. F. his Hypothesis, it will go at most no farther than to shew, that the Rule was practicable in the Age of Miracles. And if the Rule is practicable upon *no other* foot than this, the Right to judge and reject Hereticks is now at an End, and has been so ever since Miracles have ceased. The Reader may perceive that I opposed Mr. F's Interpretation only to destroy the *Use* he made of it in throwing all Discipline out of the Church. What now does the Gentleman say? Has he quitted his Notion of Heresy? No; he still holds it, that no one is a Heretick, but he who acts against Conviction. Does he then *justify* it, that there is now *no Right* in the Church to reject Hereticks, and that all Exercise of Discipline in such Cases, since the Cessation of Miracles, has been *Usurpation*? Nor this; But he says, that tho' he had recourse to the Gift of Discerning Spirits, as a *Way of removing the grand Objection, which he thought would be generally convincing, &c.* — he did not consider it as the *only* Way. For (adds he) *Hereticks may be known without this Gift; and I have never once*

asserted the Contrary. I had this Answer before in his first Letter. And since the same Thing is said, and repeated, and nothing else offered, we are to look upon this (whatever it comes to) as his final Answer; in which if there be any proper Meaning, it must be this, *viz.* That notwithstanding *no one* is a Heretick but he who acts *against Conviction*, yet the Church may now judge of Hereticks, and has a Right to reject them. Whether this be true or not; that is, whether a Right in the Church to judge and reject Hereticks can stand with Mr. F's Notion of Heresy, is another Matter; But, true or false, every one sees that Mr. F. tho' he holds his Notion of Heresy, quits his Use of it; *i. e.* gives up every Thing in the Controversy that is worth contending for. One Thing only it concerns me to answer. Mr. Foster says, that he never once asserted that Hereticks cannot be known without the Gift of Discerning Spirits; which is denying that he ever made that Use of his Interpretation which I say he has, and upon which the whole Controversy is grounded. This is a Point that I must try for my own Sake; and, that I may not appear to the World to be a mere Trifler, I shall lay the several Passages together. (He begins with a large Quotation from Mr. Foster's Sermon, which we must only refer our Readers to; Sermons, p. 303 — 306.)

The Dr. then goes on: I have set down this Passage without Defalcation, that the Reader may be secure that nothing is suppressed which may serve Mr. F's Purpose. And let any one tell me, whether it is not as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, that in virtue of his Interpretation of the Apostolick Rule, he has thrown out the ordinary Discipline of the Church, in rejecting Hereticks as Hereticks. Here is no Rule of Judgment left besides the Gift of Discerning Spi-

rits, which, in Effect, is declared to be the sole Rule, and (*foreign as it is now represented to be*) is of such Importance in Mr. F's Scheme, that he has left the whole Weight of his Interpretation to rest upon it. He now says, that Hereticks may be known without this Gift. But, Why did he not say so before? or rather, Why, if this Gift was not by him thought necessary to the Discovery of Hereticks, did he at all concern himself with it? His Pretence is, that he chose this Method of removing the grand Objection, because he thought it the most unexceptionable and convincing. But if Mr. F. understood what he was about, this could not be the Case; for there is neither Sense nor Propriety in the Method, unless it be supposed that the Right of judging Hereticks was peculiar to the first Ages. These were Mr. F's first Thoughts, which even now hang so strongly upon his Mind, that with all the Artifice he is Master of he is not able to conceal them.

To support the Argument yet farther, let us go on to Mr. F's Letter in the *Old Whig*, No. 15. I took Notice of this Paper in my second Letter, and have charged Mr. F. with confessing, in very strong Terms, that none but those who are endued with preternatural Discernment are fit to decide in Cases of Heresy. If this Charge is true, Mr. F. stands self-condemned. But, he says, it is absolutely false; and pray hear his Reason.

My Words (*says he*) are, And if none, &c. *i. e.* allowing the Objection urged by the Author of the Miscellany to be rightly stated, or taking it for granted, that upon my Notion (*i. e.* his Explanation of St. Paul's Notion) of Heresy none but those who are endued with preternatural Discernment are fit to decide, &c. this is no Reflection on St. Paul, who hath never asserted the contrary. I am here vindicating

dicating St. Paul's Character, and endeavouring to shew, that if this Point was never so clear and admitted on both Sides, it would be no Disparagement to it. But is not this entirely different from confessing in strong Terms, or laying it down as my own Opinion? **A** Can Things which are only supposed in Argument be justly said to be asserted absolutely? Can what is not confessed at all, or in any Terms, be said to be confessed in strong Terms? I repeat it once more, Sir, that it neither is nor ever was my Sentiment, that Hereticks could not be known without the Gift of Discerning Spirits. Second Letter, p. 59.

The Purport of this Answer is, that Mr. F. has not laid it down as his own Opinion, that none are fit to decide in Cases of Heresy but those who have preternatural Discernment, but only argued *ex Hypothesi* to vindicate St. Paul's Character. May St. Paul, and all the 12 Apostles be delivered from such Vindicators! For, in what is he to vindicate St. Paul's Character? Why, in laying down a Rule which he (Mr. F.) himself is willing to grant, does imply that none are fit to decide in Cases of Heresy but those who have preternatural Discernment; *i. e.* he is to vindicate St. Paul in having said a Thing which (in his own present Account) contains a very great Untruth! It is no Reflexion, (he says) upon St. Paul, who hath never asserted the contrary. What if St. Paul hath not asserted the contrary? It is still an Untruth, if Mr. F. is to be believed; for he says, and insists upon it, that Hereticks may be known without this Gift; *i. e.* That others are fit to decide in such Cases, as well as those who are endued with preternatural Discernment. If Mr. F. thought it consistent with the Character of an Apostle to say, That **G** none are fit to decide in Cases of Heresy but those who are endued with preternatural Discernment, it must

(surely!) be because he thought it to be true; and that he did so think, will be clear to any one who considers his Words. If none but those, &c. is hypothetical indeed in the Form of the Expression; but the Sense may be absolute for all that, as every School-Boy knows. Take then the whole Passage together, and see if this is not the Case.

If none but those who are endued with this preternatural Discernment are fit to decide in Cases of Heresy, this is no Reflexion upon St. Paul, who hath never asserted the contrary. [But (N. B.) it should correct and restrain the Insolence of others in pretending to a Power which they are not entitled to] and which neither the Nature of the Thing itself, nor a Rule prescribed to a particular Person miraculously enlightened, and possessed of extraordinary Abilities, give them the least Ground to claim.

The Words which are included in Hooks are cited by me in my second Letter, as what determined the Sense of the foregoing Part of the Sentence. Mr. F. in his Answer has set down the foregoing Part only, and suppress'd all that follows; for this plain and obvious Reason, that if he had recited those Words, it would instantly have appeared, that he was not arguing *ex hypothesi*, but delivering his own Opinion. If you can yet doubt, go but to the next Column in the same Paper, and you will find him declaring for himself, that the Words of St. Paul were addressed to Titus, alone, or extended only to every one of his Successors, who is endued with the same extraordinary Accomplishments.

I now appeal to the Reader, to consider with what Decency Mr. F. has addressed himself to me in the following Words. I allow indeed these to be my Words, — How can we certainly know, in most Cases at least, whether a Man be a Heretick or not? &c. (as in Vol. V. p. 612.)

With Mr. F's *Suspensions*, and *Presumptions* I have nothing to do at present. What I have laid to his Charge, and what I still insist upon, is this, that he hath affirmed, that Hereticks cannot so be known without the Gift of Discerning Spirits, as to justify the Church in rejecting them as Hereticks. He now calls it in, and says, that admitting his *Notion of Heresy to be true*, Hereticks may be known, and upon good probable Evidence rejected in all Ages of the Church. If he could make it appear, that his Notion of Heresy is reconcilable with the Discipline of the Church in rejecting Hereticks, as directed in Scripture, and as practis'd from the very Times of the Apostles till now; it would signify little to the Dispute, as it lies between him and me. For (as it has afore been observed) I opposed his Interpretation only for the sake of the *ill Use* he had made of it; and since he has given up his *Use*, I have no Concern with his Interpretation. Let him take it, and make his best on't. But, tho' I look upon myself as thus far acquitted, yet I am desirous to do all the Justice I can to the Truth, and therefore will now undertake to shew, that Mr. F's new Scheme of Discipline will not do.

Mr. F. set out with saying, That we cannot certainly know whether a Man be an Heretick or not — that we cannot certainly judge of Heresy. I agreed with him, that in his Account of Heresy, Hereticks cannot be known; meaning, that they cannot be certainly known. The Gentleman and I had no Difference at first upon this Point, nor could he have had any now, if he had stood to his first Scheme. But when he found it for his Purpose to say, That Hereticks may be known, he thought it convenient to make me say so too.

What I said in the Case of *Elymas*

the Sorcerer, was, that his *bad Works* proved him to be a *bad Man*, for I supposed that he would not pretend, that *Wizards* and *Conjurors* could be morally honest. But, what if *immoral Actions* shew an *immoral Man*, as they always will do, will it therefore follow, that every *immoral Man* is *self-condemned* in any Principle of revealed Religion which he holds? If you want an Answer, go to Mr. F. who will tell you, that an *immoral Life* is no Evidence of *Self-Conviction* in such Cases. If the Gentleman can justify himself, he will justify me; if he cannot, the Inconsistency may fall upon me, but it will fall upon himself too. But every one of Sense will perceive that there is great Difference between saying, That *bad Works* will shew a *bad Man*; and that *bad Works* will shew a *self-condemned Man*. A Man may be *bad thro' many Causes*; he can be *self-condemned* but by one.

Leaving therefore Mr. F. to himself to make the best of his own Scheme, (in which it is very plain I have no Share) I proceed to shew what can or cannot be known of Hereticks without the Help of Preternatural Discernment. In this Matter I shall take Mr. F's own Account, who disclaims all absolute Certainty in the Case, and insists only upon *probable Evidence*: At first he insisted upon *certain Evidence*. Since (says he) it is so difficult — Certainly to judge of Heresy, why should we be so forward to charge it on our own Brethren? Upon this Point it was that Issue was joined, and I agreed with him that Hereticks could not be known in these Times. But now he says that Certainty is not at all necessary, but good probable Evidence will suffice. The Reason of the Difference

is visible: For when Discipline was to be thrown out, it was right to demand *certain Evidences*; which (in

Mr. F's Notion of Heresy, every one knows is not to be had. When it was to be taken in, some Evidence must be admitted, and therefore probable Evidence, because that is all that can be pretended to. No doubt many Cases may happen, in which it may be presumed, with great Probability, that Men act against their own Conviction. I never said or thought the contrary. But cannot Mr. F. see, that in admitting probable Evidence as the Ground of Discipline in this Case, he runs counter to himself, and unhinges every Thing which he hath maintained against the common Scheme? The Scheme which I contend for, is, That the Church must judge for herself by the Rule of God's Word, what is the Faith delivered to the Saints, and reject all who openly depart from it. What Fault does Mr. F. find in this? Why, if you look back, you must observe that all his Objections centre at last in the Uncertainty of the Rule. But, I pray, if the Uncertainty of the Rule is an Objection in one Case, is not the Uncertainty of the Evidence as good an Objection in the other?

My Opinion, I confess, is, (as it is, I believe, the Opinion of all Mankind) that no Man ought to be rejected as a Heretick, unless upon certain Evidence he appears to be such. And this Point is as much secured in the common Scheme of Discipline, as it is or can be in any Human Judgment in the World. All Judgment supposes a Rule of Judgment, which in Civil Courts is the Law of the Land, and in Ecclesiastical, the Scriptures, or Rules founded upon the Scriptures. A Judge in Westminster-Hall, may mistake the Interpretation of a Statute, as well as a Bishop may mistake the Sense of Scripture; yet Judgment must proceed, for otherwise there could be no Judgment. Mr. F. talks at every Turn of the Uncertainty of

the Scriptures, exactly in the same Strain that Papists do, when they would set up Tradition, and the Authority of their Church. But be the Scriptures as uncertain as he has set them forth, they are the best Rule we have; and as in Civil Cases the Laws of the Land, as interpreted by Civil Courts, are the Rule of Civil Judgment; so in Matters Ecclesiastical, the Scriptures, as interpreted by the Church, are the Rule of Judgment to the Church. The Uncertainty of the Scripture, therefore, arising from human Fallibility, is a Thing quite out of the Question. For if human Fallibility be no Objection against Civil Administrations, it can be none against Ecclesiastical; Or if it be an Objection against the common Scheme of Discipline, it must be an Objection against Mr. F's too.

The Rule of Judgment being settled, the Case of Offenders comes next under Consideration; and here it is that the Use of Evidence comes in. For the Evidence hath no Relation to the Rule, but to the Behaviour of Men, as agreeing with the Rule, or as differing from it. When a Man is indicted for Murder, the Witnesses are not to prove that Murder is against Law, but that the Man is a Murderer. The Question in all these Cases is, *de Facto*, What hath the Man done? And if any Fact is proved which the Law declares to be Murder, the Man is condemned. So it is in the Ecclesiastical Courts; The Witnesses are not to shew what is Heresy, (for that the Church hath declared) but that the Man hath published some Opinion which the Church adjudges to be Heresy. Thus far then the Methods of Civil and Ecclesiastical Judgment exactly agree, in my Way of stating the Case. But in Mr. Foster's Way of stating it, they will widely differ. He bids me apply my Reasoning to the Case of Malice prepense in Murder.

which he has produced as an Instance to prove that the Law takes Cognizance of Mens Views and Principles. But Mr. F. must be taught to distinguish between Views and Principles, if by Views he means Intentions. The Intention the Law does inquire into in all criminal Cases, because it is the Intention that makes the Action criminal. But with Mens Principles, i. e. the Judgment of Conscience, whether the Action be right or wrong, the Law never concerns itself. If one Man kills another, the Question is, whether it was done maliciously. The Malice proved, the Man is condemned; nor is it ever inquired whether he judged it right or fit to kill his Neighbour. A Papist may think it an Act of Conscience to kill a Heretick: But if he does it, it is at his Peril: His Conscience shall not save him from Punishment.

The Law is the Security of common Right, which is equally affected by unlawful Actions, whether those who commit them have Conscience, or whether they have none. Church Government is the Security of the common Faith; and bad Opinions will not be the less mischievous in their Effects, because they are sincerely embraced. The principal End of separating an unsound Member from the Church, is to preserve the whole Body from Infection; Therefore the Rule is laid down universally. — If there come any unto you, and bring not this Doctrine, receive him not. This Observation (if I mistake not) absolutely destroys Mr. F's Scheme, whether new or old. His first Scheme throws out Discipline, because we cannot come at Conscience. His second takes it in, but limits the Exercise of it to such Subjects only as act against Conscience, of which he says the Church may judge by probable Evidence. But neither the one nor the other can be right, if the Reasons of Discipline have no Relation to the Conscience of

the Offender, but to the Offence only.

The Gentleman observes, that in Civil Courts Judgment is given upon strong Probabilities. I know it is in some Cases: But this probable Evidence always relates to Facts, not to Conscience; and when Mr. F. has proved, that it is as necessary for the Church to determine concerning Conscience in Cases of Heresy, as it is for the State to determine concerning Facts, in those Cases where probable Evidence is admitted, I will allow of his probable Evidence.

If I had ever given out such a Plan of Church Discipline as Mr. F. has now published in his second Letter, I should not have found it very easy to excuse myself. I will not say that his Scheme is an Inquisition, because the Word is odious: But I will say, (and I may truly and properly say) that it is an Inquiry into Conscience, and that Mens Rights to the Privileges of Christian Communion, are to be determined by a Judgment formed upon Conscience, by probable Evidence. That the Scheme is wrong, I have shewn: I will now add that it is dangerous, and may serve as a Handle to very bad Purposes. To make Mr. F. sensible of this, I will ask him one plain Question, Whom would he think it safe to entrust with a Power to sit in Judgment upon his Conscience, and to determine by probable Evidence, whether he, in the Opinions he professeth, does or does not act against Conscience? Let him consider of this, and answer it to himself at his Leisure. Mean while, I will observe that he has given sufficient Reason why no Man upon Earth should trust him in such a Case. If a violent Party-Spirit be so sure a Mark of Self-Condernation, Mr. F. will never want Evidence of a Man's being a Heretick, whenever he has a Mind to have it; for all, no doubt, are violent Party-Men, with him, who differ from him in their Persuasions, and think their Religion

Religion worth contending for. God forbid that any one's Right to the Privileges of Christian Fellowship should depend upon the Measure of another's Charity. Yet this is the plain Consequence of Mr. F's Principles, for whom the most favourable Thing that one can hope, is, that he does not believe one Word of what he says himself. I pretend not (whatever he does) to determine any Thing about Mens inward Convictions; and therefore (as I have hitherto said) I must rest this Matter with his own Conscience. Either he will stand by his new Scheme, or he will not; and let him take his Choice. If he stands by it, he will have a very hard Thing upon his Hands, which is, to justify it. If he quits it; he must come to mine. Or, if, to avoid this, he shall go back again to his first Principles, (which he may do with just as good a Grace as he has now left them) old Difficulties will again return, and remain unanswered.

At the Close of my first Letter I gave him a *Caution* not to charge me with being for *Persecution* in Consequence of my having asserted to the Church a Right to judge of Heresy. It might have been for his *Credis* perhaps to have taken my Advice. But *Persecution* is a favourite Topick with these Gentlemen, and it was to be thrown in my Teeth at any Rate: And to find a Handle for it (since *none* was to be found in my Letter) he goes back to a Treatise of mine, written several Years

ago, upon the Subject of the *Rights of the Civil Magistrate in Matters of Religion*. In this Book I was led to consider not only what *Allowances* were proper to be made to *Conscience* (whose *Rights* I had asserted in the strongest Manner) but also what *Restraints* might be laid upon those who might separate themselves from the established Religion upon mere worldly Views; *pretending* Conscience, but having *none*. And to this Purpose, I thought, that such *pecuniary Mulcts* as no conscientious Man would be *unwilling* to pay, and every prudent Man, having *no real* Scruples, would chuse *not* to pay, might have their Use.

This Part Mr. F. lays hold of; and if hard Words and opprobrious Language are to pass for Arguments, he has confuted it. He calls it a *Mahometan Maxim*; and is so fond of making me a mere *Turk*, that he never knows when to have done. For he mentions it in his first Letter, and no less than 3 Times in his second, where he says, that 'if this Controversy continues, &c.' (as in Vol. V. p. 613.) How long this Controversy is to continue, or what Occasions I may hereafter administer to Mr. F. for the Exercise of his *great Benevolence* towards me, I cannot tell. But this I assure him, that *one* good Reason to convince me of my Mistake, will weigh more than a *hundred* such *unchristian* Admonitions. His *Reason* I would attend to; his *Abuses* be to himself.

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS and DISPUTES in this Month.

Fog's Journal, Jan. 1. N^o 425

Misery inseparable from Vice.

EVERY Man, said *Pbilo*, quoted by St. *Ambrose*, has two Women dwelling together in his

Mind; the one virtuous, but harsh and disagreeable; the other unchast, but sweet and lovely. That Virtue, this worldly Pleasure.

The wise *Jew* painted Virtue and Vice according to their first Appearance, or rather according to the O-

pinion of the World, but not according to Truth. For Virtue is commonly look'd upon as wholly made up of Sows, Vice of Sweet; Virtue as plac'd among Thorns, Vice on a Bed of Flowers. But this is a most pernicious Error, which I will endeavour to refute, by shewing that even in this Life, setting aside the Rewards and Punishments of another, an abandon'd Course of Pleasure is accompany'd with more Fatigue and Pain than the Practice of Moral and Christian Virtues.

Observe these Wretches well, and you shall perceive the Perturbation of their Looks, the Disquiet of their Actions, and the Incoherence of their Words. Many are the Tormentors which disturb them in their darling Pleasures. Their own Conscience, an unwelcome, but at the same Time, an unavoidable Guest is continually mixing the Nectar they drink with the bitter Aloes they abhor.

Cicero said, that the Crimes of bad Men, presented to their Imagination, are their continual and Domestick Furies. These are the Serpents or Vultures which tear in Pieces the Bowels of the wicked *Titius*; these the Eagles which rend the Heart of the bold *Prometheus*. Let us consider the Torments of a *Cain*, a Fugitive from all, and even from himself, if it had been possible, a Vagabond in the Woods and Mountains, without having been ever able to pluck out the Arrow which was fix'd in his Breast, that is, the Remembrance of his Crime; like the wounded Hind by which *Virgil* figur'd the mortal Uneasiness of the enamour'd *Dido*.

Let us contemplate the Pangs of *Lamech*, so violently stung with the Representation of the Murther, or Murthers, he had committed; that not enduring to be the sole Depository of the Secret, he casts it out of his Mouth, like one that vomits up the Poison which devours him,

exposing himself to Infamy and Punishment, barely to obtain a slight Interval of Ease. *Plutarch* relates of one *Apollodorus*, that, the Memory of his Crimes not leaving him even in his Sleep, he dreamt every Night that, after having cut him into Quarters, they boil'd his Flesh in Water, and that during this Martyrdom his own Heart cry'd out to him, *I am the Occasion of all these Torments which you suffer.*

'Tis true, I confess, that all are not sensible of these Remorses; and there are even Consciences which being fear'd with a hot Iron (to use *St. Paul's* Phrase) have lost all Sense of Feeling; because the long Custom of Sinning changes a Heart into Flint.

O most unhappy of all Men! This Hardness of Heart is the Callosity of the Soul, for the Cure of which one can only have Recourse to Miracles. At least however, during this mortal Life, they will pass their Days in Mirth and Joy. Alas! How far is he mistaken who thinks so! We shall see this, by taking a View of the 3 Vices, whose different Quarters almost take in the whole Number of the Wicked, or Unfortunate, *Ambition*, *Avarice*, and *Luxury*.

The ambitious Man is a Slave to all the World: To the *Prince*, that he may give him an Employment; to the *Favourite*, that he may use his Interest for him; to the rest, that they may put no Obstacle in his Way. Both his Soul and Body are in continual Motion; because he must not lose an Instant of Time. What a Constraint does he put upon his Looks, that he may appear complaisant to those very Persons, to whom he bears a mortal Hatred! How much Pains does it cost him to curb all those vicious Inclinations which may obstruct his Views! All his other Passions are made the Victims of that which is predominant; and the Vice of Ambition, like a tyrannical Master, not only torments him by it-

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self, but likewise debars him from all those Pleasures to which he is prompted by his Desire.

His obtaining the Promotion he desir'd does not lessen his Anxiety; the Object is only chang'd and his View rais'd one Step higher, besides the Care of not losing what he has already climb'd to. He is now got upon a Ladder, where he can neither ascend without Fatigue, nor stop without Trouble, nor retire without tumbling headlong. Now are his vicious Inclinations bound in stronger Chains. Gluttony incites, Avarice tempts, Lust inflames him; but, however, much against his Will, he obeys the Master Passion of his Soul. He longs eagerly to distress the Man he hates, by an unjust Sentence: But woe to him if that comes to a higher Tribunal! He constantly dreads a Change of Government which may turn him out of all; and he never reads the *Gazette* without being terrify'd lest he should find some Account of the Patron's Death who supports him. Can there be a more miserable Life?

As for the *covetous Man*, he is the Devil's Martyr, a Hermit who by his Abstinence and Retirement performs meritorious Actions in his Way to Hell. The Heart, divided betwixt the Desire of Getting and Fear of Losing, suffers a continu'd Fever, mix'd with a mortal Ague. He is hungry, and eats not, thirsty, and drinks not, wants rest, but sleeps not. A Mouse cannot stir in the Dead of the Night, but he apprehends from the Noise that it must be a Thief with a Ladder at his Window. Oppress'd with continual Fears, he is ever contriving new hiding Places, where with greater Security he may lodge his ill got Wealth, so as neither Angels nor, if it were possible, God himself should know of it. He goes to see it often, in a Fright, and doubtful whether he shall find the Money in the Hole,

but always sure of finding his Heart in the Money. With restless Anxiety he views it, and dares not touch it sometimes, for Fear it should turn to Ashes in his Hands, or Water in the *South-Sea*. Thus doth he spend his Days, fat with Riches, and tormented with Suspicions, that he may come to his last Hour, as King *Agag* to Punishment, *pinguissimus & tremens*, i. e. very sleek and trembling. Is there a Life more exceedingly wretched!

Shall we find perchance in the *lascivious Man* more Tranquillity and Joy? Far from it; If his vulgar Inclination fixes him in the Pursuit of mercenary Pleasures, we presently see the Damage he sustains in the 3 most valuable Possessions of Life, Honour, Health, and Estate. He goes quenching his Thirst from Puddle to Puddle, till at last some contagious Water infects his whole Mass of Blood, endangering his Life, or making the Preservation of it cost him extremely dear. Altho' he should grow better in his Health, his Reputation is irrecoverably wounded. And if it be true that the Medicine to which he ow'd his Recovery, is a great Provocative, to make him fall by a second Course of Extravagances, into a fresh Distemper, and consequently a fresh Cure, how miserable is it that the Fire of Lust, instead of being extinguish'd, should gather more Life from the Decay of Years, to burn violently even in the Ashes of old Age!

But if the Splendor of his Circumstances, or the Merit of the Person should raise his Desires to Objects of a higher Sphere, he will shun Part of the Inconveniencies above-mention'd, and fall into others that are greater; which is the same Thing as to stumble upon *Scylla*, in flying from *Charybdis*. Undertakings of this Kind are full of Fears, Disquiets, and Dangers. What Unwisdom, during his Pretensions! His

Eyes hunt after Sleep but cannot overtake it. His Heart seeks Rest but finds it not. In this Manner Pain conceives first to bring forth Iniquity afterwards. While he wavers in his Choice of the Means to compass his Design, all is approv'd and all rejected; *Incerta tanta est discordia mentis*. He trembles when he thinks on the Possibility of a Repulse. Love drags him on; Fear stops him: He sees the whole Tract of his Pretensions cover'd with Dangers, which are still multiply'd on his Arrival at Enjoyment. The Offended are generally more than one, the Risks of a Discovery many, what true Pleasure can such a Man relish who is unsafe in all his Enjoyments? He does not move a Step towards the Commission of his Crime, but he fancies that he sees the injur'd Party with a Pistol or Dagger in his Hand. This Danger follows close at the Heels of his Imagination, wherever he goes.

I agree however that there are Circumstances where he may possibly want these Fears: But he will not for that Reason escape the most disagreeable Vexations. Should Loathing succeed to the Gratification of his Passion, as it happen'd to *Amnon* with *Tamar*, and as it very commonly happens, he sees here an Obligation contracted for Life, and that for the Sake of a Moment's Pleasure. If he resolves to break off the Intrigue, he exposes himself to the Anger of a forsaken Woman, whose being slighted makes her furious either in her Love or Hatred; both which are equally dangerous. But what if Jealousy should be the Case? Those who have felt the Rigour of such furious Emotions, know well what a small Space there is between that and the most intimate Pleasures of Love, and that one Day of this Hell will counterbalance whole Years of that other false Heaven.

Not are we to think that even those few Men in whom, with re-

spect to others, their Will is their Law, I mean sovereign Princes, plough the Sea of Vice without any Storm. To them also the Waters of this Deep are most extremely bitter. *Nero* in some Sense God of the Earth, as being Master of the whole Roman Empire. He gave the most unbounded Loose to all his perverse Inclinations. The whole World obey'd the Sceptre, and the Sceptre was a Slave to Appetite. All that he lov'd he enjoy'd, and kill'd whom he abhorr'd. Every Purpose of his Heart did this Monster of Iniquity, to the Disgrace of Mankind, accomplish. Who can believe that a Prince, to whose arbitrary Pleasure the World was subjected, did not pass an agreeable Life? Yet so far was he from being thus happy, that, according to *Tacitus*, he was constantly possess'd with Fears. *Facinorum recordatione nunquam timore vacuus*. *Suetonius* adds, that, not being able to sleep a-Nights, he us'd to walk about in the great Hall of his Palace, like a Person out of his Senses.

Craffman, Jan. 1. N^o 548.

The Dispute about the old and new Whigs rightly stated. (See Vol. V. p. 619.)

OUR modern Mr. *Osborne* puts me in Mind of the People in *Nova Zembla*, whose Words freeze in the Air, and cannot be heard till the Frost breaks. Just so, when an Argument is brought to a Crisis, and Mr. O. is call'd upon to answer directly to the Point, without any farther Evasion; he commonly gives us an introductory Paper or two, fill'd with general Assertions, and promises to come to Particulars in his next; but, instead of doing this, he is absolutely silent for several Weeks, till he thinks the chief Point in Debate is forgot, and then recurs to the same general, idle Stuff, which he hath endeavour'd to palm upon the World

World above an hundred Times over.

It is evident, that when I spoke of the *Principles of the old Whigs*, (in the *Craftsman* of Nov. 6.) I meant *their Principles in general*, and particularly with Relation to the *Points* there mention'd. Mr. Osborne having put off any direct Answer, for above a Month, he begins his Paper of Dec. 18. with lamenting the *licentious Principles of the Age*, naturally tending to the *Destruction of all moral Virtue*, and the *Happiness of human Society*; which sounds admirably well in his Mouth, whose *moral Principles*, both in *Church and State*, are so conspicuous in all his Writings. After some farther Preface, concerning the *late Outrage in Westminster-Hall*, and the *Mob-Execution of Captain Porteous*, which he candidly imputes to the *Doctrines of the Craftsman*, he tells us, *that he will seriously debate the Case, and enter closely into the Argument*; but instead of answering any one Question, which I proposed to him, he explains my Words into the *single Principle of Resistance*; as if the *old Whigs* held no other Principles, and had no other Way of opposing the Measures of a Court, but by *Force of Arms*. Having explain'd my Words, in this Manner, he represents me as saying, that a *legal Government*, even a *good legal Government* (for Mr. O. allows that there may be such a Thing as *legal Tyranny*) ought to be *resisted*, as well as an *arbitrary one*; tho' the Word *Resistance* is not so much as mention'd in the whole Paper, which he pretends to answer; and it is plain that I meant only *such an Opposition*, in the ordinary Way of *Parliament*, as may be, and ought to be made to *some Measures*, even under a *legal and just Government*.

He acknowledges it to be possible that a *Parliament*, chosen by the *People*, may so far degenerate from all Sense of *publick Virtue*, as

to yield to *iniquitous Measures*, enact *Laws* directly contrary to the *real End of the Constitution*, and so establish *Slavery by Law*. But it is only possible, says he; and against Possibilities no Man, in his Senses, ever thought of defending himself.

I cannot agree with him even thus far; for I think it the *Duty of Men in their Senses* to guard themselves and their Posterity, as well as they can, against even the Possibility of such a terrible Evil as the *Destruction of a free Constitution*, or the Establishment of *Slavery by Law*; which is certainly the *worst Kind of Slavery* in the World; and since Mr. O. hath put the Case, *that it is possible for me to be hang'd for Treason*, I do assure him, that I will take all the Precautions I am able against the Possibility of such a *fortuitous Event*; and am in no Fear of being look'd upon as a *Madman* for my Pains. I must likewise acquaint him, that I cannot think of a better Way to avoid such a *fortuitous Event*, as he calls it, than by exerting my utmost Endeavours to keep up the *Spirit of Liberty* amongst my Countrymen, and preserve our *Constitution* in its full Vigour.

But Mr. O. adds; 'It is highly improbable that the *Parliament* should subvert the *Constitution*. There is ten Thousand to one against it; because they cannot do one Act to the Prejudice of the *Nation*, that will not be equally prejudicial to themselves and their Posterity.'

If he means the *present Parliament*, I am ready to agree with him; for I make no Doubt that we shall soon see them exerting themselves, with a laudable Zeal, in the Defence of our *Constitution*, and for the *true Interest of the Nation*. But if he speaks of *Parliaments*, in general, it is so far from being highly improbable that they should subvert the *Constitution*, that there is ten Thousand to One against it, especially in this corrupt Age,

Age, that the Odds are rather on the other Side, unless the Members are properly restrain'd; for there is hardly a free Government to be met with in History, whose Liberties were not destroy'd by the Corruption of their Representatives, or those intrusted with them. This was the Case of the antient Commonwealths of Greece and Rome, as well as of Spain, France, and most of the Gothic Governments. Nay, even our own Country hath often been in imminent Danger from it; for I suppose Mr. O. will not deny that this was our Case, or very near our Case, in the Reign of Charles II. when the Practice of Corruption first began, and I shall be obliged to him, if he would point out the Period when it intirely ceased. I suppose he will say, at the Revolution; excepting only the four last Years of Queen Anne.

His Reason for this Incorruptibility of Parliaments discovers a vast Penetration into human Nature; for tho' the true Interest of every Individual is certainly bound up in the publick Good; it hath been the general Opinion of most other Philosophers, that private, Self Interest, being more immediately felt, hath too often the Ascendency over our Actions; and if it were not for this false Bias; if every Man would pursue his own Interest in the Interest of the Publick; there would be no Occasion for Laws, or even Government itself. I wish Mr. Osborne would be pleased to consult his own Conscience and Conduct a little, upon this Head.

Having asserted, about twenty Times, in the very same Words, that arbitrary Governments, tho' exercised well, may be justly resisted, (which I shall not dispute with him) he tells us, that legal Power, tho' in some Instances exercised ill, ought not to be resisted; because it is rightful Power derived from the People; tho' in those Instances, made a wrong Use of. Laws made by an Assembly of Men, chosen by the People, are the Peo-

ple's Laws; and the Power, consequent thereupon, is the People's Power; which, tho' sometimes not directed according to the exact Rules of Equity, should not be resisted.—You see, gentle Reader, that nothing but Resistance runs in the Man's Head. I grant him that Laws made by the People's Representatives, duly chosen, and un-influenced after they are chosen, may be justly call'd the People's Laws; and the Power, arising from thence, is the People's Power. But will this Humdrum in Politicks pretend to assert, that Laws made by a mercenary Parliament, against the general Voice and Interest of the People, are properly speaking the People's Laws; or that we never had any such Parliaments, or such Laws? I am sure Mr. Locke was of another Opinion; and asserted our Right of appealing to Heaven, even against Parliaments themselves, when they discover a manifest Intention to subvert the Constitution. (Vol. V. p. 254.) And so, in Effect, does the immortal Algernon Sydney, notwithstanding Mr. Osborne's awkward Endeavours to make him a complete, modern Courtier; for, in one of the Passages quoted from that great Writer, (Vol. V. p. 685) he insinuates at least, 'that Members of Parliament would be strictly and properly obliged to give an Account of their Actions to the whole Body of the Nation, could they be assembled.' But That being impracticable, he declares in plain Terms, 'That Members, who betray their Trusts, ought to be punish'd with Scorn, Infamy, Hatred, and an Assurance of being rejected, when they shall again seek the same Honour.'—If this were always the Case, we might depend pretty securely on the Integrity of Parliaments; but modern Times have found out Devices and Expedients, which too often render even these antient Checks of little or no Use. Mr. Osborne concludes with lamenting the melancholy Aspect of Things,

Things, and particularly, ' that the
 • *Doctrine of Resistance* should be in-
 • culcated at a Time, when 'tis im-
 • possible to produce *one Law* made
 • since the present *Royal Family* came
 • to the Crown, which hath the *least*
 • *Tendency to weaken the Security of*
 • *Person and Property*, or to *subvert*
 • *the End and Design of the Consti-
 • tution.* — This is a Clincher, i-
 faith; for if *Twenty such Laws* could
 be actually produced, *no Man in his*
Senses would do it, without *such an*
Indemnification as Mr. Osborne was
 once pleased to promise me; but
 since he hath not yet been as good
 as his Word, it is the meanest Pre-
 varication to put our Dispute up-
 on *such an Issue*. Let him come di-
 rectly to the *Points*, I have often
 proposed to him, and I promise to
 give him a particular Answer; but
 if he continues to plod on, like a
 Pack-Horse, in the same beaten
 Track, I shall be obliged to meta-
 morphose him into an *old Woman*
 again, (see Vol. V. p. 208.) or deli-
 ver him up to the Correction of my
 Sister *Dorothy*; for it is ridiculous
 to argue any longer with a *Wretch*, who
 pretends to *Reason*, and yet is eter-
 nally shuffling in so egregious a
 Manner.

Daily Gazetteer, Jan. 1. N^o 476.

ON the same Day with the above
 Craftsman, Mr. Osborne fi-
 nish'd what he design'd to say con-
 cerning the *Old Whigs*. When Mr.
 D'Anvers asks me (says he) whether
 these *Old Whigs* would have made
 any *ridiculous Distinction* between
 forcing Parliaments by *Prerogative*,
 and influencing them by *Corruption*?
 He shews, that he does not under-
 stand what he writes about: The
 Distinction is so far from being *ri-
 diculous*, that 'tis the most *just Dis-
 tinction* in the World; for, a Parlia-
 ment forced by *Prerogative*, can't act
 at all; *superior Force* can't be resisted;

but Influence, the *strongest Influence*
 may be resisted: Influence can reach
 only *bad Men*; but Force reaches
 Good and Bad alike: Persons can't
 be influence'd without their own Con-
 sent; but, they are always driven
 or forced without their own Con-
 sent; and, 'twas the Force or Power
 of *Prerogative* against Law and Equi-
 ty, which these *Old Whigs* labour'd
 to destroy.

Hampden the Great, who so glo-
 riously began the Opposition to the
 Tyranny of K. Charles I. oppos'd the
 raising of *Ship-Money*, only because
 'twas illegal. Does Mr. D'Anvers,
 who is so full of his Questions, ima-
 gine, that if *Ship-Money* had been
 established by Law, Mr. Hampden
 would have oppos'd it? Or call'd it,
 in the Language of our Times, *le-
 gal Slavery*? No, it was oppos'd,
 because rais'd by a Power which had
 no Right to raise it; and that might,
 under the same Pretence, have taken
 all their Estates, as well as the *least*
 Part of them.

Mr. D'Anvers asks, whether I ima-
 gine, that Mr. Hampden, who thought
 the Command of the *Militia* too
 great a Power in the Crown, would
 have ever given his Consent to a
Standing Army? Yes; for he would
 have considered the Difference of

Times and Circumstances: In the
 Times wherein he lived, there were
 no *Standing Armies*, or regular Troops
 kept up in Europe; Lewis XIV. to
 carry on his Project of Universal
 Monarchy, armed the World: Our
Militia was, before his Reign, upon
 a Par with the Forces of other Coun-
 tries; they were all *Militias*; besides,

there is another Consideration, which
 I am *Enthusiast* enough to think a
 weighty one; and that is, there were,
 in Mr. Hampden's Days, no *Preten-
 ders*: There is one at this Time;
 one, for whose Sake a *Rebellion* has
 been actually rais'd since the present
 Royal Family came to the Crown;
 so that I am of Opinion, if Mr.

Hampden

Hampden had been now alive, he would have given his Vote for such an Army as the present, under the Limitations and Restrictions of Law; an Army, not raised by the King to awe and enslave the People (for that's the Meaning of a Standing Army) but, an Army raised by the People, and kept up from Year to Year, only to be ready at Hand to defend their Liberties against Insurrections at home, or Invasions from abroad.

Concerning different Laws according to different Circumstances, Algernon Sidney, whose old Whiggism no Man doubts, has these Words:

It ought to be considered, that the Wisdom of Man is imperfect, and unable to foresee the Effects that may proceed from an infinite Variety of Accidents, which, according to certain Emergencies, necessarily require New Constitutions, to prevent or cure the Mischief arising from them, or to advance a Good that at first was not thought on. As the noblest Work in which the Wit of Man can be exercised, were (if it could be done) to constitute a Government that should last for ever; the next to that is, to suit Laws to present Exigencies; and he that should resolve to persist obstinately in the Way he first enter'd upon, or to blame those who go out of that in which their Fathers had walked, when they find it necessary, does, as far as in him lies, render the work of Errors perpetual.

Old Whig, Jan. 6. N^o 96.

Of the Amendment of the Law.

THIS Work has been always thought proper for pacifick Times, and oft been in vain attempted. In the Reign of King James I. my Lord Bacon recommended this Matter strongly to the King, and drew up a noble Plan for that Purpose: But the common Misfortune

which attends Projects defeated this: The Scheme was too large to be soon executed, and consequently came to nothing.

In order therefore to effect any valuable Alteration in our Law, I take it to be absolutely necessary, to lay no more of such a Scheme before the Publick, than what may easily and speedily be executed.

The first Thing to be attempted, as the easiest and most likely to meet with Success, is, the Alteration of the Statute Law; by repealing all such Laws as, by Length of Time and the Alteration of our Constitution, are become wholly useless.

These Kind of Laws seem to a careless View of small Consequence, as they only somewhat swell the Statute-Book, and bring a little Money to the Printer, but can be of no farther ill Consequence to the Subject.

Tho' I can by no Means think even that Circumstance a Trifle, since the Number of our Statutes, and the Monopoly claimed for printing them, has raised them to so great a Price, that not one Person in a Thousand is able to pay for the Purchase of them, tho' their Liberty and Property depend so greatly on their Knowledge of them and Obedience to them; and has swelled them to a Bulk too large to be read, or even printed correctly: Yet we may admit this Consideration to be indeed minute, when compared with those which a stricter Examination of this Matter will afford us.

For, as the Lord Bacon observes, there are a Multitude of ensnaring penal Laws which lie upon the Subject; and if in bad Times they should be awaked and put in Execution, would grind them to Powder.

There is also, says that Author, a farther Inconvenience of continuing penal Laws obsolete and which for some Time have been out of Use; for that it brings a Gangrene, Neglect,

lect, and Habit of Disobedience upon other wholesome ones, that are fit to be continued in Practice and Execution; so that our Laws endure the Torment of *Mezentius*, the Living die in the Arms of the Dead.

The next, and yet more useful Alteration to be hoped for, is the Reduction of the several Laws, which relate to one Subject, into one Act.

As the Perplexity which arises from the Number of Laws, not only makes the Execution of them difficult, but even dangerous to Persons who have not made the Law their particular Study; and especially to the Gentlemen who are so good as to serve their Country in the Capacity of Justices of the Peace; who having no Salary for their Trouble, are nevertheless exposed to troublesome Prosecutions for their Mistakes; for their Sakes in particular this Alteration is highly reasonable; not to mention the Repugnancy of many of these Laws to each other, the different Penalties for the same Offence, &c.

On this Head I can't pass over in Silence the noble Attempt of this Nature in regard to the Laws for the Government and Maintenance of the Poor: The Conduct of which being in the Hands of the most able and disinterested Persons, its Success is not to be doubted. (See Vol. V. p. 674)

Fog's Journal, Jan. 3. No 436.

Observations on Friendship.

HUMOUR goes much farther than Reason in the making and breaking of Friendships. It is in Friendship as in Love; it is often begun upon very odd Motives; a Word accidentally drop'd, an officious Whisper, the Offer of a Pinch of Snuff or Piece of an Orange at a Play, a casual Rencontre in a Forest, or at an Inn, the Sameness of Taste and Farcy in eating, and in Clothes, a Fit of Complaisance, a

Start of Gaiety, a pleasant Tale, or a Song; have all in their Turns been the momentous Sources of sudden, and sometimes of lasting Friendships.

Two Men shall be Neighbours for half their Lives, know one another well, and exchange frequent Visits and Civilities, and not proceed in all that Time to any Degree of Friendship or Familiarity; but meeting by chance at a Place of Pleasure, or going by Consent thither, contract a close, and unreserved Intimacy, which perhaps holds for ever, perhaps is broken next Day, or before they part; and as wild Chance was the Beginning of their warm Friendship, their wild Friendship may prove the Beginning of a warm Battle; it is all Whim, and may end in Blood as well as in Embraces; and it is scarce the Cast of a Dye, whether they fight, and are killed by one another, or in Defence of one another.

Two other Men shall live in perfect Amity and Confidence, founded upon Reason and good Offices, for half a Century, and at the End of it, differ about a Woman, or a Snuff Box, or a Piece of Mutton, and grow into eternal Coldness, or more probably Hatred, and 'tis well if it stops there. Many a Man who has killed his Friend, would the Moment before, and the Moment after, have dy'd for him.

Friendship is a Thing of great Delicacy: An unwary Breath may blast it, a heedless Jest dissolve it; so that it ought not to be made, and in Effect is not made, but upon the Foundation of good Tempers, and good Sense.

Those who are really Friends must be so in Instances, where they can entertain no Emulation, which implies Contention, and destroys Friendship. Men who pretend equally and openly to the same Object, whether it be a Mistress, or Grandeur, or Fame, cannot be Friends, who are not made so by Competition, but

by obliging and by being oblig'd. This is the Essence of Friendship, which is therefore founded in Interest, the Interest of Profit, Reputation or Pleasure. A Lawyer and a Physician, the most ambitious in their Profession, may be good Friends, because their Ambition and Views do not interfere; but neither two Physicians nor two Lawyers who claim each the highest Name, can have any sincere Friendship.

Men of dark and distrustful Tempers are not fit for Friendship, and incapable of its chief Pleasure, which consists in uncovering ones Heart, and discharging its Sentiments and Cares into the Bosom of another; without Difficulty or Fear. A distrustful Man fears and suspects all Men, he dares not encourage nor venture mutual Frankness; and if you make the first Advances, he imagines them so many Snares, and considers you as his Enemy for attempting to be his Friend. A thorough Friendship can never be established, without a thorough Confidence, and we can no more make a Friendship with a Man we suspect, than with a Man we despise.

Neither is it possible to preserve Friendship with Men of rigid Spirits, who make no Allowances for the Weaknesses, and Follies of human Nature, which, when it is brightest, is never without some Dross. The soundest Minds have many Flaws, and want Indulgence as well as deserve it. We must take Men upon the Terms, and with the Fraillities of weak Humanity about them, or quit the World. Mutual Friendship cannot subsist without mutual Indulgencies: One asked *Simonides*, by what Rule two Friends might persevere in their Friendship: Says he, they must never be both angry at the same Time. We can no more expect from Men a perfect Equality of good Humour than a perfect Equality of Pulse; both

depend upon Causes out of their own Power.

These Fraillities and Passions so natural to Men, make what we call good Breeding so requisite amongst them. It is a Court, and Address made to their Pride and Weaknesses; and would be perfectly useless if they had none; it is using them like Children with their own Consent, and they take pet, and grow perverse if they are not thus us'd: Nor are the wisest of them too wise to be so treated.

Craftsman, Jan. 8. N^o 549.

An Epistle to Mrs. BULL from one of her DAUGHTERS.

Honour'd Madam,

A Little before the Receipt of your last Letter, I was just upon the Recovery of a violent Fit of Sickness, that had continued on me for several Years, with all the Symptoms usually attending the *Belly-Ach*; a Distemper, which is very frequent in these Parts. I was in this Condition, when I read that Part of your Letter, which inform'd me of your Displeasure, and full Determination to take from me the little Estate of *Stingo*, upon which I have chiefly supported my self of late. It is impossible to express the Agonies I underwent upon this Occasion. In short, it threw me into such a Fit, that my Physicians and Friends gave me over for dead; and, by a Mistake committed by my Apothecaries, (who, through Mistake, gave me one Medicine for another) are still of Opinion I shall never recover it.

You know, Madam, very well; that I am not your own Child, but was adopted by one of your former Husbands; who, tho' a very ill Man in several other Respects, proved an excellent Step-Father to me. As I grew up, I became his Darling every Day, and discover'd in some Turn or Feature the Resemblance

of my Sire; when, alas! poor Gentleman, he dy'd.

*We must resign. Heaven his great soul does claim,
In storms as loud as his immortal fame.
Ungrateful then, if we no tears allow
To him, that gave us peace and empire too.*

Before he made his Exit, he left me by Will the little Farm of *Stings*, incumber'd with your *Dower*, which you are sensible hath been punctually paid every Year. Neither can you be ignorant that the Remainder, which I have enjoy'd ever since, is far from being sufficient for me to make such an Appearance in the World, or command that Respect, which is due to all your Family. It is fresh in every Body's Memory that our *domestick Affairs*, at the Time of his Death, were in great Disorder; by which it became absolutely necessary for you to marry again, in order to extricate yourself and your Family out of those many Difficulties and Law-suits, in which, like most *Widows*, you were left involved. The Person, on whom you placed your Affections in this Emergency, and to whom you were soon after espoused, gave signal Proof of your Wisdom, and a great Disappointment to those giddy, formal *Blockheads*, who, by judging of you by the rest of your Sex, laid Claim to your Person, in Expectation that *new Equipage* and *Fashions*, however ridiculous and foolish, would gain your Heart, without any intrinsic Worth, or Merit. You know your *Friends* and *Relations* were all pleas'd, and commended your Choice; and your *Enemies* whom you neither fear'd nor respect- ed, envy'd your Happiness.

Thus far have I brought your History down, including my own; where you are plac'd amidst the Pride and Glory of all your Friends, and fear'd or envy'd by the rest of the World. But how long this will continue, God only knows; tho' it will ever be my Opinion, that unless you relieve and protect your *Children*, your Family

will naturally fall to Decay; which Heaven avert!

I will conclude with assuring you, that none of your *Children*, however superior in Favour, shall exceed me in Zeal for your Welfare, or Affection A for your Person.

I am, Madam,

Your most obedient,

And dutiful Daughter,

CROLIA

P. S. The last Time I heard from my Sister *Bab*, and my Brother *Kit*, they were both ill of a Fever, occasion'd by over-eating themselves at a Feast on a Dish of *Salt-Beef*, which is a great Rarity in those Parts. Some late Accounts say they were dead; but this wants Confirmation. Pray my Love to Brother *Georgy*. I hear he grows a fine Boy.

Mrs. Bull's Answer to her Daughter.

Dear Child,

I AM very much concern'd to hear of the Distraction in our Family: *abroad*, and can give you but little Consolation from our Affairs *at home*. My Husband hath been in the Country for some Time, and I shall wait his Return with Impatience, to do you all the Service in my Power. *Dear Child*, don't be carry'd away from your Duty, by any ill Reports you hear. We shall speedily send you over one of our *new Physicians*; and if your Distemper is not too far gone, I hope by his Skill, and the Medicines I shall endeavour to procure for you, to recover you to your former State of Health, which I heartily pray for; knowing very well that one of the greatest Misfortunes, which could befall me in this Life, would be the Loss of you. I have just received Letters, that confirm the Death of your poor Brother *Kit* and Sister *Bab*, which gives me great Affliction. As some of their Fortunes devolves on you, I would have you put your- self

self in Mourning, if not for Grief, at least to mitigate your Joy, by reminding you of your own ill State of Health, and reflecting how soon it may be your own Case. Your Brother *George* is well; and, by the last Account I received of him, is a Lad of sprightly Parts, and makes a great Progress in his Learning. Pray God he makes a good Man!

*I am, dear Daughter,
Your affectionate,
And loving Mother,*

MARY BULL. B

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

Sed tanto magis hoc quicquid est temporis, fatilis & caduci, si non datur satis, (nam horum materia in aliena manu) certo studiis profereamus: & quatenus nobis denegatur diu vivere, relinquamus ali- quid quo nos vixisse testemur.

Plin. Epist.

S I R,

BY the above Quotation you may judge I have an Inclination to leave behind me something in Print, as a Memorial of my having once existed; and if you think proper to give this a Place in your next *Magazine*, I shall from Time to Time communicate to you my Remarks upon the Politicks and Manners of this Age, in such a Way as may, I hope, be useful as well as agreeable to your Readers.

As I am now of an Age not apt to be misled by Passion or Prejudice, having been born in the City of *London* the very Day on which the long Parliament in *K. Charles* the 1st's Reign assembled at *Westminster*, and tho' I look upon myself as a Native and Subject of *Great Britain*; yet being of a Nation not particularly interested in the Government or Customs of any Country, it may be presumed that I am more impartial than any Man can well be, who is a Member of any of the contending Sects

or Parties in this or any other Kingdom.

To these Advantages I have added that of having not only travelled through, but lived and conversed with the People of almost every Country in the known World; and having been born to an easy Fortune, altho' I have in every Country carried on some Sort of Trade or Commerce, yet I have always made it a Relief to Diversion and Amusement rather than a Fatigue, by which Means I have always gone through my Business with Pleasure, and never was cloyed with Diversion or Amusement. This, I believe, has greatly contributed to the Number of my Days, and my Desire of Gain was never so anxious as to prevent my Pursuit of what I thought useful Knowledge. My Business and Diversion have naturally led me into the Knowledge of the Living, and my Amusement has generally been to study Nature and the Dead.

Mankind have a Curiosity or Thirst of Knowledge, which is either peculiar, or at least greatly superior to any other sort of Creature: When this Curiosity is employ'd in Researches that may contribute to the Happiness of the Species, either in publick or private Life, it is laudable and useful; when it is otherwise employed, it is either wicked, or it is trifling and ridiculous. With regard to publick Life, the Curiosity and Invention of Man have been in all Ages and Countries much employed, in Learning and contriving Expedients for rendering Society happy or miserable: To establish or preserve social Virtue and civil Liberty has always been the benevolent Study of some Men; to corrupt and enslave has been the inhuman Occupation of others: But as Patriots and Philosophers are the only Friends to social Virtue, without which social Liberty cannot subsist, and Kings and Rulers have generally been its secret, sometimes its declared Enemies; from

hence it is, that we now see social Virtue destroyed by the Practice, and Slavery established by the Laws of most Societies upon Earth.

As I am no Way concerned, nor can expect a Concern, in the Government of any Country, as I have seen Tyranny in all its most hideous and terrible Shapes, and as the unhappy dispersed People to whom I belong can never be safe or easy where Superstition reigns, or arbitrary Power prevails; therefore I can be lifted by no selfish View in the Cause of Slavery, which is always attended with Ignorance and Superstition; but, on the contrary, both from Experience, and from that natural Attachment which every Man has to his own People, I must be an Enemy to arbitrary Power in every Shape, in every Disguise under which I have seen it; in every Shape, in every Disguise under which I have ever heard or read of its having been established.

For this Reason you may expect, that every Thing you have from me will be in Favour of social Virtue and social Liberty; and as social or publick Virtue cannot in any Country long subsist, after private Virtue or Morality is destroyed, I shall sometimes point the Batteries of my Essays against the Vices of private Life, as well as against those publick Measures, which, I think, may tend towards establishing a despotick Government in this yet happy Kingdom.

In short, Sir, if you allow me now and then a Place in your *Magazine*, I shall be to the People of *Great Britain*, not only what my Namesake, the Prophet *Samuel*, was, but likewise what the Prophet *Isaiab* was of old to their Countrymen; the latter of whom reproved them in the most pathetick Terms for their several Vices and Abominations, and the former told them what they might expect from their Kings, * in which he was as true a Prophet as e-

ver prophesied to the Children of *Israel*, or gave Warning to the Tribes of *Judab*; but his Prophecies relate only to absolute Monarchies, and not to that happy limited Sort of Monarchy established in this Kingdom; therefore this People of *Great Britain* can have no Occasion to cry out, *because of the King they have chosen*, until their King become as absolute as ever were those of *Judab* or *Israel*; and if this should ever happen unluckily to be the Case, they may depend upon having the same Occasion, and upon their Outcries meeting with the same Reception; for a free People, who give up their Liberties, or who foolishly or cowardly suffer their Liberties being stoll or ravished from them, deserve to be regarded neither by God nor Man.

Having thus briefly explain'd the general Scope of my intended Essays, I shall take some other Opportunity to give to the Publick a more ample Account of my long Life and Conversation; especially if I find my Essays meet with any Regard or Attention from the Publick. At present I shall, without any farther Preface, launch into the Ocean of Politicks, by making some Remarks upon the late Act for Preventing the Retail of Spirituous Liquors in any Quantiry under two Gallons; which I shall consider, first, with regard to the Trade and Riches of this Kingdom; next with regard to the Morals; and, lastly, with regard to the social Virtue and Liberty of the People.

With regard to the Trade of this or any other Country, 'tis certain, it depends chiefly upon the Number of natural born Subjects employed in producing, manufacturing, conveying, or transporting any Commodity which may contribute to the Support, the Convenience, or the Pleasure of Mankind; for the Value of the Produce or Manufacture of any Country may be very considerable, yet if

* See 1 Samuel, Chap. 9. v. 10, &c.

that Produce does not give Employment and Bread to any great Number of Subjects, which is the Case with respect to Mines of Gold, Silver, or precious Stones, or if the Manufactures be carried on by Foreigners, who retire to their own Country as soon as they grow rich, that Country cannot be said to have any considerable Trade.

The Riches, again, of every Country must depend entirely upon their exporting and selling to Foreigners yearly, one Year with another, a Quantity of their own Produce and Manufactures, greater in Value than the Quantity of all Sorts of foreign Produce or Manufacture imported and consumed yearly by them; for as the Balance, which is called the general Balance of Trade, must be paid for in ready Money, if the Quantity exported and sold yearly be greater in Value than the Quantity imported and consumed, there must certainly be in that Country a greater Number of Individuals who are every Year growing rich by gaining more Money than they expend, than there are of Individuals who are growing poor by lavishing more Money yearly than they gain; or at least the Over-Gains of those that are growing rich, must, upon the whole, be greater in Value, than the Over-Expence of those that are growing poor.

Whereas, if the Quantity imported and consumed yearly be greater in Value than the Quantity exported and sold, 'tis as certain that the Number of Persons in that Country growing poor, must be greater than the Number of Persons growing rich; or at least the Over-Expence of the former must upon the whole be greater in Value than the Over-Gains of the latter.

Now as the Riches of every Country are to be computed from the Riches of all the Individuals taken together, when the Number of Persons growing rich in any Country is greater than the Number of those that are growing poor; or the Over-Gains of the former greater upon the whole in Value than the Over-Ex-

pence of the latter; the Country must be allowed to be growing rich; and when the contrary Case happens, the Country must be allowed to be growing poor.

From these general Observations we must necessarily draw these two Conclusions, That the Trade of a Country must be diminished, by prohibiting the Consumption of any Commodity by which a great Number of natural born Subjects got Employment and Bread; and, that the Riches of a Country must be diminished, or at least prevented from growing so fast as they would otherwise have done, by prohibiting the Consumption of any home Produce or Manufacture, and thereby introducing, or increasing the Consumption of a foreign Produce or Manufacture; because by so doing we turn or increase the general Balance of Trade against us, or we diminish its annual Value if it was before in our Favour.

To apply these Conclusions to the late Prohibition of Spirituous Liquors, I believe it will be granted, that our chief Consumption with respect to such Liquors consisted in Home-made Spirits and Rum, the former of which was produced by the Labour and Industry of our own Subjects here at home, and the latter by the Labour and Industry of our own Subjects in the *West Indies*; therefore it must be admitted, that by that Prohibition we have taken Employment and Bread from a great Number of our natural born Subjects, and consequently must have diminished considerably the Trade of our Country.

Then by prohibiting the Consumption of Rack and Rum Punch, it is now evident that we shall vastly increase the Consumption of foreign Wines of all Sorts and Values; for it is a very great Mistake to imagine that those who have been accustomed to drink Punch, will betake themselves to the Drinking of Malt-Liquors: Every

Every Man might have foreseen, and it now appears by the vast Number of Wine Licences taken out by Coffee-Houses and Ale-Houses since *Michaelmas* last, that most of our Punch Drinkers have taken to the Drinking of Wine; and if the Prohibition of Punch continues, we may assure ourselves that, before *Michaelmas* next, there will not be a Coffee-House or good Ale-House (I mean those the better Sort of People resort to) in the Kingdom but will have a Wine Licence.

This I take for certain, and therefore I may be allowed to make some Sort of Computation, what a considerable Increase must be occasioned in the Consumption of Wine by this new Regulation: Let us for this Purpose consider, what a vast Number of Inns, Coffee-Houses, and Ale-Houses, were in this Island, which formerly subsisted by the Retail of Beer, Ale, Punch, and Drums, without vending one Drop of Wine, and then, I believe, it will not be thought extravagant to suppose, that in every Parish in *Great Britain*, one with another, there will be one new Wine Licence taken out, which will make in the whole about 12000; and supposing that each of these new Wine-Houses, one with another, sells but a Quart a Day, the whole additional Quantity to be consumed in a Year will amount to 4,380,000 Quarts or 4345 Tuns, which at 25*l.* a Tun prime Cost, upon an Average, amounts to 108,525*l.* a Year; without reckoning the additional Quantity of Wines that must be consumed in Taverns, which will certainly be more frequented than they formerly used to be.

From hence it is plain that by prohibiting the Retail of all Sorts of Spirituous Liquors, we shall diminish both the Trade and the Riches of our native Country; and if by the Prohibition of Rum we should ruin our Sugar Trade, which seems but too probable, we may very possibly turn the general Balance of Trade entirely against this Nation, by being obliged

to have all our Sugars and Rums from Foreigners who take little or nothing from us, instead of having them from our own People in the *West Indies*, who have many of the Necessaries, and almost all the Luxuries of Life from this Island.

When I consider the Complaint which gave Occasion to the Subjecting the Nation to this apparent Disadvantage and Danger, I must confess it seems to me something extraordinary that such a Regulation should proceed from such a Complaint: The excessive Use of Home-made Spirits among Persons of inferior Rank was the only Evil complained of, the only Evil that stood in need of a Remedy. Drunkenness in any Sort of Liquor is certainly a most terrible Abomination, therefore it is to me surprizing that when Drunkenness was the Evil complained of, no new Law should have been thought of against the Vice, but only the Means of committing it removed, with respect to one Sort of Liquor only, and with respect to the Poor only. It is certain the Loss the Excise might suffer, by an effectual Prevention of this most vicious Practice of drinking to Excess, could be no Motive for not endeavouring to put a Stop to it in all Sorts of Liquors as well as in Spirituous Liquors; yet from the Regulation that was made, it does not appear that any Fault was found with the Vice in general; for even with respect to Spirituous Liquors, those who are able to purchase two Gallons at a Time, may get drunk at as cheap a Rate, and with as much Impunity, as they could have done before this Law was made; which must have a terrible Effect upon the Morals of the People in general.

Every Man who knows any Thing of the Nature of Mankind must know, that it is ridiculous to imagine the Committing of any Action, which may be profitable or pleasant, cannot be effectually prevented by the Severity of the Punishment only:

only: An Opinion that the Action is in itself criminal and scandalous will always be a greater Bar to a Man's being guilty of it, than the severest Punishment that can be inflicted; and it is certain, that the Opinions of Mankind, with respect to the Guilt or Scandal of any Action, are generally formed from Example and not from Precept. The Authority of Precept may ascend, but that of Example always descends: It is always taken by those of inferior Degree from those of the next Superior; and therefore in all Nations we find the Manners of the People depend chiefly upon the Manners of the Rich and the Powerful among them; for which Reason if the Lawgivers of any Country have a Mind to prevent the excessive Use of strong Liquors among the People, they must begin with the Reformation of the Rich and Powerful; for if they can but make it a Scandal to get drunk, or to furnish Liquors for that Purpose, it will have a greater Effect than the severest Punishment they can invent.

What then can be expected from a Regulation made for preventing People's drinking Spirituous Liquors to Excess, which leaves it in the Power of every Man to get drunk even of such Liquors as often as he pleases, if he is but rich enough to purchase two Gallons at once? Must not this make getting drunk glorious, instead of making it scandalous? Men are always fond of being thought rich, which makes the Poor more apt to imitate the Rich in their Vices than in their Virtues; and as getting drunk will for the future be a great Sign of a Man's Riches, the Poor will aim at it as much as they can; so that this new Regulation may perhaps change the Liquor, but I'm afraid it will increase the Vice; for tho' the Change of the Liquor may for some Time make a seeming Reformation, yet the Poor will soon find out new Methods of getting drunk, and those they will practise, while they are led on, and

in some Manner warranted by the Example of their Superiors.

But this is not the only bad Effect this new Regulation may have upon the Morals of the People; there is another Effect much more certain, and of Consequence much more fatal. I hope it will be granted that Treachery in every Degree is wicked, and that among all Sorts of Men it ought to be deemed scandalous. Treachery even in a Thief or Robber towards his Accomplices, Treachery even in a Traitor towards his Companions in Treason, is certainly in itself dishonourable and wicked. I mean when any such Criminal, from a Motive of Cowardise or Gain, betrays and informs against his Associates, who by his joining with them have been encouraged to put a Trust and Confidence in him.

It ought, therefore, to be the Care of every People, but especially a free People, to prevent as much as possible the Character of a treacherous Informer from ever becoming tolerable among them; and as the Shame and Scandal of any Sort of Crime whatever, may at last become supportable by the Multitude and Power of the Guilty, it is certainly a wrong Politick for a Society to make such Regulations, as must greatly increase the Number and the Power of those, who have been guilty of Treachery in any Shape or Degree. To discover Crimes, and punish the Guilty, is without doubt necessary for the Preservation of every Society; but for that Purpose to give a Reputation to Treachery, and a Countenance to treacherous Informers, is, to destroy the End for the Sake of preserving the Means.

If in this Light we view the late Regulation against the Retail of Spirituous Liquors, we must see how prejudicial it must be to the Morals of the People; for it has always been observed, that a Man who once forfeits his Honour, becomes soon after a most abandoned Profligate, and makes no

Stop at the Perpetrating of any Crime, to which he may be prompted by his Interest or Pleasure, provided he thinks he may escape with Impunity.

In Treason, in Theft, in Robbery, and every real Crime, a Man may become an Informer, and yet retain some Sort of Character, because it may be supposed his Information proceeded from a true Sense of the Crimes he had involved himself in; nay in such Cases a Man may become an Informer, without forfeiting in the least his Honour; because he may accidentally come at the Knowledge of the Crime, and the Criminals too, without having any Way encouraged them to put a Confidence in him. But the Informations that are to be founded upon this new Regulation, can seldom or ever be supposed to proceed from any Motive but that of Gain or Malice; not can any Man become an Informer, with respect to the Retail of Spirituous Liquors in small Quantities, without first enticing and trappanning those he informs against to put a Confidence in him; from hence we may conclude that every Man who in such a Case becomes an Informer, must forfeit his Honour, and will therefore from that Moment become a most abandoned Profligate; and whether Men ought to be tempted by Rewards to become so, I leave to the World to judge.

I shall not pretend to find Fault with the many Rewards given by our Laws to Informers, but I am apt to think, if we have not already proceeded, we very soon may proceed too far; for if the Character of an Informer should once begin to be supportable, if they should once become so numerous as to keep one another in Countenance, and of such affluent Circumstances as to command at least an outward Respect from the Vulgar, it will contribute more than we seem to be at present aware of, to the introducing of a general Spirit of Treachery among the People, which

is one of the main Supports of arbitrary Power; and Experience has already taught us, what an Addition this new Regulation must make to the Number of those fine Persons, I may almost now say, creditable Persons, called Informers, who are a Sort of Vermin that have always been frequent, and much respected in arbitrary Governments; but never were, I believe, in a free Country so numerous as they are at present in this.

I have said, that a general Spirit of Treachery among the People is one of the main Supports of arbitrary Power; which naturally leads me to consider, what Effect this new Regulation may have upon the social Virtue and Liberty of the People. With respect to the social Virtue of a People, by which I mean, that honest and generous Regard which every Man ought to have for the publick Good, it must always depend upon a mutual Confidence between the Rich and the Poor, between those in Authority and those under Authority; for if the Poor, or those under Authority, begin to think that the others act only from selfish and partial Views, they will immediately begin to lose that Regard they ought to have for the Publick Good, no Man will regard the Publick when he finds, or supposes, that he is no Way regarded by the Publick, and the Generality, having thus lost all publick Motives of Action, they will of Course become venal and mercenary; every Man will regulate his Behaviour according to those selfish and private Ends he may have in View at the Time.

In the Case now under Consideration, if a severe Law had been made against Drunkenness, and a heavy Penalty inflicted upon habitual Drunkards, as well as upon those who at any Time should have furnished them Liquors to get drunk with; or any other Regulation made for preventing the abominable Vice of Drunkenness, and that Law made to affect

the Rich as well as the Poor, those in Authority as well as those under Authority, every Man would have been convinced that it proceeded from a generous Concern for the publick Good; but when those in Authority get by what was intended for the publick Good only, when a Law is made for restraining the Poor only, from being guilty of a particular Sort of Crime, a particular Sort of Drunkenness, which is equally heinous in the Rich, what can the Poor think of such a Law? Is it possible to persuade them, that the Rich have a greater Regard for their Preservation than they have for their own? This, I'm afraid, is impossible: On the contrary, all the Poor, and many of the Rich who are under Authority, will, I'm afraid, suppose that the Regulation proceeded from private and selfish Views; and tho' they must be mistaken in this Supposition, yet their Error will have the same Effect as if it were a real Truth; it will introduce among them a total Neglect of publick Good, and a Regard for their own private Interest only. This will, of course, make the Generality of the People venal and mercenary, which may enable some future ambitious Prince, or guilty Favourite, to overturn our Constitution, by establishing in Corruption an arbitrary Power; and that Spirit of Treachery which may happen to be introduced by the Multitude of Informers, will prevent its being in the Power of the People ever to regain their Liberties; for an established Tyranny cannot be overturned, without a very general Concert among those who have the Misfortune to be subject to it, and among a faithless treacherous People no such Concert can be carried on with Success, it will always be discovered before it can be made effectual; and must therefore always end in the Destruction of the Virtuous and Brave, and in rivetting the Chains of the People.

Again, with regard to the Liberties

of the People, let me observe, that it is impossible to support a free Government without preserving the Affections of the Subjects in general; and as the Generality of the People, in every Society, consists of those who come under the Denomination of Persons of inferior Rank, the Governors of every Society ought to take great Care to preserve their Affections; for after the Vulgar are once generally disobligh'd, no Government can be supported but by those Means which may support an oppressive Tyranny as well as a just Government; and I will venture to assert, that no just Government will long continue so, after the Governors begin to feel themselves possessed of those Means by which an oppressive Tyranny may be easily supported. The Liberties of a Country are but in a precarious Situation, when the People have nothing to depend on for the Preservation of those Liberties, but the Virtue and Self-denial of their Rulers; which must always be the Case when those Rulers are able to support themselves in spite of a general Disaffection, Contempt and Hatred.

To inflict a Penalty upon a real Crime, to punish an Action which is generally thought pernicious and scandalous, is not only necessary but popular; but to inflict Penalties upon Actions which are thought neither pernicious nor scandalous will always be thought oppressive; and consequently must alienate the Affections, at least of those who actually suffer by such Regulations. If such a Duty had been laid upon Home-made Spirits, as to render the Purchase of an excessive Quantity very expensive, and high Penalties laid upon all Retailers who should have allowed any Person to drink to Excess in their Shops, or Houses, the Regulation would have been popular, and, I believe, effectual; because Drunkenness, notwithstanding the little Discouragement it has for many Years met with, is still thought to be pernicious

ous as well as scandalous; but to lay a Penalty upon a Man's selling a single Dram, or a single Tiff of Punch, as the Action can never be deemed criminal or scandalous, either in the Retailer or Drinker, therefore both will generally think themselves oppressed; and considering that all the Poor of the Kingdom, and many rich Men who were concerned in the Retail of such Liquors, must suffer by such a Regulation, we may from thence conclude, that the Generality of the People will think themselves oppressed, and will therefore, of Course, become disaffected to our present Government. For this Reason it is, I think, most justly to be apprehended that this new Regulation may be of dangerous Consequence, either to our Constitution or to our Government, which is an Apprehension that must necessarily give Disquiet to every honest Man in the Kingdom.

In free Governments, their Laws are established and executed by the Civil Power, and always may be so, because they have the Assistance of the People, who will, upon all Occasions, be ready to assist in the Execution of those Laws they think just and necessary. In oppressive Governments, their Laws are almost always thought oppressive by the People, and therefore they must be established and supported by a military Force, I mean a regular and mercenary Army; for an Army must be mercenary (in the most ignominious Sense of the Word) as well as regular, before they can serve all the Purposes of a despotick Government.

With respect to the Method of establishing or executing any new Law or Regulation, the Justice or Injustice of the Law signifies nothing; if it be thought unjust or oppressive by the Generality of the People, it must be crammed down their Throats by a military Force, which may be of the most fatal Consequence in a free State, because it not only introduces a cowardly and slavish Dispo-

sition among the People, but a cruel and mercenary Compliance among both the Officers and Soldiers of the Army; and when the Governors find that the People dare not venture to oppose any of their Measures, and that those of the Army will be ready upon the first Signal to butcher their Relations, their Friends, and their Countrymen, such Governors may then conclude, they are possessed of those Means by which the most oppressive Tyranny may be supported, which is a Conclusion of the most dangerous Consequence to the Liberties of a free People, a Conclusion that no wise People will ever give their Governors an Opportunity to make; because it is in publick Life the same with what it is in private, a Man may be a meer Poltron, and yet may pass thro' Life without any signal Affront, if he has but Prudence enough to conceal his Want of Courage, but if his Failing be once discovered, he may expect to be affronted, kicked, and cuffed by every Bully that knows him.

For this Reason, great Care ought to be taken not to give the People in general any Ground to think they are oppressed, and as it will be impossible to persuade them that there is either Crime or Sin in selling a Dram, or a Tiff of Punch, to a Traveller or Neighbour; therefore it is to be apprehended, they will always look upon it as an Oppression, to prosecute, fine, and imprison them for so doing. For this Reason, I am afraid, it will be impossible to execute this Law without introducing among the People a cowardly and slavish Disposition, and among those of the Army a mercenary and blind Obedience to the most illegal Orders of their Superiors in command, which is all that is wanted for supporting, as well as establishing, an arbitrary or even a tyrannical Government in any Country.

This, I say, I'm afraid of; but my Fears may perhaps be without Foundation. However, as I am, for

the Sake of Mankind: in general, as well as for the Sake of my own People in particular, a Lover of Liberty; as I have, and always had, a hearty and sincere Regard for the happy Constitution of this Kingdom, and wish that it may be transmitted safe and entire to latest Posterity, therefore I think myself obliged to take Notice of every Thing which may, in my Opinion, tend to its Overthrow. Those who think my Fears groundless may be for continuing the Law; but every Man who views it in the same Light I do, must be for repealing it, and contriving some other Method for preventing that excessive Use of Spirituous Liquors amongst those of inferior Rank, which was last Session most justly complained of, and which ought certainly to be prevented.

Upon this Subject I have considered my self, as much as possible, to those general Maxims of good Government, with which I take this Law not to be perfectly consistent; for if I had entered into the particular Objections that may be made to it, my Dissertation might perhaps have seemed tedious to those who read for Amusement: as well as Instruction. The End intended by passing this Law was certainly in itself praise-worthy; but if by Experience, or upon a more mature Deliberation, the Law should appear to be of dangerous Consequence to the Trade and Liberties of this Kingdom, it will certainly be repealed this next Session, especially if it should appear, that the End intended by it may be attained by a more gentle, and less dangerous Method. This, I think, may be done, and therefore I have ventured to give my Thoughts upon the Subject. I hope, Sir, my Method of delivering them will not be disagreeable either to your Readers, or to any Man who wishes well to his Country: If you are of the same Opinion, I desire you'll give them

a Place in your next Magazine; and am,

S I R,

Your most sincere Friend,

Essex,

And humble Servant,

Jan. 1.

S A M U E L,

1737.

The Wandering Jew.

Thus we have complied with the Request of our Friend Samuel; and if he, or any other Gentleman, pleases to send us any Essay which we think may be useful or entertaining to our Readers, we shall communicate it to the Publick, without Respect to any Sect or Party, as often as we can spare Room for that Purpose.

Universal Spectator, Jan. 15. N^o 432.

The Art of getting Money, the Art of Begging.

OF all the wise Sayings I ever met with, none seems to be more generally esteem'd than that notable City Apophthegm, *My Son, get Money*: But the *Philosopher*, who gave this Instruction, went no farther, leaving the Business of *Directors, Supercargoes, Committee-Men, and Ways and Means* Inventors to the peculiar Turn of Thought, or Bias of Invention, of every individual *Money-Genar*. To supply the Defect, I shall lay before my Readers an *Art to get Money*, and they may be surpriz'd when they find that it is the *Art of Begging*.

Of all the Methods us'd to get Money, sure no one can deny, that he who obtains his End the easiest Way is the wisest Person: On this Principle it is that the Beggar, on his Truss of Straw, makes himself as happy as a Prince; he only tunes his Voice to a proper Key, to strike on the Tympanum of the Ear, and move Pity in the Auditors; such an Effect has the mournful Sound, that Copper falls into his Hat, which he at Night converts into true Sterling.

It is said, that whenever Nature is deficient in one Part she makes a

mends in another; the Observation is just in relation to Beggars: If she sends into the World a Cripple in his Legs, she supplies him with brawny Hips for a natural Kind of Cushion. If she deprives him of his Eyes, she gives him a strong Sense of Feeling, A that with the greatest Acateness he may distinguish the Difference between Brass and Silver: If she lops off his Arms, she extends his Wind-pipe, dilates the Thorax, and makes him capable of talking louder and more to the Purpose than a pleading B Barrister.

But this is the common, coarse and ungentee Way of Begging: The gentee Art of Begging is the same Thing in a clean Disguise, or under the Management of a better directed Policy.

The illustrious Beggar, the Church of *Rome*, has exceeded all Professors of this Science; she has been so fond of the Practice that she instituted an Order, or Religious Society, under the Denomination of Mendicants: These strolling Saints live upon the free Gifts of the Publick, and tho' their Mother Church sends them out to live upon Chance; yet, knowing the Power of Beggars, she seems not to have provided ill for them: They may, indeed, either eat or starve, just as their *Christian* Brethren may think proper; yet they are lusty portly Fellows, with a Priestly Rotundity of Belly; and no one of the whole Sect was ever known to die of Hunger or Drought. One of the sanctify'd Vagabonds will stare an old Woman out of a Piece of Silver in a Moment; another shall coin Money as fast as he can cross his Breast or Forehead; but if Charity grows cold, they, by an *Av-Maria*, or some unintelligible Piece of *Latin*, tickle the Ears of the By-Standers till they can no longer resist, but put their Hands to their Pockets to reward the ingenious Orator.

The artful Church of *Rome* does

not stop here; they have a farther Reach with them than to be contented with a single Method of gentee Bubbling: The Fellow at *Rome* thought himself, no doubt, a cunning Rogue, when he had taught his Bird to get him a comfortable Subsistence from the Emperor; but he was a low poor Genius to these, who have instructed Bones, old Shoes, and rusty Teeth to do twenty Times more Feats, and make Quick-silver of every Pilgrim's Cash.

Go into one Church and you may see a Piece of Stone beg of a Man half his Patrimony, and obtain his Acres from him that they may become Holy Land; peep into another and you may view a Piece of crying Wax-Work, that will empty a Purse C of every Doit.

If I was to run over all the sanctify'd Trumpery, that humbly begs you to deliver up your Money, there would be no End of this gentee Cheat or religious Begging.

D *Fog's Journal, Jan. 15. N^o 427.*

The Progress and Pleasures of VIRTUE.

T HE lofty Mountain of Virtue is of a quite contrary Make to all other Mountains. In the Mountains of the Earth the Skirts are pleasant, but the Tops rough; whereas the Skirt of the Mountain of Virtue is harsh, but the Top delicious. He who studies to come at it, meets in his first Steps with nothing but Stones, Briars, and Thistles; but the Roughness of the Way diminishes, as he proceeds in his Journey, and the Pleasure of it increases, till at length on the Top he finds nothing but beautiful Flowers, choice Plants, and Chrystal Fountains.

The first Part of the Way is extremely troublesome and slippery: From the Sea of the World, the Songs of the *Sirens* call back the new Praetelye. On the Side of the Moun-

tain the Roarings of the Lyons terrify him. He looks with regret on the smooth Valley which he leaves behind; and contemplates with Fear the Brow of the Mountain to which he aspires. Altho' look'd from the Prison of Sin, he still carries about with him, in his Passions, Shackles, whose Weight conspires with the Difficulty of the Way to make his Progress slow and painful. He hears at his Back the soothing Voice of Pleasures which call to him, as they formerly did to *Austin*. Notwithstanding he goes on, afflicted a little, and sometimes meeting with a Rub that stops him. By and by he finds the Path less rugged; and now the Voice of worldly Pleasures makes a less Impression upon him, being heard at a greater Distance: Having proceeded a few Steps further he sees the Road a little smooth.

He reaches at last the higher Part of the Mountain, where he sees a beautiful and sweet Plain. The Sweat and Tears with which he watered the Skirt, fructify on the Top; and he reaps here an abundant Harvest, from what he cultivated below with tedious Vexations. All this is conceal'd from the Eyes of the World; who, instead of considering him as retired to the Height of the Mountain, fancy him lodg'd on an inaccessible Precipice. They think it impossible for that Man to have a Moment's Ease, imagining that the Place where he inhabits is a Field where the Elements battle it with the greatest Fury, and where the severest Storms fall with the most irresistible Force. But it happens to that Man as it did to him who scal'd the Top of *Olympus*, where the Sky is constantly serene, and the Air never disturb'd with the least Agitation, to such a Degree that Characters print'd in the Dust are preserv'd whole Years; where the Clouds are always seen below, so that they thunder at the Bottom without ever reaching the Top.

Just so do the Inconveniencies of Life, and the Tempests of Fortune rain upon those who inhabit the low Vallies of the World; not upon him who has got up into the Mountain of God. But hold: Are not Sickness, Pain, Loss of Estate, Persecution, Ignominy, and other Calamities, common to the virtuous with the rest of Mankind? Besides have they not a particular Overplus of Silence, Retirement, Watching, Prayer, Discipline, Fasting, and other Penances? All very true. These are the Fogs which are seen from without; but which never reach the Top of *Olympus*, that is, they never come to disturb the higher Part of the Mind.

I do not say, that the just Man is insensible. That was an extravagant Opinion of the *Stoicks*, who pretended that in the Forge of Virtue Men were transform'd into Statues. The virtuous suffer, but in a much less Degree than the wicked. Besides this, there is another remarkable Difference; which is, that the Afflictions common to both, touch the Vicious in every Part, and the Virtuous but in one. The Spirits of the just Man and the Sinner are distinguished as the Elements of Air and Earth. The Earth in all its Regions is expos'd to the Injuries of the other Elements: But the Air only in the lower Part of it, which is the Theatre of Vapours and Exhalations; since no sensible Alteration reaches what is call'd the upper Region of the Air. In that Part the Heaven is always clear, an equal Tenor is constantly preserv'd, and it evermore enjoys a pure and Crystalline *Æther*.

Craftsman, Jan. 15. N^o 550.

WHEN the News of Don *Joseph Patinbo's* Death arriv'd at the Court of *France*, it is said that his most Christian Majesty express'd himself publickly in this Manner;

De Reo, non Onco, ne vespilus de Premier Ministre; that is, *the King, my Uncle, will have no more Prime-Minister.* Whether *his Majesty* dropt this Expression by Accident, or with any particular Design, it was look'd upon as an Approbation of his *Uncle's* Resolution, and occasion'd no small Joy among great Numbers of Persons at *that Court*; for tho' the *Cardinal Minister* hath exercised his Power with great Moderation, and even Success, for the Honour and Interest of *his own Country*; tho' he hath not amass'd exorbitant Wealth for *himself*, or *his Family*, during the Course of a long Administration; nor hath been guilty of any mean Instances of Revenge towards *those*, who have opposed and thwarted his Designs; but, on the contrary, shew'd great Marks of his Lenity and Condescension; yet the very Office of a *Prime-Minister* is so odious, even under an *arbitrary Government*, that the *Herd of Courtiers* in general, excepting *his own Friends and Creatures*; were in Hopes of a Change; tho' *some Writers* amongst us are not ashamed to plead openly for such a Power, under a *free Constitution*, which is absolutely repugnant to, and incompatible with it.

(The rest of this Paper contains Remarks upon some of the Gazettes concerning an Administration in the Hands of one Person; which, as tending very little to the Entertainment of our Readers, we pass by.)

Copy of a Letter from a Secretary of one of the Ambassadors at the Porte.

IN order to satisfy your Curiosity about *Thomas Kouli Kan*, I shall now acquaint you with what I know of him, and you may depend on it that what I tell you is Authentick.

Thomas Kouli Kan, was born at *Afchier* in *Chorazan*, a Province of *Persia*. His Father was a Shepherd, which Profession the Son too followed for some Time, till he took a Dislike to it, from a rising Ambition to make

himself more considerable in the World; and then it was, that he sold 700 Sheep from his Father, which he sold, and with the Money, lifted a Gang of resolute Banditti, of whom he put himself at the Head, and then plunder'd several Caravans, with the Booty whereof, he enrich'd himself very much. After having carried on the Trade of a common Highwayman for 7 Years, he went to the Province of *Muzandran*, to which the King *Sebach Haffsin*, had sent his Son, the Prince *Thomas*, for Security, before he was obliged to yield up *Isfahan* to the Rebels. The said King, being afterwards put to Death, *Thomas Kouli Kan*, who, by this Time, had 5000 Men under his Command, offer'd them, together with his Treasures, to Prince *Thomas*, to restore him to the Throne of his Ancestors; engaging, at the same Time, that he wou'd give him his Head; if he did not succeed in his Enterprize; provided, that in case of such Success, the Prince, when he became King, would declare him his Prime Minister. The Prince consented to whatever he ask'd, such was his intire Confidence in *Thomas Kouli Kan*, who, to give him the stronger Proof of his Attachment, assum'd this new Name, which signifies, the Slave of *Sebach Thomas*; whereas he went before by the Name of *Nadir Kouli*. I own to you, Sir, we have had good Laughing here at the *Scottish* Termination, pretended to be discovered in the Name *Kouli Kan*; and then the little Romance with which 'twas adorn'd, was so pat, that nothing could be better hit off. (See Vol. V. p. 285.)

The first Thing that *Kouli Kan* did, after having raised a very great Body of Troops, was the driving of the Rebels from *Marhed*; after which, he reduced the Province of *Herat*, and carried the Governor's Head to Prince *Thomas*, as a Trophy of his Victory.

His Army being now become more powerful, he besieged and took *Upbas*, and reduced the *Agbuans*, a rebellious Nation, who had subdued almost all *Persia*. He had the Policy to carry Prince *Thomas* with him in several of his Expeditions to give the more Reason to think, that he only acted for that Prince. The Bravery of *Kouli Kan*, his good Treatment of the Soldiery, and the Generosity with which he rewarded them, having procured him their entire Confidence, he took that Opportunity to seize the Government, on Pretence, that Prince *Thomas* was incapable of Governing. In fine, his Ambition, or rather Vanity, knowing no Bounds, about a Year ago, he got himself declared King of *Persia*, by the principal Adherents of his Party; but this Advancement, instead of establishing his Authority, must rather tend to weaken it. He was beloved as the Defender of his Country; and 'twas then more devoted to him, than 'tis now under his pompous Title of King. As he has reach'd to the Throne by Usurpation, he has had Recourse to Wickedness, to secure himself in the Possession of it. He has put Prince *Thomas*, and all the Princes of the *Persian* Royal Family to Death, as well as several *Persian* Lords, of whom he had a Jealousy. He has taken the Title of *Schach Nadir*, and upon the Money coined with his Dye, he has put a most vain Inscription, signifying, *The matchless King, the Sovereign of the Four Parts of the World*.

As to his Person, he is about 50 Years of Age: He is robust, inur'd to Fatigue, and has a very majestic Presence.

As to his Character, he acts so much by the Rules of Policy, that 'tis hard to say, whether the good Qualities which have been remark'd in him, proceed from a Principle of Virtue. He seems to be very li-

beral, especially to his Troops, which he by that Means obliges to observe an exact Discipline. He is a Man, of Wisdom and Penetration, but is reckon'd very artful. He is moreover intemperate to Excess, and very much addicted to Women, Wine and Drams. He has an Affection, for the *Eurapeans*, and has a great Number of 'em in his Troops, whom he has put upon much the same Pay and Footing as they have in *Europe*; but he prefers the *French* before all other Foreigners.

Daily Gazetteer, Jan. 22. N^o. 492.

Of Party-Lying: Extracted from the SPECTATOR of Oct. 11, 1712.

C *Defendit numerus, junctaque umbone Phalanges.* Juv.

T H E R E is something very sublime, tho' very fanciful in *Plato's* Description of the Supreme Being, that *Truth is his Body, and Light his Shadow*. According to this Definition, there is nothing to contradictary to his Nature, as Error and Falshood. The *Platonists* have so just a Notion of the Almighty's Aversion to every Thing which is false and erroneous, that they looked upon *Truth* as no less necessary than *Virtue*, to qualify a human Soul for the Enjoyment of a separate State. For this Reason as they recommended moral Duties to qualify and season the Will for a future Life, so they prescribed several Contemplations and Sciences to rectify the Understanding. Thus *Plato* has called mathematical Demonstrations the Catharticks or Purgatives of the Soul, as being the most proper Means to cleanse it from Error, and to give it a Relish of Truth; which is the natural Food and Nourishment of the Understanding, as *Virtue* is the Perfection and Happiness of the Will.

There are many Authors who have shewn wherein the Malignity

of a Lye consists, and set forth in proper Colours, the Heinousness of the Offence. I shall here consider one particular Kind of this Crime, which has not been so much spoken to; I mean that abominable Practice of *Party-lying*. This Vice is so very predominant among us at present, that a Man is thought of no Principles, who does not propagate a certain System of Lyes. The Coffee-houses are supported by them, the Press is choak'd with them, eminent Authors live upon them. Our Bot-
 tle Conversation is so infected with them, that a Party-Lye is grown as fashionable an Entertainment, as a lively Catch or a merry Story: The Truth of it is, half the great Talkers in the Nation would be struck dumb, were this Fountain of Discourse dried up. There is however one Advantage resulting from this detestable Practice; the very Appearances of Truth are so little regarded, that Lyes are at present discharged in the Air, and begin to hurt nobody. When we hear a Party Story from a Stranger, we consider whether he is a Whig or a Tory that relates it, and immediately conclude they are Words of course, in which that honest Gentleman designs to recommend his Zeal, without any Concern for his Veracity. A Man is looked upon as bereft of common Sense, that gives Credit to the Relations of Party-Writers; nay, his own Friends shake their Heads at him, and consider him in no other Light, than as an officious Tool or a well-meaning Idiot. When it was formerly the Fashion to husband a Lye, and trump it up in some extraordinary Emergency, it generally did Execution, and was not a little serviceable to the Faction that made use of it; but at present every Man is upon his Guard, the Artifice has been too often repeated to take Effect.

I have frequently wonder'd to see Men of Probity, who would scorn

to utter a Falshood for their own particular Advantage, give so readily into a Lye, when it becomes the Voice of their Faction, notwithstanding they are thoroughly sensible of it as such. How is it possible for those who are Men of Honour in their Persons, thus to become notorious Lyers in their Party? If we look into the Bottom of this Matter, we may find, I think, three Reasons for it, and at the same Time discover the Insufficiency of these Reasons, to justify so criminal a Practice.

In the first Place, Men are apt to think, that the Guilt of a Lye, and consequently the Punishment, may be very much diminished, if not wholly worn out, by the Multitudes of those who partake in it. Tho' the Weight of a Falshood wou'd be too heavy for one to bear, it grows light in their Imaginations, when it is shared among many. But in this Case, a Man very much deceives himself: Guilt, when it spreads thro' Numbers, is not so properly divided as multiplied; every one is criminal, in Proportion to the Offence which he commits, not to the Number of those who are his Companions in it: Both the Crime and the Penalty, lie as heavy upon every Individual of an offending Multitude, as they would upon any single Person, had none shared with him in the Offence. In a Word, the Division of Guilt, is like that of Matter; tho' it may be separated into infinite Portions, every Portion shall have the whole Essence of Matter in it, and consists of as many Parts, as the whole did before it was divided.

But in the second Place, tho' Multitudes who join in a Lye, cannot exempt themselves from the Guilt, they may from the Shame of it. The Scandal of a Lye, is in a Manner lost and annihilated, when diffused among several Thousands; as a Drop of the blackest Tincture

wears away and vanishes, when mixed and confus'd in a considerable Body of Water; the Blot is still in it, but is not able to discover itself. This is certainly a very great Motive to several Party-Offenders, who avoid Crimes, not as they are prejudicial to their Virtue, but to their Reputation. It is enough to shew the Weakness of this Reason, which palliates Guilt without removing it; that every Man who is influenced by it, declares himself, in effect, an infamous Hypocrite, prefers the Appearance of Virtue, to its Reality, and is determin'd in his Conduct, neither by the Dictates of his own Conscience, the Suggestions of true Honour, nor the Principles of Religion.

The third and last great Motive for Men's joining in a popular Falshood, or, as I have hitherto call'd it, a Party-Lye, notwithstanding they are convinc'd of it as such, is the doing good to a Cause, which every Party may be suppos'd to look upon as the most meritorious. The Unsoundness of this Principle, has been so often expos'd, and is so universally acknowledged, that a Man must be an utter Stranger to the Principles either of natural Religion or Christianity, who suffers himself to be guided by it. If a Man might promote the suppos'd Good of his Country, by the blackest Calumnies and Falshoods, our Nation abounds more in Patriots, than any other of the Christian World. When Pompey was desired not to set sail in a Tempest that would hazard his Life; *It is necessary for me, says he, to sail, but it is not necessary for me to live:* Every Man should say to himself, with the same Spirit, it is my Duty to speak Truth, tho' it is not my Duty to be in an Office. One of the Fathers has carry'd this Point so high, as to declare; *he would not tell a Lye, tho' he were sure to gain Heaven by it.* However extravagant

such a Protestation may appear, every one will own, that a Man may say, very reasonably, *he would not tell a Lye, if he were sure to gain Hell by it;* or, if you have a Mind to soften the Expression, that he would not tell a Lye, to gain any temporal Reward by it, when he should run the Hazard of losing much more than it was possible for him to gain.

Grubstreet Journal, Jan. 20. N^o 369.

Passage of the Penumbral Shadow, in the great Eclipse of the Sun, which will happen on the 18th Day of February next; according to Mr. Wright.

THE Penumbra first takes the Earth in *New Spain (North-America)* near *Cape Higuexas*, 40 Leagues West of *Panama*, where the Moon's lowest Limb will just touch the Sun's upper at his apparent Rising; from whence it will increase and spread itself over all the *Amazon Country*, as also over the *Bay of Mexico, Florida*, and the *Caribbe Isles*, the Inhabitants beholding more or less of the Sun's Body obscured, according as they are situated nearer or farther remote from the Center, which will soon after come upon the Disk just in the Meridian of *Mexico*, Lat. $26^{\circ} 32'$ North; there the Sun will be seen to rise centrally eclipsed, and round the Moon's Body will appear a bright luminous Circle.

N. B. *The same Phenomenon will be to all Places over which the Center passes, but more visible near the Horizon, by reason the Ring of Light decreases as the Sun's Altitude increases, consequently the annular Path will be much broader in America, than over the Atlantic.*

The central Point will direct its Way over *Cape Florida*, and so pass on to the main Ocean, 60 Leagues South of *Bermudas*. In the Latitude $33^{\circ} 12'$ and Longitude 54° West

from London the Eclipse will fall exactly in the nonagesimal Degree; and not far from thence in Latitude $35^{\circ} 6'$ North, and Longitude $51^{\circ} 18'$ West, the Center of the Penumbra happens to be at the Middle of the general Eclipse; both which Places are in the vast *Atlantic* Ocean, betwixt the Western Isles and those of *Babama*.

In the same Sea 8° more Easterly, and $4^{\circ} 10'$ more North, *i. e.* of the last Place (*viz.*) betwixt the *Acoves*, and the Land of *Acadia*, the central Eclipse will transit the Meridian; at length the Center of the Penumbra Shadow arrives in *Ireland*, and passes over that Kingdom betwixt *Londonderry* and *Armagh*; thence continuing its course North-eastward, will directly pass over the City of *Edinburgh*. The Moon being then near the Horizon; the Shadow will only pass over the North-sea into *Sweden*, and there the Center will go off from the Earth nearly in the Middle betwixt *Stockholm* and *Gotsholm*; to them the Sun will set centrally obscured with a bright shining Ring, like that at the Rising in *America*. Lastly, on the North Coast of the Mediterranean Sea, 10 Leagues East of *Barcelona*, having overrun all *Europe*, the North Parts of *Africa*, and Part of *Asia*, the Penumbra entirely leaves the Earth, and the general Eclipse ends with the setting Sun. The Velocity of the Shadow in *America* 50 Miles, over the *Atlantic* 30, in *Europe* 70, and near the Horizon 100 Miles in a Minute. The mean Velocity 39, and Distance in the Path 2200 Leagues. Mean annular Duration 4 Minutes.

* *Mr. Weaver says, That the Centre of annular Appearance is so far from traversing the North of Scotland, or even Edinburgh, that it passeth over Ireland, about Traam, Longford and Down; passeth Carlisle and Alnewick in England; the North Limit of annular Appearance passing by Binterpad in the Isle of Ile, and Newburg in Scotland; its South Limit traversing Kinsale in Ireland, Nantwich and Borton in England. At London I expect the Digit will be about 10, or perhaps a small matter more.*

Crossman, Jan. 22. N^o 554.

Of the late Proceedings of the Charitable Corporation. (See Vol. 6. p. 379, 380, 519) (A.)

Mr. D'Avers,

HAVING had the Misfortune to be a Proprietor and considerable Sufferer in the Charitable Corporation, I beg the Favour of you, for a particular Reason, to refresh the People's Memory a little, at this Time, with those infamous Transactions; which I will state to you as briefly as I can from the several Reports of the House of Commons, and the Acts of Parliament made upon them.

It there appears that the net Loss to the unhappy Proprietors (many of whom were Widows, Orphans, young Women and other Persons of small Fortunes) was no less than 453,745*l.* *i. e.* 9*l.*, except what may be recover'd of the Effects of *George Robinson* and *John Thomson*, and the Securities of the Officers. It is impossible to conceive how so vast a Sum could be embezzled without some Practices, which have not been yet brought to Light. There must certainly be something more in it than meer Neglect of Duty; for it appears by a Resolution of the House of Commons, *Nem. con.* That many notorious Breaches of Trust have been committed, and many indirect and fraudulent Practices carried on, for some Years past, by Persons concern'd in the Direction and Management of the Charitable Corporation. It is laid to their Charge, by the same Authority, that prodigious Sums of

Money were embowled by Means of *fictitious* Pledges; that the same Persons, not being content with trading in Shares; obtaining new Licences from the Crown, for the Augmentation of their Capital, without the Consent of the Proprietors; and concealing those Licences, till they had bought up all the Shares, which came to Market; but having exhausted all the Corporation's Cash, for these and other Purposes, they borrow'd Money upon Notes and Bonds, to a very great Sum, contrary to their Charter, which they left the strict Proprietors to pay, as far as they were able; for they have been oblig'd to compound with their Creditors, and have actually paid them 4 s. in the Pound already, besides contracting to pay them a fourth Part of what they shall hereafter recover,

To keep up the Value of the Shares, and sell out their own at exorbitant Prices, the said Managers are accus'd of acquainting several General Courts, call'd for dealing Dividends, that they had cast up the Books, examin'd the Accounts, and consider'd their Profits, without having ever suspected the Warehouse, to see whether they had any Pledges for the several large Sums of Money lent, and sometimes without having seen any Account whatsoever; in order to induce the general Courts to make large Dividends; which is likewise declared, by a Resolution of the House of Commons, to be an infamous Contrivance.

The Legislature was so thoroughly convinc'd of the perfidious Conduct of these Men, that some of them, who were Members of the House of Commons, were expell'd; another was sent to the Fleet; one of their Agents was committed to Newgate; four of the Directors, besides two of their Agents, were oblig'd to give in an Inventory of their Estates, with a Security not to depart the Kingdom for a Year; and, lastly, an humble Address was presented to his Majesty by the

House of Commons, that he would be graciously pleas'd to direct his Attorney-General to prosecute several of them, in the most effectual Manner, for the indirect and fraudulent Practices committed by them; which Prosecution is accordingly now carrying on.

The Design of the Legislature, in obliging the Directors and others to give in an Inventory of their Estates; and restraining them from going out of the Kingdom, under no less a Penalty than Felony, appears by the Preamble to the Act made for that Purpose viz. That they might be answerable for the fraudulent and indirect Practices, with which they stand charg'd, and the very great Losses occasion'd thereby to the Proprietors. And the Resolution of the House of Commons, upon which this Act was founded, expressly says, that they ought to make a just Satisfaction for the same.

I think it evident from hence, that the Intention of the Legislature, at that Time, was to make these Plunderers answerable for the Losses of the Proprietors, out of their own Estates, like the S. S. Directors. But nothing of this Kind was done the ensuing Session, as it was generally expected, nor ever since. What was the Reason of this, it may not be proper for me to explain.

The Parliament, indeed, in Compassion to the unhappy Sufferers, was pleas'd to grant them a Lottery; out of the Profits of which all the Proprietors and Creditors, who swore themselves not worth above 5000 £ have received a Relief of 9 s. 9 d. in the Pound; the Shares of the Proprietors being valued at 5 l. tho' most of them cost 6 l. and upwards. But as many of the Proprietors could not intitle themselves to any Part of that Relief, tho' very great Sufferers, and some of them having large Families, they resolv'd, upon the Advice of eminent Council, to file a Bill in Chancery against the Authors of their

Misfortunes; and the other Proprietors concurr'd with them in it.

The late Managers and their Friends opposed this Resolution in the General Court; but tho' there was a very great Majority against them, they demanded a Ballot, and some of them insisted in a menacing Manner upon voting in their own Case; which was justly refused; and, upon casting up the Votes, they had the Mortification to find 394 for the Prosecution, and only 77 against it.

The Corporation had afterwards the Satisfaction to see their Conduct, in refusing those Persons to vote in the Ballot, approved of by the Court of King's Bench, who had been moved against them.

It would be endless to explain the many Artifices since used to distress this unhappy Company. But I have the Pleasure to inform you, Mr. D'Anvers, that all these Attempts have likewise miscarried; and that the Corporation is not only possess'd of a sufficient Sum to answer all their present Demands, but have likewise a Certainty of receiving a great Deal more.

Some Gentlemen are so well apprized of this Truth, that they have but two Shifts left. One is, to create a Division between the Corporation and their Creditors, who are jointly concern'd in Interest with each other; and therefore if any Persons, under Pretence of serving the Creditors, should endeavour to foment any such Misunderstandings, they ought to be look'd upon as Friends to the late Managers, rather than to either the Creditors, or the Proprietors in general. The other Method is to dispose of their Shares amongst their own Creatures, in order to procure a Majority in some future General Courts; and as this cannot be brought about, without opening the Books, I make no doubt that they will labour it, with all their Might, at the next General Court, having already made

clandestine Applications to several of the Proprietors upon this Subject. It is therefore hoped that all Persons, who have been so greatly injured in their Properties, and have any Regard for common Justice, or their own Interest and Honour, will not only give their Attendance, but likewise zealously oppose any such Attempts, or Proposal of the like Nature.

I cannot recommend this, in a stronger Manner, to the Proprietors, than by observing that opening the Books, at this Juncture, will put it in the Power of any Man, who pays but a meer Trifle for his Shares, or more likely nothing at all, to dispose of the Property of those, who have lost Thousands in this Corporation; and it will be almost ridiculous in the Proprietors to be drawn into such a Scheme, the natural Effect of which is to stop the Course of Justice, at a Time when the Point in Dispute is drawing so near to an Hearing, being set down for Easter-Term next.

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

A PROPRIETOR.

§. Remarks on a late Gazetteer.

MEN, who write for a Minister, ought to be endow'd at least with common Discretion, whatever their political, moral, or religious Principles may be; and yet nothing is so remarkably deficient in those, who are retain'd in that Service at present. They seem to think that they have nothing else to do, but to abuse, bespatter, and call Names without considering Times and Seasons, or the Persons, at whom they throw their Stinkpots.

We had a signal Instance of this in the Gazetteer of the 13th Instant, which contains a stupid, and insolent Libel upon the City of London. Not only the four worthy Members are mark'd out in the most scandalous Colours, but the whole Body of Merchants and Traders are represented as

a Parcel of *Knaves, Fools and Madmen*, who ought to be sent to *Newgate, or Bedlam*. But; for God's sake, what hath the *City* done, of late, to deserve such Usage? Have they raised any Disturbances, or been guilty of any undutiful Behaviour, during his Majesty's long Absence, and amidst the most general Want of Trade, that was ever felt before in this *Metropolis*? On the contrary, have they not in a publick Manner, and with all the Circumstances of the highest Respect, presented his Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, with the Freedom of the City; which his Royal Highness was pleased to accept, with his natural Generosity of Temper, as a new Mark of their Duty to the King, and Affection to himself? (See Vol. V. p. 699.)

The Author of this Paper seems to be highly delighted with the Concoct of a new College in *Moorfields*, for the Reception of decay'd and distressed Politicians; and, perhaps, his Patron may not be sorry to hear of such a Foundation himself. But I would advise him not to let his Advocates run quite so riot against the Citizens of London, at this Juncture; because it may possibly put them in Mind of his own Language towards them, some Years ago; and induce them to suspect that a Man, who was capable of calling them *sturdy Beggars* himself, might not be ashamed to order his little Hirelings to bestow the Appellations of *Knaves, Fools and Madmen* upon them. I think it would be likewise proper, for a particular Reason, to restrain them from throwing out any Reflections against *Stockjobbing*, and raising immense Fortunes in *Exchange-Alley*.

CAL. D'ANVERS.

Fog's Journal, Jan. 22. N^o 428.

Of the Spanish Etiquette, or Ceremonial of the Palace, &c.

BEFORE Philip V. the Kings of Spain were Slaves to their

Grandeur. They kept with the utmost Rigour to a certain Regulation, call'd the *Etiquette*; it contain'd all the Ceremonies they were obliged to observe, as the Habits they wore, and those for their Queens; the Days for going to the Royal Houses, the Time of staying at the several Palaces, the King's going in Procession, and also his taking the Air or going abroad; even the Hour of their Majesties going to Bed, and the Time of their rising; the Presents the King is to make to his Mistress, and how they were to be dealt with when a happy Rival happened to displace any of them, &c. Nay it has been said, that a certain Number of Days were mark'd down, when the Monarch must not lie with his Queen. We are told our King Charles II. met with the like Provocation from the Presbyterians of Scotland, when he put himself into their Hands; they moreover brought him to do certain Penance, and to hear 4 Sermons in a Day; but this strict Discipline is pretty much worn off, the Kirk Treasurers by Licence from the pious Pastors can grant Indulgencies at a Price certain, and do no hurt to the good old Cause.

The *Etiquette*, however, was yet a greater Check to the Liberty of the Queen Consorts, for they were often forbid Things the most innocent. The Dutchess de *Terra Nova*, who was *Camerara Major* to the Wife of Charles II. of Spain, told her Majesty plainly, that the Queens of Spain must not look out of a Window of the Palace.

There happen'd to this Princess an Adventure, which by the Formalities of the *Etiquette*, had like to have cost her her Life. She was very fond of riding, and several fine Horses having been brought her, she had a Mind to try one of them; but she had no sooner mounted when the proud Steed began to prance, and at length threw the Royal Rider off,

and what was worse her Majesty's Foot hitch'd in the Stirrup, and the Horse dragg'd her along to the utmost Peril of her Life. All the Court were Spectators of this Accident; but no body succour'd her; the *Esquires* formally oppos'd it, for it forbid any Man whatsoever, on pain of Death, to touch the Queen of Spain, and more especially her Foot. Charles II. who had great Love for his Queen, and who from a Balcony saw the Danger she was in, cry'd out vehemently; but the Custom was inviolable, and the *un-machable* Foot restrain'd the grave *Spaniards* from intermeddling in so delicate an Affair. At length two brisk Cavaliers resolv'd to hazard all in spite of the Law of the Queen's Feet, *La Lei del Pie por la Reina*. One seiz'd the Bridle, and the other hid hold of the Queen's Foot, and took it out of the Stirrup. When this was done they took the Advantage of the Confusion this Accident occasioned, and without stopping went Home, got their Horses saddle'd, and fled from the Punishment they had incurr'd for daring to offend against so strict and so august a Custom.

The Queen recovering from her Sights, desired to see her two Deliverers. A young Lord, their Friend, told her they were obliged to fly the Country to avoid the Punishment they had merited. The Queen, who was a French Woman, and knew nothing of the Prerogative of her Heel, and probably without this Fall had ever remained ignorant of it, imagin'd it a very impertinent Custom that must punish Men for saving her Life. In short she easily obtain'd their Pardon from the King her Husband, honour'd them with a handsome Present, and granted them her Protection.

One very surprizing Thing is, that notwithstanding the Severity of the *Esquette*, it was a common Custom at Court, before the Reign of

Philip V. for the young Lords to galleat the Queen's Maids of Honour, which was done by walking under their Windows, and by entreating them in dumb Shews with their Fingers. The Spanish Nobility are come off from these ridiculous Impertinencies which they consecrate under the Name of, the Ceremonial of the Palace, but would as readily take them up again, as they quitted them, were it not for the great Number of Foreigners, such as *French*, *Italian* and *Flemish*, with which that Court is crowded, and tho' they seem near to imitate the *French* more than any other, yet the Leaven of Spanish Gravity still subsists. They once carried their Hatred to an Excess against France. Charles II. order'd the Necks of two Parrots belonging to his Queen to be twisted off; because they could speak nothing but *French*. And when he came into her Apartment where he found two little Dogs which she was very fond of, he cry'd, *Fuera! fuera! Perros Franceses*, &c. get out you French Dogs.

All Europe once imagin'd, that the Genius of the House of Bourbon would succumb under the House of Austria, and who could have thought otherwise in the Reign of Charles V. almost Master of all Europe? But was he to return again to the World, how great would be his Surprise? He would justly ask, *What is become of my Kingdom of Spain? It would be answer'd, that it was possess'd by a Prince of the House of Bourbon. And Franche Comte (the Monarch would continue) my favourite Province? The French have taken it, they would tell him; also Alsace, a Part of Hainaut and Flanders. And the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, this Prince would reply, what is become of them? They would answer again, they belong to a Prince of the House of Bourbon; and besides these Losses which your Descendants have suffer'd, Holland and six other Provinces became*

Republicks soon after your Death. The Case being thus, Charles V. would say, I see that my Descendants no longer subsist. Yes, it would be reply'd, they have as valuable Possessions as ever; your Successors are Masters of Tuscany, the Dutchie of Parma, Plaisance and Milan; and instead of Spain, that you separated in some Measure from your other Estates in dividing your Inheritance, they have all Hungary, Transylvania, and a Part of Walachia, These Kingdoms which border upon each other, and lie contiguous to Austria, including Bohemia, Silesia and Moravia, from out of the most magnificent States in the World, and of equal Value with all the dispers'd Countries you left behind you.

Grubstreak Journal, Jan. 27. N^o 370.

A WRITER in this Paper considers the Methods that have been propos'd for preventing the excessive drinking of Spirituous Liquors, and shews the Inconveniences of most of them. He approves of laying such a Duty on all home-distill'd Liquors, as might make them as dear as foreign Brandy and Rum; but as a more effectual Remedy, he proposes a Method of his own, as follows; That Retailers be prohibited under a severe Penalty from selling or delivering any Quantity of Spirituous Liquors to either Women or Children, and from suffering any Man to sit down or stay longer in their Shops than he was drinking a Dram. This Regulation, (says he) is all Probability, would of itself put a Stop to the Evil, at least in a sufficient Degree, even supposing there was no Duty at all laid on such Liquors.

For first, by restraining Retailers from selling to either Women or Children, not only a Stop will be put to the Evil so far among the Vulgar; but an Evil of far worse Consequence to the Publick, and

which the Act does not provide against, would be suppressed; I meant the Abuse of Spirituous Liquors in Families of good Condition.

Secondly, by Retailers not suffering the Men to sit down in their Shops, or stay any longer than while they are drinking a Dram, all Assembling and Loitering in Gin-Shops would be prevented; to which the Evil complained of is perhaps as much owing, as to the Cheapness of the Liquor; for there they meet and encourage one another to drink, often spending their Time from Morning till Night. In short, prevent idle People from assembling, and you in a great Measure remove the Evil.

Such a Regulation in all Probability would have a good Effect; and I am told; that by this Method alone; the Abuse of Spirituous Liquors is prevented in *Holland*; altho' they are much better and cheaper there than here,

Craftsman, Jan. 29. N^o 552.

The Government of SWEDEN: In a Letter from a Sailor.

A LL Writers agree that *Sweden* was antiently not only a free Country, but an elective Kingdom; and even when the Succession was made hereditary, in the Family of *Gustavus Erickson*, (about the Middle of the 15th Century) the Fundamentals of their Constitution still remain'd, and were not totally destroy'd; till *Charles XI.* found Means to make himself absolute, by sowing Dissensions amongst the Members of the Diet, or what we call the Parliament.

The Death of his Son *Charles XII.* proved fatal to the Sovereignty, as arbitrary Power is there call'd, and was immediately follow'd with the Restoration of their Liberties; for the *Swedes*, grown wise by Experience and a long Series of Distresses, resolv'd to assert their antient Rights, and

and would not admit his Sister, the present Queen of Sweden, to the Throne, without a solemn Renunciation of all Claim by *hereditary Right*, and the Exercise of any Kind of *despotick or absolute Government*: A *solemn Instrument* was immediately drawn up and sign'd, for restraining the *Regal Power*, and confirming the *People's Liberties*; which was soon after renew'd, or rather made more extensive, upon the Accession of the present King, by the Resignation of his *generous Consort*.

But nothing tended to establish this *new Government*, upon a popular Foundation, more than inflicting exemplary Punishment upon *Baron de Goorts*, the *Prime Minister* of the former Reign, who had render'd himself universally odious, by his cruel Oppressions, and infamous Projects to fleece the People.

By the *Instrument of Government* before-mention'd, the Authority of the *Diet*, which had been abolish'd by *Charles XI.* was restored and confirm'd. The *Diet* there consists of 4 *Houses*. The *House of Nobles*; which is compos'd of the *lower Nobility*, (who are no more than *Knights*, or *Gentlemen of Distinction*, amongst us) the *Barons and Counts*; there being no higher Dignity in Sweden. The *second House* is that of the *Clergy*. The *third* consists of the *trading Part of the Nation*; to which every *Town and City* sends a Representative of the *Magistracy* and of the *Tradesmen*. The *fourth* is compos'd of the *Farmers*, or the *Deputies*, whom the *Peasants* send from their several Counties and Provinces. There is a *new Election of Members* at every Meeting of the *Diet*.

These 4 *Houses* meet sometimes to deliberate jointly upon the *common Good of the Nation*; and sometimes every *House* deliberates separately upon their own particular Interest, or the Proposals made to them by the *King*, or the *other Houses*. *Three Houses* always carry the Point in Question;

but if they happen to be equally divided, the 4 *Houses* appoint certain *Deputies* out of their respective Bodies to determine it. The *King* and the *Senate* cannot resolve upon *War*, or *Peace*, nor impose any *new Taxes*, nor do any Thing else of great Importance, without the Approbation of the *States*: Nay, the *Senate* is answerable to the *States* for their Proceedings.

The *Senate* consists, as I have been inform'd, of about 30 *Members*, who are chosen out of the most eminent *Generals*, *Governors of Provinces*, and *Presidents of Councils*. At the Head of them is the *High Chancellor of the Kingdom*, who at the same Time is *President of the Chancery*; and *first Minister*. The whole *Senate* meets, at certain Times, in order to take proper Measures for the Welfare of the Country in general; and sometimes the *Senate* is divided into several Classes, call'd *Expeditions*. The *King* cannot dispose of any Place under the Government, without the Advice of a certain Number of these *Senators*. Much less can he take from any Man his Place, or *Commission*, without the Consent of the *Senators*, who must be ready to answer for it before the *Diet*, if the Person concern'd can prove himself in any wise wrong'd.

Thus is the *King* bound by the *Senate*, and the *Senate* by the *Diet*. I could recite a great many Advantages attending this *Plan of Government*; by which the *King* is intrusted with Power enough to make his People happy, but too much circumscrib'd to intrude upon their Liberties, either directly or by his *Ministers*.

It must be confess'd that the *Swedes* still want two very great Privileges, which we enjoy at present; I mean the *Liberty of Conscience*, and of the *Press*. The first is owing to their inviolable Attachment to the *Confession of Augsburg*, which they have oblig'd their present *Sovereign*, in the most solemn Manner, to maintain, tho' he was formerly of a different Persuasion himself. As to the *Liberty of the Press*, I never heard that it was ever claim'd in Sweden, especially at the *last Revolution*, any more than it was at our *Revolution* in 1688; for there is not one Word, in the *Bill of Rights*, about the *Liberty of the Press*, as you have formerly observ'd; and the *Decree of 1701* would have been revived, some Years afterwards, had it not been for the prudent Vigilance of some worthy Patriots in the *House of Commons*; for, if I do not mistake, it actually pass'd the *House of Lords*.—But if the People of Sweden should ever obtain these two Privileges, I don't know in what other Points of *Liberty* we can boast of any Advantage over them.

OF FAME; An ODE.

I.

LO! on yon promontory's pendant brow
That threats the shadow'd gulph below,
In the dusk air sublimes,
Fame spreads her hazy pistons wide,
Distaining B——'s fuggish clime!
And, in a moment's flight,
Determines to alight
On knoghty Gess's more formidable side.
Sory, goddess! I conjure thee, stay!
And e'er irrevocably fear'd away,
Thy piercing trumpet apply!
And pour to vehement a blast,
As shall alarm earth, sea, and sky,
Awake the present age, and echo to the last.

2.

She hears the *Ades's* call,
And, with obedient breath,
Inspires the mystick strain!
Hark! hark! the swelling sound
Tumults the air around;
Rouses the sleeping main,
Shakes earth's somnolent bound,
Flutes the course of the ball,
And, almost, wakes death.
Again! again the rattling peal renew!
Make courtly deafness hear!
Make giddy tyrants fear
The swine, close their bloody steps pursue!
Again! again it vibrates, loud
As thunder from a bursting cloud,
The distant *Engliss* catch the fierce alarm,
And, str'd with martial flame,
Luxurians *Perfous* arm, [name.
And, nobby, emulate the *Grack*, and *Roman*.

3.

But death to honest eyes!
B——'s genius, sumbring, lies
Eminentely soft, on carpets spread!
Dumb to the honourable sound,
That awes the world around;
Numm'd with ignominious peace,
Enervated with sloth, and ease,
And, to all sense of fame, and virtue dead!
Her useless shield is bur'd a side,
And her dishonour'd lance,
The terror once of *France*!
Disinful *Capit's* wantonly bestride.
Her idle hands
Are link'd with golden bands;
The victor-laurel too
Falls wither'd from her brow,
And in its stead, farsstick *banour* ties
A me-wench: Emblem of a victim doom'd
for sacrifice!

4.

O where are all her ancient *braves* flown?
Her *fancture* of high renown;

Her patriots such as dar'd withstand
The force almighty of corrupting gold,
Make proud *oppression* quit her greedy hold,
And, from the jaws of ruin snatch their na-
tive land?

Alas! the monumental bust
That guards their awful dust,
And the *hystorian's* faithful page,
Are the sole relics of that nobler age!
Unless, then, goddess! thy awak'ning strain
Can rouse th' impartial dead again,
Give, give thy fruitless labour o'er,
And quit for ever the degenerate shore!
For where all vices make their joint abode,
Fame's to be fear'd as heaven's *Everest* rod,
And cloud-begot *adivines* worshipp'd as a god.

A LAMPSON on the OXFORD-TOASTS.

THE friendly muse long since by rage in-
spir'd
With kind revenge a * *Strephon's* passion fir'd;
Each fav'rite vice, each foible of the fair,
Check'd by his pen, was taught to disappear.
No more durst † *Bell* her yielding charms dis-
play,
Nor *Mars* meet *Venus* in the milky way:
No more could *Martus's* shady walk invade
Forbidden lovers to the joys of night.
The nymphs then conscious of the faults he
drew,
With blushing cheeks confess the post true.
But now each kind reproof forbidden dies,
In each affected the new follies rise.
Awkwardly gay, impertinently loud,
In fancy'd charms, in imitation proud,
‡ *Vinissa*, where the faded pattern leads,
Observant of *Belinda's* paces tread:
Like her she thinks she reigns the first of toasts,
Like her of § knight, and hop'd for titles boasts.
But oh! beware from this example shewn,
To make *Belinda's* miseries your own.
Fond of patrician blood, and proud of place,
In vain she dy'd her hair, she stain'd her face,
And edg'd each arrow at his idol'd grace,
Her charms possess the wand'rer fled away,
Quitting the rifed fair to ¶ groom a prey.
Thus *Abigail's* enjoy'd are left forsaken,
The chaplain's fee to save his lordship's bacon,
Cautious of future ills from her beware
To let ambition be your only care;
Confine your views to good mamma's design;
You've charms enough to recommend your
wine, [out your sign;
And she may spare her bush while you hang
So from each window *Bacchus's* sons shall gaze,
And the throng'd bar shall manifest your praise;
With your own wine inflam'd some future
got
Shall deign perhaps to tie the marriage knot,
And take the fortune you from him have got.

* *Antony* † *Bel. Tyr.* ‡ *Miss F——*, an Inn-keeper's Daughter. § *Sir*
H—— — ‖ *Mr. K——*, Groom to Lord *Ab——*.

Thus to the heroine of the *British* stage,
(The stale remains of pride, of lust and age)
Practis'd in wiles and skilful to betray,
Th' enamour'd soldier fell an easy prey; [slave,
Enrich'd with spoils the triumph'd o'er the
Then bought the cully with the wealth he gave.

Reverte to her * *Reſtoria* next appears,
Distant in beauty as advanc'd in years.
The father's stiffness in the daughter's seen,
Each dully grave, each fullenly serene,
The type of wisdom she, with bearded chin,
Twice fifteen suns have travell'd o'er her head,
As many winters chill'd the frozen maid,
To ev'ry passion but to envy dead.
Hence the fond victim to her fiſter's charms
Instigates her malice, and her spleen alarms.
Oh! like † *Aulinda* could but *Kitty* rove;
The am'rous nymph would waste each hour in
love.

Aulinda, happy vagabond! in thee
We see the sad effects of female liberty.
Obsequious to the call of powder'd fops
She reigns the hackney queen of distant hopes.
Happ'd up in tumbrell with a brace of beaux,
To neig'ring towns the gadding stroller goes:
Within the coach what accidents befall
The willing fair, the muse forbears to tell;
And fears two beaux combin'd might tempt
a single bell.

By † *Iris* falsehood warn'd, and broken vows,
§ *Anna* more cautiously herself bestows; (kiss,
Her dawning charms th' *Hibernian* knight con-
The maiden passion of his am'rous breast:
Seduc'd by love the hopes of her design,
He fram'd the maid all beauteous, all divine;
Imagination he desires improv'd,
And as he little knew, he greatly lov'd,
Proud of the noble conquest, but afraid
To lose so rich a prize, the ready maid
Hex fond, her foolish forwardness betray'd.
To coming kind she meets the youth's desires,
Prevents his wish, and burns with mutual fire.
Her cheapness quickly cool'd the lover's flame,
The more he knew, the less he lov'd the dame:
A heart so ready got, the beau despis'd,
(Favours when hardly gain'd themselves are pris'd)
Gorg'd with her love to native dogs returns,
Pleas'd, while poor *Anna* disappointed mourns:
Like false, ungrateful, perjur'd *Thesus* he;
Like fond, forsaken *Ariadne* she.
E'er since, her past misconduct to redeem,
The haughty damsel errs in the extrem;
Stiff in reserve, and obstinately proud,
She keeps at distance the deluded crowd,
Shy of access; for to her grief she knows
Bad paintings closely view'd their faults disclose,
Till each first fool discourag'd by disdain
Resumes his freedom, and forgets his chain.
Unhappy nymph! who either kind or coy,
Or chills the lover's flame, or glut his joy.

From each top pattern of contagious vice
Unnumber'd vulgar follies take their rise:
Far, far behind these chieftains first in view
Miss † *Firkis* marshals up the tatter'd crew.
Mamma's indulgent fondness to the child
With early vanity the darling spoil'd:
The clumsy thing dish'd up in tawdry silk,
Betrays the pride she suck'd from mother's
milk;

Vainly affects with imitating pen
Romantick *Manly*, or lascivious *Bebu*:
But distant far from each poetick dame,
She knows no other but their lustful flame.
Infatuated ** *Tubal* falls before
Her fancy'd charms, and owns the conqueror's
power.

Gratis he taught the maid his tuneful art,
To move the passions, and engage the heart;
With false endowments, and alluring smiles,
The cunning jilt his growing hopes beguiles:
Soon as instructed scorns the am'rous fool,
And having serv'd her end, discards the tool.
Think not these falsehoods will unpass'd'd lie,
Ingratitude's a guilt of deepest dye;
Vengeance will follow, and expect to prove,
A wretch condemn'd to prostituted love;
Despis'd by all at auction you shall stand,
A profer'd bargain to the richest hand,
Retuc'd at length your livelihood to gain,
You'll live the refuse of a *Drury-lane*.

We might expect fanatick zeal would prove
A mound to stop th' impetuous tides of love,
That rigid sanctity would starve the flame,
But lust in all religions is the same.
Youthful †† *Andira* regular repairs
To canting preacher, and schismatick prayers:
With eyes uplift, and such devout grimace,
A sobbing bosom, a distressed face,
With hollow groans, hands reverently join'd,
The wanton hypocrite belies her mind.
The solemn farce of sanctity but play'd,
Th' appointed youth enjoys the longing maid.
How can the pastor then be said to keep
Secure from rav'nish wolves his wand'ring
sheep,

Whole fav'rite lambs allow'd to go astray,
To prowl wolves unguarded fall a prey?
With throat of brass with thousand tongues
tho' loud,

In vain the mass would try to paint the crowd:
C--t--r and B--n--f--d with the num'rous train
Of B--k--s, of B--b--ps, H--m--g, F--m--s, P--n,
Of many more too tedious to rehearse,
Beyond the poet's bounds would swell the verse.

THE COMMITTEE.

A Committee of State of the *Balls* of the
town,
Was call'd to pass sentence upon a lampoon:

* Miss *K. W.* † Miss *H.* †† Sir *E. O. B.* § Miss *B. K. S.*
|| *Molly J.*, a Cooper's Daughter. ** Mr. *G. D. S.*, Organist of *St. George's*. †† Miss
A. D. S., a Quaker.

For pinky female-coquettes arose,
Some cleas'd their beauty, and others their
clothes; [beaux.]

Some bragg'd of their sense but more of their
Rashness; some forth their disputes to assuage,
And claim'd the first place by right of her age;
Then solemnly plac'd herself in the chair,
And thus mov'd her sage chin in harangue to
the fair:

' A hiel you've heard of, good ladies, of late
' Ginit me, and yourselves, and that wan-
ton girl *Kate*.

A hiel in which spleen, abuse and ill-nature:
Speak the wit of the bard, and the sting of the
satyr.

An impudent fellow to tell all these lyes;
O!s my life, if I knew him, I'd tear out his
eyes.

Pray have I any heard?—not a hiel to be seen;
Yet to hear this defamer! — it gives me the
spleen:

And how formal forever my father appears,
His stiffness proceeds but from gout, and from
years;

Our family know he's as fond and as free,
As any old father can possibly be;
For he kisses mamma, my sister and me.

Miss *Kitty* 'in true, not content with his kisses,
More willingly chuses a lover's caresses;
But tho' to the window so often she goes,
I'll guard the young mixx from the danger of
beaux:

She shall ne'er be careles'd, lest the giddy young
Should meet with the top that scribbled the satyr:
And since he has doom'd me to die an old maid,
May I lead him below as apes there are led.

Kitty fair would have spoke, but *Vinissa* in
haste,

(And *Vinissa* you know has a tongue of the best)
' Sure never were beauties so foully bely'd,
' Our resentment is just,' with anger reply'd;

' To secure your revenge let the task but be
' mine, [sign]

' Each answer I'm sure will promote my de-
' With deadliest poison to venom his wine.'

Big with wrath and oration *Belinda* arose,
She bridled her chin, and she knitted her brows,

Resentment and passion glow'd strong in her
face,

She flirted her fan, then open'd the cast:
' Oh! did I but know this saucy paltroun,
' In defiance to beauty who wrote this lampoon,
' My coachman should flog him, my poet
' shou'd write,

And were there occasion my nobleman fight;
Nay by strength of the law I'd punish the wag,
For my father has told me 'tis scandalum magis;

' If the poet refuses, mis' *Anna* reply'd,
' I've a pretty young bauble that hangs by my
' side,

' Who nicely observes ev'ry mode of the town,
' Can dress up a head, or pin up a gown;
' The first at each publick ball to be seen,
' Can trip *Scaramouch*, or dance *Harlequin*;

' Young *Freddy*, you know him, who smells
' of pulvil, [them that will,
' Tho' he can't write himself he shall treat
' With rack-punch and claret, no cost shall be
' spar'd,

' But in his own way I'll punish the bard.
' I beg,' says *Vinissa*, ' if that's your design,
' You'll propose my mamma, to sell him his
' wine.'

Their judgments thus pass'd each splenetick she
With a dram of good *Nantx* corrected her tea.

M. W.

TOBACCO: A Poem.

ALL thought inspiring Plant! thou balm
of life,

Well might thy worth engage a nation's strife;
Thou sweet amusement of both old and young,
Say, why remain thy healing powers unused?
Exhaustless fountain of *Britannia's* wealth,

Thou friend to wisdom, and thou source of
health;

At morn and night, thy kindly influence shed,
And o'er the mind delightful quiet spread.
Thou mak'st the passions due obedience
know,

And regular the swift ideas flow;
The mighty *Raleigh* †, first thy virtue taught,
And prov'd himself thy generous aid to thought.

Calm'd

* A Lawyer. † Sir *Walter Raleigh* was one of the greatest Men of his Time, of uncommon Abilities; which recommended him to the Esteem of *Q. Elizabeth*, who sent him, in 1584, on a Voyage to *America*, from whence he brought over *Tobacco*, and in that Year he discovered *Wyngandocca*, since called *Virginia*, in Honour of his Royal Mistress, that renowned *Virgin Queen*, who for this, and other glorious Actions, deservedly conferred on him the Honour of Knighthood, of whom *Camden* says, *Vir erat nunquam satis laudato studio & Regibus remota detegendi & novalem Angliæ gloriam promovendi*. His Motto was *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio*, which he made good; for Authors have been perplex'd under what Character they should place him; whether the Statesman, the Soldier, the Seaman, the Chymist, or the Chronologer; in all which he excell'd.

This great and worthy Man was, soon after *K. James I's* Accession to the Throne, condemned for High Treason, at *Winton*, Nov. 27, 1603, upon an unprecedented Evidence, viz. the Lord *Cobham's* Accusation, who was himself convicted of what Sir *Walter* was impeach'd, and whom Sir *Walter* desir'd might in propria Persona appear in Court, which was denied, tho' he was hard by, and had retracted his former Accusation, by a Letter of his own Hand-writing, which justified Sir *Walter's* Innocency, and was produced in Court at the Trial.

Calm'd by thy pow'r; --- his mind through
ages run,
And shew'd how men and manners first begun;
Desy'd affliction's most tormenting weight,
And view'd serene, th'impending stroke of fate;
With thee shall live for ever *Rahigb's* name,
Nor thou the least of his immortal fame.

How wide! how vast, is since thy empire
grown!

Is there a land that's to thy fame unknown?
To either sex thy generous power extends,
Damon and *Celia* are alike thy friends;
At *Celia's* toilet dost thou claim a right?
The nymph so fam'd for teeth, like ivory
white,

For breath more fragrant than the vernal air,
Blest with thy aid, makes every swain despair;
Where then shall *Damon* seek to ease his pain,
To sooth his sorrows, or his hope sustain?
Where but to thee?—thy balmy pow'r he takes,
The grateful fumes in spiry columns rise;
Thou calm'st the swellings of his tortur'd mind,
And passion stands by reason's rules confin'd;
Or thy ascending incense *Phœbus* moves, [loves.
Who warms the bard to win the nymph he

In every climate thy benefits we view,
Thou nobler treasure than the fam'd *Pera*.
Thou friend to all, unmindful of degree,
The prince and peasant joy alike in thee;
Sagacious states-men thy delight confess,
And labouring hinds thy cordial comforts bless,
Fearless of ill:—disease before thee flies,
And dire contagion in thy presence dies.

How chang'd the men! who plac'd their
hopes in thee,

Once exil'd sons of want and misery;
Around each chief, now wait a num'rous band
Of vassals subject to his high command;
See, like a private prince, he rules in peace,
Yet small his portion of thy bliss increase:
See countless sails swell o'er the labouring main,
What sons of *Neptune* do their wombs contain!

Osborn says, That several of the Jury, after he was cast, were so far touch'd in Conscience, as to ask his Pardon on their Knees. The King of *Denmark*, at both Times he was in *England*, the *Queen*, and the Prince of *Wales* (being satisfied of his Innocency) moved on his behalf; nay, *K. James* thought him too innocent to lose his Life, but too great a Malecontent to have his Freedom; for he had with Sir *John Fortescue*, the Lord *Cobham*, and others, endeavour'd to limit the Number of the *North Britons*, before that King came to the Crown. However, his Punishment was for 14 Years to be confin'd a Prisoner of State in the *Tower*, and there permitted to enjoy *Libera Custodia*; where he was delivered of that great *Minerva*; *The History of the World*, beginning from the first Ages.

Alas! I could wish for the Honour of *England*, that his Death was eras'd out of our Annals; but so it was, this renowned Patriot, about 80 Years of Age, after having spent his Fortunes against the *Spaniard* (above 40,000 Crowns) fell a Sacrifice to the *Spanish Faction*, thro' the Influence of *Goudamor*, who in that Reign wholly guided the Court; and with a serene Cheerfulness, and a religious Resolution, he submitted to his Fate in the *Old Palace, Westminster*, where he was Beheaded, *Oct. 29, 1618*, on the former Sentence, that had lay dormant about 16 Years, notwithstanding the Lawyers were of Opinion he was *Reſtitus in Curia* by the King's Commission granted to him to proceed in an Enterprize to *Guiana*, lying in the Southern Parts of *America*;—and the Lord Chancellor *Verulam* (Sir *Francis Bacon*) had declared to him in these Words; 'Upon my Life, You have a sufficient Pardon for all that is pass'd already, the King having under his Broad Seal, made you Admiral of the Fleet, and given you Power of the Martial Law over all the Officers and Soldiers.'

Britannia's great support, all brave and free
And big with empire o'er the subject sea;
Let these aloud thy services declare,
And prove thy merit, worth the publick care.
Let *Albion* triumph in thy lov'd produce:
Let wealthy *mercantils* wide proclaim thy use,
And while they count their thousands, speak
thy praise,
In better numbers, than the muse's lays.

A SONG.

WHEN tuneful *Damon* breath'd the strain,
How ev'ry heart did beat,
The waters hush'd, the birds were mute,
Nor could th' unequal strains dispose,
The music was so sweet.
The list'ning virgins flock'd around,
Whilst the enchantor play'd,
They blest'd, and trambled at the sound,
Whilst ev'ry tender finger crown'd
Him, monarch of the shade.
The lovely victor smiling lay,
His triumph to survey,
He throw his breathless pipe aside
And his more grateful lips employ'd,
To praise a better way.

ODE to *Daphnia a Puppy*, playing with *Mirritilla* in Bed. By Mr. Steele.

HAPPY *Daphnia*, which can be
Of puppy dogs compar'd to thee!
On *Mirritilla's* bosom lying,
Kissing her for whom I'm dying,
O'er her endless beauties sporting,
Whilst the nymph is gayly courting,
And with hugs and smiles repaying,
Skips and bites and wanton playing!
Gentle whelp, all whelps excelling,
Let us change a while our dwelling;
Sighing, pensive take thy stand,
Grow a lover out of hand,

Silent, trembling, much desiring,
 Seem for me a wretch expiring,
 Whilst some god, that hears soft wishes,
 Happiest thou of fons of bitches!
 Lays me in thy form conceal'd
 On her lovely breast reveal'd.
 Venus was not half so fair,
 Meeting first the god of war;
 Happy *Daphnis*, by thy aid
 Could I press the charming maid,
 Her *Adonis* then should be,
 But a puppy dog to me.

But oh! *Daphnis*, 'twere in vain
 To expect thy form again,
 After her ambrosial kisses,
 And ten thousand tender blisses,
 She should give, and I should take,
 Happy *Daphnis*, for thy sake!

No! condemn'd to secret anguish,
 Wretched *Escher*, then should'st languish,
 Silly animal, a lover,
 Without hope or charm to move her,
 Till, to streams or willows flying,
 You'd too late escape by dying.

ELOGIUM of the WILLOW-TREE.* Ex-
 tracted from a Tale written in the Chinese
 Language.

THE Spring appear'd, and hush'd was every
 wind, [clin'd
 When the smooth willow, o'er the stream re-
 cher'd by the ray that animates the globe,
 Throws, o'er her yellow bark, a verdant robe.
 Dash'd at the beauties which her foliage spread,
 The rival peach-tree, blushing bends his head:
 Rang'd, his flowers with varying lustre grac'd,
 He tears; and scatters round the lovely waste.
 The willow, peep of milder charms, outvies
 The flashing splendor of the brightest dyes.

Gay harbinger of spring, she forms the aid
 Of teeming silk-worms, and is self-eray'd;
 Decking her spray, and saphyr-dancing
 leaves, [weaves,
 With dews more soft than the sun'd insect

Upon the late STORM. (Vol. V. p. 700.)

WHEN *Georce* propitious left the *Ger-
 man* strand,
 Impatient to arrive on *British* land,
 The grateful sea, with wonder and surprise,
 Exalts her much lov'd monarch to the skies;
 The wind, in dreadful gusts, his praises sing,
 And with united blast'rings hail their king:
 What outward force in such a storm could force,
 When the great ruler of the sea was there!

On his Majesty's late Danger.

SO *Cæsar* once, impatient of delay, [wey,
 O'er waters hush'd on waters urg'd his

Whilst racking hurricanes, and each new blast
 Set all the trembling sparrows aghast;
 The mighty chief, unshaken, checks their fear;
 Know ye not, *Cæsar* and his fortune's here?
 Such is our king, and such his fortune be,
 Lord of the land, as of the roaring sea.

VOTUM pro REGE.

CEASE, all ye storms, ye blustering winds,
 Give o'er,
 And waft him gently to th' expecting shore.
 Let all be silent thro' his wide command;
 The sea be still before him, as the land.
 And never more may *Britain's* monarch be
 Hail'd and extoll'd by a tempestuous sea.

The ROVER contain'd.

ONCE free as air, and unconfin'd,
 To each new fair I rang'd;
 None cou'd engage my fickle mind,
 For each new fair I chang'd.

If *Calia's* all-commanding grace
 Aim'd at my yielding heart;
 Straight softer *Mira's* tempting face
 Repell'd the frailless dart.

Did chaste *Belinda's* virtue move?
 Brisk *Chloe* let me free;
 A traitor still I liv'd to love,
 A friend to liberty.

But beauty's queen at length arose
 Her empire to maintain,
 She griev'd at my neglected vows
 And mourn'd her rites disdain'd.
 Shall he, she cry'd, shall he, proud boy,
 Alone my sway disown?
 And darts he thus my pow'r defy?
 And will he not atone?

She said; and pensive on her arms
 Her lovely face reclin'd;
 Revenge her glowing bosom warms,
 And racks her anxious mind.

Cupid, as thus his mother lay,
 The goddess straight address'd;
 I've found, mamma, the certain way
 To wound his stubborn breast.

Though beauty, virtue, wit, in vain
 Singly attempt to bind;
 Methods to break th' united chain
 In vain he'll strive to find.

In one bright form let all combine,
 Their sev'ral charms unite;
 To *Calia*, *Mira's* beauties join,
 Bright *Chloe's* killing wit;

Belinda too thy awful mien
 Shall all its pow'r bestow.
 The counsel pleas'd the beauteous queen,
 She smil'd; and form'd a L—.

FIDELITO.

* This Description is found (in Latin) in *Theophilus Sigisfridi Bayari Mariani Simicani*, Tom. I. pag. 130. Printed at *Pezenburg*, Anno 1730: And the English Version above, was made from thence by Mr. John Lockman.

ODE for the new Year, by Colley Cibber,
Esq; Poet-Laureat.

A I R.

Grateful Britons! grace the day,
Give to godlike George his due:
This alone shall swell the lay;
George is blest, in blessing you.
May years to years, the sound repeat,
And sing the mutual bliss compleat.

CHORUS.

My years to years, &c.

RECITATIVO.

While greatness knows no vain desire,
He only asks, what you require:
And while his crown your freedom shields,
Your freedom power to guard it yields.

A I R.

What glory charms,
Liks such a sway!
Protection warms,
And we obey.
From hand to hand
The joy is to'st'd,
While dread command
In love is lost.

RECITATIVO.

Lords of yourselves, you form the law,
That gives the discontented awe;
'T'wixt prince and people, no debate,
But zeal to make each other great.

A I R.

Thus passing
Ev'ry blessing,
Could enjoyment pall desire;
New obedience,
True Allegiance,
Gracious George would still inspire.
So the fountain,
From the mountain,
Leaves the verdant vale below;
While improving,
And removing,
Circling harvests fall and grow.

CHORUS.

Raise then, to Cæsar, raise the song,
Let vocal wishes loudly sing;
That great and glorious, great and long!
Long, long, and happy, live the king.

An *Extempore* EPIGRAM, on seeing a Pipe
lighted with one of the LAUREAT'S Odes.

WHILE the soft song, that warbles
George's praise,
From pipe to pipe the living flame conveys;
Criticks, who long had scorn'd, must now
admire;
For who can say his Ode now wants its fire.

Verbs occasioned by reading the Gazetteer of
Saturday, Dec. 11. (Vol. V. p. 687.)

IF naughty Caleb praise queen Bess,
As popish Crossmen us'd to call her;

Immediately her fame grows less,
And Gazetteer begins to maul her.

'She an example! D'Avours, sic!
'What stories strange you tell us?
'She'd bully people, God knows why,
'And take advice of high-church fellows.
'Imprison commons for a speech,
'And use as scurvily the peers;
'Sometimes she'd bid them kiss her breech,
'And sometimes too she'd box their ears.
'If her affairs went well 'twas chance;
'Her subjects too were monstrous civil;
''Twas thus, the *Holland* sav'd and *France*,
'And beat the *Spaniards* to the devil.
'But if a pack of grumbling varlets,
'Will never let good folks be quiet;
'What can be done for sons of harlots,
'Who are for ever running riot?

Then prithee Caleb burn thy tools,
And scribble no more silly stuff:
The *Ons* are always knaves and fools;
The *Ins* are wise and good enough.

An Ode of HORACE imitated.

Integer vita, scelerisque purus, &c.

WHENCE all this fear? whence all
this strife?

—The man of strict unblemish'd life;
The map of virtue, pure from stain,
Whose mind all fornic thoughts disdain;
Whose hands reject flagitious deeds;
No guard of gun or pistol needs:
Drags he thro' *Lincoln* fens; or scales
The more than *Alpine* hills of *Wales*;
Roams he where *Trent*, with many a maze,
Thro' many a golden valley strays;
Taken *Hounslow*-Heath, or *Sheath's*-*Hill*;
Still is he calm, and happy still!
Safe in his chariot, (safe from gull)
He starts not at the glistering hilt;
Nor, dog'd in fancy thro' the Streets,
Ten thousand grim assassins meet;
Nor dreadful ghosts, with ghastly stare,
All shapes of vengeance and of despair,
All forms of danger and of death;
Nor bids his slaves, with fault'ring breath,
"Plant arms, my friends, at either door!
"Plant arms behind! plant arms before!"
Oh! *Fusus*, dare but to be just;

Dare to be faithful to thy trust;
Then, and then only, shalt thou find
The safety of an honest mind!
Then shalt thou feel, beyond pretence,
That virtue is the best defence!
'Tis not the youth's ingenuous pride;
'Tis not the weapon by his side;
That moves thy fear, that breaks thy rest:
---No---'tis the dagger in thy breast!
'Tis --- (as by *Swift* divinely told,
And worthy characters of gold)
'Tis --- that the conscious villain feels
Slow vengeance, like a bloodhound, at his heels!

An Epistle to Mr. Pope. By a Lady. Occasioned by his Characters of Women.

BY custom doom'd to folly, sloth and ease,
No wonder, Pope such female triflers sees:
But would the satyrist confess the truth,
Nothing so like as male and female youth;
Nothing so like as man and woman old;
Their joys, their loves, their hates, if truly
told:

The different acts seem different sex's growth,
Tis the same principle impels them both.

View daring man stung with ambition's
fire,

The conquering hero, or the youthful 'squire,
By different deeds aspire to deathless fame,
One murders man, the other murders game:
View a fair nymph blest with superior charms,
Whose tempting form the coldest bosom warms,
No eastern monarch more despotic reigns,
Than this fair tyrant of the *Cyprian* plains,
Whether a crown or isabelle we desire,
Whether to learning or to dress aspire;
Whether we wait with joy the trumpet's call,
Or wish to skip the fairest at a ball:
In either sex the appetites the same,
For love of power is still the love of fame.

Women must in a narrow orbit move,
But power alike both makes and females love.

What makes the differences then, you may
enquire,

Between the hero, and the rural 'squire;
Between the maid bred up with courtly care,
Or she who earns by toil her daily fare:
Their power is stinted, but not so their will;
Ambitious thoughts the humblest cottage fill;
Far as they can they push their little fame,
And try to leave behind a deathless name.

In education all the diff'rence lies;
Women, if taught, would be as bold and wise
As haughty man, improv'd by art and rules:
What God makes one, neglect makes twenty
fools.

And tho' *negatives* are daily found,
Flourishing *negatives* equally abound; [ware,
Such heads are toy shops, fill'd with trifling
And can each folly with each female share.

A female mind like a rose fallow lies;
No seed is sown, but weeds spontaneous rise.
As well might we expect, in winter, spring,
As land well'd a fruitful crop shou'd bring:
As well might we expect *Peruvian* ore
We shou'd possess, yet dig not for the store:
Culture improves all fruits, all sorts we find,
Wis, judgment, sense, --- fruits of the human
mind.

Ask the rich merchant, conversant in trade,
How nature operates in the growing blade;
Ask the philosopher the pret of stocks,
Ask the gay courtier how to manage flocks;
Inquire the dogmas of the learned schools,
(From *Aristotle* down to *Newton's* rules)
Of the rough soldier, bred to boisterous war,
Or the still smoother a true *British* ear:

They'll all reply, unpractic'd in such laws,
Th' effect they know, tho' ignorant of the
cause.

The sailor may perhaps have equal parts,
With him bred up to sciences and arts;
And he who at the helm or stern is seen,
Philosopher or hero might have been.
The whole in application is compris'd,
Reason's not reason, if not exercis'd;
Use, not possession, real good affords;
No miser's rich that dares not touch his hoards.

Can female youth, left to weak woman's
care,

Mixed by custom (folly's fruitful heir);
Told that their charms a monarch may en-
slave,

That beauty like the gods can kill or save;
Taught the *arcanas*, the mysterious arts,
By ambush dress to catch unwary hearts;
If wealthy born, taught to lip *French* and
dance,

Their morals left (*Lucretius* like) to chance:
Strangers to reason and reflection made,
Left to their passions, and by them betray'd;
Untaught the noble end of glorious truth,
Bred to deceive even from their earliest youth;
Unus'd to books, nor virtue taught to prize;
Whose mind a savage waste unpeopled lies;
Which to supply, trifles fill up the void,
And idly busy, to no end employ'd.

Can these, from such a school, more virtue
show,

Or tempting vice, treat like a common foe?
Can they resist, when soothing pleasures woo?
Preserve their virtue, when their fame they lose?
Can they on other themes converse or write,
Than what they hear all day, and dream all
night?

Not so the *Roman* female fame was spread;
Not so was *Clelia*, or *Lucretia* bred;
Not so such heroines true glory sought;
Not so was *Portia*, or *Concordia* taught;
Portia! the glory of the female race;
Portia! more lovely by her mind than face.
Early inform'd by truth's unerring beam,
What to reject, what justly to esteem;
Taught by philosophy all moral good,
How to repel in youth th' impetuous blood;
How her most favourite passions to subdue,
And fame thro' virtue's avenues to pursue;
She tries herself, and finds even dolorous pain,
Can't the close secret from her breast obtain:
To *Cato* born, to noble *Brutus* join'd,
She shines invincible in form and mind.

No more such generous sentiments we trace
In the gay moderns of the female race;
No more, alas! heroic virtue's shown,
Since knowledge ceas'd, philosophy's unknown.
No more can we expect our modern wives
Heroes shou'd breed, who lead such useless
lives.

Wou'd you, who know the arcana of the soul,
The secret springs which move and guide the
whole;

Wou'd you, who can instruct as well as please,
Bestow some moments of your darling ease,
To rescue woman from this gothic state,
New passions raise, their minds anew create;
Then for the *Spartan* virtue we might hope;
For who stands unconvinced by generous *Pope*?
Then wou'd the *British* fair perpetual bloom,
And vie in fame with ancient *Grecus* and *Rome*.

URBAN and WILL his Attorney: A
DIALOGUE. (See Vol. V. p. 333, 694.)

URB.

ATTEND my faithful trusty *Will*,
Once more assist your master *Syl*,
Whose all depends upon your skill,
The *Reading* bards yet gall our side,
With misdeemeanors we would hide,
Of vile abuses they complain
And justly too (between us twain.)
But should the public credit this
Who'd send our *Mag* another pleat?
And should my *Mag* (heav'n shield it) die
What would become of *Sue* and I?

WILL.

Pluck up your spirits dearest master,
For I'll prevent the dire disaster:
While this right hand a pen can wield
In your defence, 'twill never yield.
A private grudge I harbour too
Against these bards as well as you;
You know I took a dirty journey
On this same business as attorney:
Before these maids, to plead your case,
Who dwell upon the mount *Parnass*.
But one's misstep there is no hiding
From these quick-fighted r-gues of *Reading*;
Yet who'd have told, less vile than they,
Where 'twas or how I mis'd my way,
And that instead of hypocritin'
I only swill'd more potent gin:
Henceforth I'll dip my pen in gall
And wreak my vengeance on them all;
On truth or falsehood will not stand,
But be your servant at command.

URB.

Your firm resolve new courage gives
And while you speak my heart revives,
Perform your promise but in time,
And the next *prize*, dear *Will*, be thine.

This *Gratus* here would not submit
His judgment to our brighter wit;
But vow'd if we cast all his piece,
He would not own the thing for his.
And yet in spite of all he said,
You know what mangling work we made.
But you must swear this very youth
(No matter *William* here for truth)
Must humbly begg'd us to correct
What e'er in him might seem defect.

WILL.

Fir'd with the *prize* you set in view
You'll find us an attorney true:

While you propose such shining fees,
I'll say, Sir, whatso'er you please,
Both *truth*, and *Gratus* I'll defy,
And bid who dare, my fits deny,
Perfricta fronts boldly blame,
Nor dread one single blush for shame:
These screen myself to censure them.
So the shop-lifter scours the streets,
And cries, *shop-thief*, to all he meets;
Deceiving those that would pursue,
Till he himself is sunk from view.

C I R C U S.

QUI fuit & virgi, qui equitum procerumq;
potentum
Delicia; & circus unice flere vetat.
Papa! quae ad molem cunctatam millia tendunt!
Quo nimium iusto pondere scannae gemunt!
An jam mappa levi praeferis fluctuat auræ;
Incipitur: plausu terra pulsusq; boant,
Hic discas totum liberatus dividit avaras,
Illic tinctissimæ vitæ in orbe tractas.
Ut motum evitat rubeorum formidus axis
Sic color! ut dubio tramitis signat hominum!
Innocens paganus hic pubeo gessit; & hostes
Hinc didicit verum vincere, Roma, tuas.
Ab nimium salis! his si contenta fuisset,
Atq; tuus circus nasset habere modum!
At quoniam horrendus cæsus, pugilesq; cruenti,
Pardis cumq; feris prælia iniqua virum,
Non Romanæ sapiunt, correntq; timore molesto
Humanas mentes; heu! una misæ sicut.

The C I R C U S.

WHILE the stern soldier, cas'd in heavy
arms,
Sustains the rage of war and dire alarms;
In thy capacious circus, *Rome*, are shown
Contending heroes, struggling for a crown.
Behold two champions of superior size
(Heroic ardour darting from their eyes)
Appear, firm fixt, collecting all their might,
Their nervous limbs amaze th' admiring sight,
Like tall *Orius* on the plain they stand,
And poize the heavy *Cæsus* in their hand:
Then with *Herculean* majesty they move,
Like th' earth-born giants that once warr'd
with *Jove*; [close,
And now they meet, and now at once they
Give thrust for thrust, and answer blows for
blows.
The issuing blood distains their form around
And streaming from their limbs dyes red the
ground. [weak,
Their jaw-bones crackle, all their joints grow
And with repeated blows begin to shake.
At length the one lifts up the weighty lead,
And aims at his unwary en'my's head;
At once the weapon falls, imprints the wound,
And lays the heroe proveling on the ground;

Blood, brain and gore the wound pours lazily out,
He dies, the victor and the Circus shout.

And see four champions with the nicest art,
Their chariots for the destin'd race prepare;

The sign is given, the eager steeds obey,
And skim with rapid pace the well known way;
They whip, they urge their steeds, they seem to fly,

Muscling what ground remains with eager eye.
Now with their utmost art the goal they strain,
And round the mark swift as the lightning run.
But view the skilful driver lately lost,

Who with their started curb'd his horses back,
Or stripping all, to the whole choir's surprise,
Springs from his seat, and victor claims the prize.

Two champions next of strength immense prepare
To whirl the *Difcus* thro' the yielding air.

The marble flies, and wing'd with rapid speed,
Makes the thin clouds and liquid plain recede.
Flung by the first the coil with whissing sound
At a great distance strikes the sandy ground.

The next directs his aim with wood'rous skill,
And ends the mousing *Difcus* farther still,
With sacred honour crown'd; he thus obtains
The prize; the great reward of all his pains.

While shouts the Circus rattles all around,
Which neighbouring hills re-echo back the sound.

On Miss Molly Bridges singing.

OF T I've been told that *Molly's* fair,

Oh that her voice is sweet;
Yet can't believe; tho' eye and ear
Both favour the deceit.

For was she fair, as all confess;

Her voice but half belied;
Like beauties, folly she'd possess;
Like singers, wou'd have pride.

The Turtle and Traveller. A Dialogue.

Trav. WHY with your wailings do
these groves resound?

Tur. My mate, my wife's no where to be found.
Why thro' these solitudes chuse you to roam?
Trav. Because my turtle's to be found at home.

C H L O E.

WHEN charming *Chloe* gently walks,
Or sweetly smiles, or gaily talks,
No goddess can with her compare,
So sweet her looks, so gay her air.

Chloe, with ev'ry charm possess'd,
A face that's fair, a mind that's blest,
With sparkling wit, and solid sense,
And soft persuasive eloquence.

In tending her divinely fair,
Must employ'd her utmost care,

That we in *Chloe's* form might find
A *Venus*, with *Minerva's* mind.

Anonymous

The Hand Inverted.

WHEN haggard *Rage*, hobbling walks,
Or gnashing grins, or scuffling talks;
No *grassy* can with her compare,
Such wither'd looks! such teeth! and hairs.

Rage; with ev'ry ill possess'd,
A frightful phys; deform'd at best,
As void of wit, as void of sense;
To common reason small pretences!

In framing her reveries from faith,
Nature employ'd painful care,
That we in *Rage's* form might find
A *Sibycus*, with *Esau's* mind.

Trionymus.

Occasion'd by a Lady's playing on the Harpsicord.

WHEN *Callia's* wazzen fingers nimbly move;

The speaking strings, the *Muses* from above
Lean down to hear; with admiration seiz'd,
Each earthly mortal, tho' in pain, looks
pleas'd,

Their sorrows vanish, and their minds are
The feather'd tribe strain their harmonious
throats,

And joyous try to imitate her notes;
Till lost in ecstasies, at ev'ry air
They wonder, and their tuneful parts forbear.

The very steeds peep from the abyss below,
And fancy that their tortures milder grow.
The angry *furies* cease to scourge or wound,
And curling stakcs their heads hang list'ning round;

Erion on his racking wheel lies still;
And *Sisyphus's* stone rests on the hill.
Pluto too grimly smiles to hear such charms,
And pensive, obvious stands with folded arms.
Sweet instrument! in which such charms do
dwell

As all black humours from the mind dispel,
And by composing it makes heav'n of hell;
Bless'd recreation! 'tis in thee we find
An exercise for body and for mind;

By thee our spirits much more active prove,
And fitter both for business and for love.

Mrs. W---l---. J. H. Livron's Int.

N. B. The Taming of the Shrew may be de-
fer'd till next Month, if we can then find
Room for it, it being very long. And the
other Pieces by the same Hand shall have a
Place the first Opportunity.

The Epistle upon Gay's Fables shall be inserted
next Month. The second Part of the Scurdy
Begger never came to Hand; and what we
have being very long, we were forc'd to
omit it for the present, and should be still glad
to have the whole, before we give it.

The Medicinal Pieces shall very soon be taken
notice of.

THE Monthly Chronologer.

MONDAY, Jan. 3^d



In pursuance of his Majesty's Royal Charter, erecting the Contributors to the charitable Fund, at *Edinburgh*; for the Maintenance of sick Poor, into a Body Corporate, by the Name of *The Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh*, the first general Meeting was held in the Borough Room, where the Managers for the ensuing Year were chosen, and several By-Laws agreed to. Died at *Edinburgh*, and buried in the *Grey-Fryers Church-Yard* the last Year.

	Men	Wom.	Child.	Sells.	Total.
January	23	24	26	0	73
February	24	22	23	3	72
March	24	28	26	2	80
April	28	25	44	3	100
May	25	24	38	6	93
June	9	13	22	2	46
July	8	15	29	3	55
August	21	19	21	4	55
September	20	25	20	8	73
October	27	21	28	13	79
November	11	28	43	5	87
December	15	35	38	4	92

In all 793 279 358 53 884

Decreased in Burials this Year 91.

TUESDAY, 4.

This Night, about 7 o'Clock, a dreadful Fire broke out in the *Inner-Temple* adjoining to the Hall, and continued burning with great Fury till Five next Morning; which entirely consumed the *Inner-Temple* Kitchens, Buttery, and the great Stairs that lead to the Hall; but the Hall was, with great Difficulty, preserved, which was owing to the Party-Wall. It likewise consumed upwards of 30 Chambers. At its breaking out, there was a great Scarcity of Water; otherwise, in thought, it would have been extinguish'd, without doing any considerable Damage. 'Tis said, that several Writings of great Consequence were consumed in the Flames. His Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales* came there about 11 o'Clock, and by his Presence animated the People, gave Money to the Firemen, &c. and staid till it was quite over. A Party of the Foot Guards were placed in the *Temple Garden*, to take Care of the valuable Goods, Writings, &c. that were carried thither.

TUESDAY, 12.

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor received from his Royal Highness the Prince, a Bank Note for 500*l.* to be apply'd to the releasing poor Freeman of the City of *London* out of Prison. (See Vol. V. p. 699.)

Forty-seven Persons had been to the End of last Week try'd and convicted for retailing of Spirituous Liquors, 28 of whom have paid their Fines of 100*l.* each, and the rest have mostly moved off their Goods, &c. And this Day, 21 more were try'd and convicted for the said Offence. The two next Days several others were also convicted.

WEDNESDAY, 12.

Was a Meeting of the Trustees for the Colony of *Georgia*, at the *Georgia Office*, on Mr. *Oglethorpe's* Arrival; at which there was a great Appearance of Noblemen and Gentlemen. He had the unanimous Thanks of the Board and gave them an Account of the Situation of Affairs in *Georgia*: The *Indian* Nations 700 Miles distance, acknowledge his Majesty's Authority, and trade with the *English* from *Savannah*. The *Spanish* Captain General of *Florida*, and Council of War, who reside at *St. Augustine*, have sign'd a Treaty with the Colony: And besides *Savannah*, which is much increas'd in Buildings, there are the three other Towns founded this Year, *viz.* *Augusta*, *Frederica* and *Darien*, the two latter of which are in a very thriving Way: A new Town of *Ebenezer* is built by the *Saltburghers*, and there are several Villages, and Gentlemen staid at their own Expence, thro' the Country, and several Forts in a defensible Condition on the Southern Frontiers. Trade is likely to flourish, there having been several Ships loaded this Year from *Georgia*.

THURSDAY, 13.

This Night, a very violent Fire happen'd at *Rysson* in *Hertfordshire*, which destroyed about 25 Houses, besides Barns, &c.

SATURDAY, 15.

Early this Morning, Mr. *Carrington*, one of his Majesty's Messengers arrived at *St. James's*, with the agreeable News, that on Thursday the 13th, between nine and Ten o'Clock in the Morning, the King embark'd on board the *Caroline* Yatch, at *Whitehall*, and immediately set Sail, in Company with all the other Yatches, for *England*, the Wind being then at S. W. by W. and that his Majesty landed in good Health at *Lisbon* in *Stafford*, yesterday at Noon; that Night his Majesty

July lay at *Stratford* in the same County, and this Morning about Six his Majesty set forward, and passing in an open Chaise thro' the City of *London*, arriv'd at *St. James's* about one in the Afternoon. (See Vol. 7, p. 700)

SUNDAY, 16.

This Day a grand Council was held at *St. James's*, at which the Queen was present; when her Majesty resign'd to the King her Commission, which appointed her Sole Guardian of this Realm during his Majesty's Absence.

MONDAY, 17.

The Sessions ended at the *Old-Baily*, at which were tried 70 Prisoners; of these 30 were cast for Transportation, 31 acquitted; 3 sentenc'd, for a Conspiracy against one *Drinkwater*, to stand twice on the Pillory, to be imprison'd 2 Years, and to find Sureties for 3 Years after for their good Behaviour; and 6 receiv'd Sentence of Death, viz. *Joseph Barker*, for stealing a silver Cup from the *Golden Tavern*, *Fleetstreet*; *James Ryan*, *High-Market*, *Guord Fitzgerald*, *James Penhale*, *Guord Ferril*, for robbing *James North*, *Francis Smith*, *Edward Robinson* and others on the Highway, and stripping, blinding and gagging them in a barbarous Manner.

TUESDAY, 18.

This Day the *Ld. Mayor* and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London* waited on his Majesty, to congratulate him on his safe Arrival; when *Mr. Baron Thomson* made their Compliments in the following Speech.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

The *Ld. Mayor* and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London*, most humbly intreat your Majesty's Permission to congratulate your Majesty on your safe Return to *Great Britain*.

Your Presence, Sir, dispels all those Anxieties and Fears for your Welfare which your Absence occasion'd; your People are animated with fresh Joy to find themselves again under your Majesty's immediate Influence and Protection; and nothing could have alleviated the Want of that Blessing, but the mild and prudent Administration of your Majesty's Royal Conduct.

These your Majesty's most faithful and dutiful Subjects, being sensible of their Happines in the full Enjoyment of all their Liberties, Rights and Privileges, during the whole Course of your Majesty's Reign, and having a firm Reliance on your Majesty's Vigilance and Care for their future Welfare and Prosperity, beg Leave to tender their grateful Acknowledgments, and to assure your Majesty of their most affectionate Zeal for the Support of your Royal Person and Government upon all Occasions.

To which his Majesty return'd this most gracious Answer:

I thank you for this fresh Instance of your Duty and Affection to my Person and Government. You may depend upon the Continuance of my Care to preserve the Peace and Tranquillity, and to promote the Trade and Welfare of this great and flourishing City.

They all had the Honour to kiss his Majesty's Hand; and his Majesty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood on *George Champion* and *John Leguise*, *Alicemeng* and on *William Ross* and *Benjamin Rowling*, the two Sheriffs.

They were afterwards introduced to her Majesty, and *Mr. Baron Thomson* made their Compliments as followeth.

May it please your Majesty,

The *Ld. Mayor* and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London*, humbly beg Leave to congratulate your Majesty on the King's safe Arrival.

Th' with grateful Hearts, that these, his Majesty's most faithful Subjects, presume to offer their humble Acknowledgments to your Majesty, for your just and prudent Administration during his Majesty's Absence.

To your Wisdom and Conduct, Madam, we owe the altering all Discontents, and the suppressing all publick Disorders. And whatever Divisions may happen, the People still universally confess your Majesty's Goodness, your Piety, and all these Virtues, which make your Royal Example a Pattern to this Age, and must have a happy Influence for the Benefit of Posterity.

To which her Majesty return'd a most gracious Answer; and they all had the Honour to kiss her Majesty's Hand.

WEDNESDAY, 19.

His Majesty in Council pick'd down the following Sheriffs for the Year ensuing, viz. *Pur Berts*, *Matt. Weymondset*; *Belf. Francis Jessop*; *Bucks. James Herbert*; *Camb. William Hicks*; *Chesh. Thomas Booth*; *Camb. & Ham. William Mitchell*; *Down. Richard Stevens*; *Derby. Weighton Munday*; *Devst. Henry Whitaker*; *Essex. Herbert Frisk*; *Glouc. W. Robins*; *Herts. Robert Plattimer*; *Herts. Richard Gorges*; *Kent. Thomas Molin*; *Leitch. Timothy St. Nicholas*; *Linc. Coney Tunaid*; *Monm. Anthony Morgan*; *Northamp. Henry Ogley*, Esqrs; *Northum. Sir John Robinson* of *Cranford*, *Barr. Norfolk. Peter Roher*; *Notting. William Chaland*; *Oxf. Samuel Greenhill*; *Rutl. Redenall Pease*; *Sherff. John Powell*; *Somerset. John Perriam*; *Staff. Thomas Jolliff*; *Suffolk. John Cooper*; *Southamp. Norton Powell*; *Surrey. John Ruh*, Esqrs; *Warwicksh. Charles Pomeroy*; *Wiltsh. William Hedges*; *Worcsh. John Matthews*; Esquires. For *WALLES. Anglesea, Edmund Meyrick*; *Brecon. William Powell*; *Caermar. Samuel Hughes*; *Cardiff. Thomas Jones*; *Caermar. George Deveraux*.

Denbigh, Edward Williams; *Flint*, Francis Price; *Glamorg.* Robert Knight; *Merion.* Robert Meyrick; *Montg.* Edward Rogers; *Pemb.* Thomas Davis; *Radnorsh.* John Jones; Esquires.

THURSDAY, 20.

The Birth-Day of his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales* was celebrated, when his Royal Highness enter'd into the 31st Year of his Age.

FRIDAY, 21.

The Parliament met at *Westminster*, and by Virtue of his Majesty's Commission, was prorogued to the first Day of *February* next, when they are to meet for the Dispatch of Business. The Convocation which had prorogued to *Feb. 3.* was further prorogued to the 18th of the same Month.

SATURDAY, 22.

This Morning, about 5 o'Clock, a Fire broke out at the House of Mr. *Hughson*, a Glazier, in *Ragged-Row* near *King's-Arms-Stairs*, *Southwark*, which burnt that House with two more, and damaged several others, Mrs. *Hughson*, who had been brought to Bed about a Week, was burnt in the Flames, together with the Nurse and young Child. Mr. *Hughson*, in endeavouring to save his Wife, narrowly escaped by jumping out of Window.

WEDNESDAY, 26.

This Day, all the Prisoners who were in *Whitcheapel* Goal for Debt were discharge'd by the Executors of the late Mr. *Wright* of *Newington Green*. (See Vol. V. p. 434.)

MONDAY, 31.

The 30th of *Jan.* falling this Year on a Sunday, the Anniversary Fast for the Martyrdom of *K. Charles I.* was observ'd on this Day, according to the Act of Parliament. And what is remarkable, there was no Sermon before either House of Parliament (they not then sitting;) the like having never happen'd since the Appointment of the said Fast.

The Number of those who have died last Year in the City and Suburbs of *Vienna*, appears according to an exact List, to be 7054; exclusive of Infants not a Year old, viz. 1358 Men, 1293 Women, 2290 Boys, 2113 Girls.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

PEREGRINE Bertie, Esq; to Miss *Paine*, of *Chancery-Lane*.
 William Andrews of *Coventry*, Esq; to the Relict of *William Abt*, of *Suffolk*, Esq;
 Henry Ibbotson, of *Leeds*, Esq; to Miss *Foljambe*, of *Yorkshire*.
 Sir *Humphrey Monney*, Bart. to Miss *Mary Savage*, a Daughter of the late Councils of *Coventry*, by *Thomas Savage* of *Elmly Castle*, *Worcester*.
 Charles Bowles, of *New-Windsor*, Esq; to Mrs. *Fellow*, of *Red-Lyon Square*.
 Joseph Brooks, of the *Temple*, Esq; to the

Grand-daughter of Mr. *Beg*, the *Navy* Surveyor at *Chatham*.

Mr. *Abraham Fowler*, of *Fleet-street*, Bachelor, to Mrs. *Halls*, a Widow Lady.
 Stephen Jackson, Esq; to Miss *Wynn*, of *Oxford*.

Stephen Janssen, Esq; to Miss *Gualter*.
 James Manningham, of *Middlesex*, Esq; to Miss *Louisa Tye*, of *Berke*.

John Johnson, Esq; an eminent *Barbadoes* Merchant, to the Relict of the late *Daniel Westcombe*, of *New-Broadstreet*, Esq;
 Rev. Mr. *Relleston*, Rector of *Apsen*, *Derbyshire*, to Miss *Dorothy Burdett*, Sister of Sir *Robert Burdett*, Bart.

James Watson, Esq; of *Saugbren* in *Scotland*, to the Lady *Helen Hope*, Daughter of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Hopeton*.

Sir *George Champion*, K^t. Alderman of *Bridge-Witbin*, to Mrs. *Mead*, Widow of Mr. *Mead*, late Banker in *Fleet-street*.

Gabriel Hanger, Esq; to Miss *Bond* an Heiress.

Arthur Pollard, Esq; (Secretary to the Rt. Hon. Arthur Onslow, Esq; Speaker to the Hon. House of Commons) to the only Daughter of Mrs. *Miller*, of *Greenwich*.

The Lady of *William Bazil*, of *Waken* in *Bucks*, Esq; brought to Bed of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

AT *Dublin*, Arthur Baldwin, Esq; Register and Clerk of the Faculties of the High Court of Chancery.

Christopher Suck, Esq; formerly Deputy Governor of the *Bahama* Islands.

At *Topcliffe*, *Yorkshire*, Sir *William Robinson*, of *Newby*, *Barr.* who was succeeded in his Honour by his Eldest Son, *Mitcalfe Robinson*, Esq; who soon after died suddenly at *York*; so that the Dignity and Estate descends to Rear-Admiral *Tauscred Robinson*, now at *Lisbon*. Sir *William* was Father also to Col. *William Robinson*, of the *Guards*, and to *Thomas Robinson*, Esq; Envoy at *Vienna*.

Edward Gibbon, Esq; a S. S. Director in the Year 1720.

Felix Calvert, Esq; a very eminent Brewer in *Whitcross-Street*.

Capt. *Luck*, Commander of the *Canterbury* Man of War.

At *Glasgow*, the Rev. Mr. *James Stirling*, Minister of the Gospel in the Barony of *Glasgow*, of an extraordinary good Character.

At *Dublin*, *Bruce Worthington*, Esq; Clerk of the House of Commons in *Ireland*.

John Bicknel, late *Warrantor* for *Kent*, *Canterbury*, *Surrey*, and *Suffex*, which he had before surrendered to his Son.

At *Edinburgh*, Sir *James Holburn* of *Merrie*, Bart.

At *Clapbam* — *Chewers*, Esq; who dying a Bachelor, has left his Estate to charitable Uses.

At his House in *Ormond-street*, *John Le-
maulier*, Esq;

Mr. Robert Knappock, formerly an eminent
Bookbinder in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*.

At his House in *Red-Lyon-street*, *William
Galloway*, Esq;

Col. John Eaton, of the second Regiment
of Foot-Guards.

Mr. Edw. Lee, Rector of *St. Matthew PP-
doy-freet*, and one of the Brothers of *St. Ca-
tharine's* near the Tower.

At his House in *Barlett's-Buildings*, *Hol-
born*, in an advanc'd Age, *Sir John Phillips*,
of *Pishin Castle*, *Pembr.* Bart. remarkable for
his exemplary Life and Conversation, and Acts
of Charity.

Mr. Richard Williamson, Under Treasurer,
and Clerk of the Mis-sent Letters in the *Post-
Office*.

At *Martyr-Abbey*, *Surrey*, *Lady Noel*,
who had been 43 Years the Widow of *Sir
Thomas Noel*, of *Leicestershire*, Bart. aged 75.
Mr. Goodchild, a Common-Council-Man
of *Bridge-Ward*.

Rev. Dr. Andrews, Rector of *Ockham*,
Surrey.

At *Edinburgh*, in the 58th Year of his
Age, *Francis Pringle*, M. D. the worthy
Brother of the late most worthy Lord *Newball*.

Mr. Jennings, Clerk of the Journals to
the House of Peers.

Richard Wyatt, Esq; Solicitor for the
Western Ports in the Customhouse.

At *Kickmanfworth*, *Becks*, the *Rev. Mr.
Raggs*, *Esq.* of *Easton-College*.

At his Seat at *Lofby*, in *Leicestershire*, *Isaac
Woolston*, Esq;

The Right Hon. *Sir Thomas Reeves*, Lord
Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; who
succeeded the Lord Chief Justice *Eyre* in that
Place the 26th of last January.

Sir Richard Smith of *Woollock*, *Salop*, Bart.

Mr. Samuel Humphreys, a Gentleman well-
skill'd in the learned Languages, and the poe-
tics among the moderns: He had no small
Genius for Poetry; but some Disappointments
he met with, forc'd him to appear as a
Translator. (See Vol. IV. p. 35.)

In *Ireland*, the Hon. *Henry St. Lawrence*,
Esq; Brother to the Lord *Hoath*.

Sir Gerald Aylmer, Second Baronet of that
Kingdom.

Alex. Cbeche, Esq; Clerk of the Deben-
tures in the Exchequer.

At *Guisford*, *Samuel Wharton*, Esq; posses'd
of 4000 L. per. Ann.

Robert Humphries, Esq; Nephew of the
late *Sir Wm. Humphries*, Bart. formerly Lord
Mayor of *London*.

At his Palace at *Lambeth*, in the 79th
Year of his Age, his Grace *Dr. William
Wals*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; to which
he was transferr'd from the See of *Lipcala*, in
the Year 1716, in the room of Archbishop
Transon, deceas'd.

Hon. Col. Leigh Backwell, Son to the Al-
derman, who suffer'd so much by shutting up
the Exchequer in the Reign of *K. Charles II.*
Charles Parker, Esq; formerly Consul at
Madeira.

The Lady Wisbart, Relict of the late Ad-
miral.

Rev. Mr. Waite, Rector of *Thorby*, in
Lincolnshire, Lecturer of the *Middle-Temple*,
and of *St. Vedast*, *Postor-Lane*.

Mr. Alexander Inglish, Surgeon General on
the Army, and to *Chelsea College*.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

Mr. Charles Becke, Vicar of *Stroud*, *Kent*;
presented to the Living of *Stockbury*
in the same County.

Mr. Edw. Palmer, to the Living of *Ring-
mers*; near *Lewes*, *Suffex*.

Mr. Arthur Badford, of *Asps*'s Hospital,
Hoxton, Author of the Scripture Chronology,
&c. made Chaplain to his Royal Highness the
Prince of *Wales*. As also is *Mr. Howard*
of *St. Dunstan's*.

Mr. Isaac Finch, presented to the Vica-
rge of *Goadburgh*, *Kent*.

Mr. Madge, Vicar of *Plymouth*, installed
a Prebendary of *Exeter*.

Mr. Thomas Wilson, presented to the Vica-
rge of *Bungay Trinity*, *Suffolk*.

Mr. Thomas Beave, to the Rectory of *Re-
tberfield*, *Suffex*.

Mr. Edward Patterson to the Rectory of
Froom, *Somersetshire*. He was also appointed
to succeed the late *Mr. Rofs Lee*, as one of the
Brothers of *St. Katherine's* near the Tower.

Mr. Morris, to the Vicarage of *Stalford*,
Essex.

Mr. Pinkney, to the Rectory of *Neath*;
Glamorganshire.

Mr. Upton, presented to a Prebend of the
Cathedral of *Rockester*.

Hon. and Rev. Mr. Carmichael, to the
Rectory of *Drayton*, *Bucks*.

Mr. Reddington to the Rectory of *Haethel*,
Norfolk.

Dr. Friend made Canon of *Christ-Church*,
and is succeeded as Canon of *Windsor* by *Dr.
Harton*.

Mr. Anguish, to the Rectory of *Depford*
in *Kent*.

Mr. Grigman chosen Morning Lecturer for
St. Michael's, *Corabill*.

Mr. Cesar Curtis, Son to the present Mayor
of *Rockester*, installed a Minor Canon in
the Cathedral Church of *Rockester*.

Mr. Carter, Lecturer of *St. Margaret's
Parson*, appointed Chaplain to his Royal
Highness the Prince.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

Mr. Stanley made Deputy Comptroller of
the Exchequer in the room of the late
Mr. Hughes.

Francis Peck, Esq; appointed Receiver-General of the Stamp-Duties, in the Room of the late *Henry Cartwright*, Esq;

Commodore Matthews succeeds the late *Thomas Kempeborn*, Esq; as Commissioner of the Navy at *Chatham*.

John Jesse, Esq; Deputy Secretary of the Post-Office, succeeds the late Mr. *Williamson* as Deputy Cashier; as does Mr. *John Barber*, as Inspector of dead Letters at the said Office.

Captain Hodges appointed to succeed *Colonel Churchill*, as Colonel of a Company in the Second Regiment of Foot Guards.

Ensign Townshend succeeds *Captain Hodges*, and Mr. *Rich*, a Cadet, succeeds Mr. *Townshend*.

Capt Lieut. Needham made Col. of a Company in the same Regiment, in the room of the late Col. *Eaton*; *Capt. Sawby* succeeds *Capt. Needham* and *Ensign Neeson* succeeds *Capt. Sawby*.

James Heyson, Esq; made Sergeant at Arms in Ordinary to attend upon his Majesty's Royal Person, in the room of *Joseph Lawson*, Esq; deceased.

Mr. *Mofyn*, Brother to *Thomas Mofyn*, Esq; Member of Parliament for the County of *Wilt*, appointed Capt. of a Company in the Regiment of Foot, commanded by General *Hendofyde*.

Mr. *Patrick*, chosen Usher of the Chamber-boys School.

The Right Hon. *John Weller*, Esq; Attorney-General, kiss'd the King's Hand, on his being appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Court

of Common-Pleas, in the room of the Lord Chief Justice *Rivers*, deceased, When his Majesty was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood on him.

Dudley Rider, Esq; kiss'd his Majesty's Hand, on being appointed Attorney-General; As did *John Strange*, Esq; on being appointed Solicitor-General, in his room.

PERSONS declared BANKRUPTS.

ROBERT Adams, of *Lowbam*, *Suffolk*, Malster. *Samuel Hayworth*, of *Chalfont*, Chapman and Dealer in Coals. *William Kuster*, of *Chalfont*, *Gloucestershire*, Clothier. *John Mitchell*, of *St. Paul's Wharf*, Lighterman. *Peter Barball*, of *Hullifax*, *Yorkshire*, Grocer. *John Barner*, of *St. James's Market*, Grocer. *Wm. Mullens*, of *New Sarum*, *Wilt*, Cutler. *Luke Burmaker*, late of *Colerbarbour*, *Thames Street*, *London*, Sugar-Baker. *William Pitts*, of *Lynn Regis*, *Norfolk*, Felt-Maker. *Stephen Elbeck*, of *Wooltry*, *Yorkshire*, Clothier and Chapman. *Christopher Fosley*, of *Little Street*, Merchant. *Thomas Walbop*, of *St. James's* Upholder. *Richard Aldworth*, of *New-bridge*, *Oxon*, Malt-Factor. *John Hutchinson*, of *Doncaster*, Wine-Merchant. *Robert Pickard*, of *Temple Church*, Chapman, &c. *William Ball*, of *Gloucester*, Chapman. *Henry Miles*, of *Shaftsbury*, in *Dorsetshire*, Chapman. *John Key*, of *Tortois* in *Holmfirth*, *Yorkshire*, Clothier. *Frederick Cordis*, of *St. John*, *Wapping*, in *Middlesex*, Sugar-Baker. *Jeremiah Winter*, of *Libourgh*, *London*, Linen-Draper. *Peter Dilligbl*, of *Thames Street*, *London*, Chalk-Monster.

L O C K S.

<i>St. Sea</i> 101 1/2 2 1/2	<i>Afric</i> 14
<i>Roads</i> 3 15	<i>Royal Aff</i> 110
<i>Ann.</i> 111 1/2	<i>Les. ditto</i> 14 1/2 2 1/2
<i>Bank</i> 148 3/4 9 1/2	<i>3 per C. An.</i> 103 1/2
<i>Circ.</i> 1125 6d	<i>Eng. Copper</i>
<i>Mil. Bank</i> 118	<i>Salt Talties</i> 2 2 3
<i>Judic</i> 177 1/2	<i>Emp. Loan</i> 113 1/2
<i>Bonds</i> 61. 7	<i>Equiv.</i> 112 1/2

The Course of EXCHANGE.

<i>Amst.</i> 35 3 2 1/2 2 1/2	<i>Bilboa</i> 41 1/2 2 1/2
<i>D. Sight</i> 35 2 34	<i>Leghorn</i> 50
<i>Rotter.</i> 35 4	<i>Genoa</i> 59
<i>Hamb.</i> 34 1 2 34	<i>Venice</i> 30 1/2
<i>P. Sight</i> 32 1/2 2 1/2	<i>Lisb.</i> 5 5 1/2 2 1/2
<i>Bourdx.</i> 31 1/2 2 1/2	<i>Oport.</i> 5 5 1/2 2 1/2
<i>Cadiz</i> 42 1/2	<i>Antw.</i> 35 9 2 8
<i>Madrid</i> 41 1/2 2	<i>Dublin</i> 10 1/2 2 1/2

Prices of Goods at Bear-Ky.

<i>Wheat</i> 27 30	<i>Oats</i> 12 13
<i>Rye</i> 11 16	<i>Tares</i> 22 24
<i>Barley</i> 17 18	<i>Pease</i> 27 30
<i>H. Beans</i> 22 23	<i>H. Pease</i> 11 15
<i>V. Malt</i> 22 25	<i>B. Malt</i> 15 18

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Dec. 28 to Jan. 25.

Christened	5 Males 672	} 1342
	2 Females 670	
Buried	5 Males 892	} 1844
	2 Females 952	
Died under 2 Years old		642
Between 2 and 5		171
	5	10 64
	10	20 59
	20	30 146
	30	40 162
	40	50 161
	50	60 143
	60	70 140
	70	80 89
	80	90 47
	90 and upwards	20

1844

Hay 42 to 45s. a Load.

SINCE our last we have the following remarkable Articles of Advice from foreign Parts.

From Italy, That the important Affair between the Emperor and Spain had been at last entirely settled, and the Acts of mutual Cession and Guaranty agreed on and exchanged; in Consequence of which the Spaniards began to evacuate the strong Places of Tuscany, about the End of last Month; and their Men of War having sailed from Porto Spetto, arrived at Leghorn the 29th inst, soon after which their Troops began to embark, and some of them are since sailed for Spain: At the same Time it is said that every Thing has been settled between the Courts of Vienna and Paris, relating to the Evacuation of the strong Places possessed by France in the Empire, viz. Fort Kais, Triers, and Philippsburg; and that Orders are already gone from Paris, for delivering up these Places to the Germans; so that we find France and her Allies are likely to adjust all their Affairs upon the Continent, to their own Likings, without any Mediation; and if the Emperor should engage in a War with the Turk, they may have an Opportunity of adjusting in the same Manner their Affairs in some other Parts of the World; which will be an Opportunity we can hardly suppose they'll neglect to embrace; unless we suppose them as blind as some of their Neighbours.

From Germany, Paris, and Holland, We hear that the French are likewise in a fair Way of getting the Affair relating to the Duchies of Burgundy and Juliers settled to their own liking; for the Electors of Bavaria, Palatinate and Cologne, have entered into an Association, by which they have settled the Succession to those Duchies, after the Death of the present Elector Palatine; and which, in Case of Opposition, is to be supported by France: This Settlement has been communicated to the States General; and as it from thence appears, that the King of Prussia is to be entirely excluded from having any Share in that Succession, his Minister at the Hague, who says his Master has the strongest and best Pretensions, bestirre himself with great Vigour, to prevent their High Mightinesses from approving of that Association, or the Settlement thereby made; and as the States, not without Reason, seem no Way pleased with France's intermeddling in this Affair; the Marquis de Foville, the French Ambassador at the Hague, has, by Orders from his Court, delivered a very complaisant Memorial, whereby his most Christian Majesty declares, that he will take no Share in that Affair which may be disadvantageous to the States General, and that he will, &c. in Concert with their High Mightinesses in whatever may concern them relating thereto; but we may believe that France will do all in her Power to prevent the King of Prussia's having any Part of either of those Duchies;

because as Prussia is now the most powerful Prince of the Empire, next the Emperor, with respect at least to his German Dominions, it would be to his Power to keep the Protestant's floor in better Repair, and a more numerous Army in the Country, in order to prevent the French making themselves Masters of it upon any Emergencies, than any other German Prince could do; and therefore it will always be the Interest of France to prevent Prussia, or any other powerful Prince, from getting a Footing in those Duchies, or in any other Country of Germany upon the West Side of the Rhine; all which Countries the French have long had a Design of annexing to their own Dominions; and their new Acquisition of Lorain will not a little contribute to the Success of that Design, whenever the Confusion or the Stupidity of any of their principal Neighbours shall afford them an Opportunity. Joined to this political Reason, they have a religious Reason for opposing the Pretensions of Prussia; because if the Succession of these two Duchies should devolve to him it would strengthen the Protestant Interest in Europe; and Reasons of this Nature seem of late to be of greater Weight with the Roman Catholic Courts of Europe, than they have appeared to be with those who call themselves Protestants.

From the Hague, That Mr. Trevor, the British Minister there, having renewed his Application to the States General, in relation to the Dispute about Ter Veer and Flushing, between the Prince of Orange and the States of Zealand, their High Mightinesses wrote a Letter to the States of that Province, signifying that, altho' as Executors of the Will of the late King William, they had no Power to pass any definitive Sentences in relation to that Dispute, yet they had offered to the King of Great Britain their Mediation for terminating that Affair; with which they had reason to hope their Noble Mightinesses would not be displeas'd; that in Case their Mediation should be accepted by all Parties, they hoped their Noble Mightinesses would contribute as far as in them lay to put an End to it, in the most amicable Manner; and that if the Exigency of Affairs should require, that they would augment the Sum of 300,000 Florins already offered by their Noble Mightinesses, to his Serene Highness. To this Letter, the States of Zealand have wrote an Answer to their High Mightinesses, in which they declare, that they accept with Pleasure the Mediation offered by their High Mightinesses; that they will most readily listen to any Proposals which shall be judged necessary to accommodate that Affair, provided they are not contrary to the Resolutions taken by them in January 1733, and in March last; and that they are not against augmenting the Sum of 300,000 Florins already offered by his Serene Highness, if the same should be thought just or necessary. This is the Sub-

stance of the Letter and Answer, but we may easily suppose that this Affair will not be easily accommodated; for it is absolutely against the Safety as well as Interest of the *States of Zealand* to allow *Tor-Veer* and *Flushing*, two of the principal Keys of their Province, to be in the Possession of any Prince or Potentate not entirely dependent upon them; and it may perhaps be thought not altogether consistent with the Honour of the Family of *Orange*, to accept of any Sum in Lieu of two Marquisates which have always added so much to the Power

and Influence of that Family; Riches having always been despised by noble and great Minds when put in Competition with that which adds to their Power and Influence.

The Regency of *Genoa* have published a new Proclamation promising a Reward to any one that shall take, or kill *King Theodor*; and in this new Proclamation they have likewise promised a Reward to any one that shall take or kill the *Advocate Acosta*, or his Son, or *Michael Fossano de Durasio*, the 3 Persons who accompanied *K. Theodor* in his Retreat from *Corsica*.

ENTERTAINMENT and POETRY.

1. THE Bachelor of *Salamanca*: Or, Memoirs of Don *Cerberim de la Ronda*. In 3 Parts. Translated from the French of *M. le Sage*, by *Mr. Lockman*. Printed for *Mess. Batsworth and Hitch*; *Dover* and *Hewitts*, 12mo, price 3s.

2. *Bacchus and Venus*: Or, a select Collection of near 200 witty and diverting Songs and Catches in Love and Gallantry. Printed for *R. Montagu*, 12mo, price 2s. 6d.

3. An Ode to the Earl of *Chesterfield*, imploring his Majesty's Return. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6d.

4. Patriotic Love: An Ode. chiefly occasion'd by some late Acts of Parliament. Printed for *W. Lewis*, price 6d.

5. A complete Collection of old and new English and Scotch Songs, with their respective Tunes. In 4 Pocket-Volumes, price 1s. each Rich'd. Printed for *J. Clarke*.

6. Health: A Poem, shewing how to procure, preserve, and restore it. The 5th Edition. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

7. An Enquiry into the Morals of the Antients. By *George England*. Printed for *Mess. Batsworth and Hitch*, 8vo, price 9s.

8. Memorials presented by the Deputies of the Council of Trade in *France*, to the Royal-Council, in 1701. Now first publish'd in French and English. Sold by *Mess. Knappan*, 8vo. price 3s. 6d.

9. Institutes of Learning, taken from *Aristotle*, *Plutarch*, *Longinus*, *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, *Cicero*, *Quintilian*, and many other Writers both antient and modern. By the Rev. *Edw. Marwarding*. Printed for *Mess. Innes and Manby*, price 1s.

10. The Rise and Progress of the Papal Power. Done from the French of *Abbot Vertot*, by *Mr. Slacie*. Printed for *F. Cozan*, price 1s.

11. A short View of Latin Grammar: In a Method entirely new. For the Use of Schools. By *John Stirling*, M. A. Printed for *T. Ashley*, price 6d.

12. The Strength and Weakness of human Reason. The 2d Edition corrected. Printed for *C. Rivington*. 12mo, price. 2s. 6d.

13. An Enquiry into the Meaning of Demonicus in the New Testament. Printed

containing Remarks on some Passages in the Dedication to his Sermon on the great Storm. Sold by *J. Lewis*, price 6d.

15. A Letter from *Mrs. Jane Jones*, alias *Yenny Diver*, in *Drury-Lane*, to *Mrs. Mrs. bella B-w-w-l-l*, near *Wine-Office-Court, Fleet Street*, Printed for *A. Dodd*, price 6d.

16. A modest Vindication of the truly illustrious Order of Ubiquarians from some late Aspersions raised against it. Sold at the *Patent-Shop*, price 6d.

17. A Dissertation upon the Surface of the Earth, as delineated in a Specimen of a Philosophical Chorographical Chart of *East-Kent*. By *Christopher Pache*, M. D. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 6d.

18. Impartial Thoughts on the Supremacy of the Civil Magistrate. By *Francis Spenser*, A. M. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1s.

POLITICAL.

19. An Essay on Parties and a Free-Government in the Character of an antient Trimmer. With the original Preface, taken from a MS. wrote in the Reign of *King Charles I.* Printed for *W. Warner*, and *J. Wifford*, price 1s.

20. Memoirs of the Times; in a Letter to a Friend in the Country. Printed for *A. Dodd*, price 1s.

21. Reasons for repealing the Pot-Act. Printed for *T. Boreman*, price 4d.

SERMONS.

22. Sermons preach'd at the *Royal-Chapel of White hall*. By *George Carless*, M. A. Printed for *W. Parker*, 8vo, price 5s. 6d.

23. A Sermon preach'd at *Hallaton*, on Occasion of the Small-Pox breaking out there. By *George Frowicke*, B. D. Sold by *T. Longman*, price 6d.

24. A Sermon preach'd in the *Charter-House-Chapel*; on Monday Dec. 15. 1756; being the Day appointed for the Commemoration of the Founder. By the Rev. *George Wilkinson*. Sold by *T. Cooper*, price 6d.

THEOLOGICAL.

25. Social Religion exemplified, in an Account of the first Settlement of Christianity in the City of *Carthage*. Printed for *J. Bachelard*, price 1s.

26. An Essay on Religion. The 2d Edition, with Additions. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1s. 6d.

27. Truth ascertain'd and Error confuted.



T H E

LONDON MAGAZINE.

FEBRUARY, 1737.

A Correspondent having favour'd us with some Remarks on a late *Scheme*, we think it proper first to give our Readers some Account of the *Scheme* itself, which was publish'd in the *General Evening-Post* of Jan. 25. under the following Title.

A Scheme for raising one Million and a Half, or perhaps two Millions, towards the Supply for the current Year, or for the succeeding one, in total Discharge of a Land-Tax, and without laying any new Tax or Burthen on the People.



As the Time approaches when the Original Fund of the Bank will be redeemable by Parliament, viz. upon one Year's Notice

after Aug. 1, 1742, and consequently their Privilege of Banking, or issuing out Cash-Notes, exclusively of all other Corporations, will then cease; and as all the rest of the Debt due to them, besides what is charged on their Original Fund, may be paid off before that Time, it cannot be amiss, now to consider the true Value of a new Grant. And I chuse the

rather, now, to enter upon this Subject, because, since the National Debt to the Bank is very large, being upwards of ten Millions, the Managers of the Bank will rightly conclude, that it cannot be discharged upon one Year's Notice and Preparation; and from thence will be less ready to offer the Publick the true Value of a new Grant: And unless therefore, we do soon take this Matter into Consideration, and now prepare to reduce the Bank Debt, the Nation will receive no Benefit from the Expiration of their Term.

In order to compute the Value of a new Term of Years to a Bank, most People will think it sufficient to take at a Medium the Amount of the Profits, which the Bank make yearly of their Business of Banking, (by which, I mean the Profits they make of the Cash lodged in their Hands, be it by lending on the Malt, or the Land-Tax, or by discounting Bills, or by having lent to the Government on Annuities without increasing their Capital, &c.) and having fixed what this Amount comes to, then to turn to Tables of Interest, and see what is the present Value of an Annuity for such a Term of Years, as shall be intended to be granted, (Money being

at 3 per Cent.) and then after that to set down for the *true Value* of a *new Term* of Years to a *Bank*, so many *Years Purchase* upon the annual Amount of the Profits of Banking, as an *Annuity* for such a Term of Years in Tables of Interest appears to be worth. But then this is not all that is to be taken into Consideration; for the Bank are vested with a greater Extent of Powers and Privileges than they have ever yet made use of.

For instance; The Bank have Power to lend Money on *Land*, and no doubt might have put out prodigious Sums that Way, and have had a better Interest for their Money than most private People; because whoever borrowed it of them would be free from any Charges for the Procuration or Continuation of it, and free from the uncertain sudden Demands often artfully made by private Persons, to distress and make Advantage of a Borrower: And the Readiness of People to borrow of Corporations upon their Land, appeared by the many Engagements of that Kind made to the *Land-Bank* in *K. William's* Reign, during its very short Continuance. Had the Bank then lent out their Money on *Land*, they would have strengthen'd both their *Credit* and their *Interest*, and also extended their Usefulness by relieving the Landed-Property, of which there is a great deal at this Time in Mortgage, most unaccountably at 5 per Cent. while inferior Securities bear a Premium at 3 per Cent.

Another Branch of Business which the Bank have Powers to transact, but yet never meddle with, is the *Remittance of Money* backwards and forwards to *London*, from all the chief trading Cities in *England*, for which they should have proper Offices, or inferior Banks erected in all such Cities and Towns as they intend to manage a Remittance with; this, besides what Profit might be expected upon

the Remittances, would naturally bring great part of the Cash which is now circulated in the Country to be lodged in their Hands.

I must here next observe, that in that Branch of Business in which they do employ themselves, which is that of a *London Banker*, they very much contract and narrow their Dealings, and also their Usefulness to the Publick, by refusing to take in Payment the *Foreign Coins*, for which Reason it is impracticable with many Traders to keep their Cash with them; not that I mean to suggest that they ought to take in Payment the *Foreign Coins*, at the Rate they now go at, but they might regulate and prevent that Folly or Humour in the Nation, which is very much to our Prejudice, by giving more for foreign Coins than their intrinsic Value. For it is really true, that our People will exchange a greater Quantity of pure Gold contained in our *Guineas*, for a lesser Quantity contained in *Moidores* and *Thirty six Shilling Pieces*; so that our new coined full-weight *Guineas*, are continually exported by Degrees privately, while our Returns are made in Foreign Gold; and the Difference is so considerable, that, considering the Shortness of Time it may be transacted in, it is very well worth while to export the one to make the Returns in the other, to the Loss of the Nation. Now this is what the *Bank* might of themselves easily prevent, by making some publick Declaration of the true intrinsic Value of these Pieces, upon an exact Essay made, I mean as to such of them as are of full Weight; and likewise by advertising at the same Time their true Value by *Tale*, as they generally run one with another; and by declaring further, that they would take them in Payment at such a Rate, (according to the *Essay*) as to those of the Pieces that are of full Weight; and at such a Rate by *Tale*, according as they had found the Value was by

Tale. After such a Declaration, from a Corporation of their Weight, no one would give more than they had set 'em at; and the Consequence would be, 1st, Indeed, that the Moldores and 36 Shilling Pieces would pass at about 3d. a piece less than they now do; but, 2^{dly}, It would be, that the Bank would keep perhaps a *third* more Cash than they now do; and, 3^{dly}, That the Nation would save for the future any Loss suffered by Returns made in foreign Coins over-rated; and, 4^{thly}, That great Part of these Pieces would be brought to the Mint, and occasion a very large and honourable *Coinage*, to the Glory of his Majesty's Reign.

I proceed now to estimate the Profits the Bank make of their Business of Banking, and the True Value of a

New Terms; which I do thus, *viz.* The Bank, it is well known, divide $5\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. yearly on their Capital Stock, unto their several Proprietors: They receive but 4 per Cent. from the Government, on the Debt due from thence, except that on the Sum of 1,600,000 *l.* they do receive 6 per Cent. Their Capital Stock, I mean their Stock in their Books upon which they make this Dividend, is 8,959,995 *l.* I don't mean their Debt from the Government, which is somewhat more, but their Capital Stock in their Books is whereabout I have placed it, rather more than less; and by thus placing it at the lowest, I make also the Profits of Banking somewhat less than they are. Now then I say,

L.

A Dividend of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. on 8,959,995 <i>l.</i> is =	492,799
But 4 per Cent. on 8,959,995 <i>l.</i> is but =	358,399
Add the 2 per Ct. over on 1,600,000 <i>l.</i> =	32,000
	390,399

Both the last Sums being deducted from the first, }
 the Remainder must be the Profits of Banking } 102,400

Now turn to Tables of Interest, and see what an Annuity for a Term of Years, we will suppose of 31 Years, is worth in present Value, (Money being at 3 per Cent.) and you will find it to be 20 Years Purchase; then see what the present Value is of an Annuity for six Years and a Half, and you will find it to be almost six Years Purchase :

L.

Then, I say, 20 Times 102,400 <i>l.</i> is =	2,048,000
Then deduct 6 Times the said Sum =	614,400
	1,433,600

This Remainder must be the present Value to be paid }
 for lengthening the Term to 31 Years — } 1,433,600

It may be objected, perhaps, that the Profits of Banking are not quite so much as I have put 'em at, by reason that the Bank have an Allowance from the Government (over and above the Interest paid them) of 5,898 *l.* towards their Charges of Management, which in my Way of computing I have not deducted. But to this I answer, that as I presume, it will be contained in the future Grant,

that will make no Alteration or Deception in the Estimate.

There are moreover some *Items*, which have arisen from the Profits of Banking, which as they have not been divided out among the Bank Proprietors, I have not yet estimated, *viz.* the Money laid out in their new Building; the Purchase Money the Estate cost on which it is built; the great Sum one of their late Di-

rectors got from them, for which they are in some Jeopardy; all these, since they are not necessary annual Expences, must be taken into the Account. I cannot exactly say what they amount to, but take 'em all together to be upwards of 60,000*l.* and to have risen in about the Space of ten Years, and so then when reduced into yearly Produce, will make the Profits of Banking to be about 6000*l.* per Ann. more; and this by our Method of computing, adds to the Value of a new Term, enlarged to 31 Years, the further Sum of 84,000*l.*

I must likewise take Notice, that in 1730, 1731, and 1732, the Bank divided on their Stock 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. and as the Interest they receive from the Government is exactly the same now as it was then; I do not see the Reason why they cannot make as much Profit now as they did then, or at least why they may not expect very soon to do so again, (I don't suppose that thro' Subtilty they have a Mind in their present Situation to seem to make less than they do) yet as this Quarter per Cent. more on their Stock is 22,399*l.* per Ann. and consequently the Purchase Money of a new Term, upon account of this additional Profit, is according to our Method of Computation, 313,586*l.* more, and was proper to mention.

As to the other Advantages of the Bank, above mention'd, which they make no use of, I do not go about to offer any Computation of their Value, because till Experiment has been made, different Persons will differ very widely in their Estimates; all I mean is, to acquaint the World with 'em, that the Bidders for the new Term or Grant, may know all the inviting Circumstances, and that the Nation may have a fair and full Price offered for what they part with.

Thus, I think, I have more than barely hinted at the Means of saving entirely the Land-Tax for one Year, and perhaps for two, or perhaps for

more, in Case, as many think, one Shilling in the Pound without this Help would have sufficed; and if it shall be thought fit to be made an Article of Agreement in the New Contract, that some Part of the Debt shall continue at 4 per Cent. during the whole Term to be granted, in like manner as there is at present a Part at 6 per Cent. not redeemable till after 1742, that will be then another Consideration to invite a yet higher Price; and if it shall be thought fit to extend the Term to more than 31 Years, the Value of the Grant to be sure will be proportionably increased; but I am not willing to propose any Time that much exceeds what there is a Precedent for by the last Judgment of Parliament about this Matter, which in 1713, extended the Term to 1742, with a Year's Notice, which together makes 30 Years from that *Act*.

I have somewhat further to add, but will forbear at present, and conclude with desiring my Readers to observe, that what is here offered is all in behalf of the Landed Interest, which has long groaned under a very heavy Weight, unequally placed; but if after all I should see this Scheme mangled, and by piece-meal applied to other Purposes, I own I should repent of having writ these Lines.

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

Qui decipi vult, decipiatur.

S I R, Feb. 3. 1737.

THE Parson of our Parish is one of those modern High-Churchmen who carry the Doctrine of Passive Obedience higher than ever the Sacbeverellians did; for the latter only said, that we ought to yield Passive Obedience to the King; but the former say, we ought to yield Passive Obedience not only to the King, but to the King's Minister! Now, they

say, we ought to yield Active as well as Passive Obedience to the Minister, and that not only when he executes the Laws, but when he breaks the Laws by sending us Orders, under his highest Displeasure, to vote for such or such a Candidate, at an Election for Members of Parliament: What may be our Doctor's Motive for embracing so odd an Opinion I shall not pretend to determine; but the Doctrine seems to be of great Service to him; for he has already got two fat Livings, and is in Expectation of some Dignity very speedily: And, in the mean time, that he may be sufficiently instructed in the Duty of his Office, he has a great many Pamphlets and News-Papers sent him, *Gratis*; (as it is called, tho' in my Opinion, he pays a terrible Price for them) for which Reason, I generally pay him a Visit once a Week, in order to read those Papers which I can find no where else, but at our Excise Office, which is at a greater Distance.

Last Saturday I went, as usual, and found in the *General Evening-Post* of the *Tuesday* before, a *Scheme for a total Discharge of the Land Tax, without laying any new Tax or Burthen upon the People*. This extraordinary Title I confess surpris'd me; for tho' I immediately took it to be a Jesuitical Scheme, for procuring a new and a cheap Purchase to the *Bank*, by imposing upon those Land-holders who understand nothing of Trade or Taxes, yet I could not conceive how it was possible for a Man to form such a mean Opinion of the Understandings of the Land-holders of *England*, as to imagine he could put so gross an Imposition upon them.

The Scheme I perus'd with that Contempt it deserved, because I supposed it to proceed from some low and selfish Proprietor of *Bank Stock*, who would, with Pleasure, expose the Nation to certain future Ruin, if he could get to himself an immedi-

ate Profit, by raising the Price of his Stock; but upon my throwing the Paper aside, the Doctor asked me, What I thought of that glorious Scheme? This made me look serious; and upon finding he was instructed to trumpet its Praise, I began to suspect it proceeded from some higher Hand than I at first dream'd of; whereupon I desired Leave to carry the Paper home with me, which was granted, on promise to return it next Day.

As this Scheme is calculated to cajole and deceive our landed Gentlemen, and has, I hear, been published and recommended with great Industry, the Remarks I have made, or some such Remarks, ought, I think, to be published for the Sake of Truth, and for the Sake of the Trade, the Prosperity, and consequently the lapded Interest of this Kingdom, which is my Reason for sending them to you.

The Title our Projector has given to his Scheme, as I have said, gave me a good deal of Surprise, considering the Paper I found it published in; for there is but one Way of raising Money for the publick Service, without laying any new Burthen upon the People, and that is by calling all those to a strict Account who have plundered the People: This is the only possible Way of raising Money without burthening the People, and by this Method a much larger Sum than our Projector mentions, a much larger Sum than I shall now take upon me to mention, might be raised, and justly raised; but I could not expect to see such a Scheme published in a Paper which I knew to be countenanced by none but Directors, Stock-jobbers, Brokers, and such other Harpies, who fatten upon the Spoils of Labour and Industry.

Does our Projector think, that the Retrenching the Liberty of our landed Gentlemen, as well as our Merchants, with respect to forming themselves

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themselves into Societies for Banking, is no Hardship upon them? Does he think, that an exclusive Privilege of any Kind granted to a particular Society, is no Burthen upon the People? Is not every such Privilege a Monopoly? And has not every Kind of Monopoly been always deemed, not only a Burthen but a Grievance upon the People of *Great Britain*? This very Privilege which the Bank has for so long enjoyed, I could demonstrate to be a most heavy Burthen upon the People, and a great Prejudice to the Landed Interest, as well as the Trading Interest of this Kingdom; for if it had not been for this Privilege, we should have had a Bank perhaps in every County of *England*, and probably half a Dozen different Banks at *London*; by which means no Merchant of tolerable Credit would ever have been straitned for want of ready Money at a low Interest when he had Occasion for it, nor would any Landed Gentleman, who had a good Title to his Estate, have been obliged to pay such *Premiums* to Brokers, or such an Interest to Mortgagees, as they are now generally obliged to pay: Whereas our present Bank has never, so far as I have heard, assisted any Landed Gentleman, nor any Merchant, except in and about *London* only; so that they seem to be something like the Dog in the Manger, they will neither assist the Landed Gentleman, nor allow any other Society to put themselves in a Way of assisting them.

I shall not now pretend to find fault with the Bank's not lending, upon Mortgages, tho' I'm convinced it would be of great Service to the Nation; but for this purpose it would be necessary to establish Registers in every County, as well as to put those we have under more proper Regulations, and it would be likewise necessary to regulate and abridge our present Methods of Conveyance, both which, I'm afraid, our Law-

yers will always have Interest enough to prevent. Nor shall I find Fault with the Bank's refusing to take in Payment the foreign Coins; because, while we have but one Bank, the Thing is, in my Opinion, impracticable; for the Bank could never take them at any current Rate, without being under a Necessity of weighing every single Piece, which never can be worth the while of such a great and opulent Society: But to imagine that their taking such Coins in Payment, or making any publick Declaration of the true intrinsic Value of those Pieces, upon an exact Essay made, would prevent People's exchanging a greater Quantity of pure Gold contained in our *Guineas*, for a lesser Quantity contained in *Moidores* and *Thirty six Shillings Pieces*, is ridiculous, and shews that our Projector's Knowledge of Trade is as superficial as his Knowledge of the true Interest of the Nation: The Reason of the Difference between the Purchase of Gold in *Guineas*, and the Purchase of the same Sort of Gold in foreign Coins, is because the latter may be exported with Safety, whereas it is hazardous to export or melt down the former, and the Difference of the Purchase will always be equal to the Value generally put upon this Hazard; therefore this Difference does not proceed from any Folly or Humour in the Nation, but from a most natural and obvious Cause; for which Reason, I hope our Projector will, for the future, be more cautious how he accuses the Nation of Folly or Humour; for the greatest Folly or Humour this Nation has ever been guilty of, has been in agreeing to his Monopolizing Schemes, and even that Agreement, as it has generally been purchased, is rather to be ascribed to the Knavery of a few, than to the Folly or Humour of the Nation in general.

Now for the Project itself, I shall

be sorry to see the Nation again reduced to the hard Necessity of selling a Monopoly in Banking to any Society whatever. I am certain we cannot be under any such Necessity now in Time of a profound Peace, unless it be to purchase a false and short-lived View of Popularity to one certain Man, I mean our Projector; for a View of Popularity not founded in Truth will never be lasting, will always be deceitful. But supposing that a Monopoly, or exclusive Privilege in Banking could be granted to a particular Society, without doing an Injury to the People in general, or to any other particular Society now formed, or hereafter to be formed, and that a large Sum of Money might be raised for the publick Service, by granting such a Monopoly, Ought not such an extraordinary Method of raising Money to be reserved for a Time of extraordinary Difficulty and Danger? Shall we in Time of Peace sweep the Exchequer clean, and for the Sake of gaining some Sort of Popularity to our present Administration make it impossible for any future Administration either to defend the Nation in Time of War, or even to support itself in Time of Peace, without burthening the People with new and extraordinary Taxes? Those who think of nothing but temporary Expedients, who have a Regard for nothing but themselves, may contrive such Measures, but no Man that has any Regard for his Country, or his Posterity, can ever approve of them.

This, I say, no Man could approve of, even suppose we had no Debt, suppose we had no ruinous Taxes upon our Trade; but when the Nation is so loaded with Debt, when our Trade is in the utmost Danger of being lost by the many Taxes upon our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, to apply Money raised by such an extraordinary Method to the current Service, only to prevent the People's being sensible of that Ex-

pendence, which our present Measures make necessary, would be a most ridiculous, a most pernicious Expedient. What then must we think of a Scheme, not only for making use of such an Expedient, but for anticipating that Expedient, and making use of it five or six Years before it is necessary for us so much as to think or consider whether or not a new Term ought to be granted to the Bank. By such a Scheme, proposed at such a Time, it would seem as if our Projector were afraid lest such a pernicious Expedient should be left unappropriated by the present Administration; which shews he has as little Regard for them, as he seems to have for the future Happiness or Security of his Country.

If there were now any Occasion for considering, whether or no it would be proper to grant a new Term to the Bank, and how much they ought to pay for that Term, our Projector has upon the Main taken the right Method of Calculating how much we ought to make them pay for such a new Term as he supposes; but even in this he seems to shew as little Favour to the Publick as possible. For it is certain there is a high Probability, that the Bank may and probably will, as soon as this new Term is granted, make as large Dividends as ever they have done; nay, if they will please but to assist the landed Interest a little, by lending at two and a half *per Cent.* upon such Mortgages as are indisputable, they may vastly increase their annual Profits, and may therefore make much larger Dividends than ever they have made; so that their future Dividends ought to be reckoned at above 6 *per Cent.* from whence the Account would come out much more in Favour of the Publick than our Projector has thought fit to make it; for supposing their Dividends for the Future to be but 6 *per Cent.* and no more, the Account will stand thus.

REMARKS on the New BANK SCHEME;

A Dividend of 6 per Cent. on 8,959,995 <i>l.</i> is =	537,600
But 4 per Cent. on 8,959,995 <i>l.</i> is but =	358,399
Add the 2 per Cent. over on 1,600,000 <i>l.</i> =	<u>32,000</u>
	<u>390,399</u>

Both the last Sums deducted from the first, the }
 Remainder must be the Profits of Banking } 147,201

Now turn to Tables of Interest, and see what such an Annuity for a Term of Years, we will suppose of 31 Years, is worth in present Value, (Money being at 3 per Cent.) and you will find it to be 20 Years Purchase; then see what the present Value is of such an Annuity for 6 Years and a Half, and you will find it to be almost 6 Years Purchase.

Then, I say, 20 Times } 2,944,020
 147,201*l.* is }
 Then deduct 6 Times the }
 said Sum of 147,201*l.* } 883,206 B
 which is }

This Remainder must be }
 the present Value to }
 be paid for a Term of } 2,060,814
 31 Years, to com- }
 mence Aug. 1. next }

I know that several plausible Objections may be made against these Calculations, which I shall state and answer as briefly as I can. In the first Place it may be said, that since the Bank has divided but 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. for several Years past, we ought not to state their future Profits at 6 per Cent. but I say that as they have never, since the late Increase of their Capital, divided less than 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, the least we can reckon their past Profits at is 6 per Cent. For if we allow the Directors of the Bank to have been honest and prudent Managers for the Proprietors, they have never divided out all their Profits, but have every Year reserved such a Sum as they thought would, at the End of the Term, be sufficient to purchase a Renewal of that Term.

Suppose a Man had a leasehold E-

state of 100*l.*, a Year for 30 Years; and that he proposed, at the End of the Term, to purchase a Renewal of his Term at a reasonable Price; such a Man would not surely suppose that he could live at the Rate of 100*l.* a Year, but would propose to save as much Yearly as would in 30 Years be sufficient to purchase a Renewal of his Term; for which End he must, according to Computation, save and put out to Interest regularly about 36*l.* yearly, which being above a third Part of his yearly Rent, or Profits, we must from thence grant, that if the Directors of the Bank have managed the Affairs of that Company, as any prudent Man would manage his own private Affairs, they have saved, and put out to Interest regularly, above one third of their annual Profits, which amounts to above a Half per Cent. Deduction from the Dividends they might otherwise have made; and therefore the least we can compute their present Annuities and Profits at, must be 6 per Cent. yearly, upon the whole capital Stock: And as the Credit of a Bank will always increase the more, the longer it continues established, there is, I think, a Certainty that their Profits may be increased, but not the least Probability that their Profits can be diminished, unless an universal Wreck and Ruin should overwhelm this Nation, which the Application of this Money, according to our Projector's Scheme, would, as I shall hereafter shew, very much contribute to bring upon us.

Next it may be said, that the Dividends made by the Bank, so far as they

they exceed the Annuity paid them by the Government, must be look'd on as a casual Annuity, and therefore not be valued at the same Rate with a certain Annuity. To which I answer, that all Casualties may, and always are reduced to a Certainty, **A** in order to compute their Value, by placing them at a Medium, between the lowest and the highest Sum they can be supposed to amount to; and according to this Method, every Man who considers the Nature of Banking, and how vastly a private Banker, **B** as well as a banking Society, may increase his Profits after he acquires an established Credit, must allow that 6 *per Cent.* is rather below than above the Medium between the highest and the lowest Sum the Bank Dividends may be supposed for the future to amount to; so that an Annuity of near 2 *per Cent.* arising from their Profits by Banking, may be reckoned as certain as any other Annuity whatsoever, and is therefore to be valued at the same Rate with a certain Annuity.

Lastly, It may be said, that an Annuity arising from the Profits of any Trade, ought not to be valued at so high a Rate, as an Annuity payable in ready Money out of Lands, or any other certain Fund, because the former always requires Management, Labour, Pains, and Expence, neither of which is required in the latter. The Answer to this is very plain and easy, because every Director, and every Officer, is paid for his Management, Labour, Pains, and Expence, out of the Profits, before the Dividends or net Profits are computed; so that the Dividends, with respect to the Proprietors, is an Annuity that comes to them regularly without any Management, Labour, Pains, or Expence; and ought therefore to be valued at as high a Rate as any other Annuity whatsoever.

These are all the Objections I can think of; and having, I think, remov-

ed every one of them, I shall take Notice of two Circumstances that will increase the Sum, which the Publick ought to demand from the Bank for a new Term of 31 Years. The first is, that, as this new Term cannot be made to commence before the first of *August* next, the Consideration Money to be paid for that Term by the Bank will probably be made payable on that Day, and therefore the present Value of an Annuity for 6 Years only, instead of 6 and a Half, is to be deducted from the present Value of the Annuity for 31 Years; that is to say, the Sum of 797,388*l.* only, instead of the Sum of 883,206*l.* is to be deducted from the Sum of 2,944,020*l.* in which case the Remainder will be 2,146,631*l.* which is the least Sum the Publick ought to insist on: But there is another Circumstance which will intitle the Publick to insist upon a higher Price, and that is, the great Loss the Proprietors of the Bank must sustain, if they should refuse to accept of the **D** Terms the Publick shall be pleas'd to offer; for as Bank Stock now sells for near 150 *per Cent.* every one of the Proprietors would lose one third Part of his Capital, by the Bank's not accepting of the Terms that shall be offer'd; which is a Circumstance the Publick ought certainly to make some Advantage of, especially considering the heavy Load of Debts and Taxes the Nation now groans under; and from this Circumstance I must think, that the Publick ought to insist upon having at least 2,500,000*l.* from the Bank for a new Term of 31 Years; in case it should be found necessary for us to continue that exclusive Privilege the Bank now enjoys, which I hope it never will.

But supposing the Nation to be under a Necessity of selling a new Term to the Bank, and supposing that the present Time is the most proper for that Purpose, let us con-

sider how the Money to be raised by that Sale, or Grant, ought to be applied. Upon this Question I must say I am vastly surprized to hear any Man pretend it ought to be applied to the current Service of this or any future Year, considering the many Taxes we are now subject to, which are greatly prejudicial, not only to the Landed Interest, but to the Trading Interest, and even to the Liberties of this Kingdom.

Our Projector, according to a late Practice, plumes himself much upon the Relief that may this Way be procured for the Landed Interest, by freeing them entirely from the Land Tax; but this Relief cannot possibly be procured, as long as we have any Taxes subsisting upon the Necessaries of Life; because it is certain, that the reviving or continuing of any Tax upon the Necessaries of Life, in order to relieve the Landed Interest of a Shilling in the Pound Land Tax, can never be a Relief to those Landed Gentlemen, who stand most in need of Relief, I mean those of 60*l.* a Year, or under: It may, indeed, be a present Relief to Gentlemen of large and opulent Fortunes, but never can be a Relief to those whose Share of any Tax upon the Necessaries of Life, will generally amount to near as much as their Share of a Tax of equal Value upon Land would amount to; therefore, if we have any Regard to those Landed Gentlemen, who stand most in need of Relief, we ought to bend all our Measures towards relieving them of those Taxes upon the Necessaries of Life, which are not only an immediate and grievous Burthen upon them, but a most destructive Burthen upon our Trade, because they inhanse the Price of all our Manufactures; and if our Trade should be undone, if most of our Cities and Towns should be rendered desolate and uninhabited, which will at last be the Case, if our present

high Duties continue upon those Things, that are necessary for our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, I shall leave it to our Landed Men of all Ranks and Conditions to consider, how much their Estates in Land and Houses must decrease in their Value, and whether it be prudent in them to run such a Risk for the Sake of saving for one Year or two, or more, a Shilling in the Pound Land Tax.

I shall readily grant, that the Tax which is called the *Land Tax*, is most unequally raised; for by the Law every Year made for that purpose, *all Estates in Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, or other Chattels, or personal Estate whatsoever*, are subjected to that Tax; and yet, notwithstanding the express Words of the Law, it is well known what a small Share is paid towards that Tax, by those who are possessed of personal Estates only: Then with respect to those who have Estates in our Funds, I must say, I think it a little extraordinary, that they should be made altogether free of paying any Share towards the Expence necessary for protecting them in the Enjoyment of their Property in those Funds: I can think of no just Reason for granting them any such Immunity; and, therefore, those who pretend such an Affection for the Landed Interest of this Kingdom, ought to shew that Affection, by endeavouring to subject our rich Stockjobbers to the Land Tax; and by endeavouring to put the Law in Execution, with respect to the raising it in a just and equitable Manner, upon all other personal Estates; which would greatly contribute towards freeing our Landed Gentlemen from those many Taxes, upon the Necessaries of Life, that now render the Support of their Families so expensive to them; and then they could easily afford to pay such a small Tax upon Land, as would be necessary for the Support of our Government in Time of

Peace, or for the Defence of the Nation in Time of War, especially if no undeserved Pensions or Salaries were granted, no useless Posts continued, nor any unnecessary Expence incurred.

This would be a Project worthy the Thanks of every Man who wishes well to his Country; but this would greatly lessen the Power and the Influence of our Ministers; for as the Land Tax, or that Tax which is called the *Land Tax*, is raised without the Expence of maintaining any Officers, it affords to our Ministers no Room for rewarding their Favourites, or Slaves, with lucrative Posts, or Employments; but for this very Reason, every Man, who is not the Favourite or Slave of a Minister, will be for raising Money for the publick Service in this Way rather than any other; because by those Taxes, which serve to increase or keep up the Number of our Officers, our Liberties may be overturned, which they can never be by any Tax raised in the same Manner in which the Land Tax is raised at present; and the present Method of raising it might be much improved, by making every County name their own Collectors, and answer for their Deficiencies, which is the Method that has been long practised in *Scotland*, and was lately proposed in Parliament to have been established in *England*; but by I do not know what Fate, the Proposition happened to be over-ruled.

For this Reason, every Landed Gentleman will despise that Relief which is proposed to be given him, by continuing those Taxes that lie heavy upon the Necessaries of Life, and will be convinced that such Schemes do not proceed from any Regard to the Landed Interest, but from a Desire to continue the Power and Influence of Ministers, by which the Freedom and Independency of Parliaments may be brought into the most imminent Danger. And for the same Reason, if any Money be

now to be raised by granting a new Term to the Bank, it is to be hoped, that every Man, except those who are, or have a Mind to be the Slaves of Ministers, will be for applying that Money, towards relieving us from those Taxes that lie heavy upon the Necessaries of Life; with respect to which we can be under no Difficulty which to chuse.

I have already shown that the Publick may expect, and ought to insist upon having 2,500,000*l.* for such a Grant; and if such a Price can be obtained, one Million of it ought certainly to be applied towards relieving us from the Salt-Duty, which is a most heavy Tax upon our Trade, upon our Shipping, upon our Poor, and upon our Landed Gentlemen of small Fortunes, who live in the Country, and generally keep some Part of their Estate in their own Possession, or farm a Part of some neighbouring Gentleman's Estate; and by the remaining Part of this Price, we may not only pay off the Debt which still remains due on Account of the Navy, but we may, with the usual Assistance from the Sinking Fund make a good Step towards freeing the Nation from the Tax upon Soap, and likewise from that upon Candles, both which contribute greatly to enhance the Price of all our Manufactures, and consequently to the Ruin of our Trade, upon the Preservation of which the present yearly Revenue of every Landed Gentleman's Estate very much depends.

But besides the Advantage that would accrue to the Nation in general, by being relieved from any of those Taxes which lie heavy upon our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, I shall now shew, that every Landed Gentleman who has not above 60*l.* a Year Land Estate, will be a greater Gainer by applying this Money to the Uses I have mentioned, than by applying it to relieving him from a Shilling in the Pound Land-

Tax. For this purpose I shall suppose the Debt still due on Account of the Navy to be about 500,000 *l.* which must be paid off either by a Shilling in the Pound Land-Tax, or by some other Tax of which the Landed Gentlemen must pay their Share: I shall suppose that if it be not paid off by the Money to be got from the Bank, it will be paid off by continuing the Salt Duty for 3 Years longer; and therefore I shall consider that Duty as fixed upon us for 10 Years to come: As for the Taxes upon Soap and Candles, I must look on them as fixed upon the Nation for 31 Years to come; because, I believe, it will be at least 31 Years, before all our Debts can be paid off by the Produce of the Sinking Fund, unless we suppose it is for the future to be more religiously applied than we can reasonably, in such a Case, suppose.

Now let us consider what a Gentleman of 60 *l.* a Year Land Estate may be supposed to pay Yearly towards each of these Taxes; and here I shall suppose that every such Gentleman has at least 10 Persons in his Family, whom he maintains in Bed, Board, and Washing; for if he has any Servants to whom he gives Wages in lieu of either of those Necessaries, the dearer those Necessaries are rendered by the Taxes upon them, the greater Wages he must pay; because poor Servants and Day-Labourers must have the Necessaries of Life, and as they have no Way to purchase them but by Means of their Wages, if the Price of Necessaries be enhanced by Taxes, their Wages must necessarily be increased, which is confirmed by woful Experience in all manner of Business: I must likewise suppose that every Tax raises the Price of that Commodity upon which it is laid, much higher in Proportion than the Value of the Tax laid upon it: This also is confirmed by Experience, and is a Consequence not only natural but necessary.

After what is premised I shall suppose, that a Landed Gentleman of 60 *l.* a Year pays 14 *s.* a Year for Salt to his Family more than he would pay if there were no Duty upon that Commodity; that he pays 20 *s.* a Year for Soap consumed in his Family more than he would pay if there were no Duty upon Soap, and that he pays 13 *s.* a Year for Candles more than he would pay if there were no Duty upon Tallow or Candles. Each of these extraordinary Payments, we must therefore look on as Annuities issuing out of his Estate on account of those Taxes, for the Terms I have respectively mentioned; and for this Reason, in order to discover a Man's present Gain, by any Stop taken towards the abolishing of those Taxes, we must compute the present Value of those Annuities.

The Annuity of 14 *s.* a Year such a Man is to pay for 10 Years on account of the Duty upon Salt, is worth in present Value 8½ Years Purchase or 6 *l.* The present Value of the Annuity of 20 *s.* he is to pay for 31 Years, on account of the Duty upon Soap, at 20 Years Purchase, is 20 *l.* and the present Value of the Annuity of 13 *s.* he is to pay for 31 Years on account of the Duty upon Candles, at 20 Years Purchase, is 13 *l.* These last two present Values being added together make 33 *l.* which would be the Gain of every Gentleman of 60 *l.* a Year Estate, if the Duties on Soap and Candles were both to be absolutely and at once discharged; but as a Million only, Part of the Sum to be paid by the Bank, can, as I have supposed, be applied to that Purpose, we are therefore to see what Gainer such a Gentleman will be by the partial Abolition to be made by the Application of that Sum, in order to which we must compute what the Produce of those two Taxes is worth in present Value, because that present Value will be in Proportion to one Million, as the whole Gain

is to the partial Gain. If I have been rightly informed the Net Produce of these two Taxes for last Year, amounted to about 365,000 *l.* and if we look upon this as an Annuity payable by the People to continue for 31 Years, it is worth in present Value, at 20 Years Purchase, 7,300,000 *l.* Therefore the Proportion will be thus,

7,300,000 *l.* : 1,000,000 *l.* :: 33 $\frac{1}{2}$: 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

Consequently this Sum of 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ is the Gain every Landed Gentleman of 60 *l.* a Year will make by the Application of this Million towards abolishing the Duties upon Soap and Candles; which being added to 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ Gain, every such Man will make by the total Abolition of the Salt Duty, the whole Gain will amount to 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Now let us see what a Gentleman of 60 *l.* a Year Land Estate will gain by making him free of 1 *s.* in the Pound Land Tax for five Years, which the said Sum of 2,500,000 *l.* would very near do, if the Whole were to be applied that Way. Here I shall suppose, that every Landed Gentleman in Great Britain, one with another, has his Estate valued towards the Land Tax at two Thirds of the real Value; according to which we must reckon, that every Gentleman of 60 *l.* a Year pays 40 *s.* a Year towards a Land Tax of 1 *s.* in the Pound; therefore every such Gentleman will be, by this Method of Application, made free of an Annuity of 40 *s.* a Year, which most otherwise have issued out of his Estate for a Term of five Years, the present Value of which at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ Years Purchase, amounts to 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ only; from whence it is plain, that every Gentleman in Great Britain of 60 *l.* a Year Land Estate and no more, will lose 25 *s.* a Year by applying the said Sum of 2,500,000 *l.* towards freeing him from the Land Tax, instead of applying it towards relieving him of those Taxes which lie heavy upon the Necessaries of Life; and every Man of a Land Estate under 60 *l.* a Year will be still a greater Loser;

what is most piteous, and really pleads for Compassion from every rich Man in the Kingdom, the poorer the Land-Holder is, the greater Loser he will be, by this Method of Application.

These Calculations I have made for the Use of those Land-Holders only who have some Regard for their Country and their Posterity, in order to shew them, that the Ease pretended to be prepared for them by this Scheme, or by any such Scheme, can be no Ease, but must be a Loss to the Land-Holder who has not above 60 *l.* a Year; for as to those modern fine Gentlemen who think it ridiculous to have any Regard to their Country, or their Posterity, when it comes in a Competition with their own immediate Ease or Advantage, I know that Calculation as well as Reason is vain; I know it would be as ridiculous to offer Reason or Calculation to them, as it would be to make Love to the Prostitutes in a common Brothel; I know the Price to be paid is the only Argument for gaining the Consent of either; but in this Nation, I hope, the Male Prostitutes will always be as much despised as the Female; I am sure the former Sort are by much the most noxious Animals of the two.

But as for those Landed Gentlemen who have any Virtue or Modesty left, I believe the Suppositions, upon which my Calculations are founded, will not to them seem extravagant. If my Suppositions are right, my Calculations cannot be wrong; and therefore they must see that the principal Design of the Advocates for this, and every such Scheme, must be, to give an Ease to the Rich, by grinding the Face of the Poor, and to destroy our Trade, and our Constitution, by continuing that Distress and Dependence which was first created, and is daily increased, by the many small Taxes the

The Necessaries of Life were, by the late glorious, but expensive War subjected to. That this is the Design of the Author, of this Scheme is to me demonstrable; and as he makes his Calculations as favourable as he can for the Bank, I am convinced the Scheme proceeds from some eminent Stockjobber, who is a great Friend to the Bank, and has probably a considerable Share in their Capital; but by the Wisdom and Honour of his Countrymen, I hope his Design will be rendered abortive.

After having thus clearly shewn, that this Scheme would be an Oppression upon, instead of being a Relief to, the Landed Gentlemen of small Fortunes, who, next to our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, are the People that stand most in need of Relief, I believe I need add no other Argument for convincing every honest *Englishman*, that it ought to be rejected: However I must beg Leave to mention one other, which is, That the applying any Part of the Money to be got from the Bank for a new Term, to the current Service of this or any future Year, would be a great Injustice done to *England*, because it would be providing for that Service to which the whole Island ought to contribute, without subjecting *Scotland* to a single Farthing; for the exclusive Privilege of the Bank of *England* does not extend to *Scotland*; nor will our Bank, I believe, ever desire it should; and therefore *Scotland* has no Title to receive any Benefit by what the Bank pays for continuing that Privilege; the whole Sum ought, indeed, in strict Justice, to be applied towards paying off those Debts which were contracted before the Union; but as a great deal more than a proportionable Part of the Duties upon Salt, Soap, and Candles, are levied upon *England*, as *Scotland* pays but a small Share of the Produce of either of these Duties, the Advantage which *Eng-*

land will reap by the Method of Application I have proposed, will be much more considerable than the Injustice thereby done; therefore, I believe, the Injustice will not be much regarded by the People of *England*; whereas, to apply any Part of the Sum to be got from the Bank, to the current Service of this or any future Year, will be such a glaring Piece of Injustice, and the Advantage will be felt by so few, that every *Englishman* will probably resent the Injustice, and no *Scottishman* of Honour will desire the Favour: For this Reason it is justly to be apprehended, that such a Measure would raise great Disaffection towards his Majesty's Person and Government, and therefore it never can be countenanced, much less proposed, by a Man who has nothing in View, but the Security and Defence of our present happy Establishment.

I shall conclude with observing, that this Scheme, deceitful and wicked as it is, may have one good Effect; I hope it will put People in mind, that as the Term the Bank has, is drawing near an End, the Publick ought to begin to think of redeeming the Nation from that Monopoly, and therefore they ought now to begin to pay off that Capital, which must be all redeemed before an End can be put to their exclusive Privilege: For which Reason, I hope, the Sinking Fund will for this Year, at least, be wholly applied towards paying off a Part of their Capital; for if the Nation should, by any future Calamity, be obliged to sell them a new Term, the less their Capital happens at that Time to be, the better Price we may expect for that new Term; and if the Nation should be so lucky as not to fall under any such Necessity, the less their remaining Capital is, at the End of their present Term, the more easy it will be for the Nation to get rid of that Monopoly, which

they must enjoy till their whole Capital be paid off. I am, SIR,

Your constant Reader, and humble Servant,

A YEOMAN of KENT.

Craftsman, Feb. 5. N^o 553.

Extracts from the Instrument of Assurance, which the present King of Sweden offer'd to the States. (See p. 39.)

THE Queen of Sweden being desirous to have her Royal Consort, the hereditary Prince of Hesse, join'd with her in the Administration of the regal Power, she made a formal Proposal to the States of the Kingdom for that Purpose; which meeting with great Opposition from the Nobility, she sent another Letter to the States, acquainting them that she was willing to recede from sharing any Part of the regal Power, and that it should be executed by her Consort alone. At the same Time, the Prince of Hesse Cassel, the intended Sovereign, sent a Declaration of the People's Rights, as we call it; from whence I have extracted the following Articles.

Art. 6. Whereas I desire nothing more earnestly than the good Government of the Kingdom, and the Preservation of the Rights belonging to me, and the States, I shall therefore always concur with them, they having both now and hereafter full Power to enact such Statutes and Ordinances, for themselves and the Kingdom, as they find necessary, for the publick Good, and their own Happiness and Safety. Wherefore I do hereby give Assurance, universally and openly, that I will, to the utmost of my Power, use the regal Authority, committed to me, for promoting the general Good of the Kingdom, and every Member thereof; being determined to ground my Authority, by Lenity and Justice, in the Hearts of my Subjects, and to rule and govern

according to the Kingdom's Statutes and Ordinances, and more especially agreeably to the Instrument of Government, which the States have already ordain'd, or shall hereafter think proper for their Security and Welfare to enact.

Art. 7. I cannot give the States of the Kingdom, and its Inhabitants, a stronger and more convincing Proof of these my sincere and good Intentions, than that I do, jointly with them, demonstrate a real Aversion for sovereign Power, or an unlimited regal Authority; which hath, by many Ways, so fatally injured, diminish'd, and visibly weaken'd the Kingdom. Wherefore to the End such arbitrary Power may for ever be extinguish'd, and rooted up, I do declare, in the same Manner as the States have already donè, that he ought to forfeit the royal Throne, and be esteem'd an Enemy to the Kingdom, who either by open Violence, or secret Machinations, shall endeavour to make himself an arbitrary Sovereign; and whatever Person is convicted of the like Contrivances, shall be deem'd a Traitor to his Country, and punish'd accordingly. Wherefore no Person shall be admitted into any Employment, within the Kingdom, or any of its Provinces, be he either spiritual or temporal, high or low, who does not beforehand, by solemn Oath, according to the set Form prescribed, abjure such pernicious arbitrary Government, as destructive and incompatible with the Kingdom's Happiness and Prosperity.

Art. 8. And to remove all Jealousy of such a Sovereign Power's being introduced, I do promise that all such important Affairs, as the States of the Kingdom do, by the Instrument of Government, or Rule of the Chancery, appoint to be discuss'd there, shall not be debated in the Cabinet; it being impossible for any Regency to be inform'd of all the Circumstances, relating to many Affairs, when with any

any particular Views they may be laid before the *Cabinet*; and to the End *such Practices* may be effectually prevented, no Person shall, upon the Forfeiture of his *Place*, presume to lay any Thing of Importance before Us, be it of what Nature or Kind it will, but in the *Council of the Kingdom*; it being always safer for a religious and just King to take the Advice of his *Council*, and let all weighty Matters be concluded by the *Plurality of Voices*, than to let any Case be determined by the Representation of a single Person.

Art. 9. I do promise to govern and rule the Kingdom, by the Advice of the *Kingdom's Council*; nor will I take it amiss of any one, or show the least *Resentment*, tho' Things are not always resolved according to my *Opinion*. Neither will I blame any one, because the *Event* falls out contrary to what was expected; since the *Kingdom's Council* are responsible, if, by Means of their *Votes*, any Thing be acted contrary to the *Instrument of Government*, the *fundamental Laws*, *Rights*, and *Privileges of any of the States*. I do also farther promise, not to use the least *Incroachment*, or any Ways obstruct the *Deliberation of the States*, nor take ill whatever *Debates*, *Discourses*, or *Conclusions*, may happen, and be made amongst them; but do hereby declare, that I will have a general Love and Kindness for all the *Inhabitants of the Kingdom*; so that what any of them may have already *spoken*, or shall speak hereafter, out of Zeal for the *publick Good*, shall not be imputed to them as a *Crime*; but I will rather, on all Occasions, reward *such good intention'd Men* with my *Favour* and *Affection*.

Art. 10. In supplying the Vacancies that may happen in the *Kingdom's Senate*, as well as all other *Places of Trust*, I do promise, in all Points, to observe and follow the *Instrument of Government*, establish'd by the *States* last Year, so far as it is not alter'd by

this *Instrument of Assurance*, or may be farther amended by the *States of the Kingdom* now assembled; and I will also maintain the *Employments* in their due and lawful Honour and Reputation, that the important Affairs of the Nation may be executed with so much the more Respect and Vigour. And as an *unrestrain'd Power of disposing of Employments* may be thought by many to be a Means, whereby an *arbitrary and unlimited Government* may be again introduced, I do therefore promise, that all *Officers and Employments*, from a *Colonel* to a *Field Marshal*, and all *civil Places of the same Rank*, shall only be given in *Council*, according to the *Majority of Votes*.

Art. 11. No Person shall be suspended from the *Execution of his Trust*, without a *previous, lawful Enquiry*; much less shall any one, as long as he is able to discharge his *Duty*, be displaced before Judgment be given in his Case, according to *Law*.

Art. 12. The *Kingdom's Treasure*, not apply'd by the *States* to any particular Use, be the Sums great or small, shall not be disposed of, but by the Advice and *Plurality of the Votes of the Council of the Kingdom*; and all due Care shall be taken, that the *Expence* do not exceed the *Income*.

Art. 22. And that the *States of the Kingdom* may be the more firmly assured of my sincere and good Intentions for the publick Welfare, I do therefore declare that they shall be free and absolved from their *Oath of Homage and Allegiance*, in Case it be found that I have, on my Part, violated the *Oath and Assurance*, which I hereby make to the *States of the Kingdom*, or do infringe, or break any Statutes they shall farther think fit to enact, for the Security of their *Religion, Liberties and Properties*.

Art. 23. Whereas I find it proper that this *Declaration*, which I am firmly resolved to observe, be made universally publick, for every one's

Regulation; I shall therefore, with Contempt and Disdain, observe if any one, whether he be high or low, Native or Foreigner, should be so ill-advised as to propose, under Pretence of pleasing me, the making of any Alteration herein, or offer to allow me greater Power, and Authority, than is contain'd in the foregoing Articles; since I desire no greater Authority than, on one Side, to gain the Hearts of all honest People; and, on the other, to be their Protection and Defence against all Attempts upon their just and honourable Liberties. All which I do with my own Hand subscribe, and with my corporal Oath confirm, as I desire that God will preserve my Body and Soul.—Stockholm the 22d of March; 1720.

Sign'd, *Frederick of Hesse.*
 Upon this frank, simple and most solemn Declaration, and Recognition of the Swedish Liberties, the States immediately came to an unanimous Resolution to confer the regal Dignity upon his Royal Highness the Prince of Hesse; and having afterwards chosen a Committee of the four Orders to present their Act of Election to him, in which they again asserted their Liberties, he made a short Speech to them, and told them, That he could not with Gratitude enough acknowledge the extraordinary Mark of Affection, which the Queen had shewn him, on this Occasion; and that he thankfully accepted the Offer the States made him; and would make it the whole Study of his Life to shew them how much he thought himself obliged to them; for advancing him to the Throne; and that, during the whole Course of his Reign, he would be solely guided by the Advice of the Council of the Kingdoms; and would, on all Occasions, promote the Welfare and Glory of the Nation; and endeavour to live with them, not only as their King, but as their Friend and Brother.

Fog's Journal, Feb. 5. N° 430.

The Voice of the People.

POPE John XXIII. being asked at a certain Time, what Thing was farthest distant from Truth, answer'd, the Opinion of the Vulgar. Phocion was so strongly perswaded of the same Thing, that making a Speech once in Athens, and observing that the whole Assembly applauded him, he ask'd his Friends, who stood by, wherein he had spoke amiss; it appearing to him that in the blind Applause of the People there was no Room for just Praise. I do not approve such rigorous Sentiments, neither can I affirm that the People is the direct Antipod of Truth. Sometimes they are in the right; but then it is either by Chance or the Light of another Understanding. A certain wise Man compar'd the Vulgar to the Moon, on Account of their Inconstancy: There was likewise Room for this Comparison, because they never shine with their own Light.

Was Truth to be decided by the Plurality of Voices, we must look for sound Doctrine in the Koran of Mahomet, not in the Gospel of Christ; it being certain that the Koran has more Votes on its Side than the Gospel. Whoever considers that there is only one Way which leads to Truth, and that the Paths of Error are infinite, will not be surpriz'd, as Men proceed in their Journey with such a scanty Light, that the greatest Part of them should lose themselves.

Even in that People which was called by the Name of God's People, so far oftentimes were the Voice of God and the Voice of the People from being the same, that there was not so much as the least Harmony between them. Thus it happen'd on many Occasions: But the Case of their asking a King of Samuel has something particular in it. The Voice of God, by the Mouth of the Prophet,

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Prophet, dissuaded them from such an Election. But how far was the Voice of the People from chiming in with the Organ of God? They insist once and again upon having a King: And what Foundation do they go upon? Why upon this, *That we also may be like all the Nations,* (1 Sam. viii.) Here two Things are to be remark'd, that the Voice of the People err'd; and that its being qualify'd with the Authority of other Nations did not hinder it from doing so.

I believ'd for some Time that in one certain Affair the Voice of the People might be infallible, viz. in their Notions of the Qualities of Men. It appear'd to me that he was unquestionably wise or good, whom all the People reckon'd so, and the contrary. But upon second Reflection I found that in this also the popular Opinion is mistaken sometimes. As *Phocion* once was rebuking the People of *Athens* with some Severity, his Adversary, *Demosthenes*, said to him; *Consider that the People will kill thee if they should begin to be mad.* They would kill me (answer'd *Phocion*) if they should begin to be in their right Senses: By these Words, declaring that, in his Mind, the People never form to themselves a just Idea of the Qualifications of Men. The unhappy End of the same *Phocion* confirm'd his Opinion in a great Measure, since he was put to Death by the furious People of *Athens*, as an Enemy to his Country, notwithstanding that he was the best Man of all *Greece* in those Days.

As to what concerns Virtue and Vice, the one being mistaken for the other in certain Individuals, the Errors of different Countries have been so many on this Head that you meet with them at every Step in History. To make one absolutely distrust the Voice of the People, he needs only to reflect upon the most extravagant Errors, which in Affairs of Religion, Government, Customs and Laws,

have been, and still are authoriz'd by the general Consent, or which is the same Thing, by the Majority of different Communities, Bodies corporate, and national Synods. *Cicero* said that there was no Absurdity how great soever, that had not been maintain'd by some Philosopher; with more Reason will I say, that there is no blundering Conceit that is not warrant'd by one Set of People on other.

Universal Spectator, Feb. 5. N^o 435

Of Talkativeness.

I HAVE somewhere read a Story of a King, call'd *Arbelaus*: His *Valet de Chambre*, a Barber, and who was us'd to dress him, was, it seems, like our modern Barbers, a very loquacious Gentleman; When he came one Day to trim his Majesty, he began with, *Pray, Sir, how do you please to have me cut your Hair.* His Majesty reply'd, *silently.* Your great Talkers, like this Barber, think that no one has any Thing to do but to listen to their Impertinence. I can not but heartily pity poor *Horace*, when he met with that *impertinent Babler*, that almost kill'd him with his Torrent of Discourse: We have the same Set of *modern Impertinents* and one can hardly walk from the *Exchange* to the *Temple*, from the *Temple* to *St. James's*, without meeting half a Dozen of them. I am very much pleas'd with a little Tale that is told of *Isocrates*: This *Master of Oratory*, when a *loquacious Pupil* would have enter'd himself under his Tutorage, ask'd a *double Fee*; the one, he said, was to learn him to *speake well*; the other, for what was of more Importance, to teach him to *bold his Peace.* I cou'd wish that some of our young Orators, who frequent the *Temple* and *Fleet-street* Coffee-Houses, were to go thro' a Course of Lectures under such a Tutor as *Isocrates*; we shou'd then have fewer

Political

Political, Theological, Theatrical, Poetical, and other miscellaneous publick Harangues at those publick *Schools of Education.*

Some have a strong Impulse to divulge *Secrets*, either that they do know, or do not know; these are Traitors to Society, leaky Vessels unfit for Use, who can contain nothing. Others will boast of *Favours* they may have found; but far, far oftner, those which they never receiv'd: These lose that Credit they wou'd gain by too much endeavouring to secure it; and by *proving too much prove nothing.* They who have the Tinkling of *Rhymes* in their *Pericraniums*, generally turn out *Repeaters*, and will tune out their *Poetical Productions*; tho' it be to a *Merchant on big Change*, or a *Serjeant at Law* in his *Harry* from the *King's-Bomb* to the *Common-Phis.* A *Sailor*, a *Soldier*, a *Parson*, an *old Woman*, a *common Porter*, or a *common Mistress*, must all attend to the *Harmony* of his *Numbers.*

Your *Story-tellers* are still another Kind of *Impertinents* in *Garrulity*, and may be divided into two Sects; the first abound most in the *Flow of Words* to *introduce* their *Story*; the other lays not so much Dependence on the *flourishing Preamble* as on the *Episodes* and *Digressions* in the *Narration*: The one cannot tell a *Jest* 'till they have harangued an *Hour* to introduce it properly; the other, who are *old Deas of Turnsears*, stray into a *Waste of Words*, and are lost in these thousand unnecessary *Circumstances* which are the *Follies of Age.*

I wou'd not prescribe a *total Privation* of the Office of the *Tongue*, but wou'd still indulge my several Patients in as free an Exercise of their Talents of *Locution*, *Prolocution*, and *Circumlocution*, as they now enjoy: I wou'd only insist on one Form or *Mode of Speech*; and that is call'd *Solitary*, or *Self-Talk.* I think it improper to lay our *Publick Orators* under an absolute *Tax of Silence*;

but wou'd enjoin them that they shou'd make their several *Harangues* in their own *Chambers* only; nor need they complain of the *Want of an Audience*, when they may, in Imitation of the great *Demosthenes*, imagine every *Chair* a *Politician*, as he did every *Cabbage Stalk* in his *Garden* a *Demizor of Athens.* Thus, by frequent *Conversation* with themselves, they might at last find out; that to speak to themselves is in *Reality* the best *Method* to learn to speak to others.

ON Saturday, Feb. 5. appeared a new *Weekly Paper* under the Title of, *Common Sense: Or, The Englishman's Journal.* This first was an *Introductory Paper*, in which the Author, among other Things, says:

Another *Difficulty* that occur'd to me, was the present great Number of my *Weekly Brethren*, with whom all *People*, except the *Stationers*, and the *Stamp-Office*, think themselves already *overstock'd*; but this *Difficulty* upon farther Consideration lessen'd.

As for the *London Journal*, it cannot possibly interfere with me, as appears from the very *Title* of my *Paper*; moreover I was inform'd; that *Paper* of the same *Size* and *Goodness* as the *London Journal*, being to be had much cheaper unprinted and unstamp'd, and yet as useful to all *Intents* and *Purposes*; was now universally prefer'd.

Fog's Journal, by a natural Progression from *Mist* to *Fog*, is now condensed into a *Cloud*, and only used by *Way* of wet brown *Paper*, in case of *Falls* and *Contusions.*

The *Craftsman* was the only *Rival* that gave me any Concern — that being the only one, I thought there was *World* enough for us both, and persuaded myself that, wiser than *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, we should content ourselves with dividing it between us; besides that, I never observed Mr. *D'Anvers* to be an *Enemy* to *Common Sense.*

Being a Man of great Learning, I have, in chusing the Name of my Paper, had before my Eyes that excellent Precept of *Horace* to Authors, to begin modestly, and not to promise more than they are able to perform. I have therefore only entitl'd *A* it *Common Sense*, which is all I pretend to myself, and no more than what (I dare say) the humblest of my Readers pretends to likewise.

But as a farther Encouragement to try me, I declare that tho' I only promise *Common Sense*, yet if I have *B* any Wit, my Readers shall have it into the Bargain. Wherefore I desire my Customers to look upon this Weekly Expence as a Two-penny Ticket in a Lottery; it may possibly come up Wit, and if a Blank, at worst, *Common Sense*.

But as Modesty is the best Recommendation to great Minds, so it is apt to prejudice little ones, who mistake it for Ignorance, or Guilt; therefore that I may not suffer by it, I must repeat a known Observation, that *Common Sense* is no such common Thing. I could give many Instances of this Truth, if I would, but decline it at present, and chuse to refer my Readers to their several Friends and Acquaintance.

Should I here be ask'd then what I mean by *Common Sense*, if it is so uncommon a Thing? I confess I should be at a Loss to know how to define it. I take *Common Sense*, like *Common Honesty*, rather to be call'd common, because it should be so, than because it is so; it is rather that Rule by which Men judge of other Peoples Actions, than direct their own; the plain Result of right Reason admitted by all, and practis'd by few.

I can't help thinking how very advantageous it may be to a great many People to purchase my Paper, were it only for the Sake of the Title. — Have you read *Common Sense*? — Have you got *Common*

Sense? are Questions which *chuse* should be very sorry not to be able to answer in the Affirmative; and yet in order to be able to do it with Truth, a Precaution of this Kind may possibly not be unnecessary, at least it can do no Hurt.

As to the Design of my Paper, it is to take in all Subjects whatsoever, and try them by the Standard of *Common Sense*. My Intention is to rebuke Vice, correct Errors, reform Abuses, and shame Folly and Prejudice, without Regard to any Thing but *Common Sense*; which as it implies common Decency too, I shall confine myself to Things, and not attack Persons; it being my Desire to improve or amuse every body, without shocking any body.

Grubstreet Journal, Feb. 10. N^o. 872.

Of Alienation Fines.

Gentlemen,

NO one more approves the Restoration of *Charles II.* than myself; but surely it might have been conducted with more Advantage to the Subject than it was. Bad Men may make good Laws, the Governors in 1653 made an Act for the abolishing *Fines on Original Wrists* (which was then intended to extend to *Alienation Fines*) at a Time when they were in great Want of Money; and that Law was nevertheless repealed at the Restoration: Since which Time Taxes then unheard of have been cheerfully paid for the necessary Support of the Government, and we still pay those *Fines*; which, I think, a late learned Author had forgot, when he call'd *Alienation Fines* in a more northern Country a *Badge of Slavery*. When the Civil List was supported by the Revenues of the Crown, and Taxes rais'd upon extraordinary Occasions only, the *Fines* abovemention'd were more reasonable, than in Times when the Civil List and the Deficient

thereof (when any happen) are well supplied by Parliament. I am, &c.

Daily Gazette, Feb. 30. N^o. 510.

The Swedish Government a Commonwealth, according to the Craftsman's Account

THE Authors of the *Craftsman's* having been for many Years endeavouring to subvert the present Form of Government, begin now to tell us what Sort of Government they would substitute in its Place; and they seem, by the two last Letters in that Paper, (See p. 39, 71) to propose that of *Sweden* for their Model; which, supposing it to be such a one as they have represented it, is to all Intents and Purposes a Commonwealth.

For if the *Craftsman's* Account of the present Constitution of *Sweden* be true, the King has not the least Share, Influence or Power, in the Administration of the Affairs of that Nation, nor has any Thing of Royalty in him, but merely the Name and Title. For my Part, I see no manner of Difference between no King at all, and such a one as the *Craftsman* pretends the present King of *Sweden* to be; for it is not the Name, but the Power and Office of a King, that makes the Difference between a Monarchy and a Republick.

The Essence of our Government, as *Rapin* observes, consisting in the Correspondence and strict Union of the King's Prerogatives with the People's Liberties; *So far are those from destroying one another*, says that Writer, *that they are rather the strongest Cement of that strict Union so necessary between the Prince and People; for the King, by means of his Prerogatives, is able to protect his Subjects; to see the Laws duly executed, and Justice impartially administered; to defend the Weak against their powerful Oppressors; to assist the Unfortunate, and punish the Disturbers of the Society.* If these

Prerogatives are of the very Essence of our Government, if so many great Advantages flow from them; what must be the Consequence of divesting the Crown of these Prerogatives, but an intire Alteration of our Constitution, and either introducing a Commonwealth or an Aristocracy, in the Room of a limited Monarchy; which for so many Ages has been our Pride and our Glory; or which is more likely to happen, involving us in a State of Anarchy and Confusion?

As to this *Swedish Instrument of Assurance*, it may, perhaps, be a good Model for a Commonwealth; but it is certainly totally inconsistent even with a limited Monarchy; for a Monarchy, let it be limited as it will, (and I think no Monarchy can be well more limited than our own) supposes, by the very Meaning and Import of the Word, that some Power and Prerogative of some Kind or other, should be vested in the King, and not that he should be absolutely a Cypher, and constituted only for State and Show, or as a mere Master of the Ceremonies to the State.

Even the *Dutch* invested their *Stadtholder*, while that Office subsisted, with more Power than the *Swedes*, according to Mr. *D'Anvers*, now allow their King; for the *Stadtholder* of that Republick, had not only the Command of all the Land and Sea Forces, but the Disposition of all military Employments; he had likewise, in a great Measure, the appointing of Magistrates; for the Towns presented 3 of their Nomination to him, out of which he made Choice of one; and he had many other Rights and Prerogatives, which bordered much nearer upon Sovereign Power, than the *Instrument of Assurance* aforementioned, gives to the Kings of *Sweden*.

But supposing this *Instrument of Assurance* should be compared with any other *Instrument of the same Kind* sup-

supposing it should be compared with the *Declaration of Rights*, which is the Instrument, I presume that Mr. *D'Amers* alludes to; I don't see that it would be any Thing to the Purpose, unless he would speak plain, and ingenuously confess, that he would have the People of *Great Britain* reduce their Government to a Republick, and only retain the Name of a King, as the People of *Sweden* have done; for the *Declaration of Rights* was not intended to introduce any new Form of Government, but only to claim and assert the Rights, Liberties and Privileges of the Subject under the Old. It asked nothing for the People, but what they were justly intitled to, nor desired to take any thing from the King, which legally and rightfully belonged to him. Our glorious Ancestors bravely engaged in the Defence of the Laws and Liberties of their Country, against the worst of Superstition and Tyranny; *Romish* Superstition, and *French* Tyranny; but never had it in their Heads, under that Pretence, to new frame or model the Constitution, and to reduce the Kings of *Great Britain*, to the Condition of a Doge of *Venice*: That was a Work reserved for their wiser and abler Successors, the present Patriots!

At the Desire of a Correspondent, the following is inserted: Which was sent by the Author in the 15th Year of his Age, when at Eton School, to one of his Masters.

Rev. SIR,

AS it behoves every rational Creature, now and then to reflect, and have a just Sense of the End of his Creation; I have set apart all vain Amusements this Day, to enjoy the sweet Satisfaction of my own Thoughts in Retirement; to indulge my Mind in its Conceptions, and to give a full Scope to its Ideas; to traverse o'er the Universe; to contemplate on the Works of Nature,

artfully improv'd by Man's Invention; Experience and Observation: To consider the Decoys of the World, in the Pursuit of its empty Pleasures, and gilded Vanities; the Allurements to its bitter Sweets; the Frailty of their Enjoyment; and the Indifference afterwards: The Flash of its Delights; the Duration of its Anxieties; the near Affinity of Pleasure and Pain; the slow Tongue of Envy to a good Report, the swift Tongue of Calumny to Defamation; the Wisdom of some Men, the Weakness of others, and the Wickedness of many: That the World is divided into two Parts, the chief Study of the one being to deceive the other. These confus'd Thoughts, with innumerable others, made me as it were quite indifferent to Things of this World; and even to myself: And to relieve my Mind under these intricate Notions of Things, I recollected the following Remark.

The world's a labyrinth;
And men are wanderers;
Each tries a several way to gain his end;
And all with distant views to find it out;
If in his course he meet with opposition,
And puzzl'd how to take the various windings,
In order to intangle his opponent,
Himself intangles stronger than before.

These were my Reflections; but ere I cou'd well finish 'em, my Thoughts hurry'd on to the final Conclusion of all, by considering: That whatever Possessions we here enjoy are but a borrow'd Inheritance, which we are to pay to our Successors; that worldly Goods are the Delight of the Body, and goodly Works the Delight of the Soul; Avarice the Punishment of the Rich; and Content the Comfort of the Poor. What avails then the insatiable Thirst of the Miser after Riches? since they consist only in useful Sufficiency, not in useless Superfluity; and increase in Proportion as they are distributed among the Poor.

Vain, foolish Man! has Reason's Gift and knows not what it is, nor how

best to use it. The *summum Bonum* therefore, and safest Direction that can be given Man in this Life, to obtain the Riches of the next, is to embrace the Paths of Virtue; they alone lead to eternal Felicity: And to abhor the Steps of Vice; they alone lead to endless Misery.

These Considerations drew me to the final Point, and I concluded the Whole with the following Reflection.

Life is a lethargy;
Our actions visions,
And when Death summons to pay his due,
Awake from-born into an endless world;
Where each man's deeds impartially are judg'd,
And as are found past actions good or bad,
Have their deserts accordingly assign'd.

Thus was I busy'd in comparing the transitory Things of this Life, with the permanent Things of the next; the Certainty of the one, with the Uncertainties of the other: And as I have communicated my Thoughts to you, I should be well pleas'd to find we agree in our Opinions.

I am, with due Respect,
Rev. S I R,

Your most Obedient, and submissive Pupil,
J. A. HIGGS.

Weekly Miscellany, Feb. 11. N^o 216.

A Short View of the present State of the Nation, with Respect to Religion and Government.

WHOEVER looks back to the Civil and Religious State of this Nation for many Years past, and seriously considers, what Ends have been pursuing, what Steps have been taking, and what is the natural Tendency of them; must be convinced that it is high Time to bethink ourselves, if we have any Concern for the Safety of the Whole. — Unprecedented Freedoms taken with the King and the Royal Family, and a studied Endeavour to make them appear ungracious in the Eyes of the People; — a Contempt, or rather Defiance, not only of the Executive, but of the whole Legislative Power; — Open

Attacks upon Religion, and a profane and irreverent Treatment of Things Sacred. — An undisguis'd and unwearied Endeavour to prejudice the Nation against the present Establishment of the Church, and the decrying all national Establishments whatsoever: — And, to crown all, Popery gaining Ground daily, by preserving at least an outward Respect for Religion, and by the Advantage the Priests reap from that profane and open Contempt of it, which is found among those, who call themselves Protestants.

They who do not see these Things must be blind; and they, who do not attend to the natural Effects and Consequences of them, little better. But as many as do see and attend, and at the same Time have a just Concern for the Peace and Welfare of their Country, must consider where these Things will end; they must and cannot but think that the Indulgence of the Government has already gone a sufficient Length, and that it is high Time to keep a more strict Rein over Licentiousness of all Kinds.

After enlarging upon the several Particulars above, and showing the Influence that Religion has upon Civil Government, and consequently the Wisdom and Importance of keeping up a Sense and Reverence of it on the Minds of the People; and the Advantages given to Popery; by the open Profaneness of Protestants, and the Attempts of many to disparage the establish'd Church; he concludes upon this Head, That with these Advantages it is a Thing not to be wondered at, that Popery gains Ground, and Profelytes multiply; but it wou'd be Matter of very great Wonder, if our Superiours in the State should think the daily Increase of Popery, a Thing not worthy their Consideration or Regard; when every Convert to Popery, is at the same Time a Convert to the Prejuder.

And as for the great Numbers among us, who have been led by the general Licentiousness of our Days to be loose to all Religion; tho' they can have no particular Fondness for Popery, yet if it should ever come to the Trial, which God forbid, no Reason can be conceived, why they should chuse to bring Inconveniencies upon themselves by being *Protestants*. Such Supports will prove *broken Reeds* in the Day of Danger; and if so, it were surely to the Wisdom and Interest, as well as to the Duty and Honour, of a *Protestant* Government, to lay effectual Restraints upon *Profaneness* and *Impiety* of every Kind, and to leave no Means unessy'd, by which a Sense of God and Religion may be preserv'd upon the Minds of the People.

To this, there is one further Motive; which, however despis'd and laugh'd at by the Wathinking and Profane, lies heavy upon the Hearts of serious People; and that is, the Danger of God's withdrawing his Favour and Protection from a People who take so little Care to deserve it; and the just Apprehension of some *national* Judgment, where there is found a *national* Disregard of the Honour of him and his Laws; and much more, where both are openly affronted and violated; without Shame or Restraint.

Crossman, Feb. 22. N^o 554.

Extract from a Pamphlet, printed in the Year 1682, showing how the Liberty of the French Parliament was subverted.

THE Way that France got rid of their Parliaments, and thereby of all Law, but Will and Pleasure, was this. After divers of the Devices of the Ministers had been carelessly follow'd, at last, to crown the Work, a *Parliament* being call'd at Paris, and Wars then on Foot, and a Cloud of Troubles by the French

King made to appear before the *Parliament's* Eyes, and good Store of *Nobility* and *Country* set for *Work*; in that Assembly, a Pretence was made by the *French King* to his *Chief Minister*, and by the *Minister* to the *Parliament*, that, since they had so good, and gracious, and wise Prince; and since Troubles and Wars were now within their Bowels, and great Danger did oftentimes accrue to the Kingdom, for want of the Timely assembling of *Parliament* to raise Money to defray the necessary Occasions; that, in Times of such Emergencies, it was very fit that an extraordinary Care should be taken to prevent such Inconveniencies; that the *King*, only out of his abundant Goodness and Wisdom, and the Care he had of his Subjects, in those Times of Danger, was resolv'd to do all, on his Part, that could be done for the Preservation of his People; whose Prosperity was always more dear to him than his own; that he, good Man, whatever Power they intrusted him with, it was as safe as in their own Hands; that, these Things consider'd, the *King* could see no Way so effectual to prevent the Mischiefs threaten'd, as to be enabled with sufficient Power to raise such Sums of Money, as the Occasions might require, in the Interval of *Parliaments*.

These fine, specious Pretences prevail'd, with the Help of other Arts, to get a Power invested in the *French King* by the *Parliament*, that, at any Time, during the Interval of *Parliament*, the *King* should have Liberty to raise what Money he pleas'd; which that *King* more faithfully perform'd than any other Promise he ever made; and by Virtue of this Power, the Day became his own, and the People his *Vassals*, until the *Estates of Parliament* shall meet to retract that Power, which, most Men believe, will not be before Doom's Day in the Afternoon.

And, as this had been a Pattern for England to walk by, when the House of Commons were so eager to give what was none of their own, and to advance the Prerogative beyond its due Bounds; and the Stream running both high and strong, a Bill was prepared, and was actually brought into the House of Commons, and read once, with Power to the King to raise what Money he pleas'd upon an extraordinary Occasion, as the Dutch War was pretended to be; and the Scheme had doubtless succeeded, had not Lord Clarendon, then Lord Chancellor, been awaken'd by an intimate Friend, who, being inform'd what was doing in the House, came to him and shew'd him what the Consequences were, which such an unheard of Thing would produce, demanding what the Ministers were about, and telling him, that he came to the Honour and Greatness he was in by the Gown, and not by the Sword, and, if that Bill pass'd, he advis'd him to consider, what his Gown, or all the Lawyers Gowns in England, were worth. This Lord, being a Person of great Honour and Love for his Country, was the Occasion of the Ministers retreating from the Pursuit of this Affair. Thus a Bill, tho' once read in the House, to give his Majesty Power to raise Money at Pleasure, was dropp'd, so far as it only dwindled into a Bill of 75,000*l.* not exceeding a Month's Tax.

And no doubt, tho' this Bill was dress'd up in the French Mode, for emergent Occasions; yet, had it pass'd in the same Manner the Ministers design'd, there would not have wanted emergent Occasions, and extraordinary Services, to have given Colour for the keeping the Power so got, no more than there doth in France at this Day, whose King hath never been at Leisure yet to call his Parliament to dispute this Point.

One cannot help observing (says

Mr. D'Avours's Correspondent) upon this Occasion, how naturally the same Measures produce the same Effects in all Countries. Spain seems to have been the first Gorbick Government, whose Liberties were destroy'd by what we call a *Fate of Credit*; or a Confidence reposed in the King to raise Money, at Pleasure, during the Interval of Parliament. France afterwards fell into the same Snare; and England very narrowly escaped it, in the Reign of K. Charles II. for considering the Genius of that King and his Ministers, it is highly probable that he would have attempted, at least, to play the same Game; but the Parliament, in those Days, as bad as it is represented, was too wise to put it in his Power; and if a greater Confidence has been placed in some of our Princes since the Revolution, without any bad Effects on our Liberties, it is more owing to their Goodness than our own Wisdom.

Indeed, when we reflect upon the Ambition of Princes, the Artifices of guilty Ministers to screen themselves from Punishment, and the prevailing Corruption of the Age; it seems almost miraculous that there should be such a Thing as a free Government left upon the Face of the Earth. God knows, there are very few, properly so call'd; and therefore it is downright Madness in any People, who are still in Possession of that inestimable Blessing, not to grow wise by the Experience of other Nations, who have lost it; or to put it in the Power of the Prince or his Ministers to take it away, by their own Consent.

Fog's Journal, Feb. 12. N^o 431.

Of the City of Hamburg, with several Observations on the Hamburgers, and other Germans, &c.

THIS City passes for one of the richest in all Germany; its Commerce drawing hither abundance

of Traders from every Nation in *Europe*. The River *Elb* greatly embellishes it, and furnishes Means for such Ships as have Business here to come up to the Foot of its Ramparts. It is a fine regular City, and full of handsome Buildings, having in and about it several noble Walks; and as for its publick Edifices, their Beauty corresponds with the Opulence of its Citizens. All Affairs, Political and Civil, are in the Hands of its Magistrates, who represent the Sovereign. *Hamburg* is one of those which are filled Imperial Cities; has the Right of defending itself, coining Money, &c. and, for a certain Homage paid the Emperor, enjoys all the Privileges of a free, independent Commonwealth.

Germany has a considerable Number of such Cities, which are indeed so many little Republicks. How scanty soever their Territories may be, they are of greater Consideration than those of many Sovereigns one meets with in *Germany*: For this Country alone incloses more Courts than all *Europe* besides put together. Very frequently, a Traveller, in one Day, rides thro' five or six different States. Inconsiderable as these Princes are, they yet have about them divers Gentlemen, who play the Parts of Courtiers: These they gratify with a very little Cost, and the greatest Expence those Shadows of Sovereignty are at, is for their Table, which generally runs away with two Thirds of their Revenue.

We find as many of your Highnesses in *Germany*, as we do of your Excellencies in *Brabant*: But the *German* Highnesses have one very notable Advantage over the *Flemish* Excellencies. This is their having the lamentable Right of tormenting the Inhabitants of two or three poor Villages; nay and even that of taking away their Lives, if a Fancy takes them in the Head so to do: Whereas the Excellencies of *Brabant*

and *Flanders* are only private Gentlemen, who have no Manner of Power over their Vassals, but such as Gentry commonly assume in all other Countries. Happy would it be for *Germany*, if all these Petit Sovereigns were, by the Emperor, reduced to the same Situation as the Kings of *France* have brought that numerous Herd of little Tyrants, wherewith their Dominions were formerly infested.

To live comfortably in *Germany*, a Man must be born in one of the Imperial Cities, or in a Territory appertaining to some one of the Electors. These Princes are as powerful, nay even formidable, as those others whom I have been mentioning, are weak, and inconsiderable. There are divers Electors whose Courts are not any Way inferior to those of Kings; all one sees there truly favouring of Grandeur and Magnificence.

Denmark pretends to certain Privileges over the *Hamburgers*, who are often in Disputes with that Crown; and would perhaps be unable to sustain them, if the Empire was not obliged to protect *Hamburg* as an Imperial City, and did not oppose whatever is attempted to its Prejudice.

The Citizens and Merchants of *Hamburg* are exceeding polite: Their Attachment to Trade prevents not their applying themselves to those Duties, which Decency and good Breeding require. They are Lovers of Arts and Sciences, which they also cultivate. Here are several very well chosen Libraries. The greatest Philosopher this Day in *Germany* is a *Hamburg*er.

On Occasion of mentioning *Puffendorf* and *Leibnitz*, who were Germans, he makes a Digression in Praise of learned Men, and quotes the following Passage from *Voltaire*: It is not long since that, in a select Company, was started and much canvassed, this frivolous and thread-bare Question, Who

Who was the greatest Man ever been upon Earth; whether Cæsar, Alexander, Tamerlain, Cromwell, &c? One made Answer, that, without Contradiction, it was Sir Isaac Newton. — That Gentleman was absolutely in the Right: For, if true **A** Greatness consists in having receiv'd from Heaven a mighty Genius, and employ'd it for the Illumination of himself and others, a Man like Sir Isaac Newton, who is scarce to be met with in ten Centuries of Years, is really and truly the great Man; and those Politicians, **B** these Comparers, whereof no Age was ever deficient, are generally speaking, no other than illustrious Criminals.

In general, all the Germans are great Travellers; but there are abundance of them who know not how to make the same Advantage of their Travels, as do the *Hamburgers*. One half of their Barons, and other Gentry of a lower Class, who traverse a Part of *Europe*, remember nothing, at their Return home, but barely the Names of those Cities they saw; it sufficing them to have **D** confounded a deal of Money at *Paris*, *Rome*, *Venice*, *Madrid* or *London*. They afterwards find Means to reimburse themselves, by fleecing their miserable Vassals: And wo to those Wretches whose Lords, when they were at *Paris*, chanced to light into the Hands of any of the Opera Ladies: Each Jewel, or other Donative, received by the greedy Harlot, does them as much Prejudice as a Storm of Hail when it beats down and destroys the Produce of their Fields.

The meaner Sort of the *Hamburgers* **F** dread none of these Afterclaps: They are sure of not being oppressed or molested; and if they labour, it is only for themselves. It would be well, if content and satisfied with the Privileges they enjoy, they would learn how not to abuse them, and to keep themselves within the Bounds of a prudent and wholesome Subjection to their Magistrates: But they

too often make a very ill Use of their Liberties, and no Mob in the World are more insolent than those of *Hamburg*.

The City of *Hamburg* has near her a very dangerous Rival, which gains Ground insensibly. This is *Altena*, a Place which daily renders itself more and more considerable. A most excessive Jealousy reigns between the Inhabitants of these two Cities, and which is so far from any Probability of diminishing, that it will hourly augment, if the Growth of *Altena* continues.

Daily Gazetteer, Feb. 16. N^o 519.

From the Dublin Society, for improving Trade, Husbandry, &c.

IF we had Mines of Gold and Silver of our own, and could raise sufficient Quantities of those valuable Metals, we might then safely indulge ourselves in the Consumption of foreign Commodities; a large Stock of Bullion would be of little Use to us, and lie as dead in our Coffers, as if it had still remained in the Mines, unless it were exported for all the Conveniencies we want; we might then even gratify every innocent Vanity without Detriment to the Publick, and purchase a great deal of the Labour of other Countries with very little of our own: In that Case, however, the Community would be neither so happy, nor so powerful, as it would be, were all our People thoroughly employed. The Labour of a whole People, is of much more Consequence and Value, than the richest Mines of Gold or Silver; and where they abound, and a Nation depends upon them, the lower Rank are generally idle and beggarly.

G *Africa*, *Peru*, and *Spain*, are strong Instances of this, where amidst the greatest Treasures of this Kind, the common People are remarkably indigent and miserable, while *England*

and *Holland*, tho' destitute of Mines, are able, by their Industry, to drain the Wealth of those very Countries, and maintain themselves in Plenty and Prosperity.

Were our People, as theirs are, fully and usefully employed, our Labour would afford another Method of supporting ourselves under considerable Importations: The *English* and *Dutch*, do not deny themselves any foreign Commodities of Use or of Conveniency, but they pay the Price of them in their own Goods, and earn them by their own Hands; and could our People do the same, give their Crops and Manufactures for all they consume of foreign Growth, our Trade would be a saving one at least, and our Luxury abundantly less destructive.

Should a Foreigner see the great Flocks of Sheep and Herds of Cattle, which cover our Land, and the Rich among us parading in foreign Silks, and living sumptuously, he must needs imagine, that all the rest of our People are well fed and clothed; but he will be soon convinced of the contrary, when he finds such Numbers go naked and starving, and that Wool, Beef, and Butter, which should be the Portion of the Poor, sent Abroad to purchase Luxuries for the Rich.

It has been computed, that 20 poor Families, who never taste Flesh Meat, might be comfortably supplied for a whole Year, with as much Beef and Butter, as has been exported to purchase a Head-dress for a Lady. If this be the Effect of Trade, we shall be undone by Trading.

It is the Opinion of some, that foreign Trade, since the Time it has prevailed so much in this Part of the World, has increased the Number of Poor; and as our Trade is at present managed, this seems to carry a great deal of Reason with it; for when we had no Traffick with other Countries, and neither sent them our

Commodities, nor took any from them, we lived upon the Produce of our own Soil and Labour, by which Means all the Necessaries of Life were cheap and in great Plenty; none could want, since the Rich had no other Way of disposing of their Superfluities, but in Hospitality and Charity. But when we came to import great Quantities of foreign Goods for the Consumption of the Rich, and to export a great Part of our native Commodities, which were the Sustainance of the Poor, then all Provisions became dear and scarce, and the Work of the Poor was undervalued and slighted for the Sake of foreign Goods, which were more in Fashion.

Daily Gazetteer, Feb. 17. N^o 516.
Sir William Temple's Account of the Government of the United Provinces; as a Contrast to the Government of Sweden, publish'd in the Craftsman. (See p. 77.)

THE seven United Provinces chose their respective Deputies, and send them to the *Hague*, for the Composing of three several Colleges, called the States General, the Council of State, and the Chamber of Accounts. The sovereign Power of this united State, lies effectively in the States General, which used at first to be convoked on extraordinary Occasions, by the Council of State; but that seldom, in Regard, they usually consisted of above 800 Persons, whose meeting together in one Place, from so many several Parts, gave too great a Shake to the whole Body of the Union. In the Absence of the States General, the Council of State represented their Authority, and executed their Resolutions, and judged of the Necessity of a new Convocation; till after the Earl of *Lisieux's* Departure from the Government, the provincial Estates desired of the General, that they

they might, by their constant, respective Deputies, continue their Assembly under the Name of States General, which were never after assembled but at *Bergon ap zoom*, for ratifying, with more solemn Form and Authority, the Truce concluded with Duke *Albert* and *Spain*.

Hereupon they first framed the ordinary Council, called the States General, which has ever since passed by that Name, and sits constantly in the Court at the *Hague*, represents the Sovereignty of the Union, gives Audiences and Dispatches to all foreign Ministers; but yet is, indeed, only a Representative of the States General, the Assembly whereof are wholly dissolved.

The Council of State, the Admiralty, and the Treasury, are all subordinate to this Council; all which, are continued in as near a Resemblance, as could be, to the several Councils used in the Time, when the Provinces were subject to their several Principalities, or united under one, in the Houses of *Burgundy* and *Austria*; only the several Deputies (composing one Voice) now succeeding the single Persons employed under the former Governments; And the *Hague*, which was the ancient Seat of the Counts of *Holland*, still continues to be so of all these Councils.

The Members of all these Councils, are placed and changed by the several Provinces, according to their different or agreeing Customs. To the States General, every one sends their Deputies in what Number they please; some two, some ten or twelve, which makes no Difference, because all Matters are carried, not by the Votes of Persons, but Provinces; and all the Deputies from one Province, how few or many soever, have one single Vote. The Provinces differ likewise in the Time fixed for their Deputation; some sending for a Year, some for more,

and others for Life. The Provinces of *Holland* send one of their Nobles, who is perpetual; two Deputies chosen out of their eight chief Towns, and one out of *North Holland*; and with these, two of their Provincial Council of State, and their Penfiofer.

Neither Stadtholder or Governour, or any Person in military Charge, has Session in the States General, Every Province presides their Week in Turns, and by the most qualified Person of the Deputies of that Province: He sits in a Chair with Arms, at the Middle of a long Table, capable of holding about thirty Persons; for about that Number, this Council is usually composed of. The Gressier, who is in nature of a Secretary, sits at the lower End of the Table: When a foreign Minister has Audience, he is seated at the Middle of this Table, over against the President.

This is the Course in all Affairs before them, except in Cases of Peace and War; of foreign Alliances; of raising or coining of Monies, or the Privileges of each Province or Member of the Union. In all which all the Provinces must concur, Plurality not being at all weighed or observed. This Council is not Sovereign, but only represents the Sovereignty; and therefore, tho' Ambassadors are both received and sent in their Name; yet neither are their own chosen, or foreign Ministers answered, nor any of those mentioned Affairs resolved, without consulting first the States of each Province by their respective Deputies, and receiving Orders from them.

The Council of State is composed of Deputies from the several Provinces, but after another Manner than the States General, the Number being fixed. *Gelderland* sends two; *Holland*, three; *Zaaland* and *Utrecht*, two a Piece; *Friesland*, *Overyssel* and *Groningen*, each of them; one making

In all twelve. They vote not by Provinces, but by personal Voices; and every Deputy presides by Turns.

The Council of State executes the Resolutions of the States General; consults and proposes to them the most expedient Way of raising Troops, and levying Monies; superintends the Milice, the Fortifications, the Contributions out of Enemies Country, &c.

The Absoluteness of the Senates in each Town, and the Immensity of the Taxes thro' the whole State, are both of them greater than in many of those Governments, which are esteemed most arbitrary among their Neighbours.

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, under their own popular Magistrates; bridled with hard Laws, terrified with severe Executions, environed with foreign Troops, and oppress'd with the most cruel Hardship and Variety of Taxes, that was ever known under any Government.

The Authority of the Princes of *Orange*, tho' intermitted upon the Death of the last, and Infancy of this present Prince; yet as it must be ever acknowledged to have been a most essential Part, in the first Frame of this Government, and in all the Fortunes thereof, during the whole Growth and Progress of the State; so has it ever preserved a very strong Root, not only in Six of the Provinces, but even in the general and popular Affections of the Province of *Holland* itself, whose States have, for these last 20 Years, so much endeavoured to suppress or exclude it.

Upon the Death of the last Prince of *Orange*, by the great Influence of the Province of *Holland* among the rest, the Authority of the Prin-

ces came to be shared among the several Magistracies of the State; those of the Cities assumed the last Nomination of their several Magistrates; the States Provincial, the Disposal of all military Commands in those Troops, which their Share was to pay; and the States General the Command of the Armies, by Officers of their own Appointment, substituted and changed at their Will. No Power remain'd to pardon what was once condemn'd by Rigour of Law; nor any Person to represent the Port and Dignity of a Sovereign State; both which could not fail of being sensibly missed by the People.

I shall conclude (says the *Gazetteer*) with only one or two Observations; the first is, that none of these popular States ever long preserve their original Constitution, but soon change their Form, and fall under the Dominion, if not the Tyranny, of a Few.

The next Observation is, that the Authority of the Princes of *Orange*, which Sir *William Temple* says, *had a most essential Part in the first Frame of this Government*, did not very long survive that of the States, but fell likewise a Sacrifice to the Ambition of a few leading and popular Men, by which Means the whole Constitution of this State is now intirely changed from what it originally was.

Craftsman, Feb. 19. N° 555.

Causes of the Poverty of the Country, &c.

I AM sorry to observe (says Mr. *D'Anvers*) from every Day's Experience, that we are far from being in such an happy Condition as the *C—s-Writers* have been long endeavouring to persuade us; for, to say nothing of the *State of Europe*, and our own particular Interests abroad, the least View of our *domestick Affairs* is sufficient to convince us of this melancholy Truth.

If we look into the *Country*, or give any Credit to Gentlemen of all Parties, who come from thence, there never was a more deplorable Scene of Poverty and Misery than at present. We hear of nothing but *Tenants* breaking, or throwing up their Farms; and of such a dreadful Scarcity of Money, that instead of being able to pay their *Rents*, they can hardly find Means to discharge their Servants Wages and support their Families. Nay, I am well assured that, in some distant Parts of *England*, they have not Money enough to pay a *Land-Tax* of 4s. in the Pound, were it to be levy'd as it is in other Countries.

It may be ask'd, from whence does this Poverty of the Country proceed? To which I answer, that it is owing to various Causes, but particularly the following.

1. To the great Multiplicity of Taxes, which is a continual Drain of Money out of the Country; for this Money seldom returns to them again in any Quantity, unless in a Manner, which not only tends to debauch their Morals, and bribe them out of their Liberties, but to drain them of still more. As to the *Land Tax*, the whole Weight of it falls upon the *Landlord*, in the first Instance at least; but what gnaws the Bowels of the poor Farmer are the Duties upon Commodities, which include almost all the Necessaries of Life; and these being taken from him, in an imperceptible Manner, he finds himself unable to pay his Rent, or carry on his Business, without knowing the Reason of it.

2. The Poverty of the Country proceeds, in a very great Measure, from the Residence of the chief Nobility and Gentry in this Town; where they live in the utmost Extravagance, and but rarely go into the Country with any other Design than to squeeze as much Money as they can out of their *Tenants*, in order to recruit their emp-

ty Purse, and supply the Expences of the next Year in *London*.

3. The Country hath nothing to balance these immense Draughts upon them, besides the Commodities and Manufactures, which they send up to *London* for Sale; but the former have of late Years borne so cheap a Price, considering their Expences, and the latter are sunk to so low an Ebb, that the Money they receive in Return bears no Proportion to what is drawn from them; not to mention the vast Quantities of Goods of all Kinds, with which the Country is supply'd from this great Metropolis.

It will be said, perhaps, that if all this be true, what renders the Country poor must of Course make the City rich; and I confess it is natural enough to suppose so, upon first Thoughts; but if we consider the Matter a little more strictly, it will appear otherwise; for nothing can support a great trading City in Opulence, for any Length of Time, but a rich and flourishing Country: especially, such a City as this, which depends so much upon *domestick Trade*, or the Consumption of Commodities in this Kingdom, which are imported from abroad.

Supposing therefore, for Argument's Sake, that the City of *London* is now in as good a Condition as ever it was, since its first Foundation; how long will it last so, if the Country should be totally exhausted of Money, and obliged to live upon the natural Produce of their Lands?

But is this really the Case, at present? — I am ready to grant that there are several Men, of great overgrown Fortunes, still in the City. But who are they? Do they consist of honest Merchants and fair Adventurers, who endeavour to enrich the Nation, as well as themselves, by exporting our Manufactures, and turning the Balance of Trade in our Favour? Or are they composed of Usurers, Stock-jobbers, and Managers of great money'd

Complaints; who live, like Drones, upon the Labour of the industrious Hive, and are so far from advancing or encouraging *Trades*, that they have already dry'd up some of its most beneficial Springs, and turn'd others into their own *iniquitous and destruc-tive Channel*?

It is very far from my Thoughts to suggest that *all the rich Gentlemen in the City are of this Kind*; since I have the Pleasure to know that several *worthy Merchants* have possess'd themselves of considerable Wealth by *great Industry and good Fortune*; for which they ought to be look'd upon as *Benefactors to their Country*, instead of being envy'd, or calumniated. But alas! how few are *these*, as to Number or Value, in Comparison with the *Others*?

If we descend to the *inferior Class of Traders*, and ask them, *how Business goes on*; I am afraid they will answer, *never worse*; and give us some substantial Arguments to prove that they do not complain without Reason.

In short, I believe it will appear, upon the least Enquiry, that there never was a greater Scarcity of Money, in *this Town*, than at present; excepting what is lock'd up in *private Coffers*; or circulated amongst *Bankers and Brokers in the Funds*, which hardly ever comes into *Trade*.

Besides these Obstructions to the *Circulation of Money*, there are other Reasons for the *Want of it*, thro' the whole Kingdom, which require only to be just mention'd.

The first, and greatest of all, is the continual Dragnet, which *Foreigners* are making upon us, for the Interest of Money in our *Funds*. I think, it is generally computed that they have about *ten Millions* there; the Interest of which, at *4 per Cent.* is *400,000 l. per Ann.* This is an Evil, which was intirely brought upon us by our *Debts*; and I don't see how it can ever be prevented, without *paying them off, or something worse*.

Another great Drain of Money out of this Kingdom, is occasioned by the modern *Vogue*, so prevailing amongst our *young Nobility and Gentry*, not only of *Travelling* for a Year or two, as was formerly the Custom; but even taking up their Residence in *foreign Countries*, and spending the greatest Part of their Estates there. I have heard this Article computed at above *100,000 l. per Ann.* which I am afraid is too moderate a Calculation.

Whilst all these Inconveniences lie upon us, how can it be expected that *Trade, Industry, and Manufactures* should flourish; or that the Nation should not decline in *Riches, Glory, and Power*?

That this is, at present, our unhappy Case, both in *Town and Country*, is at last confess'd by one of the Writers in the *Gazetteer*; of whom I should not take the least Notice, as much as he begs for it, had he not fallen directly in my Way, whilst I was writing upon this Subject.

Speaking of *national Discontents*, (*Gazetteer*, Feb. 11.) he hath the following remarkable Passage. — *To say that we have now no such Complaints, or that there are no real Causes at all for them; that we are a thriving, flourishing People, as well or better able to pay Taxes as ever; and that all Suggestions to the contrary are owing to the Malice of ill-designing Men, and Enemies to the Government, would be denying the plainest Facts, and asserting Things against all Sense and Experience.*

Having made this Concession, he is very angry with me, for laying all the Blame of this, as he is pleas'd to charge me, on the present Administration, as if they had been the sole and chief Authors of this growing Evil, while the true Causes of it are conceal'd from the People.

It is not very ingenious to charge me, in so plain and open a Manner, with laying the whole Blame upon

The present Administration; because I am not at Liberty either to own the Charge, or to justify it; but this is one of the old stile Artifices of the ministerial Fraternity. However I will venture to give my Opinion, in general, that the People cannot be at any great Loss to know the true Causes of their Misfortunes, and who have been the chief, if not the sole Authors of them.

He adds, that the Craftsman's Catholicon is Changing the Ministry. This one Recipe is to cure all political Diseases; to mend every Error in our Constitution; and to make us all as sound and healthy, in our civil Capacity, as we could wish to be.

But, for God's Sake, in what Paper of the Craftsman did he meet with this Recipe? For my Part, I remember no such, and hope the World does not believe me to be so much a Quack. A Complication of Disorders, and a decay'd Constitution are not easily cured; but I think the Alteratives are generally esteem'd the best Remedies, in these Cases; and, to quit the Allegory, it is not merely a Change of the Ministry, but an Alteration of Measures, on which we must depend for Relief, whenever national Misfortunes fall upon us.

He then thinks to puzzle me with a long String of silly Questions to the same Purpose.

What Good, quoth he, could a Change of the Ministry do us, and in what Respects would this mend our Constitution? Would this make the People of England wise and virtuous, sober and temperate, laborious and frugal? To which I answer, that supposing this to be a bad Ministry, (which I am very far from asserting) and the next to be a good one, (for which I am not answerable) a Change would in all Probability produce these Effects, in a great Measure, by the Pursuit of honest Measures, and

wholesome Laws; unless our Author will undertake to prove that there is no Difference between a good and a bad Administration; or that the Example of our Superiors hath no Effect on the Minds and Morals of the People.

Would this oblige Country Gentlemen (says he) to live at home? I shall answer this by asking another Question. What is it, that induces Country Gentleman, to live in Town so much? Is it not because the Town is the great Mart of Places; and that every Gentleman, whose Estate hath been impoverish'd by Taxes, is willing to lick himself whole again, as Sir Francis Wronghead expresses it, by a Share in them?

But see how our Author rises in his Interrogatories!—Could Changing the Ministry cure the Ambition of the English Gentry, in struggling with one another, spending their Estates, and inflaming the Nation about Court-Preferences, and Places under the Government?

This Question is sufficiently answer'd in the preceding Article. I shall therefore only add, that if Places and Preferences are the Bait, which draws Country Gentlemen into such unhappy Contests, remove the Temptation, by lessening the Number of those Places, (as may be easily done, without any Detriment to the Nation) and the Cure of this Evil will be greatly advanced.

Upon the whole, the great Points to be pursued, are the Reduction of our national Expences, the Payment of our Debts, and the Redemption of all burthensome Duties. This is the Craftsman's Catholicon; a Remedy, which must be soon apply'd, and the sooner the better, by whatever Hands it may be administer'd; or nothing, in my Opinion, but inevitable Destruction can befall this Nation.

Grubstreet Journal, Feb. 17. N^o 373.

A Modern Polite CONVERSATION, as it really pass'd betwixt 5 young Ladies and a young Gentleman (who to conceal their true Names) are here called Miss COURTLY, Miss FIDGET, Mr. SPRITELY, Miss TRIFLE, Miss EDGING and Miss WELDON: Publish'd with a Design to expose the Insipidness of such Conversation.

Court. O H! Miss *Fidget*, how well you came to go with me to the Play t'other Night!

Fidg. Oh, dear Miss *Courtly*, I beg a thousand Pardons; but upon my Life, it was not my Fault; was it now, Mr. *Spritely*?

Sprite. No, indeed, Mem, I'll answer for Miss *Fidget*; for I was with her all that Evening.

Court. I insist upon knowing where.

Sprite. Shall I tell, Miss *Fidget*?

Fidg. Oh! no; don't tell, Mr. *Spritely*;—yes, hang it, you may too, if you will.

Sprite. Then, Mem, to tell you the Truth, Miss *Fidget*, and my Sister, and I were all at my Lady *All-night's* Assemblée.

Court. Oh! you wicked Things you! not to let me know of it; when you had heard me so often say too, how much I wanted to go—I swear I take it monstrous ill.—Pray, don't you think my Lady looks well in her *Sac*?

Sprite. Oh! yes; most adorably fine.

Fidg. Oh monstrous! I am astonish'd to hear you say so; I think I never saw any Thing look so frightful—and then she had got on the most horrible *Tête de mouson* I ever saw.—Pray, do you know who is her *Milliner*?

Sprite. Yes; Mrs. *Lefanti*, that makes up all the Dutchess of *Frip-pery's* French Heads.

Fidg. Lord! I do not like 'em one Bit; besides, I think the *Coese's* too forward a Mile.

Sprite. Oh! for that, I can assure you, Mem, they wear 'em so; they were all such at Court on the Birth-night.

Fidg. Why, was you there? Lord! I am the most unfortunate Creature—all that Day I was ill with a violent Pain in the Head.—It always happens so, when I am to go any where.—Well! if ever I make another Engagement—Oh! Miss *Trifle*, when are you and I to go to the new Opera? Will you go next *Saturday*?

Trif. Lord! Mem, I have seen it.

Fidg. Indeed! and how do you like it?

Trif. Oh! most violently! the finest Thing!—'tis full of *Adagio's*.

Fidg. Oh! that dear *Adagio*!—I am charm'd with the *Adagio*, 'tis so quick and nimble; and keeps up one's Spirits— I detest any Thing dull—Lord! what do you think I heard last Night?

Trif. Lord! what? I don't know.

Frig. Tho' I swear, I don't believe these's any Thing in it.

Trif. Well! but what?

Fidg. Why, that *Farinelli* is going away.

Trif. Oh, good God! I hope not—I would not have him go, without seeing him once more in *Art's* *surfs* for all the World.

Fidg. Oh! there is the sweetest Song in that dear Opera, that begins † *Sunkinevi. cbisati*.

Sprite. Oh! that's Miss *Fairlove's* favourite Song; she's always humming it.

Fidg. Lord! Mr. *Spritely*, she can't sing—I never heard any Body make such a terrible noise in my Life.

Sprite. I assure you, Mem, she learns of Dr. *Pappich*; he comes Home to her three Times a Week.

Fidg. Indeed! well, I think the Money, and Time too, are thrown away

away upon her — Oh! lack-a-Dry, Miss Edging, when did you see Mr. Tattle?

Edg. Lord! Miss Flager, why, do you know Mr. Tattle? I was dancing with him t'other Night — I swear, I think he's a mighty pretty Man.

Fig. Devil! I am sure he gallanted me a Fan so last Week, will cost half a Crown to get it new mounted — Pray, Miss Edging, where did you buy your Fan? I like it prodigiouſly.

Edg. I bought it in the City; it B cost me but Eighteen-pence.

Fig. Well! I swear 'tis mighty pretty; I'll get me one of 'em Tomorrow, if I live — they ſay, there is a new-fashion'd Sort of Fans juſt come up in France. — Lord, I ſhould like prodigiouſly to go to France — C Miss Edging, let you and I go.

Edg. Lord! I ſhould be afraid of the Sea; beſides, they ſay it makes People very ſick — Was you ever at Sea?

Fig. Oh! yes; when I was down at *Periſmouth*, my Papa and Mama, D and my Brother and I went all over in a Boat together to *Goſport*; and I was not one bit or crum ſick; and my Papa ſaid I had a vaſt deal of Courage.

Edg. Lord! I wonder at you; I am ſure I ſhou'd be ſick — I love E riding better; my Brother has promis'd to get me a new Pad this Spring.

Fig. I thought you had one.

Edg. Yes, but poor Thing! what can one do? it ſtumbles ſo, I had almoſt broke my Neck three or four Times laſt Summer — then I'm to go a Hunting too in the Summer.

Fig. Lord! I ſhould love dearly to ride a Hoating — I fancy 'tis mighty pleaſant — Was you ever a Hoating? — Do you ride well?

Edg. Yer indeed, my Brother ſays I am a mighty good Horſe-woman. G

Fig. I like a Coach beſt.

Edg. Oh! I can't endure a Coach; it always makes me ſick. — Lord!

What d'ye think? I was at *Quadrille* laſt Night at Lady Fancy's, and won ſour *Sans prendres* running.

Fig. Lord! I don't like *Quadrille* one bit; I think *Tradrille* a vaſt deal prettier.

Edg. I ſwear I don't think ſo — Lord! I have wretched Fortune at Cards.

Fig. Beſides, I love *Whiſk* the beſt of any Game.

Edg. Oh! that's a dreadful dull Game.

Fig. No, indeed, I think 'tis a charming pretty Game — Mr. *Weld* ſays I play very well at it — he always loves to have me for his Partner; and he's counted a tipſtop Player himſelf.

Edg. Pray, have you heard the new Singer?

Fig. No, but I will to morrow Night; pray, how do you like him?

Edg. I don't know — ſo, ſo — I don't think him ſo good as *Conti*.

Fig. Lord! I heard a Gentleman ſay laſt Night, that underſtands Muſick very well, that he's better than *Conti*; what do you think, Mr. *Spritely*?

Spriss. Oh! No, indeed, Mem, not ſo well as *Conti*.

Edg. Do you underſtand Muſick, Mr. *Spritely*?

Spriss. Oh! Nothing to ſpeak of, Mem.

Fig. Yes, indeed, Mr. *Spritely* plays very finely upon the *German Flute*; he learns of *Weediman*.

Edg. Lord! That is a dear Creature, that *Weediman*.

Fig. Oh! But *Martini* is my Favourite, the fine Haut-boy.

Edg. Oh! No; I like *Jenny Nani* beſt — I heard that Mr. *Handel* ſhould ſay, that he thought *Jenny Nani* the beſt Violin in the World. — Oh! Dear Miss *Walden*, when

was you dancing?

Wald. Laſt Friday Night.

Edg. How many Couple had you *Wald*, Nine.

Edg. Lord! I think Nine's to marry; I like eight Couple best—pray, what Dances did you dance? Did you dance the new Dance?—there—Lord! I forget the Name—

Weld. What! Lord Tinsel's Vagary?

Edg. No.

Weld. What then! the new Hunt the Squirrel?

Edg. No—pish! That ever I should forget!—I have the foolishlest Memory—'tis something of *Rory*.

Weld. Oh! I know what you mean—the *Tepperory*.

Edg. Yes, yes, yes, yes, that's it—'tis a charming Dance.—Pray, was Miss Patchit there?

Weld. Yes, she danc'd with young *Barrean*.

Edg. Lord! That's a frightful Fellow! What a terrible long Nose he has!

Weld. Yes, but he dances very prettily.

Edg. Lord! I am surpris'd to hear you talk so—I never saw any Body poke out their Head so in my Life—besides, he keeps no Time—Pray now, had Miss Patchit got on her new *Solitaire*?

Weld. Yes, but I did not like it one bit—and they say, they are false Stones too.

Edg. And yet now I heard it commended prodigiously to'other Night—I want sadly to see it; tho' I don't believe I shall like it.—Lord! what's a Clock! I must be going Home—to be sure, my Papa will hang me for keeping the Horses out so long.

Weld. Oh! no, 'tis but 9 o'Clock.

Edg. Lord! I must go—by that Time I get Home and undress me, our Supper will be ready—Miss *Weldon*, is your Chariot here? or will you go Home in mine?

Weld. Lord! Isn't my Fellow here yet?—pray, Sir, [to the Footman] be so good as to tell my Man, he may go Home with the Chariot; for I shall go Home with Miss *Edging*.

Oh Lord! who goes to the *Magnate* trade?

All together. I, I, I, I.

Weld. What Habits have you got?

Court. Lord! I don't know, I must see about one to Morrow in the Afternoon.

Fidg. Lord! I have got a *Chimney-sweeper*.

Edg. And I have a Butcher.

Weld. And I am to be dress'd like a young *Bake*—I am to have my Brother's Cloaths—Oh! good God! 'tis a Quarter after Nine; I shall be hang'd for staying; for I promis'd my Mama to be at Home before 9—Come, Miss *Edging*, for God's sake let's go. [*Here a Proposal being made by Miss Courtly, they all fate down to Cards.*]

Common Sense, Feb. 19. N° 3.

The Weighing of the Great Mogol, emblematically explain'd.

BERNIER informs us of a very extraordinary Custom which prevails to this Day in the Empire of *Mogol*.—His Imperial Majesty is annually weigh'd upon his Birth-day, and if it appears that since his former Weighing he has made any considerable Acquisition of Flesh, it is Matter of publick Rejoicing throughout his whole Dominions.—Upon that great Day too his Subjects are obliged to make him Presents which seldom amount to less than thirty Millions.

This seems to be a Custom observed for Antiquity or Form-sake; but the original Purpose for which it was at first wisely established, either neglected or quite forgotten; For it is impossible to imagine that his *Mogol* Majesty's good and loyal Subjects should find such Matter of Joy in the literal Increase of their Sovereign's Materiality, which must of course render him less qualified for the Functions of his Government; so that it is more reasonably to be

presumed, that as all the Oriental Nations chuse to convey their Precepts of Religion, Morality, and Government through Hieroglyphicks, Types, and Emblems, this Custom was originally allegorical, and signified the political Increase of his Majesty's Weight, as to Credit, Power, and Dominions; which might justly administer great Joy to his faithful Subjects.

Or to carry my Conjecture a little farther, Is it impossible that his now absolute Empire might formerly have been a limited one? The equal Balance of which it might be necessary often to examine, in order to preserve it in its just Equilibrium; in which Case, it is highly probable his Majesty was weigh'd against some Counterpoise; or to speak plainer, the Prerogative of the Prince might be examined with relation to the Rights and Privileges of the Subject.

It will be no Objection to my Conjecture, to alledge the present absolute Form of that Government, since a very little Knowledge of History will shew us, that the most absolute Governments now in the World have been originally free ones, and only bought, bully'd, or beaten out of their Liberties.

This may very probably have been the Case in *Indostan*, where the Nobles and the Representatives of the People might think it both civil and prudent not to weigh quite fair against his Majesty, but to lighten their own Scale, that he might preponderate a little. This little by Degrees increas'd the Bulk of their Successors, by continually adding more and more to it.

This Superiority of Weight probably pleas'd his Majesty, and gave him a Relish for more, which thro' great annual Presents swelling up his Civil List, enabled him the better to gratify, by having whatsoev'ral to corrupt the Weights on the Part of the Nobles and the People, till by Degrees the whole Weight was thrown into the Royal Scale without any Consideration. By such Gradations this Custom, originally established for the Security of

the Constitution, may have dwindled into a mere pompous Ceremony, and an expensive *Raree-Blow*, annually exhibited to a croud'd People, in Exchange for their Liberties.

Daily Gazetteer, Feb. 25. N^o 523.

This Paper is an Answer to the Craftsman's Observations, p. 88, 89; in which the Writer among other Things says:

THIS cautious Author having been unadvisedly drawn out of his Way to speak with me, was under a Necessity of disingaging himself, and of owning Things which nothing but the Exigence of the Argument could have extorted from him. He has now found out other Causes of our national Grievances and Complaints besides a corrupt Ministry; where he had always ascribed to lay the whole Blame: And here he could not possibly except the Patrons of his Country Interest; I mean those Gentlemen in the Country who are continually dipping and snatching their Estates; in Hopes (to use his own Expression) of *licking themselves up again at Court*.

I know it is natural for Men when they are discontented and uneasy, to lay the Blame any where but at Home. And as bad as the Times are, I cannot but think, that the swearing, murmuring People are much worse, and that they might soon mend the Times if they pleas'd. Whoever takes an impartial Survey of both City and Country, and particularly of the trading Part of the Nation, must needs observe a vast Growth of Extravagancy and Profuseness, within every Man's Memory. Badness of Trade, Want of Money, and the sinking of Credit, are often figur'd nothing with the Complaints, but bad Oeconomy, Want of Frugality, and excessive, needless Expenses in private Management; while the Luxury and Excess we are generally got into, demand more than any Trade can bring in: And one may venture to say, that where there is one Family in *England*, undone for Want of the necessary Means of subsisting by honest Labour and Industry, there are many Thousands ruined by Pride, Idleness and Negligence, Profuseness and bad Oeconomy.

Craftsman, Feb. 26. N^o 526.

The Character of the late Lord Chancellor Talbot, who died on the 14th of this Month.

He was a man, take him for all in all, I ne'er shall look upon his like again. SHAKES.

THERE is no Duty more incumbent on publick Writers, who have any Regard for the Good

of their Country, than paying a just Tribute of Praise to the Memory of *great Men*, who have distinguish'd themselves by eminent Abilities and Integrity, in their respective Stations. I have always endeavour'd to avoid any Partiality, of this Kind; and as the late Lord *Hensol* died possess'd of the highest Character, both as a *Lawyer* and a *Patriot*, I should think myself inexcusable to pass it over, without some particular Notice. The *Chancellorship of Great Britain* is an Office of so much Weight and Power, that it is impossible to do Justice to the Memory of the *noble Peer* deceased, without a little Explanation of the Trust reposed in him.

A *Lord High Chancellor of this Kingdom* is to be consider'd in two Lights; that is, in his *judicial* and *political Capacity*; or as the *dernier Resort of Justice* (excepting the *House of Lords*) and *Keeper of the great Seal*.

In the *first Capacity*, when we reflect on the vast Extension of his Jurisdiction, the Properties of all the People in *England* are, in a great Measure, in his Power; and considering the Variety of Causes, that come before him, with the Artifices employ'd by Persons concern'd on both Sides, it requires not only the most uncorrupted Probity, but consummate Abilities, Penetration and Discernment; especially when it is farther consider'd that the *Court of Chancery* is the only civil Court in *England*, strictly speaking, which is intrusted with the Determination of Property, without a *Jury*; for as to the *House of Lords*, to which only an Appeal lies from the *Chancellor*, all the *Peers* having a Vote, they may be properly call'd a *Jury*; and I can never look upon the *Commissioners of Excise* as a *Court of Justice*, tho' they begin to have as much Business as any, and perhaps will soon have more.

The *Lord Chancellor*, as *Keeper of the great Seal*, is not only the *second*

Person in the Kingdom, next to the *Royal Family*, but hath, or ought to have, a great Influence at the *Council-Table*, upon all important Deliberations; and no *Grant*, *Patent*, or *Treaty* can be made without his Sanction.

In both these Respects, he is call'd in Law the *Keeper of the King's Conscience*; and No-body ever discharged that high Trust with more Capacity and Uprightness than the late excellent *Peer*, whose Death we now lament. His Determinations, with regard to *private Property*; met with almost universal Approbation; and I do not remember that he ever put the Seal to any *Grant*, *Patent*, or *Treaty*, which gave a just Offence to the Nation.

He rose, by Merit, to the *Head of his Profession*, and not only supported himself in it with Dignity, but adorn'd it, and acquired every Day new Praise and Esteem.

His Prudence, Moderation and Patience, in the Execution of his Office, even amidst the highest Provocations, make one shining Part of his Character, and are hardly to be parallel'd by any Instances of those, who have fate before him upon *that Bench*.

Yet notwithstanding this amiable Disposition of Mind, he discover'd such Courage and Resolution upon all Occasions, as could not be shaken by the Tricks of the *Wellsby*, the Applications of the *Powerful*, or the Tears of the *Distress'd*. His only Aim was *Right and Equity*, which he rigidly pursued, on whomsoever the Weight of his *Decrets* might happen to fall.

He was a great Enemy to the *Chancery* of his Profession, and render'd the Course of *Justice* more easy, as well as less expensive, by preventing all unnecessary Delays, especially when they appear'd to be merely vexatious, and discouraging the *Anticipation* of those, who endeavour'd

deavour'd to keep off the evil Day from themselves, at the Expence of their injured Prosecutors. I could give some late notable Instances of this, if particular Circumstances were propos'd in a general Character.

In a Word, he possess'd all the great Talents and Qualifications of his most renown'd Predecessors, without any of their Frailties, and hath left a noble Example to all his Successors; so that he was not only a Blessing to the Age, in which he lived, but may possibly derive the same Happiness to his Posterity, by exciting those, who follow him in that high Office, to an Emulation of his Virtues.

The great Increase of Business in the Court of Chancery, since the Seal was put into his Hands, is an evident Proof of that Confidence, which the Suitors reposed in him, and will do immortal Honour to his Memory, tho' it proved fatal to his Life; for the constant Fatigue of his Employment was one of the principal Causes of his Death; and therefore he may be truly said to have fall'n a Martyr to the publick Good.

Whether he met with any other Shocks from the present unhappy Situation of Affairs, and the View of future Evils, which he had not Authority enough to prevent, as much as it was in his Inclination, I cannot pretend to say; nor, if I could, would it be proper.

But I must not forget to mention that he had no ridiculous or wicked Attachment to any Party, besides that of his Country, and seem'd resolv'd to contribute all in his Power towards restoring it to a flourishing Condition.

Under the Influence of such a Man, we had Reason to hope for a compleat Coalition of Parties; or, at least, for a Re-union of all such as wish well to their King and their Country; which

neither weak, nor wicked and corrupt Men, will ever have it in their Power to accomplish.

I shall leave the Display of his private Virtues to those, who had the Honour of his Acquaintance, and will only observe, that no Man ever left a more general good Character, as a Christian, a Father, a Master and a Friend, than the late Lord Chancellor.

He dy'd full of Glory; but, to the great Misfortune of his Country, not full of Years; and the general Sorrow which his Death hath occasion'd, will do his noble Family more Honour than the highest Titles, or the most sumptuous Monuments.

He is a single Instance that real Worth and Integrity will not go unrewarded, even in this degenerate Age, as far as the Affections, and almost the Veneration of the People, may be look'd upon as any Reward. Whig and Tory, Court and Country, Men of all Parties and Persuasions, (except the known Enemies of our Constitution, both in Church and State) unite upon this Occasion, and vye with each other who shall do most Justice to the Memory of so extraordinary a Person.

To conclude. There are so many great and virtuous Qualities requisite to constitute a good Judge, of any Kind, and especially a Lord Chancellor, that as the utmost Care ought to be taken in the Choice of them, so their Death may be justly esteem'd a publick Misfortune. For this Reason, the Death of the late Lord Henst is generally look'd upon as one of the greatest Losses, which this Nation hath sustain'd for many Years; and it would be almost irreparable, were it not for one illustrious Person; who hath already fill'd the highest Seat of the Law with great Sufficiency, and is now call'd up to the Chancery, by his Majesty's Favour, in Concurrence with the general Voice of the Nation.

The WISH.

WOULD *brave* propitious with my wish
comply,

These wou'd I chuse to live, and thus to die;
Freed from dependence, and the coils of trade;
My feat shou'd rise amid the rural shade;
Where aged oaks at equal distance rise,
Lift high their waving heads, and fan the sky
Or rustling solemn with the evening breeze,
With sacred founts and awful horror pleas'd:
Thro' these green walks, rich in the cooling
gale, [vale;
And vernal show'r, shou'd ope the far stretch'd
Whilst the kind *Naiad*'d from the neighb'ring
hill

Pours from her copious urn the limpid rill;
Edg'd by a grove, shou'd roll the gentle flood,
And its clear bosom wave th' inverted wood;
Gay thro' the streams the flow'rs reflected
spread,

In milder glory, and in softer shade;
Thence thro' my walks, in vary'd forms
shou'd stray,

Glide a canal, or in a fountain play;
Descend the glassy slope with silent fall,
And glitter to the light a crystal wall;
Or o'er the rock, by nature's chisel made,
Bound, foam, and thunder in a loud cascade;
A deep vast concave drinks the roaring flood,
And streams it gently to the thirsty wood.
There, where the trees form high th' embow-
ring shade,

For serious thought and contemplation made,
My favourite dome shou'd raise its tow'ring
head,

Grac'd with the labours of the famous dead:
Here from the world, and all its cares retir'd,
By wisdom, and the love of truth inspir'd,
I'd oft retreat: — here *Pope* in tuneful lay
Shou'd sacred truths in softest sounds convey:
Here *Thompson's* page, to all the wiser ear,
With just description charms the reviv'd ear;
With him I'd nature's every shape admire,
Glow at her charms, and at her beauty fire.
Nature, still easy to be understood!
Sopremely fair! and sovereignly good!
Still smiles the God upon thy lovely face,
With boundless beauty and thro' endless space.
On *Newton's* wing I'd gaze sublimar sights,
From star to star direct my trembling sight;
View worlds round worlds, systems round sys-
tems turn,

Or that new freese, and now intensely burn:
Marmosick all! nor shall my wand'ring soul
Forget t' adore the Genius of the whole,
Who can with equal ease these worlds compose,
As blue the violet, or as blush the rose.
Now meral truth in stellas splendor bright,
And all enr'ning opens to my sight;
In *Woolston* the darts resistless rays,
In social *Bacon* every charm displays;
By piercing *Clarke* unveil'd, her lovely face
Overts with a smile and wears a winning grace:

Sheds us the road to happiness and rest,
And best commands us to be truly blest;
Taught by his page, we pitying view the fool,
To please his God, who scorns his darling rules;
Reason thy light divine, and God bestow'd!
His every action by thy law approv'd:
These shou'd instruct me, and my soul improve,
And lift me nearer to the God I love;
Thou sole Supreme! alike by whose controul
The riv'let murmurs, and the thunders roll,
Teach me thyself! deign to direct my choice,
Teach me to know thy name thine image;
Safe by thy light, to show thro' giddy youth:
To life's last verge along the stream of truth;
From reason's rules, O! never let me stray,
Nor for blind fancy leave her rightful way;
By her approv'd peace fills the human breast,
Amidst the storms of life securely blest;
No furious zeal her social joys inspires,
She burns a steady, bright, and lasting fire.
Yet not by books, or thoughts severe engross'd,
Wou'd I to every other joy be lost;
The morn shou'd's sunrise, at her earliest dawn,
Cheer the gay dogs along the dew-spread
lawn;

Impel the chace, pursue the flying hare,
And drink deep cooling draughts of life's soft air:
This life redoubles, hence the studious find
Strength to the nerves and vigour to the mind,
Return with keener taste the joys to prove
Of calm philosophy and blissful love;
This bids the blood in brisker currents flow,
Beat strong the heart, and every fibre glow:
But far remov'd be these, who count for joys,
The midnight rust and the brutal noise;
The impious jest, pain to the virtuous ear,
Nor tale obscene, nor senseless pun be joys;
My house shou'd worthier entertainments
know,

Approv'd by virtue every thought shou'd flow;
Nec virtue drest to fright you from her arms,
But all inviting, in gay pleasure's charms,
That nor forbids, unbending to the soul,
The glass to sparkle, or to swell the bowl;
The temperate jest with social freedom
crown'd,

The soothing song, or music's charming
With just restraint to please each sense allows,
And only bids us what is pain refuse.
To fill my joys and crown the sweets of life,
Grant me, kind heaven, a fair and virtuous wife,
Like dear *Lucinda*, who to blooming youth,
And brightest beauty, adds engaging truth;
Witty, good-natur'd, ever prompt to please,
To think with judgment, and converse with
ease;

Me she shou'd love, with as sincere desire,
As angels feel and heavenly forms inspire;
So pleas'd to please, and to dissent so loth,
One soul shou'd's firm to animals as both;
With her covering every error wou'd fly,
And life be more than life when she was by.
If heav'n so deign'd, to crown the nuptial joys,
A brace of beautiful girls and lovely boys
Should

Should smile around, and in each infant face,
More soft, more bright, bloom the parental
graces;

Nor than their faces, be their minds less fair,
These to adorn how pleasing is the care!
To teach, how dear, delighting is the task,
When infant innocence and nature ask;
To see the grateful soil not vain impress,
And virtue ripen in the youthful breast;
What joy to view it open all humane,
Delight to bless and melt at others pain,
Benevolent and kind! thus let me live,
And ever grateful thus thy gifts receive,
All bounteous God! nor for myself alone
Let me thus live, but to the poor well known
Be my large stores; for them shou'd freely
bleed

The fatted ox, and spring the bearded seed;
Their loins shou'd bless me for the warming
fleece,

Their pleaded cause, their property and peace.
Thus bless, unenvy'd, and to courts unknown,
The vale of life I'd glide serenely down;
With grateful thanks resign my latest breath,
Nor slow, nor painful pass the gulph of death.
Newcastle, Jan. 24. NORTHUMBERIUS.

Saving his Daughter (an Infant) in her Coffin.
By Mr. J. Lockman.

SEE! where she lies, in baleful weeds ar-
ray'd,
(The tribute heaven requires, so early paid)
Who, call a innocent back, in flow'ry pride,
Seem'd, in her ribbons gay, an infant bride.
With rapture then I gas'd upon thy charms,
And clasp'd thee, sweetly smiling, in my arms;
Saw fondest joys in distant prospect rise,
When thou, in years advanc'd, shou'd'st glad
these eyes.

How false those joys! (so promising the theme)
On airy pinions gliding like a dream: —
For lo! death's icy hand has chill'd her veins,
And snatch'd relentless, to his dread domains: —
Yet no! the blushing graces in her cheek,
Her lips, like roses red, which all but speak;
The smiles that round her opening features
gleam,

Display the virgin in a pleasing dream.
Some guardian seraph in his silent round,
Thus bounteous as his kindred angels found;
In heavenly slumbers, soft, thine eyelids prest,
And soon he'll wing thee to eternal rest.

*A VALENTINE: Presented to Miss E——n
L——r——w of Wigan, Feb. 14.
1737. By a young Lad.*

SWEET valentine, you're doubly mine
By chance and inclination:
For whilst I wish'd alone for you,
By meet good luck your name I drew;
For hope a good foundation!
Therefore let's kiss, my lovely miss,
And rectify my claim:

Then in due time, I hope, with ring,
Gloves, or lac'd hat, or some fine thing,
You will discharge the same.

Thus far, my dear, you'll with me bear: —
How shall I speak the rest?
Let what is said serve to excuse
Presumption, and to introduce
A very bold request.

For you've in store one favour more,
Might hope so high aspire:
Wou'd you consent to be my bride;
The world, and all its joys beside,
Cou'd raise my bliss no higher.
You'll say perhaps; young jackanapes,
You ought awhile to stay;
But if I shoot not out of hand,
The bird, which doth so ticklish stand,
May chance to fly away.

I've time, 'tis true, to stay for you;
But shou'd I tardy be;
So sweet a bloom you now disclose!
Some other hand may pluck the rose,
And you not stay for me.

Well did my wife grandfire advise:
' Slip not occasion,' said he,
' Stay not, my boy, for times to come,
' But boldly push the matter home;
' Faint heart ne'er won fair-lady.
' Wou'd'st thou enjoy a mistress coy;
' Courage must make her thine;
' Away with shame, force her consent;
' That man alone is impudent,
' Who fails in his design.
' But portion small, lands none at all,
' Are a discouragement;
' To bashful men they are indeed;
' For how can they in marriage speed,
' Who never ask consent.

Though she may be too good for thee;
' And take thy love in scorn;
' Despair not thou, but ply her well;
' For sure it is, no maid can tell
' To what ill fate she's born.
' Thy grandame was a tawring lass:
' Had not my brazen mien
' And confidence supply'd the place
' And lack almost of every grace,
' Thy dad had never been.

Dogs shy at game oft spring the same,
' And scare the fowl away:
' But when the hawk with daring wing
' Pursues, the wild but tim'rous thing
' Drops and becomes his prey.

A bold address commands success:
' In this the fair agree;
' Whether she be coquet or prude,
' She loves the man that's something rude,
' Familiar, blunt and free.'

Then, miss, in fine you must be mine;
Th' experiment I'll try:

For all the town know's very well,
My grandfirè is an oracle,
That never yet told lye.

Thro' thick and thin away I'll pin,
With whip and spur ride fast:
Perhaps you'll lead me a wild chace;
But at the end of all the race
You'll be my prize at last.

To Mr. T—R—n, at Stafford.
[With Gay's Fables.]

S I R,

I Perceive, you want to look,
At leisure hours, upon a book;
And such an one wou'd gladly choofe,
As may both profit, and amuse:
But chiefly seem inclin'd to spend
(Whom therefore, now, to you I send),
The close of each short winter's day,
With sweetly-entertaining Gay.
Immortal Gay, sure, all must prize;
Who merry makes us, and yet wile.

Upon my word, you're much p'th' right:
I'm, too, of your opinion quite.
And ev'ry hearty foe to vice
Must own, you've made a prudent choice.
For what's more sweet, at vacant times,
Than good, and profitable rhymes?

But, then, I very greatly fear,
The difficulty, Sir, lies here, —
When, by this method, we're inclin'd
T' unbend, and to improve the mind;
Good poets are so wondrous scant,
We seldom meet with what we want.
Few rhyming authors (to be plain,
Both edify, and entertain.

But, here, — both wit and wisdom mix;
Here, Sir, with lucky hand, you fix
On one, a mast by all confes'd
To be almost the very best;
Whose pleasing fables never fail
Our senses sweetly to regale.
The cuts afford no small delight
To the most quick, sagacious sight.
His verse is music to our ears;
And to our ravish'd eyes appears
Such harmony throughout the whole,
As reaches to our inmost soul.
His solid lines the taste must suit
Of ev'ry thing, except a brute.
E'en brutes 'emselves his art can teach
To talk, to argue; — nay, to preach.

Judicious guide of sipp'ry youth!
Ingenuous fictions full of truth!
Emblems divine, of human woe! —
Full well the real ill ye shew,
That up and down the world are found;
And in degenerate men abound.
How nat'ral seems the lively sketch!
How odious, Sir, the guilty wretch! —

Who, now, aham'd, will, sure, submit,
Turn o'er new leaves, and learn more wit.
Each vicious fool must, now, recant;
And after *virtue* frongly pant.
What wonders in the mind are wrought!
What grave, instructive lessons taught,
And in the most delightful way,
By thee, O charming, lovely Gay!

But why shou'd I, with sour grimace,
And tedious, *Presbyterian* grace,
You, from the sweet repast, detain;
And 'read of pleasure, give you pain? —
Why, why, — at this enormous rate,
Your coming joys anticipate?
But, Sir, (I doubt not,) you'll excuse
The ravings of a zealous muse,
And wiser be (I know,) than fret
At what I've said; by way of *wabet*.
Come! — you'll still, now, no longer, Sir,
The dear, delicious meal defer.
Sit down then, pray, to Gay's good table;
And richly feast upon a fable.
You're kindly welcome, friend! — fall on;
And take 'em to you, ev'ry one.
On his rare morals chew the cud:
They're very sweet and very good.
And, tho' they fully satisfy
The blisest taste, yet lieber cloy.
Peruse, with candour, courteous guest;
And, may you, what you read, digest.
In fine, — dear Tom! — much good may
The wholesome, toothsome diet do.
One favour, Sir, — and I'll ha' done;
And, straight, about my business run:
Pardon these hasty lines from one,
Your most obedient friend,

R. D.

P. S. * *St. Nic'las* — day, near tide at
night:

(The almanack will set you right.)
Think me not mad, nor queer, nor queer,
For mentioning a *Papish* saint.
But, hark ye! friend — your ear afford,
While I just whisper in't a word.
Let not your *pious* master know it;
Lest he devoutly damn the poet.

From the Craftman.

We hear the following Prologue is to be spoken
at the Theatre in Drury-Lane, upon the Re-
vival of *King John*, alter'd from Shakspeare;
by the Reviver and Author of the
Alterations.

TO you, most learned youngsters of the law,
Who long have kept the Stage, and me
in awe,
Lo! on my knees, thus humbly do I bend,
And beg you, gentle sirs, to stand my friend.
For *some* I write not, as my *odes* have shewn,
And laugh at all the censure of the town;

But *præsit* is, you know, a real good,
Which fires the noblest, and ignoblest blood;
And though great *Cæsar*, to record his praise,
Hath crown'd my temples with immortal bays,
What modern bard on *sack* can always dine;
I, for my part, love *bonet's Jephson's* wine.
I therefore hereby constitute the pit,
Where on that dread tribunal, now you sit,
The sovereign judge and arbiter of wit;
For who so proper to direct the stage,
As those, who've ruled the land in every age?
Besides, as ancient chronicles report,
What was *Apollo* but a clerk in court;
Or as from other authors I could prove,
My predecessor, laureat to king *Jove*?
And all our modern muses, alias *misses*,
Still strol'd about the temple fond of kisses.
As for those flanting dames, and pig-tail'd
beaus,
Who in the boxes sit, to shew their cloaths,
Smear'd o'er with powder, and bedawb'd with
lace,
Are they fit judges in a poet's case?
No, let the law proceed in its due channel,
So, with one dash, I strike them off the *pannel*;
And if the galleries dare to hiss, or bawl,
If you'll stand by me, *'s blood!* we'll stand
them all! [John,
Then for the sake of *Shakspeare's* and king
O! save me for this time, or I'm undone.

The Taming of the *SARAW*.

PRy the *Ralph*, (bespoke a neighbour),
Let me beg a single favour;
Ay, quo' *Ralph*, e'en two or three,
And sight welcome heartily.
Why then, quo' *Simon*, (such he was,
An easy even-temper'd A——);
You know full well my state of life
Yok'd to that galling load — a wife.
A pest confound the plaguy name,
Her tongue wou'd make a tyger tame;
By all that's good, my trusty friend,
I really think it has no end;
For ever jarring, always teasing,
Not still a moment, never ceasing,
Perpetual noising in my ears
Day after day, weeks, months, and years.
I've try'd to please her all I can,
Done all that's in the pow'r of man;
And after all, (the greater curse)
I really think she's rather worse.
In short, she may the maxim boast,
She's of those wives that rule the roost.
I've often thought, in this my station,
To expose her tongue to law and nation;
To undergo the antient rule
Of *Skimmington*, or *ducking-stool*;
And I do still the thought pursue,
If you shou'd think 'twill tame a *forew*.

Why I shou'd think, quo' *Ralph*, indeed
Since both by learned men agreed,
To be the cure of noise and strife;
No doubt but both will cure thy wife.
Try which you will of one and t'other;
And if one won't do, — try the other.
But lo! quo' *Sim*. give each their merit;
I've this to add, by way of credit,
Altho' her clapper never cease,
Her fist and grinders hold their peace.
Why that, quo' *Ralph*, is to her credit,
And to thine too, that thou hast said it;
For speaking truth in both your praise,
It seldom happens now-a-days;
And I've heard say; in days of yore,
That one, the * greatest philosopher,
A man of parts, and very learned,
Who by his brain all truths discern'd;
Not only wed a † termagant,
But, both in one, — a combatant.
And what was more than either those,
(Not satisfy'd at home with blows)
Abroad she'd pull him by the nose.
By this, thy wife is not the first,
And, thank thy stars, she's not the worst.
Therefore, the fool's the fittest place;
The surest sign of her disgrace:
But then consider, silly elf,
B' exposing her, y' expose your self.

Why ay, quo' *Sim*. there lies the objection,
Must her disgrace cause my reflection,
Must I endure an equal shame,
When only she, my wife's to blame?
Rather she blam'd by me alone,
Than I be blam'd by ev'ry one.
If so, quo' *Ralph*, when e'er again,
Thy wife begins her noisy strain;
Then lay before her, this her case,
Shewing the crime, and the disgrace;
With all the shameful ills attending,
In hopes 'twill make some small amending.
Alas! quo' *Sim*. you preach in vain,
I've told her o'er and o'er again,
If she'd not cease, the neighbours wou'd
Expose her for the publick good,
And sure as half the hearing pass her
So sure her tongue wou'd gallop faster.
For I've observ'd by often trial
Her tongue will suffer no denial;
If she insist, that black is white,
My answer's always — you say right.
Women's delight is fixt in contradiction,
Just as your poet-men delight in fiction;
Bid 'em say so and so, do this or that,
Be sure they'll do and say the opposite.
In truth, quo' *Ralph*, thy observation
Is good i'th' law, in church, or nation;
Founded on reason, and good sense,
On truth, and long experience:
And what concerns thy noisy dame,
Minds me of something like the same.

* *Socrates*.

† *Xantippe*.

When I my bargain *Kate* took first,
Whether for better or for worse;
Her tongue than mine wou'd ne'er go faster,
She was call'd *mistress*, and I --- *master*.
A while we kept thus joggling on,
Just as we quietly began,

Till at the last, *Kate* found her tongue.

One ev'ning coming home full late,
Up starts the tongue, with *mistress Kate*,
Pray what d'ye mean, you ill bred dog?
You sinking beast, you drunken dog?

Must I all day be kept at home,

Mop'd by my self here, all alone?

While truly you sit sooth at ease

Can go and come just when you please.

D'ye think I'll lead this bellif life?

Curse on the stars that made us wife!

Hey day! quo' I, why bow now queen?

Pray what may all this language mean?

Must I ask leave to go and come,

And if not granted, stay at home?

'Tis I shou'd lead a bellif life,

A man can't stir without his wife.

What! art thou marry'd, silly fool,

And knowest not the marr'age rule?

That men and dogs have leave to roam,

But wives and cats must stay at home.

Cease, pr'ythee cease, thy noisy strain;

Let me ne'er hear the like again.

With that the swell'd her wide grimace,

And burst her venom in my face.

I thought in truth, 'twas then high time

To nip the bud before its prime.

Nor had I yet the rule forgot

To strike the iron while 'tis hot.

I step'd aside, left madam there,

And pull'd the halter off the mare.

In this right hand secur'd her fate,

And in this other, *mistress Kate*:

Come come, quo' I, my sturdy jennet,

W'e'll try for *master*, who shall win it.

At first she rode a little rusty,

But I laid on with lashes lusty;

And gave her handsomely her hire,

Till at the last *Kate* 'gan to tire;

I still laid on as I begun,

By means of which, I *master* won;

And by which means, *Kate* lost her tongue.

And from that very time to this,

Kate, nor her tongue e'er went amis.

What think you now? quo' neighbour

Ralph.

I think, quo' *Sim*, in thy behalf;

And had I heard the like before,

I might like thee had joys in store;

But still there hope remains however,

And hopes are better late, than never;

I'll therefore try thy kind receipt,

Will all its excellencies repeat;

And if I find its virtues save her,

I'll ever thank thee for the favour.

Welfare being wish'd on either side,

One neighbour *Simon* homewards hy'd,

And e'er he ventur'd to the house,

Procure'd the balsam for his spouse.

No sooner come, and set him down,
But madam madge let loose her tongue;
Exclaiming in her usual note,
With hideous howl, and squalling throat:

And for't no other reason knowing,
But lik'd to hear her clack agoging.

Pleas'd with the project, smir'ring *Sim*

Applauds her musick with a grin,

And just as fuel unto fire

Serv'd to inflame her spirits higher;

'Till choak'd with spleen and spent with rage,

No other way her heat c'aswage,

But out it must to her disgrace,

Revil'd him cuckold to his face.

Sim thinking then he had withstood

Sufficient proof of flesh and blood,

Resolv'd to follow *Ralph*'s direction,

And purge her crime with due correction;

Now for't, quo' *Sim*, *vobis time dotz laß*,

Since time's no time when time is past.

I've long endur'd thy venom'd tongue,

With calumny and slander bung,

And when foul words have been my share,

Have *hiberto* return'd thee fair;

But since in vain; a way I'll try,

Its foul defects to rectify.

No more he said, but out he drew

His friend's receipt to tame a brew;

Prepar'd it as it was prescrib'd;

And all its hidden charms apply'd;

Made madam's manners stand 'the test,

And found the cure — *probatum est*.

TRIONYMUS.

Mr. Addison's Campaign, continued. (See
Vol. V. p. 452.)

I L L E Deo similis, seriem sub corda laborum
Forabat secum, tacitèq; futura revolvens
Nondum pugnatis cæperunt fervore bellis

Pætra: mox animo speculatur longa viarum,

Danubii & Mosæ distantia flumina jungens;

Inter quos amnes alii tot ad æquora currunt;

Tet surgunt montes, & tot navora iovia crescant:

Hæc penetrare duci labor unusq; una voluptas,

Optatq; augent prætiq; ipsæpericula palmæ.

Europæ fato gravidus, perq; omnia rumpens,

Heros urget iter, medios vulturis in bosus:

Auræ, quas talis infecerat igneus æstu

Scorpius ardenti, circum sua tempora fervent:

Extremo demum Mæni sub margine captas

Spirantes ventos, vacuasq; caloribus umbras.

Hic nostri juvenes, quos ad meliora lacessit

Libertatis amor, populos dare colla catenis

Inaniter cernant (quæis Omnipotentis imago

Vix manet) admoniti, dum nocte dieq; laborant,

Reginam amplecti, patriæq; impendere vitam.

Pulveris Eoas per nubes iter ad aras,

Conscenduntq; diem, cum siffos excipit annis

Nicerus, relevatq; stim fluitantibus undis:

Nunc omnes bilari deponant pætrae curas,

Insomnes oblitii horas, solisque diurnas.

Hinc super everfas urbes æque obruta tellus,

Prostrataq; domos, quas herba & graminas

condunt,

*Tarba viram renovata ruit; simul ira, dolorq;
Accendunt animos, venasque furoribus implent.
Mœnia cum maris, fractas imitantia rupes,
(Bellorum monumenta) oculis præcul borrida
surgunt:*

*Per hæc luxuriam vitæ labefacta, ruinas
Frendibus umbræsis conata involvere Galli.*

*Fama ducis tandem Angliaci pervenit ad
æres*

*Eupoi, & patriis mirantem allaxit ab arvis.
Scilicet heroes paribus concurrere flammis
Sponte sua præparant, altioraq; pigra poscunt:
Amplexu subito cœnant, fumibusq; per orbem
Effundunt radios, commiscensq; ignibus ignes.
Durant longam campis, aulique politi,
Conciliisq; graves, partis clarisq; triumphis,
Non docent animos nimio de sanguinis æstu,
Inflatusque mero venis: regit omnia virtus
Quæ faciunt, ratioq; ingentes temperat iras.
Pæce trahunt humilis obscura per otia vitam;
Marte furantis manu cum primis prælia tentant:
Talibus his, moriis quos mutua fœdera jungunt,
Hæud dubitat res humanas committere cœlum.*

*Proximas armati Britones pulchro ordine cin-
gunt*

*DuBarem; lassas vultusq; & vocis catarvas
Illi fove prægens; dum proxima flumina colleq;
Oppositi referunt, multa plaudente coroad.
Max ardere in bella magis, rapidoq; feruntur
Cursum contra hostem: lætos hortatur euntes
Gloria. * Sic trepido domæ canis impiger in-
stat,*

- * Nota per insectam scrutans vestigia voras,
- * Implicitum ætopæicum heno conansum tractum:
- * Sed simul æra omnis plenus diffundit odores,
- * Accensus propius aditu, vehementiùs urget,
- * Acceleratq; gradum, prædæq; incumbit opi-
ma, &c.

*To the Revd. Mr. John Stirling, M. A. up-
on his useful Endeavours to facilitate to Youth
the Knowledge of Grammar, and the Attain-
ment of the learned Languages.*

IN Volupus in clouds and cover'd with disguise,
Arts hide in mystick shades from infant
eyes;

In foreign garbs an hideous form they wear,
And fright the pupil when their fullen air;
Yet help'd by birch the tyrants of the schools
Infill the words, without the sense of rules;
With tedious loss of time, a huge delay,
They teach youth ignorance, the learned way,
Chaos of terms and modes, imbib'd by rote,
Their use unknown; or what's as bad, forgot.

Oh! time, expelling mist from human eyes,
Supreme of treasures to the active wise,
Oh! source of ev'ry good, when us'd aright,
Art, wisdom, virtue, fortune and delight:
In youth how vainly art thou throw away!
Nothing to learn, the business of the day;

*Nothing to teach, the master's barren toil;
As not employ'd to cultivate but spoil.*

Yet in this early age the mind receives
What to the rest of life its colour gives,
Folly or reason, indolence or art, [heart;
And all that spoils, or forms, the head and
With the first suture is the course began;
And, good or bad, the infant moulds the man.

THESE, STIRLING, if like thoughts have
wisely sway'd

To lend this heedless state thy gen'rous aid,
Whilst, boldly devious from the vulgar road,
You free the paths of art, and ease its load,
The pupil's pains abridg'd the master's too,
What praises to thy will and works are due!

Led by thy hand youth treads the classic
ground,

Which clouds no more obscure, nor thorns
With easy steps thro' flow'ry scenes they move,
Charm'd with the vary'd beauties of the grove;
Thro' vales, where everlasting verdure reigns,
(Poetick regions in immortal strains.)

To hills, that hide their heads amidst the skies,
Plens'd with the smooth ascent, they gayly
rise;

Thro' virtue's temple that of honour trace,
And pant, impatient for the glorious race.

Go on, wise guide, compleat thy great design,
With speed and ease to form our youth be thine;
Correct the tedious length of fruitless toil,
Abridge the loss of life, amend our soil;
Thy praise and purpose are alike sublime:
The greatest gift to man are sense and time.

Cambridge, Jan. 26, 1736. Fonticola.

*A New EPILOGUE to the FAIR PE-
NITENT, as it was privately acted by
some young Gentlemen: Spoken in the Cha-
racter of CALISTA.*

AS conjurers those who in the circle fall
Transform to brutes, and play the de-
vil and all; [made 'em,

Yet when the circle ends which brutes had
They find themselves again the sons of Adams:
So tragic-writers, those dread lords of ours,
Reign tyrants in a circle of thro' bores,
Change us to kings or queens, or save or kill,
Make us mere whirligigs—ev'n what they
will: [curtain,

Yet pass three tedious hours, and drop the
Down fall the crowns and sceptres which we
sift in;

Stage-peacocks then contract their gaudy train,
And are—your humble servants once again.

What pranks has this our poet play'd to
night! [light!

What shocking characters are brought to
But—bless him! you must own the fool's
—polite.

* I know not who is the Author of the Lines which are distinguished by the Comma's; but I hope the Gentleman will pardon me for the Liberty I have taken in inserting them in this Translation.

He made me *trip*—leave virtue's thorny road;

But this same *tripping*—faith! is alamode.

Women are *vessels*, and when *pyrates* board 'em,

They must surrender all they can afford 'em;

To fly is—cruel; out o' fashion too;

Nor can we fly so fast as they pursue.

Yet lest some angry saint should say *O fy!*

Our poet's justice bade *Calista* die;

I died contented, dar'd and scorn'd the pain;

But—troth! I knew I was to rise again.

• What rigid blockheads are old men! egad!

I can't help laughing at my poor old dad!

Lost to all sense of youthful flames, O lud!

He quite forgot we girls were flesh and blood;

For my first failing, nay, the least of crimes,

(And who can help infirmities sometimes?)

He put my courage to the strictest test,—

Gave me a dagger with you *know the rest*—

Know it? adzooks! dear ladies, what a jest!

Strange doctrine this! to hear our fathers

cry, [die.

Stand *buff*, my girls, and live; but *trip*, and

Lard! if this dying once should come in

fashion,

Adieu to half—the *virgins* in the nation!

Here my † *good man* (an ass no doubt

you'll cry)

Broke his poor heart *almost* to see me die;

Banish'd the *Roman* bully from his breast,

Turn'd *Stoick*; lop'd his horns, and—was

at rest.

My death alone the source of all his woe,

He vow'd he'd follow to the shades below;

So, tho' his friend debar'd him *here* the means,

He died at last (for joy) behind the *scenes*!

But here's a † monster, ladies! one whose life

Knows but one blessing in the world, a *wife*.

Poor stupid fool! who, whilst all others roam

Abroad for happiness, finds his at home.

Supremely blest, no more the creature treads

Vaux-Hall's dear mazas, or *St. James's*

shades; [mayors,

Senseless! hum drum! like *L—n's* booby

Dies not enraptur'd with *Italian* airs;

Thwarts all politeness; leaves the beaten road

And values not of *this*, nor *taste*--nor *mode*--

Phaugh! ladies, from your company disband

all [dal!

This country put---this *Hotentot*---this *Van-*

Say, ladies, since our tragick sesson's past,

Shall I beg quarter for our † *man of taste*?

Poz! you must grant me *liter* all, his crimes

Were but the modish product of the times:

Falshood, against the *mode* is no transgression,

And gallantry's th' ex' travagance of fashion!

Who for such slips would have these creatures

die? [L

'*Fere George*! I pawn my word, nor you, nor

Here's fly § *Lavinia* coaxes with such art,

Who would not think her actions spoke her

heart?

Who'd think the humblest of your wives sure

past her? [and *master*?

Who would not think her spouse reign'd loud

Yet the fool's fetter'd, nor his chains can spy;

Such dear *wiragos* are my *Law*, and I!

We plot, and make a man the rarest fool;

Rule the poor *dear*, and never shew we rule:

And troth! she best her husband over-reaches,

Beneath the petticoat who wears the breeches!

Spoke by the same Gentleman, in the Character
of Nel, by Way of Epilogue to the Devil to
Pay, acted the same Night,

LADIES, I doubt in this our trying

Our comedy has made you cry,

Our tragedy with laughter die—

Lud! we have maul'd it --- and our poet

Would maul us too, if he should know it ---

As for our songs --- he, *good man*, made 'em

For us to sing --- but troth! we said 'em.

Whate'er be meant to bring to pass,

I'm sure we've turn'd it all to *farce*;

And, ladies, you with truth may say,

You've seen to night the devil to pay!

*Crux Jovis Bacchus, Cerebro Jovis edita
Pallas.*

MINERVA from *Jove's* fertile brain did

spring,

Young *Bacchus* from his leg, as poets sing.

He then his head may break, who learning

wins, [thine,

And he, who drunken gets, may break his

Ad *Pectus Britannis* super receptis D. TALL-
BOTI morte.

M *Almas saepe viros coenavit edam maza, repente
Obstrepuit univosa turba maligna lyra.*

Scilicet arguitur carmen, quia distulit baros;

Et mala quae jactat fama, poeta luit.

At vos securi TALBOTUM dicite, vates;

In quo nil livor, quod male rodat, habet.

Jure humanae se qui nulla aliena putavit,

Delicium humane gentis habendus erat.

Partium in hoc non est studio locus; omnibus idem

Ut vixit cbarus, sebilis interit.

EPIGRAM.

LONDON *owes*; *Sarum* *ouk* *promeruisse*;

meratur

Dorham; *Cioester* *sporat*; & *Oxon* *habet*.

The Old COQUETTE.

I'VE seen the patient chymist raise,

From ashes of a rose,

An image which its form displays,

And in resemblance blows.

‡ Horatio. § Lothario. § Bringing

But

• Pointing to Scioto. † To Akamont.
Lavinia to the Front.

But various imperfections shew
 The blooming mimick vain;
 No odours from the phantom flow,
 In air it dies again,
 Thus *Clio*, you-by, art aspire
 To blossom in decay;
 With borrow'd beauties raise desire,
 And distant feels betray.
 But when impatient to be blest,
 The lover's hopes you meet;
 Your wither'd hints and flabby breast
 Too soon disclose the cheat.
 Fair vision! by the touch destroy'd,
 In vain for love display'd;
 Lost in the moment e'er enjoy'd,
 A tinsell'd painted shade.

By the Author of, To his Mistress on being
 slighted. (See p. 694.)

BOAST not, mistaken nymph, thy art
 To please my partial eyes;
 The charms that have subdued my heart
 Another may despise.
 Thy face is to my humour made,
 Another it may fright!
 Perhaps by some fond whim betray'd
 In obscurity I delight.
 Vain girl, to your confession know
 'Tis to my love's excels
 You all your fancy'd beauties owe,
 Which fade as that grows less.
 For your own sake, if not for mine,
 You should prefer me first;
 Since goddess you so sure will shine,
 When I no more admire.
 By me indeed you are allow'd
 The wonder of your kind;
 But be not of my judgment proud,
 Whom love has render'd blind.

HEADACHE.

PASTORA'S WIFE.

A Farmer's son, ye gods, *Pastora* cries,
 A farmer's son delights my ravish'd eyes;
 My *Colin* clour, whose ruddy cheeks do glow,
 Is far more lovely than a palefac'd beau.
 With joy and pleasure I could spend my life
 'Midst rural scenes, were I but *Colin's* wife:
 Nor further I my wishes would extend
 Than to be *Colin's* spouse and *Colin's* friend.
 Let others like in town 'mongst fops to be;
 My *Colin* and a country life for me.
 Let city nymphs in empty shows delight,
 And please with trifles their deluded sight;
 The grassy meadows, and the fruit ul field,
 To me will much more pleasant prospects yield.
 Let courtly ladies more polite and gay
 At *Farinelli's* softness die away;
 Each feather'd warbler will afford to me
 Much song, and much sweeter notes than he:
 While *Montezuma* with *Stentorian* throat
 In singing sits in a deeper note,

1

Pastora shall be pleas'd as well to th' full
 To hear the bellowing of a roaring bull.
 'Tis most harmonious music to my ear
 The lowing herd and bleating flocks to hear:
 I love to be the tender lambskins play,
 And skipping calves o'er verdant pastures fray;
 To have my hens and turkies round me stand,
 To feed them with a kind and bounteous hand,
 To see the rousers in a summer's morn
 With whetted sickles cut the yellow corn;
 To see the loaded team come home at night,
 (A loaded team is a delightful sight)
 Oh these are pleasures that are far beyond
 The vain diversions of the gay beau monde.
 Then gods, to me my dearest *Colin* give,
 And blest and happy shall *Pastora* live.

An unanswerable Apology for the Rich.

ALL bounteous heav'n, *Cassio* cries,
 With bended knees, and lifed eyes,
 When shall I have the pow'r to bless,
 And raise up merit in distress;
 How do our hearts deceive us here!
 He gets ten thousand pounds a year:
 With this the pious youth is able
 To build, and plant, and keep a table.
 But then the poor he must not treat:
 Who asks the wretch that wants, to eat?
 Alas! to ease their woes he wishes,
 But cannot live without ten dishes:
 Tho' six would serve as well, 'tis true;
 But, one must live, as others do!
 He now feels wants, unknown before,
 Wants still increasing with his store.
 The good *Cassio* must provide
 Brocade and jewels for his bride.
 Her toilet shines with plate emboss'd;
 What sums her lace and linen cost!
 The cloaths that must his person grace,
 Shine with embroidery and lace.
 The costly pride of *Persian* looms,
 And *Guido's* paintings grace his rooms.
 His wealth *Cassio* will not waste;
 But must have ev'ry thing in taste.
 He's an economist confess;
 But what he buys must be the best:
 For common use a set of plate;
 Old china, when he dines in state;
 A coach and six to take the air,
 Besides a chariot and a chair.
 All these important calls supply'd,
 Calls of necessity, not pride,
 His income, regularly spent;
 He scarcely saves to pay his rent,
 No man alive would do more good,
 Or give more freely,—if he could:
 He grieves whene'er the wretched sue;
 But what can poor *Cassio* do?
 Would heaven but send ten thousand more,
 He'll give—just as he did before.

The Pastoral, Reading *Bards*, *Epistle to Miss W.*—&c.—in our next. And the musical Apology, *Sturdy Boggar*, &c. as soon as possible. Digitized by Google THE

Monthly Chronologer.

TUESDAY, Feb. 1.



THE Lords Commissioners appointed to represent his Majesty's Royal Person, (who was at this Time indispos'd) ordered Sir Charles Dalton, Gentleman - Usher of the Black Rod, to go to the

House of Commons, and require their Attendance in the House of Peers. The Commons attended accordingly, and the Lord High Chancellor made the following Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IN pursuance of the Authority given us by his Majesty's Commission under the Great Seal, amongst other Things, to declare the Causes of his holding this Parliament, we are, by his Majesty's Command, in the first Place to observe to you, That his Majesty acquainted you last Year, that he had, in Conjunction with the States General, given his Approbation of certain preliminary Articles, concerted and agreed upon between the Emperor and France for restoring the Peace of Europe; and that a further Convention concerning the Execution of them, had been communicated to him by both those Courts; and that Negotiations were carrying on by the several Powers engaged in the late War, in order to settle the general Pacification.

We are now commanded by his Majesty to inform you, that the respective Acts of Cession being exchanged, and Orders given for the Evacuation and Possession of the several Countries and Places by the Powers concerned, according to the Allotment and Disposition of the preliminary Articles, the great Work of re-establishing the general Tranquillity is far advanced; however, it is his Majesty's Opinion, that common Prudence calls upon us to be very attentive to, and observe the final Conclusion of this new Settlement of such considerable Parts of Europe: It is to be hoped, that a general and lasting Tranquillity will follow this Restitution of Peace, and that the Renewal of Friendship and Alliances for the Preservation of it among the several Princes and Powers of Europe, will remove all Dangers and Apprehensions of any new Troubles and Disorders; but his Majesty apprehends, that an indolent Security, and too great a Disregard to future Events, may occasion Mischiefs, more easy to be prevented, than to be remedied; and that it would be very unadvisable to leave ourselves in so defenceless a Condition, as to encourage any

Enterprises, which the Enemies to the publick Peace may have vainly suggested, and flattered themselves with the Hopes of.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

His Majesty has ordered the proper Officers to lay before you the Estimates for the Service of the current Year: As soon as the Circumstances of the Times would permit, his Majesty was pleas'd to make such a Reduction of some Part of the publick Expences, for the Ease of his People, as was consistent with the Peace and Safety of his Kingdoms, the Security of our Commerce, and the Honour and Interest of the Nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His Majesty has been graciously pleas'd to direct us to acquaint you, that he hath seen with the greatest Satisfaction the unwearied Application of this Parliament, in framing good Laws for advancing the Prosperity and securing the Welfare of his loving Subjects: And that it hath been one of his Majesty's principal Cares to enforce them by a due Execution, with the strictest Regard to the Rights and Properties of his People, no Invasion whereof, can, with any Colour, be suggested by the most malicious Enemies of the present Establishment: Whilst this hath been our Condition, his Majesty cannot but observe, that it must be Matter of the utmost Surprise and Concern to every true Lover of his Country, to see the many Contrivances and Attempts carried on in various stripes, and in different Parts of the Nation, tumultuously to resist and obstruct the Execution of the Laws, and to violate the Peace of the Kingdom. These Disturbers of the Publick Repose, conscious, that the Interests of his Majesty and his People are the same, and of the good Harmony which happily subsists between him and his Parliament, have livell'd their Sedition against both; and in their late Outrages have either directly opposed, or, at least, endeavour'd to render ineffectual some Acts of the whole Legislature. His Majesty in his great Wisdom thinks it affords a melancholy Prospect, to consider to what Height these audacious Practices may rise, if not timely suppressed; and that it deserves no small Attention, that they may go on to affect private Persons in the quiet Enjoyment of their Property, as well as the general Peace and good Order of the Whole. His Majesty apprehends it to be unnecessary to enlarge upon a Subject of this Nature, and therefore hath commanded us barely to men-

tion it to you, who, by the constant Tenor of your Conduct, have shewn; that you consider the Support of his Authority and the Security of his Government, as inseparable from the Preservation of the publick Tranquillity, and your own Safety.

WEDNESDAY, 2.

The Address of the Rt. Hon. the House of Lords was this Day presented to his Majesty, which is as follows.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to approach your Throne with Hearts full of that Zeal and Affection for your Person and Government, which become the most faithful Subjects to the best of Kings.

Our Duty and Gratitude to your Majesty have, on many Occasions of this Nature, called upon us to lay at your Royal Feet our thankful Acknowledgments for preserving to your own Subjects the Blessings of Peace; and the additional Motive of our unfeigned Regard to the common Interests of Europe, in which it is impossible for this Nation to be unconcerned, makes us now receive, with great Satisfaction, your gracious Communion. That the Re-establishment of the general Tranquillity is far advanced.

How happy and secure forever your Majesty's Wisdom, under the Protection of the Divine Providence, may render these Kingdoms; it was impossible for us to remain wholly unaffected with the Miseries of War, suffered by other Parts of Christendom; and we cannot but rejoice in the pleasing Hopes, that all Dangers and Apprehensions of new Troubles may be happily removed.

At the same Time, we esteem it a fresh Instance of your Majesty's never failing Care of the publick Welfare, that you put us in Mind to be attentive to the final Conclusion of this great Work. As your Majesty hath, on your Part, distinguished your paternal Tenderness for your People, in not permitting them to be hastily involved in the Calamities of War; it would be the most unbecoming Return for so great a Benefit, to shew any Signs of an indolent Security: And we beseech your Majesty to accept the strongest and most affectionate Assurances, that we can never entertain the least Thought of leaving our selves to a defenceless Condition; but that we will always cheerfully concur in all such Measures, as shall be necessary to maintain the Honour and Safety of your Majesty and your Government, and the true Interest of your Kingdoms.

The gracious Approbation which your Majesty is pleased to give of the Conduct of this Parliament affords us great Comfort and Encouragement; and your vigilant Care to execute the Laws with Justice and Impartiality, and to protect the Rights and Properties of all

your Subjects, fills our Minds with the most lasting Impressions of Thankfulness. Under this deep Sense of our Obligations to your Majesty, we cannot sufficiently express our Detestation of those insolent Riots and Tumults, which have of late appeared, in different Parts of the Kingdom, in Defiance of the Law, and Violation of the publick Peace. Every Part of the Behaviour of these daring Offenders appears to us as weak and unreasonable, as it is wicked; except that they have considered the Interests and Views of your Majesty and your Parliament as being so closely united, that it was impossible to traduce or oppose the one, without including the other. Our Duty, as well as our Safety, makes it incumbent upon us to give another Mark of this happy Union, by testifying our humble Concurrence in your Majesty's just Opinion, that such seditious Practices ought to be timely suppressed: And, as we do, with the firmest Confidence, rely on your Majesty's Authority being prudently and vigorously exerted for this necessary End; so we assure your Majesty, with the greatest Sincerity, that our Endeavours and Assistance shall never be wanting to support that Authority, and to preserve the Quiet and Security of the Nation.

To which Address his Majesty return'd the following most gracious Answer.

My Lords,

I Thank you for this dutiful and loyal Address. The Affection you shew to my Person and Government gives me the greatest Satisfaction. My principal Care is to secure to my People the Blessings of Peace, and the full and undisturbed Enjoyment of all their Civil and Religious Rights; and to preserve the Tranquillity and good Order of the Kingdom.

The Continuance of the good Harmony between me and my Parliament will enable me to pursue with Effect these great and desirable Ends.

THURSDAY, 3.

The Address of the Hon. House of Commons was presented to the King, as follows.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our most humble Thanks for the Speech delivered, by your Majesty's Command, to both Houses of Parliament.

We see, with great Satisfaction, the happy Prospect of the final Conclusion of the general Pacification of Europe; and when we remember your Majesty's unwearied Endeavours to prevent this Nation from being involved in the Calamities of a destructive War; and your constant Application in contributing to the utmost of your Power towards the great Work of restoring Peace, from the tender Care and Concern, which your Majesty has always

always shows for the future Peace and Prosperity of your People, as well as for the common Welfare of Mankind, we make no doubt but that your Majesty will continue to cooperate with your good Allies, that the Conclusion of the Peace may be attended with a general and lasting Tranquillity.

Duty and Gratitude to your Majesty, and a due Regard to our own Interests and Security, will engage us not to neglect any necessary Precautions, which may best conduce to enable your Majesty to disappoint and defeat all groundless Hopes and Expectations, which the detested Enemies of the publick Peace may have vainly suggested and flattered themselves with.

And we beg Leave to assure your Majesty, That we will cheerfully and effectually raise the Supplies necessary for the Service of the current Year, and support your Majesty in all such Measures, as shall be found requisite to preserve the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, the Security of our Commerce, and the Honour and Interests of your Majesty and your Dominions.

Most gracious Sovereign,

Your faithful Commons cannot, without a just Indignation, observe the Spirit of Faction and Seditious, which has lately manifested it self in traducing and misrepresenting the Legislature, in contemning all Authority, and in open Defiance to the Laws of the Land.

It is with the highest Sense of Duty and Gratitude, we acknowledge your Majesty's Goodness, not only in your ready Concurrence to all such wholesome Laws, as have been from Time to Time prepared by your Parliament, but in your constant Care to enforce them by a due Execution, with the strictest Regard to the Rights and Properties of your People, and without the least Colour and Shadow of any Design or Attempt to stretch or violate the known Laws of this Realm.

We cannot sufficiently express our Abhorrence of the many wicked and detestable Practices, which the Disturbers of the Publick Repose have secretly fomented, and openly carried on in tumultuously resisting and obstructing the Execution of the Laws and violating the Peace of the Kingdom.

And we your faithful Commons do assure your Majesty, That being fully persuaded, that the Preservation of the Publick Tranquillity, and our own Safety, are inseparable from the Security of your Government, we will support your Royal Authority in suppressing and subduing all seditious and riotous Attempts, that threaten the very Being of our happy Constitution, and the utter Subversion of those Liberties, which have been made the specious Pretence for committing these outrageous Disorders.

The King's Answer.

HIS Majesty returns this House his Thanks for their most dutiful and loyal Address; and shall always esteem their Zeal and Affection for his Person and Government, as the best and most acceptable Return for his constant Endeavours to render this Nation happy and flourishing, both at Home and Abroad.

His Majesty relies upon the Wisdom of his Parliament, to frame such Laws as shall be necessary to strengthen and support the Authority of his Government, in preserving the Publick Tranquillity; and securing the Rights and Properties of his People; and his faithful Commons may depend upon him for a just and due Execution of them.

THURSDAY, 10.

Robert Nixon, the Nonjuring Parson, who was convicted the Sitting after last Michaelmas Term, of Writing, Printing, and Publishing, a vile, scandalous, and audacious Libel, reflecting upon the Legislature of this Kingdom, and blowing up the same, together with five Acts of the last Session of Parli. in Westminster-Hall, while the Courts were sitting, was brought to the Court of King's Bench; and the Court gave Sentence as follows, viz, That he should pay a Fine of 200 Marks, just for five Years Imprisonment, and until he has paid the said Fine, and to give Security for his good Behaviour for five Years, himself in 500*l.* and two Sureties in 250*l.* each; and that he should be brought up immediately to the several Courts then sitting in Westminster-Hall, with a Parliament round his Head, denoting the Nature of his Crime; which latter Part of his Sentence was performed accordingly.

SATURDAY, 12.

A Cause between Charles Christopher de Basse from Ireland, Plaintiff, and George Mackenzie, Esq; Defendant, was argued before the Court of Common Pleas; and the Question being, Whether the Defendants should be held to Special Bail, upon a Sentence pronounced by the Bailiff of Menden in France for 20000 Livres, which the Plaintiff had sworn were equal to 1000*l.* English Money? And it appearing to the Court, that there was no real Debt subsisting and owing by the Defendant to the Plaintiff; but that the Sentence of the said Bailiff had been originally pronounced, merely by Way of Penalty, by a Poinsney Judge in France, whose said Sentence stands reversed by the Parliament of Paris; the Court was therefore of Opinion, that there appeared no probable Cause of Action, and therefore discharged the Defendant without holding him to Special Bail.

THURSDAY, 17.

This Day his Majesty appeared in the Drawing-Room, being recovered of his late illness; where there was a numerous Assembly

By to congratulate his Majesty on that Occasion.

SATURDAY, 29.

The Sessions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the following Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, viz. *William Maw*, a Soldier, for murdering a Watchman; *Jeffrey Edwards*, a Black, for breaking open the Marquet of *Loddy's* House; *Mary Strout*, for murdering her Bastard Child; *Charles Orchard*, for a Robbery on the Highway; *John Welfer*, for robbing his Master of Plate.

MONDAY, 21.

This Night a great Disturbance happened at *Dumy-Lane Play House*, occasioned by a great Number of Footmen, who assembled themselves there in a riotous Manner, with great Overtures of burning the House and Audience together, unless they were immediately admitted into what they call the Gallery; and in order to strike a Terror, they began to hew down the Door of the Passage which leads to the said Gallery; of which Colonel *De Vill*, (who was in the House) had immediate Notice, and thereupon came out where they were thus assembled, and notwithstanding they threatened to knock his Brains out, he read the Proclamation to them, admonishing them to retire and desist from so unlawful an Undertaking; for that he came as a Friend; and not as a Foe, to warn them of their Danger. This Admonition, and sensibly reading the Proclamation, had its desired Effect, for they all went off in a few Minutes after the Proclamation was read.

TUESDAY, 22.

This Day his Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to the Salt Tax Bill, and to two Naturalization Bills.

FRIDAY, 25.

At the Sessions of Admiralty which ended this Day at the *Old Bailey*, 4 Prisoners receiv'd Sentence of Death, viz. *Nicholas Williams*, the Mate, and *Edward Johnson* for the Murder of *Benjamin Hawes*, Master of the *Dove Brigantine*, and *Lawrence Smetter*, for Piratically revoking and running away with the said *Brigantine*; and *Richard Coyle*, for the Murder of *Benjamin Hartley*, Master of the *S. John Pint*.

One Thomas Mudd, of *Cornaby Market*, had a Word or two with his Wife, and he offering to sit in his Wife's Lap, she having a Knife by her Side, stabbed him thro' the Back, upon which he drop'd down dead; and she was immediately carried before a Justice, who committed her to *Newgate*. The Coroner's inquest sat on the Body, and brought in their Verdict, *Wife's Murder*.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

LORD *Perceval* to the Lady *Catherine La Ceil*, second Sister to the Earl of *Salisbury*,

Mr. Joshua Ruffel, an eminent Brewer in *Ratcliff Highway*, to Miss *Horsman*, Daughter of the late eminent Counsellor of that Name.

Richard Pinder, of *Dorsetshire*, Esq; to the Daughter of *William Hallyar*, Esq; formerly Knight of the Shire for the County of *Somerset*.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord Justice-Clerk in Scotland was safely delivered of a Son.

DEATHS.

M^R. Deputy *Riley*, an eminent Linen Draper in *Cornhill*.

Sir Charles Peers, Kn. Alderman of the *Tower Ward*, and Father of the City, one of the Commissioners of the Customs, one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the *Tower Hamlets*, one of the Commissioners for finishing *St. Paul's Cathedral*, and Colonel of the yellow Regiment of City Train-Bands.

Richard Darby, Esq; Secondary to *George Cook*, Esq; Prothonotary of the Court of *Common Pleas*. This *Mr. Darby* was Father to *Mr. Darby*, killed some Years ago in the Temple by *Henry Fisher*.

Rev. Mr. Townsend, Fellow of *Clare-Hall*, in *Cambridge*.

Sir Henry Hankey, Kn. Alderman of *Langbourn Ward*.

John de Kowies, Esq; formerly Author of the *Postman*.

Rt. Hon. the Countess of *Drogheda*, in Child-bed.

Rt. Hon. *George Hamilton* Earl of *Orkney*, and Lord *Scotland*, one of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*, Governor of *Virginia*; Constable, Governor, and Captain of *Edinburgh Castle*, Knight of the most Antient and Hon. Order of the *Thistle*, Lord Lieut. of the County of *Argyleshire*, one of the Field Marshals of his Majesty's Forces both Horse and Foot, and Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Foot. At *Naas* in *Ireland*, as he was going to *Dublin*, the Hon. Col. *O'roway*.

At *Edinburgh*, in the 5th Year of his Age, the Right Hon. *Sir Hugh Dalrymple*, of *North Berwick*, Lord President of the Court of Session.

Joseph Paine, Esq; one of the *Bank* Directors, and an Executor of the late *Samuel Wright* of *Newington*, Esq;

In the Rules of the *Fleet*, aged 80, *Capt. William Wallis*, a Favourite of the late King *William*, who was with him in all his Wars in *Flanders*, and in the Chamber with him when he died. Being unfortunately engaged for the Receiver General of the Excise, in the Beginning of the Reign of *Q. Anne*, his Estate was seized upon for the Revenues of Excise; since which he has been supported by the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom.

Sir Harbottle Luchyn of *Madging-hall*, Esq;

son, Elder Brother of the Lord Viscount *Grimston*.

At his Seat in *Huntingdonshire*, Sir *John Hewitt*, Bart.

William Chubbill, Esq; who formerly represented the Town of *Ipswich* in Parliament, was one of the Commissioners for the Sick and Wounded in the late Reign, and Deputy Treasurer of the Ordnance: He was Bookbinder, Bookbinder, and Stationer to his Majesty.

Brigadier General *Kass*, Governor of *Mi-norca*.

Lady *Leigh*, Wife of Sir *John Leigh*, of *Adlington, Kent*, aged about 20; Sir *John Leigh* being upwards of 70, and married her about three Years ago.

At his House in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, in the 54:h Year of his Age, the Right Hon. *Charles Lord Talbot*, Baron *Hanfol*, Lord High Chancellor of *Great Britain*, and one of the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council. His Virtues in private Life make his Loss universally regretted; and his Justice, Penetration, Wisdom, Sweetness of Temper, and unbiassed Integrity, in every Action of his publick Life, will cause his Death to be long considered by all Mankind as a publick Calamity. (See Mrs of his Character, p. 94. 95.) He was eldest Son of the late Lord Bishop of *Durham*. He is succeeded in Dignity and Estate by his eldest Son, the Hon. *William Talbot*, Esq; now Lord *Hanfol*.

At his Chambers in the *Temple*, Mr. *Samuel Strutt*, an Attorney, Author of several Pieces.

Gilbert Thompson, Esq; formerly Deputy Commissary for *Scotland*.

At *Harrow on the Hill*, the Rev. Mr. *Spooner*.

Mr. *Pepys*, an eminent Sadler in *Bishopsgate-street*, and Common-Council-Man for that Ward.

Rev. Mr. *Thomas Rawcliff*, Rector of *Pil-lisdon, Dorsetshire*, and of *Hardington, Somersetshire*.

Hon. Col. *Scw*, of the Third Regiment of Foot-Guards.

At *Boston in New-England*, O^r. 6. the Lady of his Excellency Governor *Bakker*.

ECCLIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

Mr. *Henry Bradley* presented to the Vicarage of *Hackney, Lincolnshire*.

Mr. *William Basset* to the Vicarage of *Willerby, Yorkshire*.

Mr. *Naphtali Huxley* to the Rectory of *East Morsy, Essex*.

Mr. *Rawlin* to the Living of *Lidiard Tre-goon, Wilts*.

The Right Rev. Dr. *John Potter*, Lord Bishop of *Oxford*, promoted to the Archbishopial See of *Canterbury*, in the Room of Archbp. *Wake*, deceased.

Mr. *Conyers Place*, *Sadler*, presented to the Rectory of *Porwell, Dorsetshire*; and his Son, Mr. *Conyers Place*, to the Rectory of *Morn-hall*; in the same County.

Mr. *Samuel Staines* to the Rectory of *Wim-frith, Dorsetshire*.

Mr. *Pecher* to the Rectory of *Shellingford, Berks*.

Mr. *Stillingfleet*, Grandson to the late learned Bishop of *Worcester* of that Name, made a Prebendary of *Worcester*, in the room of the late Mr. *Davia*.

Mr. *Nathaniel Bridges* presented to the Rectory of *Hardington, Somersetshire*.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

*W*ILLIAM *Cheselden*, Esq; Surgeon to her Majesty, made Surgeon to *Chelsea-Hospital*, in the room of the late *Alexander Inglisb*, Esq;

And Mr. *Paul* of *St. James's-street*, succeeds the Deceased as Surgeon-General to the Army.

John Moyle of Cross, Esq; appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince, Sheriff of the County of *Cornwall*.

Joseph Hankey, Esq; chosen Alderman of *Langbourn Ward*, in the room of his late Father, Sir *Henry*. And *Daniel Lambert*, Esq; chosen Alderman of *Tower Ward*, in the room of the late Sir *Charles Peers*.

Lord *Delaware* made Governor of *Virginia*, in the room of the late Earl of *Orkney*,

Earl of *Selkirk* made Governor of *Edin-burgh-Castle*.

Hon. *John Lumley*, Esq; made Gentleman of the Horse to the King, in the room of the late Hon. *Henry Berkeley*, Esq;

Thomas Pulam, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for *Leuist, Suffex*, appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the King of *Sardinia*.

Mr. *Nathaniel Cowderay* made Clerk of the Debentures in the *Exchequer*, in the room of the late Mr. *Choch*.

Mr. *Parkhurst* of the Annuity-Office, succeeds Mr. *Cowderay* as Clerk of the Registers, And Mr. *Farnicraft* succeeds Mr. *Parkhurst* in the Annuity-Office.

Thomas Robinson, Esq; Solicitor of the Post-Office, appointed Secretary of the said Office, in the room of Mr. *William Rous*, who resigned.

William Pool, Esq; made Receiver-General of the Stamp-Duties, in the room of the late *Henry Carrewright*, Esq;

Brigadier General *Hargrave* appointed Governor of *Minorca* in the room of Brigadier-General *Kass*, deceased.

Capt. *Patterson* made Major of the Train of Artillery, in the room of the late Major *Bowfield*; and is succeeded as Capt. of the Artillery at *Port-Mahon*, by Lieut. *Simpson*.

William Blair, Esq; made a Commissioner of the Stamp-Duties, in the room of *Bri-ly*

by *Stinner, Esq;* made his Majesty's Resident at *Venice.*

William Brydges, Esq; made Secretary to the Commissioners of Stamp-Duties.

James Hamiton of Calder, Esq; made Keeper of the Seals at *Edinburgh.*

John Emerson, Esq; made Captain in General *Groo's* Regiment of Foot.

The Rt. Hon. *Philip Lord Hardwicks, L. C. J.* of the *King's Bench*, made Lord High Chancellor, in the room of the late *Lord Henfol.*

And Mr. Justice *Lee* made Lord Chief Justice of the *King's Bench*, in his room.

Mr. *Charles* chosen Head Master of *St. Paul's School*, in the room of the Rev. Mr. *Cramp*, deces'd.

The following Gentlemen are newly elected Members of Parliament, viz.

William Brasley, Esq; for *Oxford University.*

John Boscawen, Esq; for *Tragony, Cornwall.*

John Strange, Esq; for *Wesles, Cornwall.*

Gilbert Affleck, Esq; for *Cambridge Town.*

Admiral Stewart, for *Portsmouth.*

Capt. Ingram, for *Horsham, Suffex.*

John Neal, Esq; for *Coventry.*

PERSONS declared BANKRUPTS.

JOHN Earle, late of *Shipton Mallett, Somset*, Mercer and Chapman.

Martha Mowle, of *Thomas-Street, London*, Widow, Dealer in Lime.

Anne Finch, of *Stockton upon Tees*, in the County *Palatine of Durham, Mercer.*

Paul Clenden of *Fritb-Street, Middlesex*, Grocer.

Edmund Hay of *Switbin's-Lane, London*, Broker and Chapman.

John Moore, of *Leaden-ball-Market, Pontreter.*

Samuel Bull, of the *Minories, Mercer* and Chapman.

Thomas Knight, of *St. James's Parish, Westminster, Joiner.*

James Poulsen, junior, of *Darking, Surrey, Taylor.*

John Standerwicke, of *Taunton, Somersetshire, Maltster.*

Thomas Pyke, of *Clare-market, Grocer.*

John Ward, of *Fors-Street, London, Grocer.*

Thomas Masten, of *Week, Wilts, Clothier.*

James Martin, of *Minster, Isle of Shepp, Chapman.*

Miles Wrag, of *Great Grimby, Distiller.*

Timothy Kitchingham, of *Lodds, Clothworker.*

William Atkinson, late of *Newcastle upon Tyne, Draper.*

Prices of Stocks, &c. towards the End of the Month.

S T O C K S.

<i>S. Sea</i> 101 $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>Afric.</i> 14
— <i>Bonds</i> 3 15	<i>Royal Aff.</i> 108
— <i>Annu.</i> 113	<i>Lon. disto</i> 14 $\frac{1}{3}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Bank</i> 151 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>3 per C. An.</i> 105 $\frac{1}{8}$
— <i>Circ.</i> 21 25 6d	<i>Eng. Copper</i>
<i>Mil. Bank</i> 120	<i>Salt Tallies</i> 2 a 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>India</i> 179 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Emp. Loan</i> 113 $\frac{1}{8}$
— <i>Bonds</i> 6l. 9	<i>Equiv.</i> 115 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
The Courte of B X C H A N G E.	
<i>Amsf.</i> 35 2	<i>Bilboa</i> 41 $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>D. Sight</i> 35	<i>Legborn</i> 50 a $\frac{1}{8}$
<i>Roster.</i> 95 3 a 4	<i>Genoa</i> 53 a $\frac{1}{8}$
<i>Hamb.</i> 34	<i>Venice</i> 50 $\frac{1}{8}$
<i>P. Sight</i> 32 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Lisb.</i> 55 $\frac{1}{2}$ a 6a $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Bourd.</i> 31 $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>Oport.</i> 55 $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{1}{8}$
<i>Cadiz</i> 42	<i>Antw.</i> 35 6
<i>Madrid</i> 42	<i>Dublin</i> 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

<i>Wheat</i> 30 35	<i>Oats</i> 11 14
<i>Rye</i> 12 16	<i>Tares</i> 22 24
<i>Barley</i> 13 18	<i>Pease</i> 20 22
<i>H. Beans</i> 20 22	<i>H. Pease</i> 16 17
<i>P. Malt</i> 19 21	<i>B. Malt</i> 17 18

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from *Jua. 25* to *Feb. 22.*

Christned	{	Males	701	} 1389
		Females	688	
Buried	{	Males	926	} 1915
		Females	989	
Died under 2 Years old				689
Between 2 and 5				171
				56
				61
				144
				176
				191
				155
				129
				89
				46
				8

1915

Hay 42 to 45l. a Load.

FROM Paris we have an Account of the following Piece of *Practical Compassion* with what are suppos'd to be the Sentiments of the *Prime Minister*. A poor Prebend of a Church near *Doway* died about the Beginning of this Month, N. S. and though they would not allow him to be buried in the Burying-Ground belonging to the Prebends of that Church, because he had lived and died an Appellant from the Constitution *Unigenitus*, yet he was buried by his Relations in another Burying-Ground with the usual Ceremonies of the *Roman* Church. But the zealous, or rather courtly Bishop of *Arras*, not content with the Indignity put upon the Deceased, by refusing to allow him a Place in the Burying-Ground belonging to his Fraternity, insisted that he ought not to have had Christian Burial; and, therefore, ordered the Corpse to be taken up, and put into the Earth again, with the Head downwards, so that the Posterior and Legs were left forking up above Ground, to the great Scandal of all Spectators. As this gave a most reasonable Offence to his Relations, they immediately made their Complaint to the Parliament of *Paris*, within whose Jurisdiction the Place happened to be, and as that Parliament is not quite so complaisant to the *Prime Minister* as some of their Neighbours, they were like to have taken the Prelate severely to Task, on the 10th, but the first President *le Peltier*, who since his Promotion, has become a downright Courtier, adjourn'd them to the 14th, and in the interim out comes an Arret of his most Christian Majesty's Council, straddling the Parliament to take any Cognizance of this Affair; whereupon they have resolv'd to remonstrate; but considering the numerous standing Army in that Kingdom, it is thought their Remonstrances will not be much regarded.

As this Nation has often out-done the *French* in Feats of Arms, so now they begin to out-do them in Feats of Gallantry, as appears from the following Piece of private History. Mademoiselle *Salles*, famous both at *Paris* and *London* for her fine Dancing, was no less famous for her Chastity; inasmuch, that she obtain'd the Name of *Vestal*, a Character not very common to the Ladies of the Stage, especially when the Charms of their Person co-operate with the Charms of their Acting in throwing Temptations in their Way. This young Mademoiselle had for several Years withstood the Attacks of all the *Petit Maitres* in *France*, both of high and low Degree. They cut Capers, said soft Things, wrote Sonnets, and swore they were a dying, but all to no Purpose; Mademoiselle's Heart remained as cool as a Cucumber; so that at last they began to impute her Chastity to the extraordinary Coldness of her Nature; for they were too

vain to impute it to their own Want of Address; but a young *English* Gentleman, to whom she has surrendered, has convinced them of their Mistake. This young Gentleman having fallen most furiously in Love with her, and at the same Time being informed of her extraordinary Coldness and Indifference towards the Male Sex, contrived himself of a Project for which Nature had completely formed him; for having a beautiful Person, and a Redundancy of Wit and Humour, he dressed himself in Woman's Apparel, and by Means of an Acquaintance of Mademoiselle's, was introduced into an Assembly where she often used to be: After this Introduction, by a singular Address, he entirely concealed his Sex, and so artfully insinuated himself into her Favour, that she invited the young Lady, as she thought, to take Part of her Bed, where the young Gentleman managed so artfully, and judg'd so nicely of the critical Minutes, that she discovered her Error with Pleasure and Amuse, and cannot now go to Bed with any Comfort unless she has the pretty young *English* Lady for her Bed-fellow.

The *Spaniards* sail'd the Embarkation of their Troops at *Leghorn* on the 29th of last Month, and the same Day their Transports, being 26 in Number, under Convoy of seven Men of War set Sail with a favourable Wind for *Spain*. On the 10th of last Month, the Commissioners for taking Possession of the Duchy of *Bar* in the Name of King *Stanislaus*, being arriv'd in that City, the Letters Patent by which the Duke absolved the Subjects of that Duchy from all Allegiance to him, were read; and then in presence of the said Commissioners they took a new Oath to *K. Stanislaus*, with the usual Ceremonies. About the same Time the *French* deliver'd up *Fort Kobl* and *Philippbourg* to the *Germans*, having first demolish'd all the new Works which had been added by the *French* since they were in their Possession.

On the 20th Instant N. S. the Count *de Mareschal*, Secretary of State, went by the King of *France's* Orders, to the *Sieur Charvelin's*, Keeper of the Seal of *France*, and Minister and Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, to demand the Seals to be deliver'd up, and he afterwards carried them to his Majesty, who gave the Seals to the *Sieur Dagneffian*, Chancellor of *France*, and appointed the *Sieur Amelot*, Intendant of the Finances, to be Minister and Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, and the *Sieur Orry de Fuby*, to be Intendant of the Finances; but what was the Cause of this great Change in the Administration, or what Alterations it may produce in their Politics, does not yet appear.

ENTERTAINMENT and POETRY.

- THE Beauties of the English Stage. Printed for Mess. Ward and Chandler, 2 Vols. 12mo, price 5s.
2. The Rival Milliners: A Pastoral. By Mt. Drury. Printed for G. Spawan, pr. 1s.
3. A Poem occasion'd by the Death of Charles Talbot, Lord High-Chancellor of Great Britain. Printed for G. Corbet, pr. 1s.
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11. Jealousy no Safeguard to Virtue: A Novel. Printed for J. Leake, price 1s.
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GEOGRAPHY and HISTORY.

13. Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, & Hiberniæ: A Synodo Verolamiensî, A. D. 446, ad Locondinensium, A. D. 797. Accedunt Constitutiones, & alia ad Historiam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ spectantia. A Davide Wilkins, & T. P. Printed for R. Gosling, F. Gyles, T. Woodward, and C. Davis. In 4 Vols. Folio, price Six Guineas in Sheets to Subscribers.
14. A Continuation of Rapin's History of England. By Thomas Lediard. Esq; Printed for J. Macbell, Folio, price 1s. in Sheets.
15. A new Geographical Dictionary: Containing a brief Account of the Countries, Empires, Kingdoms, &c. Printed for D. Midwinter, 8vo, price 6s. 6d.

LAW and TRADE.

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Translated into English, with Mr. Selden's Notes, &c. Printed for R. Gosling, Folio, price 16s.

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T H E

LONDON MAGAZINE:

MARCH, 1737.

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON
MAGAZINE.

S I R,



OR the Benefit of
the Publick, as well
as those who may
be particularly con-
cerned, I desire the
Favour you will
publish the follow-

ing Remarks upon the Right a Man
may have to any Office, or to con-
tinue in it after he has once been
preferred to it, by the Constitution
of this Kingdom, and the Rules of
common Justice.

The general Rule, that all Posts
of Honour and Profit ought to be
given gratuitously to those who have
the most Merit, is certainly right;
but this Rule has in all Countries,
and in all Ages, been found to be
impracticable, with respect to all
those Offices which are in the Dis-
posal of any one Man: It has always
been found, that the Artifices of
those who are about a Court, and
the Favour of great Men, generally
gained by servile, often by criminal
Methods, have triumphed over Vir-

tue, and have left the most distin-
guished Merit grovelling in the Dust.

For remedying this Evil, Recourse
has been had in some Countries to
popular Elections; and where such
Elections are carried on, without
A Bribery or Corruption, it is certain
that the successful Candidate must
either have the most distinguished
Merit, or he must at least have the
Appearance of it: A Man of no
Honour or Capacity, a Man openly
profligate and abandoned, may be
the Favourite of one Man, and may
for that Reason be preferred to a
Man of real Merit and Virtue;
whereas the Favour of the People
can never be gained but by the Ap-
pearance, at least, of something lau-
dable and honourable; from whence
we must conclude, that the Method
C of preferring Men to Posts or Offices
by popular Election, is the most cer-
tain Method of bestowing them in
that Manner in which every Man
acknowledges they ought to be be-
stowed; but this Method necessarily
D gives Occasion to Cabal and Faction,
which must be allowed to be a great
Evil, tho' not so great as it is gene-
rally represented by the Ambitious
and Aspiring.

P

But in Countries where arbitrary Power is established, the Prince is always jealous of lodging any Sort of Power in any Assembly of the People; and, therefore, instead of popular Elections, they sometimes have recourse to a publick Sale, and sometimes to the making of Offices hereditary in certain particular Families: For an Example, we need only go to *France*, where most of the Posts, or Offices in the Civil Government, especially in the Law, are either hereditary, or are set up to publick Sale, and given to the best Bidder; for *Francis the First* having observed, that most of these Offices were sold privately by his Favourites, and the Money converted to their own Use, and knowing it was impossible for him to prevent this underhand Sort of Commerce, he resolved that the Money arising by such Sales, should come to the Use of the Publick; for which purpose he first began to have those Offices set up publickly to Sale, which Custom has ever since continued, and in that Kingdom makes a considerable Branch of the Royal or Publick Revenue.

This Custom may at first View seem a little ridiculous; but when we consider seriously we must conclude, that in arbitrary Kingdoms, where there is no Check upon the Disposal of any Office, the Custom is not only reasonable, but necessary, in which Opinion every Man may be confirmed by reading of the famous *Cardinal Richlieu's* Political Testament *; for the Publick has a much better Lay to be well served by a Man of a good Family, who by an hereditary Right succeeds to his Office, or by one who buys his Office, than by one who obtains it thro' those Means which usually prevail at Courts, or at the Levies of Ministers; and if any such Office be

fold, the King, or the Publick, has a much better Right to the Purchase Money than any private Man.

In this happy Kingdom, by the mixt Nature of our Government, we have a great Advantage with respect to the Disposal of Offices, as well as we have in almost every other Respect. Some of the Offices in our Government are hereditary, some are at the sole Disposal of the King or those deputed by him, and some are disposed of by Way of popular Election; by which Means we avoid the dangerous Cabals and Factions incident to Governments altogether popular; and the Sale of Offices, as well as the Disposal of them to unworthy Creatures, or mean Favourites, may be prevented by Means of those Officers who are hereditary, or named by popular Election.

For illustrating what I have said I must observe, that a Seat in either House of Parliament is an Office in our Government, and an Office too, which, if faithfully and diligently executed, requires as close an Attendance, and as great an Application, as any Office whatsoever; and considering the great Trust and Confidence reposed by the King and the People in the Members of each respective House of Parliament, no private Excuse for Non-Attendance, but Sickness sufficiently attested ought ever to be admitted: It were indeed to be wished, that some high Penalty were by Law inflicted upon every such Neglect; and that a Forfeiture of the Office were made the certain Consequence of a continued wilful Neglect.

With our Parliament there is a Power lodged of enquiring into the Disposal of all Offices, from the lowest Exciseman to the highest Ministers of State; and if any Office should be granted unjustly, or to an unworthy Person, or from false Suggestions

or wicked Motives, they may certainly, with the King's Consent, not only make void the Grant, but may punish those Subjects who were the Authors of such a Grant: So likewise if any Subject should make a Trade of selling Offices, or any Way countenance such a pernicious Commerce, they may enquire into it, and may punish the Offender: Therefore, while our Parliaments continue incorrupt and independent, we may expect that Merit and Virtue will always meet with a due Regard; and that even those Offices, which are in the Disposal of one single Person, will be generally given to the most Worthy; or at least that they will never be disposed of to desperate Tools, or slavish Sycophants. Nay, even with respect to our hereditary Offices, they will take Care that no Man shall make a wicked or corrupt Use of that Trust, which the Publick has reposed in his Family; and with respect to our popular Elections, they will take Care that none of them shall be influenced by any Sort of Bribery or Corruption, and then the Choice will always fall, as I have said, upon the Man who has the most Merit, or at least upon him who is the most generally thought to be the most deserving.

Now, with regard to the Right which a Man may have to any Office or Employment, it must always depend upon his Virtue and his Qualifications; for that Man has certainly the best Right who has the most Virtue, and is the best qualified for the Office for which he stands a Candidate. If such a Man be disappointed he is injured; and if he who had the Disposal of that Office be sensible of his superior Merit, he does him a wilful Injury, an Injury for which he ought to be punished, in proportion to the Injury done, and the Motives he had for doing it. In such a Case, the Publick is injured

as well as the disappointed Candidate; for the Disposal of publick Places, or Offices, is never given to any Man, in order that he may provide for his Favourites, his Friends, or his Relations, but that he may pick out and provide the most proper Servants for the Publick; and if thro' a stupid Ignorance of Mankind, he should commit any great and evident Mistake, he ought to be turned out for want of Capacity; if from sordid or selfish Views he should commit a wilful Mistake, he ought not only to be turned out of his Office, but he ought to be punished for a Breach of Trust.

As for the Method of judging about the Virtue and Qualifications of each Candidate, it is impossible to prescribe any general Rule; but so far I will venture to say, that there is always a Presumption in Favour of those who have been, in the same Office, or who are then in any inferior Posts in the same Sort of Business, and of these the Person next in Rank is always to be presumed the most capable. If a Regiment becomes vacant, the Lieutenant Colonel is certainly to be presumed the fittest Person for succeeding to the Command of that Regiment: If the Master or chief Person in any Office happens to die, or to be dismissed, the head Clerk, or the next chief Person in the Office, is to be presumed the fittest and best qualified for succeeding to the Person dying or dismissed.

However, tho' this Presumption generally holds good, and ought to prevail, there are several Exceptions; for with respect to Offices of great Dignity and Power, which seldom require any Qualifications but a good Education, good Sense, and a little Experience, it is dangerous for the State to have any one Person continued long in any one of them; and, therefore, with respect to such Offices, a Man's being in the Office.

or having been in the same Office but a little before, is so far from being an Argument for his being continued in it, or preferred to it again, that it is a strong Argument against him; because it is the Business of every Republican Form of Government to keep up an Equality among its chief Members, as may appear from the History of all Republicks, more particularly that of the *Romans*, which received its first fatal Blow, by continuing *Marius* too long in the Consulship; and it is very unsafe for a King to allow one Man, or one Family, to ingross too much, or continue too long in Power; for by so doing he generally transfers the Royalty in Substance; and it has been often the Cause of transferring the Name as well as the Substance, as has but very lately happened in *Persia*, and happened formerly in *France*, in the Case of *Hugh Capet*, the original Founder of their present royal Family.

But with regard to all Offices of an inferior Degree, especially such as require great Application and a long Experience, as the next in Rank is generally to be presumed the best qualified, and consequently to have the best Title to succeed to his Superior in the same Office; therefore this Rule ought never to be broke through, unless it be to make Way for rewarding some Gentleman of distinguished Merit, or one who is publicly known to have done some signal Piece of Service to his Country; for a Gentleman of such Merit may have a Title preferable to the Person next in Rank, therefore the disappointing him of his Preference for that Turn, cannot be looked on as an Injury done to him; and the Notoriety of the other's Merit will prevent the Disappointment's being considered as an Affront, or as any Way derogating from the Character of the Person so disappointed.

From what I have said every one

may observe, that when two or more Persons appear as Candidates for any Office, it is very difficult to determine which of them have the best Right, and therefore those who have the Disposal of it, ought to be extremely careful not to allow themselves to be determined by any private or selfish Views; for in all Cases, where a Judgment is to be passed, the more nice the Discussion is, the more apt Men are to be betrayed by private or selfish Views; which ought never to be allowed the least Weight in any such Determination. I know it is generally said, that where two Candidates are equally qualified, and have equal Merit, we ought to give the Place or Office to our own particular Friend rather than to another; but such an Equality, I believe, never did, nor never can happen; and I am afraid, we are generally in such Cases partial to the Merit and Qualifications of our Friend, and blind to those of his Rival; by which means we conclude an Equality between the Merit and Qualifications of the two Candidates, when in reality there is no such Thing; for which Reason when we can say nothing more in Favour of our Friend than that he is equal in Merit with the other Candidate, I believe it would be the safest Way to determine against him.

I come now to consider the Right a Man has to continue in the Possession of any Office he has once been preferred to; and in this Case, I think, there can be no such Difficulty; for excepting Offices of high Power and Dignity, and such as are, for political Reasons, made temporary by the Laws and Constitution of the Society, it is certain that every Man has a Right to be continued in the Office he has been once preferred to as long as he lives, and the longer he has been in it, the better Right he acquires to a Continuance, especially if it be an Office

which requires great Study and Application, in order to make a Man Master of the Business belonging to the Office; for the Pains and Time he has bestowed in making himself Master of that Business, becomes a Sort of Consideration for his Continuance; and it is inconsistent with the publick Good to turn an old Man out of his Office, who may, by that means, become burdensome to his Country, in order to put a young Fellow in his room, who might otherwise have been useful to his Country, as a Merchant or Tradesman.

'Tis true there are many Offices which require so perfect a Capacity, so close an Application, and so great Fidelity, that it becomes necessary, for the Sake of publick Good, to reserve in the supreme Magistrate, and even in some great Officers under him, a Power of turning a Man out of any such Office, without his being convicted of any Incapacity, Neglect of Duty, or Breach of Trust, by a formal Prosecution at common Law; but this Power ought to be most cautiously made use of; for if upon a Misrepresentation, or ill grounded Suspicion, a good Officer should be dismissed, it is not only an Injury done to the Officer so dismissed, but a very great Injury is thereby done to the Publick, by being deprived of an expert, diligent, and faithful Servant.

From this Consideration we must conclude, that, tho' a Man may have an unlimited Power of turning out the Officers under him, yet he is never to make use of that Power, unless the Officer has been actually guilty of some Fault or Crime, for which he ought to forfeit his Office; and much less is he to turn out any inferior Officer on Account of any private Rique, or personal Injury, not any Way contrary to or inconsistent with the Duty of the Office; and it is certainly highly criminal to

turn out old Officers, only to make room for some of his particular Friends or Favourites. Such an insolent Behaviour, in any superior Officer, ought to be resented with the highest Indignation by the Publick; It ought to be reckoned a Malversation for which he himself ought to be turned out of his Office with Disgrace, even tho' he had got a Grant of it for Life.

Such a Behaviour is in all Countries most unjust, but in any free Country it would be most dangerous, and is more particularly so in this; because of the many Posts and Offices which are at the Disposal of the King and those deputed by him; for if the Doctrine should prevail, that any Officer who has not a Grant of his Post or Office for Life, might be turned out at the arbitrary Will of a Minister, and without rendering any Account of the Reasons for such Dismission, it would of course create a most slavish Dependence in all our Officers both Civil and Military, which would make them fit Tools for the Establishment, and proper Instruments for the Exercise of arbitrary and tyrannical Power: Nay, some favourite Minister might make use of this assumed arbitrary Power, in order to fill all the Offices of the Kingdom with his own Creatures and Slaves, by which he might at last make himself not only the Tyrant of his Country but the Master of his Sovereign.

But as we have, at present, the Happiness to have a free and an independent Parliament, meeting every Year for the Sake of granting those Sums that are absolutely necessary for the Support of our Government, and for continuing or passing such Laws as are absolutely necessary for the Preservation of our Liberties; as we have, I say, such a Parliament meeting every Year, and strictly enquiring into every Grievance that can be justly complained of, and severely

werely punishing every great Offender : that can possibly be discovered, it is certain that no Man will dare to breach such a Doctrine, much less will any Man dare to practise it: While we have such a Parliament no Man will dare to turn Officers out who were never suspected of Incapacity, Neglect of Duty, or Breach of Trust; nor will any Man dare to weed an Office of all those Clerks and other Officers who have long served the Publick faithfully, who are known to be Gentlemen, who are known to be expert and capable of the Business, and that for the sake of providing for his own Pimps, his Valets, or his Footmen. I am,

Tillyard-Coffeehouse, SIR,

February 28, 1734. Your most, &c.

Abstract of Mr. FOSTER'S Answer, to Dr. STEBBING. (See p. 1.)

DR. Stebbing having published what he calls, a true State of the Controversy with Mr. Foster on the Subject of Heresy, and having told the World, that he intended it by Way of Answer to my second Letter, I must briefly inquire into the Propriety of both these Titles.

In my second Letter I consider'd, distinctly, every Part of the Debate between us, and left nothing, that I thought material, unexamined. I began with giving a Paraphrase of St. Paul's Words, according to Dr. Stebbing's Principles; by which I thought it would undeniably appear, that the Sense he hath put upon them is extremely absurd and injurious to the Apostle's Character. Of this he takes no Notice. Afterwards I attempted to shew, that the Texts which the Dr. has produced to support his Notion of Heresy, and urg'd over and over, have no Manner of Relation to the Point he intended to establish. Upon this Head likewise he has not thought it advise-

able to defend himself. And tho' he has been entirely silent with respect to almost every Thing which was designed to prove his Scheme of Heresy to be repugnant to Reason, Scripture, and common Morality; [Here Mr. F. mentions the particular Objections he had made] yet he gravely, and without the least seeming Diffidence, says of what he has lately publish'd as a true State of the Controversy, that it is in Answer to my second Letter.

B As to my own Account of Heresy, I have also defended that in all its Parts; evading no one Difficulty of any considerable Moment, that Dr. S. has been pleas'd to urge against it. [Here he also mentions Particulars.] The Reader will surely be surpriz'd when he is told, that Dr. S. has taken no Notice of all these Things; and it is natural to ask, with what Propriety, or Face of Truth, he could insert it in the Title Page of his last Performance, that it was in Answer to my second Letter.

D Were not these the original Points in Controversy? Did not Dr. S. in his first Letter, *choose* to begin with these Points? Did not his second Letter proceed in the same Train? And have not I in my last endeavour'd to confute his Reasonings, still following him closely, and arguing in the Method which he himself prescribed? Certainly then, *this*, if any Thing is, must be the true State of the Controversy; and by declining to debate these Heads any longer, the Dr. has plainly deserted, nay, given up, the Controversy; because he has left me in Possession of the main Argument in every Branch of it. For whereas he says, that he does not intend to dispute particular Points with me over again; and that those who read with Judgment will (he hopes) see no Occasion for it; These are Words that flow of course from the Pen of every Writer that finds himself *dispress'd*. Besides, what are these

these particular Points? Are they not the Arguments and Objections on both Sides, on which the *Whole* depends? And I take this Opportunity of declaring, that unless the Dr. shall think fit to *return* to the Argument, and defend what he has advanced, I can employ my Time much better, than by attending him thro' a Course of Cavilling and personal Reflections. -- And he has now my *final* Answer.

I shall now consider what Dr. S. has *actually* done, and substituted in the Place of what he *ought* to have done. By Way of Introduction, he takes Notice of 'a new Thought of mine, 'started in my last Performance.' His Remarks on this are; That tho' 'it is very commendable, when 'Men can bring themselves to acknowledge their Mistakes, whether 'real or imaginary, yet I have no 'Merit to plead, -- for nothing depends upon it.' And for what Reason? Why he tells us, That 'the 'Point with him is, whether *Self-condemnation* -- is necessary to constitute the Notion of a Heretic; and that 'this Question will not be 'at all affected by adjusting the particular Matter about which Heresy 'may be conversant.' The Design of which Passage is to make the Reader believe that the Point here spoken of is the *only* Point in Controversy; otherwise, the whole Remark is trifling; and what I have advanced may be very much to the Purpose, tho' *this particular Point* be really not affected by it. I must therefore appeal to his first and second Letters for the *real* true State of the Controversy, against what he only *seigns* to be the true State of it. By looking into his former Writings on this Subject every one will immediately see, that there has been *another* very important Question debated by us; *viz.* Whether Heresy is properly defined to be *an open Departure from the Faith, whether sincerely or insincerely, whether with or against Con-*

science. If it were proved ever so clearly, that *Self-condemnation*, in the strict Sense of the Word, is not essential to the Notion of Heresy, the Doctor's Account of it may still be *false*; because notwithstanding this, it may be a *Work of the Flesh* equally with Adultery and Murder, and the Fault of the Heretick may (as I have undeniably shewn it *does*) lie in the *Will*, and not in the Understanding. These therefore are *distinct* Arguments, and have been *distinctly* consider'd. And as the new Observation which I have made, and which Dr. S. has not disputed, came in when I was examining *his* Definition of Heresy, it must be allowed to be pertinent, and of great Moment too, as it effectually overturns *his whole Scheme*. For how is it possible that Heresy should be *nothing else* but an open Departure from the Faith, if there may be Heresy where there is *no* Departure from the Faith? But as Dr. S. has thought fit to call this Alteration of my former Opinion a *new Notion of Heresy*, I must put the Reader in mind, (1st) That this in itself is not at all *material*, because the only Point to be consider'd is, whether the Alteration be *just*, or *not*. And (2dly) That I still maintain all the general Branches of my Scheme, which *were*, and *are*, that the Heretic to be admonish'd and rejected is *really* a Sinner, and not one *involuntarily, sincerely, and conscientiously* erroneous; and that he is described by St. Paul as *self-condemned* in: the proper Sense of the Word, *i. e.* as acting against his inward Conviction. The *Whole* of this Dr. S. has strenuously opposed; for which I refer again to his first and second Letters; tho' he would now fain have it believed that he has no Concern in the *Points themselves* that he has all along disputed, but only in the *Use* (which he imagines) I have made of the *last* of these Points.

The main Difficulty with respect

to my Notion of Heresy, both in the Opinion of Dr. S. and the Writer of the *W. Miscellany*, was this; that Heretics cannot be known, nor consequently rejected. I endeavoured therefore to shew, that the Train of Reasoning which they pursued was very far from confirming this essential Point; and that Dr. S. in particular, had, in the Main of the Argument, answered himself. In order to which, I fairly stated his Objection in his own Words, who says, that it cannot even be suggested of uninspired Men, that they can judge of Men's Hearts; and therefore, if none are to be rejected as Heretics, but those who deny the Faith against Conviction, the Consequence is, that the Right of rejecting Heretics, ceased with the miraculous Gifts. And I urged it against him, that he had contended in another Place, when a different Purpose was to be served, that the inward Subtily, Deceit, and Malice of the Heart of Elymas the Sorcerer, and the Principles and Motives by which he was influenced, might have been known without an immediate divine Revelation (and consequently, in an Age when there were no Gifts of Inspiration) for this Reason, because every Tree is known by its Fruits, and evil Deeds discover an evil Heart. I would only now appeal to common Sense, whether this general Proposition, — Evil Deeds (even without Inspiration) discover an evil Heart; — and this — It cannot be suggested of uninspired Men, that they can judge of Men's Hearts; — are not manifestly repugnant to each other. But let us hear the Dr.'s Defence. And here he has thought it proper to be artful, and for a Blind, has changed his own original Words. What he really observed in the Case of Elymas was, that his evil Deeds discovered his evil Heart; what he now affirms he said is, that his bad Works proved him to be a bad Man. But he asks, Will it therefore fol-

low, that every immoral Man is self-condemned in any Principle of revealed Religion which he holds? By no means: Nor did I ever intend to draw such an Inference from it. My only Design was to shew, that if the Subtily, &c. of the Heart of Elymas, and the Principles and Motives by which he was influenced, might be judged of by his Conduct, so might the corrupt Intention and sinister Views of the Heretic; and consequently that Dr. S. has, in effect, allowed, that there is no Force in his general Argument against the Possibility of knowing even the Self-Condensation of a Heretic. — I observe here, that he would still force me to argue with him on this Principle, that the Heretic maintains Doctrines contrary to Christianity, knowing them to be such; whereas I have expressly told him, that I do not believe the being erroneous in Matters of mere Faith, nor consequently the being conscious of Error in Matters of mere Faith, to be an essential Part of the Heretic's Character.

As to the Proof of Heresy, the Dr. begins with observing, that the Evidence hath no Relation to the Rule, but to the Behaviour of Men as agreeing with the Rule, or differing from it. To which I answer, that the Evidence has so far a Relation to the Rule, that the Rule must be supposed to be clear and intelligible, or otherwise there can be no Evidence at all. But I have shewn, that the Rule Dr. S. contends for, viz. that Heresy is an open Departure from the Faith, neither has nor can have any one, distinct, and consistent Meaning, and consequently is, properly speaking, no Rule. When we speak of proving Murder, we speak of proving a Crime that is particularly described and explained. And when we talk of proving Heresy upon my Scheme, we talk of proving a Crime, that is

with respect to the Nature of it, so clearly and fully explained. But when we speak of proving Heresy on the Doctor's Scheme, i. e. an open Departure from the Faith (which Faith has never been distinctly settled and explained, and which it is next to impossible, from the Looseness and Ambiguity of the Term itself, that particular Persons or Churches should understand and interpret alike) we speak in Reality of proving nothing at all; of proving Error to be Heresy; or Truth to be Heresy, just as it happens; or any Thing that we please to be Heresy.

The Dr. however, has pitch'd upon a Way of making these wide and irreconcilable Cases exactly parallel. For tho' his pretended Scripture Rule has not, he tells us the Church has, declared what is Heresy; and this, he seems to think, is equivalent to the Law's having exactly defined what is Murder in the other Instance. So that the public Declaration of the Church stands for the same in the Case of Heresy, as the Law of England in the Case of Murder; i. e. What the Church declares is the true and ultimate Rule of Judgment; or else, the two Cases are not at all similar. Whether this protestant Divine will have the Courage to avow and maintain this Assertion, I know not.

With respect to the Evidence, or Proof, of Heresy, upon my State of the Question, the Dr. intimates, in the first Place, that the Design of the Evidence is not to show what is Heresy. And who ever asserted that it was? I am sure I have not; but have only asserted, that there may be sufficient Proof of a Man's being a factious, ill-designing, self-condemn'd Sectary, according to St. Paul's direct Description of a Heretic in his Epistle to Titus.

I must not omit, that the Dr. hath made a Concession, which will yield

me all that I need be concerned about. For he allows, that the Intentions of Men are subject to human Judicature, and consequently may be known without the Gifts of Inspiration: This, I say, he allows, when he expressly declares, that 'the Law does inquire into the Intention in all criminal Cases, because it is the Intention that makes the Action criminal.' What now if it should be shown, that nothing is necessary to be proved besides the evil Intention of the Heretic, in order to prove undeniably, that he is in the proper Sense of the Word condemned of himself? Will the Dr. then be satisfied? It must now be submitted to the Reader's Judgment, whether he will take Dr. S.'s Scheme of Discipline, with its certain Evidence of nothing certain, because it is founded on no certain Rules; or, in other Words, with its certain Evidence, that Truth and Error are equally Heresies; or mine, which secures the Innocent, and subjects none to Censure but wicked and evil minded Sectaries, with its strong Probabilities.

The Dr. indeed, has declared it as his Opinion, 'That no Man ought to be rejected as a Heretic, unless upon certain Evidence he appears to be such.' But I shall venture to assert, that it is impossible there should be more than probable Evidence upon any Scheme whatsoever, that rests upon human Interpretation of the holy Scriptures. And how, especially, is it possible, that Dr. S. or the Church, should be certain, i. e. infallibly certain (for the Certainty he speaks of, is opposed to mere Probability) that every one is departed from the Faith who maintains what they think to be false; unless they see all Popes, and infallibly certain that they themselves are in the Right?

The Dr. charges me with talking of the Uncertainty of the Scriptures, exactly in the same Strain that the Papists do, &c. But is it not evident

dent to common Sense, that he *bars* takes it for granted, that his Notion of Heresy, and the Scripture-Notion of Heresy are *one* and the *same*; and that whoever argues against him argues against the *Scriptures*? Is it not, likewise, evident, that in the Whole of the Reasoning he objects to, I proceed on this Principle, that the Scriptures are a perfect and sufficient, and consequently a *clear* and *determinate*, Rule of Faith and *Discipline*; and that I reject his Rule, as *impossible* to be the Rule of Scripture, on *this very Account*, because it is absolutely *ambiguous* and *inexplicable*! And can I be justly accused, for *this*, of defending the Cause of *Popery*? — What for *this* — for adhering closely to the fundamental Principle of *Protestants*?

I now proceed to a brief Examination of the *captious* and *litigious* Part of Dr. S.'s last Performance. This is continued without Interruption (so well does it suit the Dr.'s Temper) from the 5th to the 17th Page; where we have *Artifice* and *Perplexity* in abundance. And the Design of the Whole (which is about a *third* Part of the Gentleman's Reply) is to shew, that it was at first my Opinion absolutely, my clear and settled Opinion, that *Heretics could not be known without the miraculous Gift of discerning Spirits*; and, of consequence, that I have contradicted myself, and quite altered my *original* Plan. For this Purpose, he brings a long Quotation from my Sermon on Heresy, which, as to the greater Part of it, might have been as pertinently applied to *any other* Point that Dr. S. had been pleased to fix upon, as to *that* which he professes to have in View. With respect to which, I declare once more, as I have often done before, that, as far as I can recollect, it neither *was* my Opinion, nor did I intend to *express* it as my Opinion, that Heretics could *never* be known but by the Exercise of a miraculous Discernment. But as to those Senten-

ces which the Dr. hath marked with a *Nota bene*, and which, indeed, are the only ones in the whole Quotation that seem to suit his Purpose, I have already shewn, [in my 2d. Letter] that they are very far from justifying and supporting the *Charge*.

I need not enter into a *particular* Examination of the Dr.'s long critical Observations on the Passage in the *Old Whig*, and my Explanation of it: For what does all he has said amount to? Why to this only; that if it was not at that Time my fixed Sentiment, that Heretics could not be known without the Gift of discerning Spirits, I have argued *weakly* and *incompletely* in my Attempt to vindicate St. Paul's Character. *Allowing* this, what does it prove?

That what I am accused of was *really* my Opinion? This *cannot* be; unless Dr. S. will suppose, what I am very far from assuming to myself, that I am not capable, as well as he and all other Writers, of thinking that to be *just* Reasoning, which is not so. On other Occasions, and when a *different* Turn is to be served, he is forward enough to advance even *groundless* Charges of absurd and trifling Arguments, owing to Ignorance, or superficial Enquiry, or a careless Temper; with all which he has been pleased to compliment *me*. But now when his End is to defame, I must be complimented with a Kind of *Infallibility*, and the Goodness of my *Understanding* is to be magnified, in order to vilify my *moral* Character. I shall therefore now, and for the future, pass by every Thing of this Kind without any farther Notice, as *such* Writers, and *such* Cavils, justly deserve; and especially what is mark'd with a *Nota bene*, and included in Hooks, where the Consequence *ex Hypothesi*, or upon the *Supposition* there made, cannot be disputed by this Author himself. But he contends that it was not proper or pertinent for Mr. F.

to charge with Insolence *ex Hypothesi*. To which Mr. F. answers, that he shall not vouchsafe to enquire, since it is quite *needless*, whether it was pertinent, or not. But *allowing* it not to be so; what follows from thence? Might he not be *mistaken*? He *might* indeed, but that was not *fit* to be suppos'd, because *then* the pretended Proof of Prevarication and Falshood would entirely *fail*; and, besides, it was not so *sure* a Way of blackening and traducing his Character, as the making him *a Liar*.

A few Words with the Dr. upon *pecuniary Mulcts, and I have done*. In his first Letter he gave me this odd Caution, which look'd a little like a Suspicion of Guilt, — *Let me not be charged with being for Persecution*. Upon this, as he pretended an uncommon Zeal against Persecution, and for the Rights of private Judgment, I thought it *incumbent* upon me, that the World might not be imposed upon by a *specious Air*, to quote some Passages out of his *Polemical Tracts*. *These*, at first, he thought it not prudent to *retract*, or *own*. But, at length, he *seems* to have declared himself, tho' somewhat *cautiously* as upon a very tender Point, to be *still* in his Judgment for such pecuniary Mulcts, as no conscientious Man would be unwilling to pay, and every prudent Man, having no real Scruples, would *abuse* not to pay. In which something is insinuated, that, I believe, will *startle* almost every conscientious Man in England, and that is, *that no conscientious Man will be unwilling to pay Sixpence in the Pound, or any other Tax that the Magistrate thinks more Proper, — as a Tribute for his religious Liberty*.

This Doctrine of Dr. Stebbing I did indeed *lay bold of*. And he is highly displeas'd with me for calling it a *Mabometan Maxim*; and says, that I am *so fond of making him a*

mere Turk, that I never know when to have done. To which I shall only give this short Reply: — That it is *directly* a *Mabometan Doctrine*, the Dr. cannot deny: But I never thought it would follow, from his *A* espousing a *single Doctrine of Mabomet*, that Dr. S. himself was so much as a *mere Mabometan*; and much less, that he was a *mere Turk*, which every *mere Mabometan* is not.

And whereas the Dr. would fain have me offer my *Reasons* against his, and *Mabomet's, pecuniary Mulcts*; I must beg to be excus'd from entering into a long and labour'd Argument on these two Accounts. (1st) That my *End* is answer'd, which was, to shew this *Man of Zeal for Liberty of Conscience, and the Right of private Judgment*, in his true Colours. He *says, he has asserted* the Rights of Conscience in the *strongest Manner*. But what do they amount to, when so *strongly asserted*? Why to this, — Judge for yourselves, if you *dare*. However, do not charge me with being an Enemy to your exercising *freely* the Right of *private Judgment*: For I assure you, it is my Opinion, that you ought not to be *hanged, or imprisoned*, but only to be *fin'd* for it. — (2dly) I am against *formal Reasoning* upon the Point, because I think *common Sense* may decide it. The Dr. may say, perhaps, that his Scheme was not intended to hurt the truly *Conscientious*; I answer in his own Style, 'tis *no Matter for that*: The truly *Conscientious* will be, and cannot but be, hurt in their *Goods, i. e. oppressed* by it; and upon this Foot, I submit it to every Reader to judge and determine for himself, whether it can *possibly* escape the Charge of being an *unrighteous and persecuting Scheme*.

G *Abstract of Dr. STEBBING'S Reply to Mr. FOSTER.*

I N Mr. Foster's Answer to my *True State, &c.* I find, that it gives him

him great Offence, that I have not *re-examined* the several Points that have been debated between us. And he declares, that *unless I shall think fit to return to these Points, I have now his final Answer.* I think indeed it is high Time to have done with this Controversy, and (so far do I differ with Mr. F. in Judgment) I shall certainly sit down quiet, when nothing is left for me to do but to repeat what has been said before. But since Mr. F. has taken great Liberties with me, in setting me forth as a Man of Art, as a Dealer in *ca-willing and personal Reflections*, as endeavouring to perplex the Controversy, &c. as one resolved at all Adventures to impute to him what was never his Opinion, with an Intention to *defame and vilify his moral Character*: Since this, I say, is the Case, I have a Right to be heard for myself.

The Design of the *True State, &c.* was to shew that there was no need to go back to former Matters, because Mr. F. in his second Letter had given up every Thing in the Controversy that is worth contending for. His Doctrine is, that none are Heretics to the Purposes of Church Discipline but those who in the Opinions they maintain, act in Opposition to the Light of their own Minds. In consequence of this, the Purport of his Sermon was to throw all Discipline in rejecting Heretics, out of the Church; and it was expressly maintained in a Letter published by Mr. F. in the *Old Whig*, (at the very Time when this Controversy took its Rise) that none are fit to decide in Cases of Heresy, but those who by being endued with *preternatural Discernment* are Judges of Men's Consciences, and can tell whether they are self-condemned or not. It was for the Sake of this Use alone that I opposed Mr. F.'s Notion of Heresy, as I expressly told him both in my first and second Letter. But

Mr. F. (in Contradiction to himself) says in his Second Letter, that Heretics may be known and rejected in all Ages of the Church by Enquiries made upon Conscience by probable Evidence. Mr. F. therefore has given up his Point, and here are two Schemes set up diametrically opposite to each other. For the first excludes all Discipline in rejecting Heretics, the second admits it,

It is with this Observation that the *True State, &c.* sets out, where I remark that, *tho' Mr. F. holds his Notion of Heresy, yet he quits his Use of it*: which shews evidently that it neither was nor can be to any Purpose to *re-examine* the Points that have been debated: For what signifies it to dispute Particulars, when the main Cause is given up? This may serve as a Reply to the first nine or ten Pages of Mr. F.'s Answer, where he has given a History of his own fancied Exploits.

But Mr. F. alledged, that he had never once asserted that Heretics cannot be known, nor consequently rejected without *preternatural Discernment*. If this be true, the Dispute was impertinent from the Beginning, and I am found a false Witness in charging Mr. F. with having taught that which he never taught. To justify myself therefore in this Point, I re-considered those Passages upon which this Charge was grounded, and I supported it by such evident Reasons, as I thought it impossible for Mr. F. to withstand. But he still persists in it, that he never taught any such Doctrine. To omit what he has said in his Sermon, I shall confine myself to the Passages quoted from his Letter in the *Old Whig*, because it is upon these principally, that Mr. F. accuses me of an Intention to *defame him, and vilify his moral Character*. I am sorry Mr. F. has laid me under the Necessity of entering farther into this Enquiry: But since the Slander must fall upon him or myself, I cannot help it.

The very Manner in which he expresses himself, carries with it a strong Appearance of Guilt, — *So far as I can recollect, it neither was, &c.* What? Is it so long since Mr. F. wrote that Letter in the *Old Whig*, that he can have forgot what his Opinion was? Again — *Nor did I intend to express it as my Opinion, &c.* Why, *was intend*, but because he saw plainly that his Words import what he would now have us believe he did not intend? This is all I am concerned with. I neither know, nor am bound to know, what Mr. F. intends, any farther than his Writings shew it. — But let the Passage speak for me. [*Here he again sets down the Passage in the Old Whig, which see, p. 4. B.*]

I set down this Passage just as it stands in the *True State, &c.* where I say, — *Mr. F. in his Answer has set down the foregoing Part of the Sentence only, and suppress'd all that follows.*

To this Mr. F. replies (in a very careless Manner) *I shall now, and for the future, pass by every Thing of this Kind without any farther Notice, as such Writers and such Cavils justly deserve, and especially what is marked with a Nota Bene, and included in Hooks.* This is an Evidence of nothing but his great Assurance. If Mr. F. had proved that the Passages suppressed are of no Significance, he might have given himself such Airs as these; but he has done nothing like it. For hear his Reasonings.

‘ I need not enter into a particular Examination of the Doctor's long critical Observations on the Passage in the *Old Whig, &c.* [*The Dr. quotes the whole Passage, as 'tis set down, p. 122. B. and which ends thus*] ‘ But now when his End is to defame, I must be complimented with a kind of *Infallibility*, and the Goodness of my Understanding is to be magnified, in order to vilify my moral Character.’

The Gentleman quite mistakes the Matter; I never had it in my Heart to magnify his Understanding, and if I have said any Thing of this Sort that offends his Modesty I beg his Pardon. But I see nothing like it in this Place; and that Mr. F. may be no longer at a Loss for my true Meaning, I desire him to attend to his own Defence, and to my Answer.

His Defence is, that he did not in this Passage deliver it as *his own Opinion*, that none are fit to decide in Cases of Heresy, but those who are endued with preternatural Discernment, but only argued *ex Hypothesi*, to vindicate St. Paul's Character. It is to be observed, that Mr. F. had nothing to do with St. Paul's Character, any otherwise than his own Interpretation of St. Paul's Words might bring it in Question. He does not dispute the Consequence, but is willing to suppose it true that, none are fit to decide in Cases of Heresy but those who are endu'd with preternatural Discernment; and still says, that St. Paul may be justified. This is what he calls arguing *ex Hypothesi*; and since the Question concerns St. Paul's Doctrine, the *Hypothesis* must be this, that it might possibly be St. Paul's Sense or Opinion, that none are fit to decide in Cases of Heresy, but those who are endu'd with preternatural Discernment. Upon which I now ask (and the Question contains the Substance of what I said before) *Could Mr. F. have admitted that St. Paul might possibly have been of this Opinion, if he believ'd it to be an Untruth? I supposed that he could not; and where I pray is the Compliment upon Mr. F's Understanding, that gives him so much Uneasiness? All that the Supposition implies is, that Mr. F. could not believe St. Paul to be in the Wrong, which (considering him as a Christian) is not, I hope, doing him too much Honour. If Mr. F. thinks it will be a better Vindication*

of St. Paul's Character to say that he might be *mistaken*, let him say it: But if he will not say this, he must give me leave to say, that when Mr. F. wrote this Letter, he could not be of the Opinion that Heretics may be known and judged by those who are not endu'd with preternatural Discernment.

My next Observation upon this Passage was; that here is a Charge of Insolence in pretending to a Power which they are not intitled to, laid in consequence of the Hypothesis, that none are fit to decide in Cases of Heresy, but those who are endued with preternatural Discernment. Upon this I have asked, *Is it to be imagined that Mr. F. would have founded such a Charge upon an Hypothesis which he never thought to be true, but admitted only for Argument Sake? It is too hard a Supposition.* To which the Gentleman now answers, (with a Mixture of great Magnificence and Self-abasement) Mr. F. shall not vouchsafe to enquire whether it was proper or pertinent to charge with Insolence ex Hypothesi: But allowing it to be so, what follows from thence? Might he not be mistaken? No, Sir; Mr. F. could not be mistaken in this, that every Charge ought to be founded upon some real Truth; and my Inference from hence, that he would not have laid such a Charge, unless it had been his real Opinion that none are fit to decide in Cases of Heresy but those who have preternatural Discernment, pays him this Compliment indeed, that he hath Common Sense, and Common Honesty. And is this a just Matter of Complaint with Mr. Foster!

To go on to another Passage in the same Letter, upon which I ventured to charge Mr. F. with delivering it as his own Opinion, that St. Paul's Direction to reject Heretics, was confined to Titus alone, or ought to be extended only to every one of his Successors, who should be endu-

ed with the same extraordinary Accomplishments. But, *this* (says Mr. F.) is not true. For is not the saying, that the Words of St. Paul, when confined to Titus, to whom alone they were addressed, or [when] extended only to every one, &c. (without adding, that to such alone they any Way belong) afford this plain and easy Sense; is not this vastly different from declaring for myself, i. e. laying it down directly as my Opinion, that they cannot be extended or applied, even in an inferior Sense, to any who are not endued with the same extraordinary Accomplishments?

What does the Gentleman mean when he says that the Rule may pertain to others in an inferior Sense? The Rule is to reject a Heretic; and those others may reject a Heretic, or they may not. There is no Room for Inferiority or Superiority in the Case. Will he say then that his Words do not confine the Power to reject a Heretic to Titus alone, or extend it only to those who should be endued with the same extraordinary Gifts? Why he does say so; and he thinks it to be so plain, that a Man must be even stark blind not to see it. Yet it seems it is not so plain neither, but there is need of a Gloss, and by clapping in the Word [when] before [extended] and saying that he did not add, that to such alone the Words did any Way belong, he thinks the Business done effectually. All Limitations are exclusive of course; and therefore there was no need to add what Mr. F. says he has not added. Besides, Mr. F. undertakes here to give a Paraphrase of the Text. The Paraphrase is certainly his own, and it is this; A Man who knowingly espouses false Doctrines, [whom thou art capable of distinguishing from others, by Means of thy supernatural Discernment] after the first and second Admonition, [for an Error that is wilful,

wilful, and which he has it intirely in his own Power to reform] reject.' Which Paraphrase is right, upon Supposition that the Power of rejecting Heretics was limited to *Titus alone*, or to such gifted Persons as he was; but quite absurd upon any other Foot. But since Mr. F. is so positive, I will give you his own express Words in this very Letter [in the *O. Whig*] to shew that his Intention was to deny to the present Ministers of the Church all Right to reject Heretics. They are these;

A Allowing that the Priesthood are the Successors of *Titus*; to what do they succeed? It will without doubt be answered, to the Instruction and Government of the Church. And have they all the Qualifications for these Offices? Have they equal

C Authority to instruct, and the same Prerogative of Government, that 'tis supposed *Titus* and the Apostles had? If not, the latter might be qualified and commissioned to do many Things, even with respect to Church Order and Discipline, in which it would be ridiculous for our modern Clergy to attempt to imitate them. And (*N.B.*) if every pert and forward Priest should take upon him to decide pre-emptorily in Points of Heresy, merely because *Titus* was directed to do it, who had a miraculous Illumination, and extraordinary Assurances, he must be a just Object of Pity and Contempt.

I have ventured to distinguish the significant Words by a *Nota Bene*, notwithstanding Mr. Foster's resolute Declaration, that for the future he will pass by every Thing of this Kind without Notice. To say the Truth, if he has a Mind not to see, he has nothing left but to wink hard, for the Point is as clear as Language and Argument can make it. The Words last quoted want no Comment, for nothing can make them plainer; and therefore let Mr. F.

now apply to his own Conscience, and consider *who* it is that hath hurt his moral Character, himself or I.

It appears now, I think, beyond all Contradiction, that Mr. Foster's original Scheme throws all Discipline in rejecting Heretics out of the Church. But this is given up: let us see then how well he has defended his second Scheme, which is, that Heretics are to be rejected in all Ages of the Church, by a Judgment formed upon Conscience by probable Evidence. In debating this Point with him before, I admitted that many Cases might happen in which it may be presumed, with great Probability, that Men act against their own Conviction. But to shew that Church Discipline could never stand upon this Foot, I observed that it is contrary to the known Method of all human Judgments in the World. Civil Courts, in no Cases, take Cognizance of Mens inward Convictions, or the Principle upon which they act, as they regard Conscience; this I proved, and this Mr. F. now vouchsafes to admit; and yet, according to his Interpretation of the Apostle's Rule, and the Method of Discipline now contended for, Ecclesiastical Courts must concern themselves with Conscience.

E Evident as this Case is, Mr. F. has taken great Pains to perplex it, with no other View (as one may reasonably suppose) than to put the true Point in Question out of Sight. I had allowed that civil Courts do concern themselves with Mens Intentions; upon which Mr. F. asks with an Air of Triumph: *What if it should be shewn that nothing is necessary to be proved besides the evil Intention of the Heretic? The evil Intention — to do what, Sir? Intention always supposes something intended* as if one Man gives another a Blow and kills him, the Law enquires whether the Intention in giving the Blow was to kill. This was my

Point: But how will you apply this to a Judgment upon Heresy? Can a Man teach any Doctrine, not *intending to teach it*, as one Man may kill another not *intending to kill him*? No. But, says Mr. F. When the Leaders or Abettors of particular Heresies or Sects pretend a Zeal for Religion — we may have probable Evidence in many Cases, that they *intend only their private Advantage.* Right, Sir; so you may. But the Question is not what may or may not be *known* by probable Evidence; but what is or is not a Judgment upon Conscience: And that this very Case put by Mr. F. is a Judgment upon Conscience, is plain. For to judge whether a Man by any Act or Acts, means *the Honour of God, or his own Advantage*, is to judge of his Conscience. By Intention in this Place, Mr. F. does not mean the Purpose to do a Thing (which is what I mean when I say that the Law judges of the Intention) but the *impulsive Cause or Principle upon which* a Man does an intended Act, which is what the Law never meddles with.

I next observed upon his new Scheme, that it is not only *wrong*, but *dangerous, and may serve as a Handle to very bad Purposes.* I urged this upon Mr. F. in such a Manner as I thought proper to make him *feel* it; and it should seem indeed that he does *feel* it; for all that he has thought fit to give for Answer, is, that — *I am no competent Judge in these Matters.*

Mr. F. then hath done nothing towards vindicating his new Scheme: Instead of this, he spends much of his own and his Reader's Time in Complaints against the Uncertainty of the common Method of Discipline, from the Uncertainty of the Rule upon which it proceeds, which at Bottom are nothing more than an Abuse of the Scriptures. If I can guess at Mr. Foster's Meaning, what

he calls my Rule [*in his last Performance*] in Opposition to the Scriptural Rule, is the Judgment of the Church, concerning what is or is not necessary to the Faith of a Christian. This Judgment, framed upon Scripture, I say, is and *must* be a Rule to the Church, in rejecting Heretics; and this Rule Mr. F. here rejects, because it is *absolutely ambiguous and inexplicable*; which, in my Opinion, is saying, by as plain a Consequence as can be, that the Scriptures are *absolutely ambiguous and inexplicable.*

If Mr. F. had but bestowed a little Consideration about what he was doing, when he first engaged in this Controversy, he would have seen, without entering into the Argument, (which by this Time, perhaps, he may be convinced he had much better have let alone) that in setting up his Interpretation of St Paul's Rule, either to the pulling down of all Discipline, or to the erecting a Tribunal over Conscience, he must run counter to the Practice of all Christian Churches or Societies in the World. Let Mr. F. consult his *Dissenting Brethren*, and go from *Self to Self*; Discipline he will find among them of one Kind or another; but where will he find any *Tribunals over Conscience*? Where any *Enquiries into Mens secret Convictions*? I never heard of any Thing like this among *Dissenters*, and I dare say there is nothing like it. A Diversity of Sects or Communions will infer a Diversity of Sentiments as to *what Points* are or are not fit to be made *Terms of Communion*: But the *Terms* once fixed, (in which each Sect can have no other Rule than the Scriptures, as interpreted by *themselves*) all Communions agree in this, to *exclude* those who will not come up to those Terms; in which the Enquiry, I presume, always is, *What* the Man professeth, not *why* he professeth it: And what is this but the very Thing I have been contending for?

Common-Sense, Feb. 26. N^o 4.

OF DRESS.

DRESS should be properly adapted to the Person, as in Writing, the Style must be suited A to the Subject. I am far from objecting to the Magnificence of Apparel, in those whose Rank and Fortune justify and allow it; on the contrary, it is a useful Piece of Luxury, by which the Poor and the Industrious are enabled to live, at the Expence of the Rich and the Idle. I would B no more have a Woman of Quality dress'd in Doggrel, than a Farmer's Wife in Heroicks. But I do hereby notify to the profuse Wives of industrious Tradesmen, and honest Yeomen, that all they get by dressing C above themselves, is the Envy and Hatred of their Inferiors and Equals, with the Contempt and Ridicule of their Superiors.

To those of the first Rank in Birth and Beauty, I recommend a noble D Simplicity of Dress; the Subject supports itself, and wants none of the borrow'd Helps of external Ornaments. Beautiful Nature may be disfigur'd, but cannot be improv'd by Art; and as I look upon a very handsome Woman to be the finest E Subject in Nature, her Dress ought to be Epick, but the true *Virgilian* Epick, modest, noble, and entirely free from the modern Tinsel. I therefore prohibit all Conceits, and Luxuriances of Fancy, which only depreciate so noble a Subject; and F I must do the handsomest Women I know, the Justice to say, that they keep the clearest from these Extravagancies. *Delia's* good Sense appears even in her Dress, which she neither studies nor neglects, but by a decent and modest Conformity to the Fashion, equally shuns the triumphal G Pageantry of an over-bearing Beauty, or the insolent Negligence of a conscious one.

As for those of an inferior Rank

of Beauty, such as are only pretty Women, and whose Charms result rather from a certain Air, and *Je ne sçay quoy* in their whole Composition, than from any Dignity of Figure or Symmetry of Features; I allow them greater Licences in their Ornaments, because the Subject not being of the sublimest Kind, may receive some Advantages from the Elegancy of Style, and the Variety of Images. I therefore permit 'em to dress up to all the Flights and Fancies of the Sonnet, the Madrigal, and such like minor Compositions. *Flavia* may serve for a Model of this Kind; her Ornaments are her Amusement, not her Care; tho' she shines in all the gay and glittering Images of Dress, the Prettyness of the Subject warrants C all the Wantonness of the Fancy.

There is a third Sort who, with a perfect Neutrality of Face, are neither handsome nor ugly; and who have nothing to recommend 'em, but a certain smart and genteel Turn of little Figure, quick and lively. These I cannot indulge in a higher D Style than the Epigram, which should be neat, clever, and unadorn'd, the whole to lie in the Sting; and where that lies, is unnecessary to mention.

Having thus gone thro' the important Article of Dress, with relation to the 3 Classes of my Country-women, who alone can be permitted to dress at all; viz. the Handsome, the Pretty, and the Genteel; I must add, that this Privilege is limited by Common-Sense to a certain Number of Years, beyond which no Woman can be any one of the three. I therefore require, that when turn'd of 30 they abate of the Vigour of their Dress; and that when turn'd of 40 they lay aside all Thoughts of it. And as an Inducement to 'em so to do, I assure them, that they may make themselves ridiculous, but never desirable by it. When they are oncę arrived to the Latitude of

40 the propitious Gales are over; let 'em gain the first Port, and lay aside their Rigging.

I come now to a melancholy Subject, and upon which the Freedom of my Advice, I fear, will not be kindly taken; I mean the Ugly, and (I am sorry to say it) so numerous a Part of my Country-women. I must for their own Sakes treat them with some Rigour, to save them not only from the publick Ridicule, but Indignation. Their Dress must not rise above plain humble Prose, and any Attempts beyond it, amount at best to the Mock-Heroick, and excite Laughter. An ugly Woman should by all Means avoid any Ornaments that may draw Eyes upon her, which she will entertain so ill. But if she endeavours by Dint of Dress to cram her Deformity down Mankind, the Insolence of the Undertaking is resented; and when a *Gorgon* curls her Snakes to charm the Town, she would have no Reason to complain if she lost Head and all, by the Hand of some avenging *Perseus*. Ugly Women, who may more properly be call'd a third Sex, than a Part of the Fair one, should publicly renounce all Thoughts of their Persons, and turn their Minds another Way; they should endeavour to be honest good-humour'd Gentlemen; they may amuse themselves with Field Sports, and a cheerful Glass; and if they could get into Parliament, I should, for my own Part, have no Objection to it.

There is another Sort of Ladies whose daily Insults upon Common-Sense call for the strongest Correction; and who may most properly be styl'd *Old Offenders*. These are the Sexagenary Fair Ones, and upwards, who, whether they were handsome or not in the last Century, ought at least in this to reduce themselves to a Decency and Gravity of Dress suited to their Years. I have often observed Septuagenary Grandmothers adorn'd, as they

thought, with all the Colours of the Rainbow, while in reality they look'd more like the decay'd Worms in the midst of their own Silks. Nay, I have seen 'em proudly display wither'd Necks, shrivel'd and decay'd like their Marriage-Settlements, and which no Hand, but the cold Hand of Time, had visited these 40 Years. The utmost Indulgence I can allow here, is extreme Cleanliness, that they may not offend more Senses than the Sight; but for the Dress, it must be confin'd to the *Elegy* and the *Tristibus*.

What has been said with relation to the Fair-Sex, holds true, with relation to the other, only with still greater Restrictions, as such Irregularities are less pardonable in Men than in Ladies. A reasonable Compliance with the Fashion is no Disparagement to the best Understanding, and an affected Singularity would; but an Excess beyond what Age, Rank, and Character will justify, is one of the worst Signs the Body can hang out, and will never tempt People to call in. I see with Indulgence the Youth of our Nation finely bound, and gilt on the Hack, and wish they were letter'd into the Bargain. I forgive them the unmaternal Scantiness of their Wigs, and the immoderate Dimensions of their Bags, in Consideration that the Fashion has prevail'd, and that the Opposition of a few to it, would be the greater Affection of the two. Tho' by the way, I very much doubt whether they are all of them Gainers by shewing their Ears; for 'tis said that *Midas*, after a certain Accident, was the judicious Inventor of long Wigs.

Craftsman, March 5: N^o 557.

Remarks on the Gazetteer, concerning Prince Richard and Prince Henry, occasion'd by a late Affair.

I BELIEVE No-body can suppose the *Gazetteer* of Feb. 21, to

come from any of the *common Hands*, which usually appear in *that Paper*. I have often pointed out the Inconsistencies of *these Writers*; which never appear'd more glaring, than on the present Occasion; for after having exclaim'd, a thousand Times over, against all *invidious Parallels*, especially where the *Royal Family* is in any Manner concerned, they have drawn *two of the most odious* ones, that Malice could invent, and much more than History will justify, with a manifest Design of wounding a *most illustrious Person*, whose amiable Qualities have justly endear'd him to the *People in general*, and whose courteous Deportment to *all Persons* hath never deserved such Treatment from *any Hand*.

The *Author of this virulent Libel* (for so it is) sets out with inveighing against *those Herds of Sycophants and Flatterers, who continually crowd the Courts, and besiege the Persons of Princes*. He afterwards bestows the Names of *Whisperers, Tale-Bearers, Parasites, Minions, Miscreants, &c.* upon them. I do not differ with him in my Opinion of *such Men*, who have always been the Bane of *Courts*, and too often the Ruin of *whole Nations*. But is *this Evil* confined to *Princes* alone, as he would insinuate, *before their Advancement to the Throne?* Sure I am that *Reason* is against him; for as *this busy, sawning Crew*, are actuated by the most sordid Motives of *Lucre and Interest*, it is more natural for them to flock about those, who are in immediate Possession of the *Leaves and Fishes*, than those, whose Power to gratify their Expectations is only contingent. He is likewise equally wrong in Point of *Fact*; for I will undertake to prove from *History*, that where one *Prince* hath been insulted with *this Kind of Vermin*, before he ascended the Throne, above

twenty have been plagued with them afterwards.

But he tells us, *that such Miscreants have constantly mis'd of their Aim, and instead of those Dignities and high Stations, which they imagin'd they had been laying up in Store for themselves, have been banish'd from the Presence of those very Princes, from whom they expected their Reward*. Of this he gives us two Instances from our own History, in the Persons of *Richard*, surnamed *Cœur-de-Lyon*, afterwards *K. Richard I.* and *Henry of Manmoub*, afterwards *K. Henry V.*

As to the *first*, I shall not dispute the *Virtues of Henry II.* his Father, who was certainly a *very great, wise, and brave Prince*; tho' I cannot intirely agree to his Character, as drawn by *this Writer*. But his Portrait of *Prince Richard* is the grossest Outrage upon History, that was ever committed; for he was so far from being a *Prince of an amiable Disposition, who had no ambitious Views, no unjustifiable Desires to gratify; and whose Heart was free from any sinister Designs or Purposes in the Uneasiness or Opposition he gave his Royal Father*; that he was one of the most *turbulent, restless, ambitious Princes*, that ever liv'd; and not only had ill Designs against his *Father*, but was engag'd in several open Attempts to *de throne* him. In short, he does not seem to have had *one good Quality* besides a *most undaunted Courage*; which, according to the *same eminent Historian*, whom our *Author* quotes in his Commendation, * *favour'd of a brutish Fierceness*; and it is in vain, says he, to seek in him for *some other Virtue*, that might afford Matter for *Panegyrick*. — He adds, that *Pride, Avarice and Lust* had got so much the Ascendant over him; that they were commonly call'd his *three Daughters*.

* *Rapin's Character of Richard I. at the End of his Life.*

Our Author's Account of the Methods, by which *this Prince* was drawn into the Opposition against his *Father*, is equally false; for he was not misled by the Artifices of *Whisperers* and *Tale-Bearers*, or the *little, fluttering, gaudy Insects*, that are always buzzing about the Ears of *Princes*, but by the violent Jealousy and Resentment of *Q. Eleanor* against the *King*; upon Account of *fair Rosamond*; which raged to such a Degree, that nothing but the Death of her *Rival*, and the *Deposition* of her *Husband*, could satisfy her Revenge. In the *first* he succeeded; and, in order to compass the *second*, she spirited up her 3 *eldest Sons* to join with her in the Confederacy against him. Nor did the *young Princes* themselves want some Reasons to be uneasy at their *Father's* Treatment; tho' nothing can justify their seeking Satisfaction in such a Manner. He had, indeed, invested them with *high Titles*; but neither trusted them with any *Authority*, nor enabled them to support their Characters with *Dignity*. Besides, they were justly offended at his great Partiality for his youngest Son, *John*, who proved the most worthless of them all.

It is true, that when *Richard* came to the Throne, he dismiss'd those, who had formerly adhered to him, against the *King* his *Father*, as our *Author* observes; tho' he quotes the Passage very unfairly from *Rapin*, and therefore does not mention his Name. But it sufficiently appears, from what hath been said, that the Case of *Prince Richard* hath nothing to do with that; to which it is so infamously apply'd, and where the most distant Attempts of the *same Nature* cannot be so much as pretended.

The other Instance, is, That of *Henry* of *Monmouth*, afterwards *R.*

Henry V. which is as little to the Purpose, and as vilely apply'd, as the *former*. Every Body knows, that *this Prince* gave himself up, for some Time, to a most dissolute Course, even so far as *Robbing on the Highway*. It is therefore no Wonder, that a *Prince* of his excellent Disposition, being awaken'd to a Sense of his Errors, should throw himself at his *Father's* Feet, and implore his Pardon. Yet, even in this Case, some Apology may be made for the *Prince*, which our *Author* omits, tho' it lay under his Nose, whilst he was quoting *Rapin*; for that *Historian*, as well as several others, imputes all his Irregularities to the Jealousy of the *King* his *Father*, who had always kept him at a Distance from Affairs. But having discover'd a strong Inclination for War in his early Youth, which increased with his Years, the *King* thought fit to indulge it; and being apprehensive of the *Welsh*, he sent his *Son*, at that Time but 18 Years of Age, with an Army against them; in which the *young Prince* was so successful, that he defeated them in two pitch'd Battles. But his *Villeries*, says the *Historian*, were of infinite Prejudice to him. The *King* his *Father*, excessively jealous of his *Authority*, consider'd his *Son's* Reputation as likely one Day to become destructive of his *Quiet*. The Thoughts of this making him uneasy, he removed him from all warlike, as he had done from all civil Employments. Reduced to a State of Idleness, the *Prince*, naturally active, sought how to employ himself. Unluckily for him, by the Instigation of some about him, and perhaps by the Direction of the *King* his *Father*, he ran into dishonourable Courses, and abandon'd himself to Excesses, very unbecoming his Birth, and injurious to his Reputation. The *King* dy'd soon after; and

* *Rapin*, at the Beginning of the Reign of *Henry V.*

One of the first Things his Son did, upon his Accession, was dismissing his old Companions, (whom our Author calls his Ministers and Advisers) and having exhorted them to leave off their former ill Course of Life, he made them handsome Presents, (of which our Author takes no Notice) and at the same Time strictly charg'd them not to come to Court.

This is the true Statè of the Fact, according to History; and sufficiently displays the Prostitution of a Writer, who hath the Insolence to apply it to a modern Case, as different as Light is from Darkness, and to put some of the greatest, wisest and worthiest Men in the Kingdom upon the same Foot with such profligate Wretches as Falstaff, Bardolph and Poins.

Upon the Whole, I must observe that he seems to make no Distinction between right and wrong Measures, or between just and unreasonable Complaints; but lays it down as a general Rule for Princes, that they ought to begin their Reigns with disgracing all such Persons as served them before their Advancement to the Throne, and with heaping all their Favours upon those, who opposed them, tho' in Points of the nearest and tenderest Concern. This is an excellent Lesson of Gratitude for Princes; and we have several Instances of its being put in Practice, of a much fresher Date than the Reigns of Richard I. and Henry V.

I should think it would be of more Use, to inculcate the Example of Henry VIII. who, instead of discharging his old, faithful Servants, upon his Accession, inflicted exemplary Punishment upon those, who had fleeced the People in his Father's Reign.

But, for God's Sake, why are we to be entertain'd only with the History of those Princes, who have had the Misfortune, either by their own Faults or that of others, to live

in a State of Discord with their Royal Fathers? Why should not we look a little on the bright Side of the Question, and take a View of the happy Effects, which naturally result from a mutual Intercourse of Duty and Affection between the Father and the Son? The Reign of Edward III. would have furnish'd our Author with a glorious Instance of this Kind; and he might have drawn a much juster Parallel between his Son, the black Prince, and another Person, of the same high Rank, than he hath done in the Libel now before me. Prince Edward was really possess'd of an amiable Disposition and excellent Endowments. He was modest, affable, valiant and generous. No-body was more sensible of his Virtues than the King, his Father, who was so far from being jealous of his Popularity, that he took all Opportunities of shewing him in the most advantageous Light. At six Years of Age, he created him Duke of Cornwall; being the first Prince, who bore that Title. When he was 13, he created him Prince of Wales in Parliament, and invested him with that Principality. At the Age of 16, he carry'd him into France, where he went to oppose the Progress of the Duke of Normandy. As soon as he landed on the French Shore, he knighted the Prince; and having put him at the Head of his Army, in the famous Battle of Cressy, where the Prince perform'd Wonders, he gave him the whole Honour of that glorious Day, refusing to come up to his Aid, when he was oppress'd with Numbers, for fear of robbing him of any Part of it. Some Years afterwards, he was trust'd with the sole Command of his Father's Army in France, and gain'd the ever-memorable Victory of Poitiers, with an Handful of Men, where he took the King of France himself Prisoner, besides an immense Booty. As soon

as Peace gave him an Opportunity of marrying, the King his Father erected the Dutchy of Guienne into a Principality, under the Name of *Aquitaine*, and gave it in Sovereignty to the Prince, on Condition of paying only an Ounce of Gold yearly to the Crown of England, in lieu of all Service; so that he was at the same Time Prince of Wales, and of *Aquitaine*, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester and Kent; (the last in Right of his Wife) all which brought in a very great Revenue, in those Times.

To conclude. Family Disputes are certainly a very great Misfortune, and ought always to be avoided as much as possible. But is every little Difference, of this Kind, to be call'd *inmedicabile Vulus*; or is there no other Remedy for it but *ense defendendum*? I cannot without Honour reflect upon such Expressions; which can serve only to sharpen the Wounds, and alarm the Nation with Apprehensions of dreadful Consequences.

But whenever such Disputes arise, Mankind will naturally enquire into the true Causes of them; whether they proceed from ill-grounded Jealousies, on one Side, or from any undutiful Behaviour on the other; and whether Ministers may not sometimes find it their Interest to keep down the growing Power of those, whose Resentments they have Reason to dread.

Common-Sense, March 5. N^o 5.

Queen Elizabeth's Generosity.

AFTER several Resolutions upon Avarice in general, this Author concludes, thus: Some People have argued, that excessive Avarice in a Prince or a Minister cannot endanger the Liberties of a free People; and the Reason they give for it is, that so much Hatred and Contempt always follows this Vice, that the People will hardly be deceiv'd or seduced by Persons of that Character. But

in Answer to this we may say, there are various Methods of encroaching upon the Subject, and it may be done against their Grain, by People never so much hated and despis'd; besides, as nothing can give such Means of accumulating of Wealth as Power, an avaritious Prince will be tempted to try all Methods to become arbitrary, because he may thereby become Master of the Purse of the People, and may gratify his own Avarice.

Queen Elizabeth was frugal and generous at the same Time; she was frugal of her People's Money, but generous where her own particular Interest was concern'd. She well knew that not only the Support of the State, but her own Subsistence, came out of the Pockets of the People; and if she was sparing of her Expences, it was not to hoard up Money like a sordid Miser, but to keep it in the Coffers of her Subjects; for she thought she could not be poor while they were rich. We see her returning one Year half the Subsidies which had been granted the Year before, telling the People she had made the half do, and that she returned the rest to them to whom of Right it belong'd. Where is the Wonder then that the Memory of this great Queen should be so much revered as it is, and that her Ministers should be so much extolled and admired ever since? But so it will be, when Men of true Wisdom preside in the Councils of Kings. Had *Burleigh* or *Walsingham* been vers'd in nothing but the shuffling Practices of Stock-Jobbers or Brokers, this Money would most certainly have been all sunk; nay, it is ten to one that instead of being return'd to the People a Deficiency would have been brought in, and it would have been a good ministerial Job; for when Men of such infamous Characters are plac'd in Power, the little mean Tricks of a common Sharper become the Politicks of the State.

Daily Gazette, March 3. N^o 533.

Extract from the History of the Popes, printed at the Hague, by H. Schaurleer.

THE *Romish* Church was not only degenerated, but entirely corrupted before the Beginning of the Ninth Century; and her Human Ceremonies, full of Superstition, were introduced into almost all Churches, together with the Pope's Supremacy. The Bishops were permitted to refuse Obedience to their Metropolitans, and to appeal from them to the Pope. The Popes, for their Part, found Means to free themselves from the Yoke of the Eastern Emperors, their lawful Sovereigns; which was effected partly by Fraud, and partly by Force. To this End, the Protection of the Kings of *France*, whom they knew how to manage with great Dexterity, was of no little Service to them. The whole Business of Religion consisted in Submission to the Papal Authority, Adoration of Images, Consecration of Churches, Church Ornaments, Invocation of Saints, the *Gregorian* Hymn, Organs, the Solemnity of the Mass, the Celibacy of the Priests, Vows and Pilgrimages: The Clergy were excessive ignorant. In the Choice of Bishops, no Scrutiny was made either into their Doctrine or Manners. They had all the necessary Qualifications, if they could but say the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and sing Mass and the Hymns appointed to be sung in the Church.

This superstitious Worship, it is true, did not prevail every where. The Eastern Church would suffer no Images, but break them. The *Gallican* Church continued long of Opinion, that they ought neither to be worship'd nor broken. The Infallibility of the Pope was not yet so generally received by that Church, but that two pious Princes,

Charles the Great and *St. Lewis*, together with some of the most Learned of the *French* Clergy, were of Opinion, that the Pope had bewray'd his Fallibility in the Case of Image-worship. They were not of Opinion, that the Decrees of a Council, that the Pope called a general one, and had assisted at by his Legate, were to be received on Pain of eternal Damnation.

Weekly Miscellany, March 11. N^o 220.

This Paper contains a long Letter in Defence of the Clergy; in which, after several Arguments against the late Quakers Bill, the Writer proceeds thus:

IMMEDIATELY upon saving our Tithes from the Quakers, we are threatened with *A Curates Act*. A great Outcry is made against the whole Body of the Clergy, for their ill Usage of, and small Allowance to their Curates. The inferior Clergy are cajoll'd by false Friends, to hurt their Brethren, and themselves in the Conclusion. Pamphlets, Newspapers, Conversation are all filled with this Topick: And the Curates are call'd upon to apply to Parliament, and appear with their Petitions.

The Report of the ill Usage of Curates, however true it may be in some particular Instances, yet in the general is false; raised by those who are Enemies to the establish'd Church, and would bring that into Disgrace, by throwing this Odium on its Ministers.

In so large a Body as the Clergy of *England*, there is no answering for the Temper and Discretion of every Individual. The Rector may be blame-worthy; or the Curate may pursue wrong Methods, and act indiscreetly, and thereby give a just Occasion to the Rector, for differing with him. But, where one Curate is ill used, many Instances may be made, where they are treated with the

the utmost Kindness, Humanity and Encouragement.

Bad Curates will take hold of any Thing for Complaint, to hide their own ill Conduct; and it is observable, that those who have been most forward to complain of the Hardships of the inferior Clergy, have been Men, who have least merited Regard. But the Generality of them are worthy Men; and, as they know they have no real Occasion to complain of *their* Usage, so they will disdain to join with the *others*, or to use such Methods, as shall throw an unjust Reflection on the whole Body of their Brethren; but are easy in their Station, 'till a good Providence, Friends, or their own Merit raise them higher: I mention *Merit* last, because it is the last Qualification regarded in *these Times*, except it be *Political Merit*.

I am informed, that most Curates (unless it be *Readers in London*) are allowed 40*l.* or 50*l.* *per Ann.* or their Income is made worth so much in Perquisites, and other Advantages allowed by the Rector. Let us suppose then, that the Income of the Rectors or Vicars who keep Curates, at a *Medium*, is 250*l.* *per Ann.* out of this must be deducted for *Tithes, Taxes, Rates, Pensions, Procurations, &c.* a very considerable Sum, together, with the large Expences, and necessary Charges, which attend *Country-Livings*; where the Tithes must either be taken in Kind, or the Rector must lose a considerable Part of his Income. Now after these large Deductions are made, I would ask which is the best Income, the *Remainder* of these 250*l.* *per Ann.* (out of which is to be a *farther Deduction* of 40*l.* or 50*l.* *per Ann.* for the Curate's Salary) for the Subsistence of the Rector and his Family; or 50*l.* may 40*l.* *per Ann.* for the Curate, who has generally no one but *himself* to take care of?

Whatever the Legislature may do

when the Matter comes before them; I hope the Curates will have their Eyes a little open in this Affair, with respect to those, who are so strenuous in encouraging them to make their Application.

A If it be made more expensive than the Income of the Living, or Vicarage can well bear, there will be no Curates kept at all, but where there is an absolute Necessity; the Number at least will be greatly diminished; and then will these charitable Gentlemen even bid them, *God Speed!*

Craftsmen, March. 12. N^o 558.

The Arts of Ministers, with a Speech of Lord Lucas in Parliament, in the Reign of K. Charles II.

Dear CALEB,

WHENEVER the Minister of a King, aspiring to absolute Monarchy, had a Design of extending the royal Prerogative, one of the common Artifices made use of, was alarming the Nation with some Attempt from abroad, in order to drain the *Subjects* of their Money, and make them unable to resist any Inroad on their *Liberties*. But, I believe, if we consult our History, it will be found that the lavish Bounties of the *People* granted to the *Crown*, under Pretence of purchasing or preserving a *present Peace*, were more injurious to the Strength and Glory of *England*, than an *hearty*, tho' *lasting War*; and I presume it will be allow'd, even by the *Sycophants* of a Court, that very little Defecence will be paid to a *Nation*, which suffers daily, repeated Insults from *foreign Powers*, without revenging them, or taking any Notice of it farther than entering into *useless Negotiations*, and appointing *Commissioners* to enquire into the Damages, without redressing the Grievance.

But lest a mercenary Set of Scribblers

Should put a bad Construction on what I have said, I would not be understood to endeavour to make People murmur at granting the *Supplis* really necessary for executing any Designs, tending to the Honour of his Majesty, and the Welfare of the Kingdom. Neither do I think that we ought implicitly to believe all the Assertions of a *Minister*, but examine ourselves a little into Affairs, and not pay a blind Obedience to his *Ipse dixit*.

In the Reign of *Charles II.* when the Pretence before-mentioned was frequently employ'd to serve the *Court*, Lord *Lucas* made an excellent Speech in the following Manner.

He first of all complain'd, "That whereas it was the Hopes of all good Men, that the *King* would procure Ease to his *Subjects*, their Burthens were more heavy than ever, whilst their Strength was diminish'd, and so they were less able to support them.—That if the vast Sums given had all been employ'd for the *King* and *Kingdom*, it would not have so much troubled him and others; but that the Nation could not, without infinite Regret of Heart, see so great a Part of the Money pounded up in the Purses of a few private Men, who in the Time of his Majesty's most happy Restoration, were worth little or nothing, but were now purchasing Lands, and kept their Coaches and six Horses, their Pages and their Lacqueys; while in the mean Time those, who had faithfully served the *King*, were expos'd to Penury and Want, and had scarce sufficient left to buy them Bread. But supposing all the Money given had been employ'd for the Use of his Majesty, and that he was not cozened, as without Doubt he was; yet ought there to be no Bounds, no Moderation in giving? Can it be said that his Majesty will not be able to maintain the *Triple-Alliance*, with-

out a plentiful Supply; and that the Nation will run the Hazard of being conquer'd? This may be a Reason for giving something, but it is so far from being an Argument for giving so much, that it may be clearly made out that it is the direct and ready Way to be conquer'd by a *Foreigner*; and it may be the Policy of the *French King*, by his frequent Alarms of Armies and Fleets, to induce us to consume our Treasure in vain Preparations against him; and when he hath, by these Means, made us poor and weak enough, he may then come and destroy us. It is not the giving a great deal, but the well-managing the Money given, that must keep us safe from our Enemies. Besides, what is this but *memorare mori*; and for Fear of being conquer'd by a *Foreigner*, to put ourselves in a Condition almost as bad; nay, in some Respects, a great deal worse? For when we are under the Power of the *Victor*, we know we can fall no lower, and the Certainty of our Miseries is in some Sort a Diminution of them. But in this wild Way we have no Certainty at all; for if you give thus much to Day, you may give as much more to Morrow, and never leave off giving, till we have given all that ever we have away.

It is therefore necessary to make some Estimate of ourselves. Would his Majesty be pleas'd to have a *Quarter* of our *Estates*? For my Part, he shall have it. Would he be pleas'd to have *Half*? For my Part, upon good Occasions, he shall have it. But then let us have some Assurances of the quiet Enjoyment of the *Remainder*, and know what we have to trust to. The *Commons* have here sent up a *Bill*, for giving his Majesty the *twentieth Part* of our *Estates*, and I hear there are other *Bills* also preparing, which together will amount to little less than *three Millions of Money*, a prodigious Sum!

and such, that if your *Lordships* afford no Relief, we must sink under the Weight of it. I hope therefore your *Lordships* will set some Bounds to the over-liberal Humour of the *Commons*. If you cannot deny, or moderate a *Bill for Money*, all your great Estates are wholly at their Disposal, and you have nothing that you can properly call your own.

Upon the whole Matter, I must humbly propose that you would please to reduce the *twelve Pence in the Pound to eight Pence*."

I shall make no particular Application of *this Speech*, but only deliver my Opinion, that the Generality of the People of *England* would, at any Time, freely contribute a great Part of their Estates, to support the Grandeur and Interest of their Country, if they could be assured that it would be employ'd in chastising the Insolence of some *neighbouring Nations*, who may endeavour to treat us like a *petty Province*, thinking themselves secure from any Reprisals, because a *War* may be incompatible with our Circumstances, and the Interest of some *particular Person*, who regards *his own Good* more than that of his *Country*.

I am, S I R, &c.

Common-Sense, March 12. N° 6.

To the premier Projector of Great-Britain, and the other eminent and busy Members of the numerous Society of British Projectors, first established by the famous Emplon and Dudley, in the Reign of our parsimonious K. Henry VII. and greatly increased and improved by the late happy Union between the two Kingdoms:

The humble Remonstrance of the ancient and useful Society of Jack-Catches.

Right Worthy, &c. &c.

BY the Laws of this, as well as every other Country, Killing

in Self-Defence is allowed to be practised by every Man: Whoever is assaulted by a Person armed with any mortal Weapon, may kill him who assaults him, if he cannot otherwise avoid the Danger. But to kill a Man or Woman who neither assaults you, nor is armed with any dangerous Weapon for that Purpose, is a Privilege which has never been granted, till of late, to any but those of our Society; tho' we never thereby gain the Character of Heroes, or Killing Captains, nor acquire any Honour; but, on the contrary, are always looked on as Poltrons, and held in the greatest Contempt: However, as our Employment is attended with Profit, and often brings us a good Dinner without Labour or Danger, we imitate greater Scoundrels, by indulging ourselves in Luxury, and despising the Opinion of Mankind.

For this Reason we are fond of our Privilege, and would gladly enjoy it without a Rival. But, to our great Sorrow, the Gentlemen called Soldiers, have some Time since assumed a Privilege of executing one another; and in order, as we suppose, to avoid being called Jack-Catches, have invented a new Method of exercising this Privilege, which they call Shooting; but as we can find no Difference between pointing a Musket to a defenceless Man's Breast, and putting a Noose about his Neck, and as the Performers on such Occasions are never in any more Danger than we, notwithstanding their boasted Courage and Honour, we must look upon them as our Brethren.

Though this be certainly an In-croachment upon our Privilege, yet we should not have complained, if the Gentlemen had contented themselves with shooting one another only; but they are, we hear, for assuming a Power over all other Persons in the Kingdom; and as the Priests of old, by a certain Form of conjuring Words, delivered Men over to the Devil,

Devil, so we have now a *modern Sort of Priests*, who, tho' they are certainly no *Conjurors* in any other Respect, have a Power, by a *certain Form of Words*, to deliver at once a *Multitude of Men, Women, and Children* over to the *Soldiers* to be *shot*; by which *Livery* those Gentlemen become seized of a legal Power to execute, without Judge or Jury, as many of them as they please.

What others may think of this modern Sort of Excommunication, we do not know; but there is not one of our Society, who would not chuse to be delivered into the Power of the *Devil*, rather than into the Power of the *Soldiers*, especially if they should be rendered a *little Tefsy* by a Child's throwing some *Kernel Dirt* into one of their Faces; for tho' the *Devil* seldom or never made use of the Power which was given him by the ancient *Priests*, yet the *Soldiers* will hardly fail to make use of the Power given them by this *modern Sort of Priests*.

In this Case too the *Soldiers* cannot properly be said to be in any *Danger*, therefore the Executions they perform on such Occasions, seem to be Incroachments upon our *Trade*, and the Performers seem to be our Brethren, if not our Rivals; however, we have generally looked on this Method of putting Men, Women, and Children to Death, as a Sort of *Conjuring*, and consequently not within our Province; for none of us have ever been suspected of being *Conjurors*, or of dealing with the *Devil*, and but *very few* even of those whose Orders we obey; yet it must be allowed that many of them are *old Women*.

But we are informed that some *Projectors* have formed a *Scheme* (which we hope is not true) for taking away the *conjuring* Part of this Method of Execution, and for *delivering* the whole People, Man, Wife, Widow, Maiden, and Child,

into the Power of the *Soldiers*, to be *shot* whenever they have a Mind, without any formal *Livery* from any Sort of *Priest* whatsoever; which looks something like the *Pope's* Method of excommunicating this Nation by the Lump; and if this Project should take Effect, it is plain there can be no further Use for our Employment; because that *ancient civil Method* of Execution, called *Tucking up*, will, we suppose, be converted into the *modern military Method*, called *Shooting*. Upon this Occasion, we hope, even the *Soldiers* themselves will consider that this *military Method* has, in all Countries, been the Fore-runner of arbitrary Power; and may probably end in this, as it has done in all others, in *breaking upon the Wheel*, and other Sorts of lingering and tormenting Deaths; for it is ridiculous to imagine, that a *Government* founded upon Fear only, can be supported by any Sort of Punishment, which puts an *immediate End* to the Life of a *State Criminal*; and such a *Criminal a Soldier* may happen to be, as well as another Man.

Right Worthy, &c. &c.

We have no Occasion to explain to you the *Usefulness* of our Society, nor are you ignorant of the many *eminent Services* we have rendered to our Country. We have always been the *chief Guardians* of the *Constitution*, and of the *Liberties and Properties* of the Peoples; for tho' *tyrannical* and *knaveish Ministers* have sometimes got us into their Power, and generally, while they could keep us, made great Use of us; yet we have always *turned the Tables* upon them as soon as we could, and have seldom failed bestowing the same Favour on them, they had before obliged us to bestow upon others.

For this Reason we hope you will stand by us, and not allow that Society to be ruined, upon which your

own Liberties and Properties so evidently depend. But if this cannot be granted, if the Soldiers must be the only *Jack-Catches* in the Kingdom, our next humble Request shall be, that, since they are to rob us of that dishonourable Gain by which we live, and are to *ingross* the whole to themselves, you would oblige them all to incorporate themselves into our Society, and become Contributors to our *Charity-Box*, which will cost them but *Six Pence a Month*. By this Means we may hope to be maintained by the *Charity* of our *new adopted Brethren* and we cannot contrive any other Way of Living, unless some Method could be fallen on, to make all those who shall hereafter resolve to hang themselves, apply to us, and pay us our *usual Fee* for doing the Office for them. This, indeed, would in all Probability be a very sufficient Relief to us; for as our Countrymen are pretty apt to hang themselves upon a *Change of Fortune*, from *Bad to Good*, as well as from *Good to Bad*; upon such a *general Change* of Affairs, we might expect to make as much by *hanging*, as the Clerks of the Peace, made some Years since by *swearing*.

These Things we humbly submit to your great *Wisdom* and *Penetration*, hoping you will in our Case judge as *impartially* and as *disinterestedly* as you do in all others.

And then we shall for ever pray, &c.

Daily Gazetteer, March 12. N^o 596.

AN ANSWER to the Craftsman of March 5. (See p. 130. G.)

THE Craftsman have two Purposes to answer in keeping a Matter in Debate, which makes every good *Englishman* uneasy, now the Decision of it is over in the Place, where only it was fit to be debated. The one is to foment a Spirit of Division among Persons, whose Affection and Interests are inseparable

from those of the Publick. The other is to draw the Writers of this Paper into some unguarded Expression, in the Heat of Argument, which they may make a Handle of to asperse them for Want of Duty, Respect, and Love; where it can never be wanted without the greatest Folly, Injustice, and Ingratitude.

One may reasonably conjecture, that the *Craftsman* of March 5, was written by a Gentleman, and not by *Caleb D'Anvers*. As I take the Writer to be of the Rank of *Men* of Honour, I cannot make use of the Language which best explains the Matter and Intent of *D'Anvers's* Writings. I shall only take Notice of a few Mistakes in the above-mentioned Journal, which, perhaps, may be, in some Measure, owing to the Light the Matters were put into in *Rapin's* History, who, tho' he writes with great Regard to Truth and Accuracy, yet for want of more Acquaintance with the Characters of Persons, has left many Things imperfect.

The Gentleman who assisted *Caleb* on this Occasion, tells us, *The Character of Prince Richard in the Gazetteer, is the grossest Outrage upon History: That Richard had not one good Quality besides Courage, which also was nothing but a brutish Fiageness, as he takes it from Mr. Rapin.* But I do not conceive that *Rapin's* saying it, justifies an *English* Writer in repeating it; because he has many Opportunities of a more thorough Information.

Holinshed, the honestest and most circumstantiating of all our Historians, having spoken of *K. Richard's* good Qualities, as his *Courteousness, Liberality, Eloquence, Wisdom* and *Intrepidity*; he adds, *These were his virtuous Qualities, but his Vices (if his Virtues, his Age, and the Wars, were thoroughly weighed) were either none at all, or else few in Number, and not very notorious.* Old *Holinshed*

And speaks also of his 3 Daughters, *Pride, Avarice and Lust*, rather as a scandalous, malicious Reflection of a French Priest, his Enemy, than as an undoubted Truth. The Story is pleasant enough, and I give it in his own Words.

While K. Richard sojourn'd in France about his War which he held against K. Philip, there came to him a French Priest, whose Name was Fulca, a Preacher of some Reputation among the common People. This Preacher required the King in any wise to put from him his 3 abominable Daughters which he had, and to commit them to Marriage, lest God punished him for them. Thou liest, Hypocrite, said the King, to thy very Face for all the World knoweth I have not one Daughter. The Priest replied, I lye not, for thou hast 3 Daughters, one of them is call'd *Pride*, and another *Covetousness*, and the third, *Lust*. With that the King called unto him his Lords and Barons, and said unto them, *This Hypocrite here required me to marry forth my 3 Daughters, which, as he saith, I cherish and maintain, that is to say, Pride, Covetousness, and Lust. And now that I have found out apt Husbands for them, I will do it with Effect, and seek no more Delays: I therefore bequeath my Pride to the High-minded Templars and Hospitallers, which are as proud as Lucifer himself. My Covetousness I give to the White-Friers, otherwise called the Cisterux Order, for they covet the Devil and All. My Lust I commit to the Prelates of the Church, who have most Pleasure and Felicity therein.* As fine a Piece of old-fashion'd Raillery, as is any where to be met with! and methinks an English Gentleman should, for the Pleasantry of it, have avoided giving it to serious a Turn; and to say that, is *Earnest*, which a

French Priest said in *Malice* of a King of England, who was at the same Time carrying on a War in France.

As to the Charge against the Gazetteer for quoting *Rapin* unfairly as *Agro Prince*, afterwards K. Richard's, dismissing those that had adhered to him against his Father, there's no Need of having Recourse to the French History again; it will be better set a-right by quoting *Holinshed*: *Those that had forsaken his Father, and taken Part with him against his Father, he seem'd now so much to dislike, that he remov'd them utterly from his Presence, and contrarywise, preferred such as had continued faithful to his Father.*

That this Gentleman's Knowledge of History is only Skin-deep, appears by his falling into the vulgar Errors; as where he tells us that Prince Henry, afterwards King Henry V. went so far in *Disoluteness of Life, as to rob on the Highway*, which he is pleas'd to call the *true State of Fact*. Whereas this *robbing on the Highway*, was only a Frolick of Youth play'd upon his own Servants, his Receivers and Rent-Gatherers; from whom he took only what was his own. The Chronicler *Stow*, tells this Story very naturally and credibly. He lived somewhat indolently, insomuch, that whilst his Father was living, being accompanied with some of his young Lords and Gentlemen, he would wait in disguised Array for his own Receivers, and distress them of their Money; and sometimes at such Enterprises, he and his Company were forely beaten; and when his Receivers made to him their Complaints, how they were robbed in their coming to him, he would give them a Discharge of so much as they had lost; and besides that, they should not depart from him without great Rewards for their Trouble and Vexation, especially

‘ they should be rewarded, that had
 ‘ best resisted him and his Company,
 ‘ and of whom he had received the
 ‘ greatest and most Strokes.’

I was sorry to see the Gentleman's
 Quotation out of a modern History,
 which I perceive he implicitly con- A
 fides in, it containing an Insinuation,
 that Prince Henry's Father, Henry
 IV. directed some about his Son, to
 lead him into dishonourable Courses,
 on Purpose to render him unfit for,
 and out of Love with, State Affairs;
 because there is not the least Found- B
 dation for such a wild, indecent Re-
 flection, in any of our English His-
 tories.

Another vulgar Error, which this
 Gentleman gives into, is the mistak-
 ing Sir *John Falstaff*, one of the gal-
 lantest Men of that Age, for a *Pol- C*
ston, or, as he says, a *profligate*
Wretch, perhaps, because *Shakspear*,
 on no better Account than the Mirth
 he conceived to be in the Name *Fal-
 Staff*, represents him as a *Scoundrel*,
 contrary to the real Truth and poeti- D
 cal Justice, which *Shakspear* did not
 much regulate himself by in the Con-
 duct of his Comedies, and therefore
 did and said every Thing he thought
 would please the Audience.

In the general Observations at the
 Close of the *Craftsman*, the *Affir- E*
mative is changed to the decisive
 Tone, and the Writer is so frank,
 as to apply what was said of *Fal-
 sion* in general, to a particular Instance
 which never entered into any one's
 Head. However, to throw the
 Minds of the giddy Multitude into
 Confusion, he terrifies them with F
 this astonishing Alarm. *I cannot,*
says he, without Horror, reflect upon
it: (a Verse of Ovid's) It will alarm
the whole Nation with Apprehensions
of dreadful Consequences; whereas no-
 mortal Man has had the least Appre- G
 hension of that Kind; but on the
 contrary, every one does verily be-
 lieve, that an *incurable Fal-
 sion* is *immedicabile vulnus*, in a moral and
 political Sense.

*Abstract of Mr. FOSTER's Answer to
 Dr. STEBBING's Reply, which see
 p. 123. G. Publish'd in the Old
 Whig of March 17.*

To the OLD WHIG.

S I R,

THE Controversy between Dr.
Stebbing and me being now
 reduc'd within a very narrow Com-
 pass, and so changed, and shifted,
 and mixed with indecent Reflections
 in his two last Performances, that it
 can be of no Service to the Publick;
 I think I do the Dr. too much Ho-
 nour by taking any farther Notice of
 him, even in a common News-Pa-
 per. But it may not be improper, C
 for the Sake of hasty Readers, to say
 something in my own Vindication,
 against what, in itself, is below Cen-
 sure; in order to prevent the Boaste
 of a *disappointed and retreating Ad-
 versary*, who, having nothing else
 to depend upon, may probably sup-
 port himself with this Thought,
 that to have *the last Word* is, in
 some Sort, to get *the Victory*.

I hope I shall be thought to have
 spoke modestly, when I only call Dr.
Stebbing a *disappointed and retreating Ad-
 versary*; since in my Answer to his
True State, I have shewn, by a distinct
 Enumeration of Particulars, that he
 has quite deserted almost every Point
 in Controversy between us from the
 Beginning. Let this be decided by
 his own Words: The main Question
 between us (says the Dr.) is this,
 [not whether Heretics are at all sub-
 ject to Church Discipline, (which
 he would now vainly persuade the
 World is the only Point he was ever
 concern'd about) but who are the He-
 retics who are subject to Church
 Discipline? N. B. Who are Here-
 tics in such a Sense, as will justify
 the Church in excluding them
 from visible Communion? Again,
 the Question is, N. B. What is
 Heresy?

• Heresy?—The Question then is,
 • Whether these Passages import that
 • all Oppugners of the Christian Doc-
 • trine were to be rejected without Di-
 • stinction? I say they were: you
 • deny it.*—If these are the *Ques-*
tions, the main Questions between
 us, how comes it to pass, that it is
 insinuated in the *True State*, that
 these are not the main Questions;
 but that something quite different
 from them is the Whole of the Con-
 troversy that is worth the contending
 for? Such Arts, instead of bidding a
 Defeat, serve to make the Shame of
 it more notorious. However, mean-
 as the Evasion is, I shall add two Re-
 marks upon it; one of which will,
 I suppose, convince every Reader,
 that 'tis nothing but an *After-Game*,
 contrived to amuse and blind; and
 the other, that it is an Excuse, in
 itself, compleatly impertinent and ri-
 diculous.

1. I desire it may be observed,
 that I inform'd Dr. S. in my *first*
 Letter, that I would not be thought
 so intimate, that the Gift of *discern-*
ing Spirits was the only Way of
 knowing, or consequently, absolute-
 ly necessary to the *admonishing* and
 rejecting Heretics. I told him fur-
 ther, that I thought 'there were
 • Cases supposable, in which I
 • might conclude that an Offender
 • was *self-condemn'd* with much great-
 • er Probability, than he could de-
 • termine, without being *infallible*,
 • that he *err'd from the Faith*:' And
 that 'some Cases of Heresy might
 • be equally notorious' with any o-
 thers that could be mentioned. So
 that I really gave up what he calls
 the *Use* of my Scheme (though that
 Use was never intended by me) and
 allow'd that there might be Church
 Discipline with respect to Heretics
 as much in this Letter, as I have
 done it in my *second*. But notwith-
 standing this, he went on to debate

with me the particular *Texts*, by
 which the whole Controversy must
 be decided, in the Manner in which
 he had begun: He had not, as yet (it
 seems) thought of his Excuse, which
 A was as proper to be urged now as
 afterwards; or else, imagining he
 could hold his Ground a little longer,
 he did not judge it convenient to
 make use of it.

2. The Excuse itself is altogether
 ridiculous. For Dr. S. ought to
 have been determin'd by what was,
 in his own Judgment, the unavoida-
 ble Consequence of my Notion of
 Heresy. Now he has plainly declar'd
 it to be his Opinion, that if
 my Notion be admitted, it is impos-
 sible there should be any regular
 C Church Discipline with respect to
 Heretics. And as he says, that he
 • oppos'd my Interpretation, only
 • for the Sake of the ill Use I had
 • made of it;' he must surely think
 himself equally oblig'd to have op-
 pos'd me, if this ill Use was the di-
 rect and necessary Consequence of my
 Opinion, whether I had insisted up-
 on it, or not.

As his *Answers* are, just such are
 his *Replies*. The Truth is, the
 Gentleman is blessed with great
 Presence of Mind, and this enables
 him to stand to it, that he has suf-
 ficiently answered my second Letter,
 though he has not considered a third
 Part of it; and scarce any at all of
 the most material Points. And now
 he comes out with a *Reply*, in which
 he has done rather less than before,
 tho' my Answer to his *True State* was
 a direct Examination of it almost
 Page by Page. To support what I
 have asserted, I shall give a *Specimen*
 of his Manner of *Replying*. [*Here*
he recapitulates several Points he had
insisted upon, in his Answer to Dr.
Stebbing's True State; and concludes
thus:] On all these Things Dr. S.
 has not vouchsafed to make one Re-

mark: And yet this is the Gentleman that undertakes to write *Answers and Replies*?

What then, has he done? Why, as, in his *True State*, he cavill'd in a most *Un-Gentleman like* and *Unchristian* Manner for near 18 Pages out of 36, he now continues to do the same for almost 13 Pages out of 21. In answer to all which, a few very brief Remarks will suffice. 1. As I have declard over and over, that to the best of my Knowledge, it never was my *direct Opinion*, that Heretics could not be known without the Gift of *discerning Spirits*, I must treat that Writer's *incurable Rudeness* with Contempt, who pretends to know what was my real Sentiment better than I myself do. I scarce met with any one, even amongst the most scurrilous controversial Writers, but what would allow his Antagonist to *explain his own Words*. But Dr. S. is *Extraordinary* in all Things; and his Character is left upon Record, to *immortalize* his Name, by some of the most eminent Writers of this Age, and drawn in such *strong Lines*, as I even forbear to *transcribe*. 2. Whether my present and former Opinions are *different*, or the same, is so absolutely *foreign* from the main Question, *Who are the Heretics condemn'd in the New Testament*? that, I think, no plausible Reason can be assigned for the Dr's insisting on the former of these Points so inflexibly, unless it be, that he might divert the Reader's Attention from the latter, by throwing in *Perplexity and Scandal*. 3. Tho' Dr. S. in his *True State*, had a long Quotation from my *Sermon*, to prove his *defamatory Charge* against me; he now thinks it proper to *omit what I have said in my Sermon*; which you must interpret thus, that *he is not able to defend it*. To spare his Modesty the Shame of an open Confession, I refer to p. 41, 42, of my *Answer to the True State*, in which

these Remarks are shew'd to be either malicious, or grossly notional. 4. For a compleat Reply to the Dr's Observations on the Passages out of the *Old Whigs*: I refer likewise to p. 43, 44, of the aforesaid *Answer*. There is only one Thing new which he has added to invalidate my general Reasoning. The Dr. had contended, that it was not *pertinent* to charge with Insolence *ex Hypothesi*. To which I (not being willing to indulge his endless Itch at cavilling) only answered, that *I should not vouchsafe to enquire, whether it was pertinent, or not. But allowing it not to be so; what follows from thence? Might I not be mistaken? No (says he) Mr. F. could not be mistaken in this, that every Charge ought to be founded upon some real Truth*. I allow, indeed, that if the Charge be not *ex Hypothesi*, it must be founded on some *real Truth*; but if it be, as I that should know best affirm that it is, the Dr's Assertion is downright *Nonsense*. For to say that a Charge built entirely upon a *Concession made for Argument's sake*, is necessarily founded on some real Truth, is a Contradiction in Terms. 5. I shall venture to assert, in Opposition to Dr. S. that those have the greatest *Right* to reject Heretics, who have the greatest *Certainty* that they are so; unless this Gentleman, amongst his other Paradoxes, will affirm, that the *Right*, or *Reason*, is equal, where the *Proof*, or *Evidence*, is not equal. Again, may I not justly affirm, that the Words of St. Paul to *Titus*, when confined to *him*, and *others extraordinarily qualified like him*, have a particular plain and consistent Sense; without denying that they might have, when applied to *others*, another plain and consistent Sense, founded on a *different State* of Things? And may it not be properly said, that every little *pet* and *forward Priest* would be a just Object of *Pity and Contempt*, if he should take upon him to *decide*

peremptorily in Cases of Heresy, merely because Titus, a Man endued with miraculous Illumination, was directed to do it; without supposing that Christian Churches have no Right at all to reject Heretics for any other Reasons? In the last Place, Dr. S. finds fault with me for expressing myself cautiously, and saying, *So far as I can recollect, &c.*—Surely the Gentleman is not disgusted at the very Appearance of Modesty!—This might be presumed, and therefore he has thought fit to guard against this natural Suspicion, by asserting that this common Form of Expression carries with it a strong Appearance of Guilt. But why?—Do you ask why?—Is it so long since Mr. F. publish'd his Letter in the Old Whig, that he can have forgot what his Opinion was?—He might chuse to express himself modestly however, at which no Man ought to be offended. And besides, Mr. F. very well remembers, that in his first Letter to Dr. S. publish'd about five Weeks after his Letter in the Old Whig, he directly declar'd against that very Opinion, which this polite and well-bred Gentleman would fain impose upon him. This he says before the World as a strong Probability, that it never was his Opinion. Upon which he may now justly ask in his Turn, Could the Dr. have forgot this? Or if not, could he omit taking Notice of it, if he had any Ingenuity remaining in him, or Sense of Shame? What he adds just after is still more remote from Candour and Reason: For it only amounts to this, that an Author can never say, *Nor did I intend, &c.* but because he sees plainly, that his Words import what he would have believed he did not intend.—To such wretched and despicable Subterfuges is the Rev. Dr. S. reduced!

Besides this, the Dr. has consider'd nothing more, in the Way of Argument, than 2 or 3 Passages in my

whole last Answer. Before I proceed to which I must premise, that he seems resolv'd, at all Adventures, to go on charging me with what he knows I do not hold. For I have told him in my Second Letter, that I do not now believe, that departing from the Faith is at all essential to the Character and Guilt of an Heretic. And in my Answer to his True State I expostulated with him more than once, for endeavouring to force me to argue with him on this Principle, that the Heretic maintains Doctrines contrary to Christianity, knowing them to be such; which Principle I have in direct Terms disclaim'd. But notwithstanding all this he still says, *Who is a Heretic, according to Mr. F's Interpretation? Why (as you have often heard) he, and he only, who maintains some wrong Opinion against his Conscience, or knowing it to be wrong*—This can be nothing else but a design'd and wilful Misrepresentation against all Justice and Morality.

The Reader may remember, that the Dr's chief Objection against my Notion of Heresy is, that if it be supposed, Heretics cannot be known, nor consequently rejected, according to the Apostolical Rule. I had therefore nothing to do but to prove, that the Self-condemnation of Heretics was a Point that might be known: And thus I stated the Argument—
 ' That when the Leaders, or Abettors of particular Heresies, or Sects, pretend a Zeal for Religion, and for the Advancement and Honour of Christianity, we may have probable Evidence, in many Instances, that they intend only their private Advantage, or the gratifying their Vanity or some other inordinate Passion.'—And (N.B. all this the Dr. hath suppress'd) ' if while they pretend a Zeal for Religion, they mean not Religion, but Interest, it necessarily follows, that in pretending Religion they must act against Knowledge,

• Knowledge, and the inward Conviction of their Minds, and, of Consequence, be in the strict Sense of the Word *Αυτοκατακριτοί*, or *Self-Condemn'd.* The Intention, Dr. S. grants, *the Law enquires into in all criminal Cases.* That the *evil Intention*, in the Instances I have now mention'd, may be prov'd by *probable Evidence*, he also admits. He allows, moreover, that *probable Evidence* is *sufficient in Civil Courts*; and therefore it may be so in *Ecclesiastical*. And that the *Self-Condemnation*, in the Cases I have put, necessarily follows from the Proof of the *evil Intention*, is plain and undeniable. And what has the Dr. offer'd to invalidate this Reasoning? Why, as I had spoken of an *evil Intention*; he asks, — *to do what, Sir!* and tho' I not only supposed that *certain Things* were intended, but distinctly specified *what were* intended, he adds, very gravely, '*Intention* always supposes *something* intended.' — Has not this now very much the Air of a *solemn Farce*?

Hitherto then it appears, that the more the Dr. shifts and struggles, the more he is entangled. And as he proceeds, the Case grows worse and worse. The Dr. says, that he guesses that *what I call his Rule in Opposition to the Scripture Rule, is the Judgment of the Church, concerning what is or is not necessary to the Faith of a Christian.* — No, Sir, I had a better Opinion of you, and would have hoped you were not so far gone, as to make the *Judgment of the Church* your Rule. I therefore understood by your Rule, what you have declared to be the *general Scripture Rule, viz.* that all those are Heretics who *openly depart from the Faith*; which *Faith*, from the *general and indefinite Nature* of the Term itself, it is next to impossible that particular Persons, or Churches, should understand and interpret *alike*.

I never said, as Dr. S. would insinuate, that the Judgment of the Church, when it is *really* framed upon Scripture, must necessarily be *ambiguous*; but that *the Rule*, on which he contends it ought to be formed, is *absolutely ambiguous*. And I have a greater *Reverence* for the sacred Oracles, than to believe they can contain *any* such Rules as these; which is my *only Fault*.

In the 20th Page the Dr. is somewhat upon the artful Strain, and tries to cajole my *Dissenting Brethren*, and persuade them to be out of Humour with me, as an Enemy to *Church-Discipline*. But tho' the Dissenters know how, as good Christians, *to forgive Injuries*; they must have too much *Discretion* to be imposed upon by the smooth Speeches of *one*, who would stir up the Magistrate to levy Fines upon them — *because they go to a Conventicle.* As to which *pecuniary Mulcts*, if Dr. S. had behaved with becoming Humility, or shewn any Marks of Penitence, for endeavouring to introduce one of the worst Parts of *Mahometan* Establishments into a *Christian* Country, I should not have insisted upon them any more. But as he has publish'd very lately, that he asserted the *Rights of Conscience* in the *strongest* Manner in that same Treatise, in which he was for laying *Fines that might be felt, Fines of 6d. in the Pound, or any other Sum* that might be judg'd more effectual, on all who *dissent* from the Publick Forms of Religion; he seems to deserve but little Tenderness. And I hope I shall be look'd upon as doing Service to Religion, and to my Country, when I expose a Friend to *Persecution*; and the more so, when he is likely to delude the Ignorant by specious Pretences of *Moderation, and Zeal for Liberty of Conscience.*

JAMES FOSTER.

Daily

Daily Gazette, March 17. N^o 540.

SUCH small Dabblers in History as 'Squire D'Arrows; cannot use without abusing it, either by mangling or mistaking it. The Lord Lucas's Speech, which he has laid his Hands upon, (see p. 137.) is in the *State Tracts* and in *Esbard*, also in a News Paper printed in the Time of *Burke's* Ministry, to expose the Follies and Oppressions of those evil Counsellors, by a Comparison with *Leanderdale*, and others, in *Charles II's* Reign, who burnt his Lordship's Speech by the Hands of the common Hangman; not that it then deserved it, for it was spoken to prevent a bad Parliament's throwing away 4 or 5 Millions on a profuse Prince, who had no War, nor Fear of War, with any Potentate or State upon Earth; for he lay, as it were, in the Bosom of the *French King*; and the *Dutch*, the only Nation that was afraid of him, dreaded nothing more than a Rupture. But as this Speech is so far disgraced as to have a Place in the *Crossman*, it justly deserves now the Fate, it then unjustly met with, it being reprinted with a Design to throw Obstacles in the Way of Supplies, under the shameful and seditious Pretence, that they are demanded for the same vile Purpose, when the Lord *Lucas* spoke so reasonably and forcibly against the Parliament's furnishing *King Charles* with the Means to enslave them, which was so much in his Will, and in his Intention.

Ordnance Journal, March 17. N^o 377.

This Paper tells the following Story,

A CERTAIN young Inn-keeper near *Old Brentford* made Love to a famous Lady called *Miss Bower*, reported to be a Fortune. The Youth followed his Suit with such Success, that in less than a Fort-

night Madam partly yielded to his Request. To save Expences, she took up her Abode at his House; nay, was so condescending, as to assist in the Office of Bar-keeping; and to crown all, after he had signed the usual Time, she actually married him. The Prize he thought he had won was so great, that for the first 4 Days after Marriage, nothing was heard and seen at the House but Staging and Dancing. But alas, the 5th Day he was awakened from his golden Dream, by a Creature's laying hold of him called a *Catch-pole*.

Madam, on this Occasion, promised what mighty Matters she would do, if he would follow her Advice, which was to confess a Judgment to her Friend; whom she represented to be a Gentleman of Fortune at *Guildford*, and one who would protect their Effects for their mutual Benefit. The Inn-keeper followed the Advice of his Evils, which ended in all the Goods being taken in Execution; and in less than 3 Weeks after Marriage, he found himself turned into the Street without a Shilling in his Pocket; and what was yet more grating, the *Guildford* Friend insisted upon selling the Goods, and keeping the Money, under a Pretence, that there was a Debt due to him from the Wife before Marriage.

The Inn-keeper justly enraged at so false an Act, laid before one of his real Creditors the Injustice he had met with. Application was made to the proper Court to set the Execution aside; and the last Day of *Hilary* Term the Court was pleased so to do, and to order Restitution of the Goods with Costs.

This Account is given as a Caution to young Persons, how they trust pretended Friends; as likewise to wicked People, how they take sham Judgments, lest they be exposed, and order'd to pay Costs, as this worthy Gentleman was.

A PROPOSAL towards Lowering the Interest of all the redeemable National Debts to 3 per Cent. per Ann. And thereby to enable the PARLIAMENT to give immediate Ease to his Majesty's Subjects, by taking off some of the Taxes which are most burthensome to the Poor, and especially to the Manufacturers. As likewise to give Ease to the People, by Lessening the annual Taxes for the current Service of the Year, viz.

THAT an Offer be made to the Proprietors of the South Sea Annuities, as well Old as New, at such Times as the respective Transfer Books shall be shut, in the following Manner: *Viz.*

That all Persons be at Liberty to make their Option for the Whole, or any Part of their Capital, of one or more of the Particulars under-mentioned; for which Purposes, Books to be laid open at the S. S. House, *viz.*

All who desire to be paid their Money, to enter their Names and Sums in one Book.

Those who shall choose to have Annuities for certain Terms of Years, and the Capital to be annihilated, may subscribe in particular Books for that Purpose, at the following Rates:

For 47 Years, at 4 p. Cent. p. Ann.

31 Years, at 5

23½ Years, at 6

19 Years, at 7

16 Years, at 8

13½ Years, at 9

12 Years, at 10

That the Proprietors of so much of the Capital as shall not be claim'd in Money, nor subscribed into some of the Annuities for Terms of Years, shall, for the future, be intitled to an Annuity of 3 per Cent. per Ann. only.

And, for the Encouragement of

the Annuitants to accept of 3 per Cent. per Ann. it is proposed, That they be not subject to Redemption or Diminution of their Annuities for the Term of 14 Years.

A And that all the Annuities for Terms of Years be transferable at the S. S. House, without any Charge, as well as the Annuities, which shall be continued at 3 per Cent. per Ann.

B And that all the Annuities for Terms of Years commence from the Determination of the Annuities of 4 per Cent. without any Loss of Time.

C 'Tis apprehended, that this Offer will be more beneficial to the Proprietors, than the remaining in their present Situation, and receiving a Million at a Time, to be divided alternately between the Old and New Annuitants, which must affect them in a very high Manner, as it tends greatly to reduce their Capital, by continual laying out the Money paid off in New Annuities at advanced Prices.

D If the Parliament should be willing to indulge any Persons, not being Foreigners, who may be advanced in Years, with Annuities for Term of Life: The following Rates are submitted to the Consideration of Gentlemen who have turned their Thoughts to this Subject; *viz.* Persons

44 Years old or upw. 7 p. C. for Life.

53 ——— ——— 8

59 ——— ——— 9

63 ——— ——— 10

F If these Rates for Lives, or any other Rates, should be thought convenient to be offered,

It is then proposed, That the Old and New Annuitants be permitted to subscribe any Part of their Capital, they being within the Limitation of Years above expressed.

G And that none of the Proposals foregoing be made for ready Money; because it is reasonable, that the present Creditors should have the Preference

gence in any advantageous Offer made by the Parliament, as this is apprehended to be, since Money may be raised at 3 per Cent. per Ann. with a Liberty of redeeming the same at Pleasure.

Weekly Miscellany, March 18. N^o 221.

AFTER several Thoughts upon the Love of one's Country and publick Spirit, the Writer proceeds thus: That publick Spirit, which animated the ancient Greeks and Romans, flow'd from the Veneration of the Religious and Civil Establishment of their Country, which was kept inviolate from Insult or Contempt, If perchance a single Diogenes appeared to loosen these Principles, he was proscribed, and a Price was set upon his Head. The Music, Wit, Poetry, and Conversation of the Ancients were apply'd to aggrandize Religion, and make it appear in the utmost Splendor. Their Point of Ambition was the Glory of making Acquisitions to the Publick, and they despised the Distinction of Table and Equipage, so much as we admire them: Hence a noble Simplicity of Manners reign'd among all Orders, and excluded Luxury with its Attendants, Fraud and Rapine. Great in the Council and in the Field, Men grew illustrious, not rich, and contented to think and act above the Vulgar, they lived and died like them. Disinterested Ambition was catching among a People thus devoted to their Country, and the Trophy of one Hero wou'd not let another sleep, till he had rais'd a Second: While modern Policy meanly barter and stock-jobs for Safety, and the Treasure of a Country is exhausted to bribe her Members not to do her a Mischief. It was the Judgment of Antiquity, that National Security cannot subsist without National Virtus, and that general Looseness and Prophaneness were the Seeds

of Ruin to a State. In consequence of this Judgment, the Opinions and Lives of the Populace were a principal Concern, and they were not suffer'd to be corrupted in jest or in earnest. A vicious Sentiment in
A a Theatrical Performance at Athens would have cost the Poet his Liberty or Life. When Euripides made one of his Actors say — *Riches are the Supreme Good, and with Reason excite the Admiration of Gods and Men* — The whole Theatre rose upon them, and he had been banish'd immediately, if he had not desir'd Patience 'till the End of the Piece, where the Speaker of this Sentence perishes miserably. But Impiety and Looseness are allow'd with Impunity to tread our Stage, and encouraged by
C Acclamations to debauch the People. Our Taste for what is fine is gone, together with our Relish for what is good. You gave an Account in your Paper the other Day, that the Footmen, shut out of their Gallery for Misbehaviour, in a riotous Manner broke into it and insulted their Masters underneath them. (See the Occurrences) I am a little singular in my Judgment on this Affair, and think the whole House, under the present Management, instead of one Gallery, belongs to those boisterous Gallants, who would have deserved Commendation, if they had taken Possession of the Pit and Boxes, in Exclusion of those, who cou'd hear with Patience an infamous Pasquinade on the most sacred Article of their Religion, and afterward receive with Approbation another dull Performance of the same Author. If our Gentry will countenance Diversions of this dangerous Tendency, if the Conversations of their Tables and the Entertainments of their Theatres shall conspire to infuse into their Domesticks (who will always be Transcripts of their Superiors and pretty Gentlemen at second Hand,) a Spirit of Irreligion, Licence and
G Misrule;

Misfrate; I shall not wonder, if in Time they change Stations with their particoulour'd Attendants, and 3 or 4 Fellows from behind the Coach cut the Owner's Throat, and step into it themselves. I am sure, I was in Pain for the future Safety of a Gentleman, whose Servant I follow'd in the Street, when I heard him say to his Comrade with an Air of Joy, *D—n you, Jack, what do you think, my Master says, there is no Hell! Q. pare!*—We have serious Wretches, who make a Merit of propagating this Looseness of Thinking and Acting, and some out of Wantonness and without Design promote it. I know not how it is, but we have got a wrong Turn, and every Thing seems to conspire to remove the Horror from Evil and throw Ridicule on what is for the Good of Society; Our very *Fashions* are criminal, and our *Amusements* injurious to Virtue; I was surpris'd to hear in Town some Time past, a Lady of Quality had run her Cook thro' with a Spit, and that a considerable Man had hang'd himself: In a few Days the Falsity of the Facts appear'd and led me to apply to a Friend, better acquainted with the Secret of Affairs than myself, who smiling at my serious Air told me, *these were nothing but Huffercaps, purely to divert.* When *Solon* saw a Representation of *Thespis*, who first introduced a Speaker in Tragedy, whose Office was to repeat some fictitious Story between the Chorus's, he struck his Cane against the Ground, and said, he wish'd this might not bring in a Neglect of *Truth* in the common Transactions of Life. But what wou'd he have said, if inform'd that it was the Entertainment of Persons of Figure and Genius, to throw a Parcel of written Lies into a Cap, and then draw out one, which was to be current for the Week, and be spread with great Industry to every Quarter of a populous City? I wou'd not be

too severe, but allow this to be ~~the~~ since Persons of *Taste* are said to be concern'd in it, and wou'd willingly hope it may be done with Design to expose the malicious Credulity of the Town, and by frequent Impositions of this Kind cure it of the infamous Practice of greedily telling and receiving injurious Falshoods. But I cannot dissemble my Apprehensions that possibly *bona mala scelerata ducunt in mala*, and what is Play to some, may be Death to others.

In such Circumstances and Times as these, to look for *publick Spirit* is to look for an Effect without a Cause; Shall we expect to find it among the lower Classes of Men, when those above them have discarded it? Will the little illicit Trader think on the Injury done the Community, when those of the first Rank will buy his Goods and with Emulation wear them? When People in high Life run into the silly Contention of showing with each other in Luxury, Show and Extravagance, will those in lower Stations be sober, industrious and frugal? The contrary is to be expected, is to be seen every Day; The Corruption of a whole People is not a trivial Concern, it is big with the most dismal Consequences; And to recover a Nation thus debauch'd, will require great Attention and universal Application.

Crossin, March 19. N^o 559.

A Reply to the Gazetteer of March 12. &c.

NOTHING can be more mean and scandalous than drawing invidious Parallels, for a particular Occasion, and denying the Intention of them, when the Purpose is serv'd. It is evident that the *Gazetteer* of Feb. 21. (containing the Characters of Prince *Richard*, afterwards King *Richard I.* and Prince *Henry* afterwards *K. Henry V.*) was design'd for a Parallel; being publish'd the day before a

great Point was brought into the House of Commons; and yet when that Point was effectually dispatch'd, we have had 2 or 3 more Papers, in order to deny, or disguise the Intention of the first.

The great Complaint in all these Papers is, that I built my Argument upon the Authority of *Rapin*, without taking any Notice that the Writer, whom I was answering, laid his whole Foundation on the same Authority; and surely in Disputes of all Kinds, it was sufficient to shew that the Authority, which an Adversary quotes, is against him.

But we are told, by one of the Defenders of this insolent Paper, that old *Holinshed* gives a different Account of Prince *Richard* from what *Rapin* hath done; and what then? For, without entering into a Comparison between the Characters and Abilities of the two Writers; why was *Rapin* quoted, upon this Occasion; or what had I to do but to shew that he was quoted falsely?

His Account of Prince *Henry*, and the intended Application of it, is vindicated in just the same Manner; for tho' he took it intirely from *Rapin*, he will not allow me to quote the same Author against him; but refers us to the old Chronicler *Stowe*, who tells us that the *Prince's* dissolute Course of Life, and particularly his robbing on the Highway, was only a Frolick of Youth, play'd upon his own Servants, his Receivers and Rent-Gatherers, from whom he took only what was his own; whereas *Rapin* says, with great Gravity, That one of the *Prince's* favourite Companions having been arraign'd for Felony before the Chief Justice, he resolv'd to be present at the Trial, with Design to over-awe the Judge. But his Presence not having prevented the Criminal from being condemn'd, he was so transported with Passion, that he struck the Judge over the Face.

This Circumstance is mentioned

by all Historians, as well as *Rapin*, and shews that the *Prince* kept very bad Company; tho' he was afterwards sensible of his Offence, and suffer'd himself to be led to Prison for it, without Resistance, like a private Person.

As to *Falstaff*, *Bardolph* and *Poins*; especially the first, I know as well as this Writer that *Shakespeare* hath been justly blamed for drawing them in so contemptible and scandalous a Manner; but since it is so, and almost every Body hath seen those Plays with Admiration, it leaves the same Impression on their Minds as if he had confined himself to the strictest, historical Truth.

I do not pretend that a Writer is obliged to delineate the Portraiture of Princes, at full Length, in such Essays as these; nor to quote whole Histories; but it is certainly the Duty of an Author to quote fairly whatever he thinks proper to quote at all, and not endeavour to impose Falshoods upon the World. This is a little, mean Artifice, which I never made use of against any of my Adversaries, tho' it hath been frequently practis'd against myself. If I quote a Passage from *Rapin*, he is a Writer of no Authority; but Nobody is better against me; nay, if I turn their own Cannon against them, he is immediately call'd a *French* Historian, naturally prejudiced against this Nation, and I am sent for Information to *Holinshed*, *Stowe*, and *Tyrel*.

But why is no Notice taken, in any of these Papers, concerning the *Black Prince*, whom I mention'd to them as a much better Subject for a Parallel than either *Richard I.* or *Henry V.* and whom a certain great Person hath professedly made the Pattern of his own Conduct? — Let me have a fair Answer to this Question, and perhaps the *Gazettes* may hear farther from me.

Fog's Journal, March 19. N° 436.

Of EXECUTIONS.

AFTER blaming the Indifference and Levity of the English in their Manner of beholding Executions, he says: If, instead of applauding the silly Speeches, and other Impertinencies, of Villains so hardened as to mock at their shameful Chastisement; the Spectators of those Executions did but express a due Contempt of such abandoned Wretches; and if that seeming Insensibility they shew at Death's Approach did only redouble People's just Indignation against those Rogues, all who might be disposed to quit Life in so vile and brutal a Manner would be careful of giving any Indications of such a Disposition; and the Apprehension of Infamy would, doubtless, make on their Minds a stronger Effort than the Dread of a Death which now leaves not behind it any Kind of Stain or Blemish. I am at a Loss to say, which of the two is most out of his Senses, he who bestows Commendations on the Follies of a harden'd Scoundrel; or the Rascal himself who believes he can blot out his Villainies by expressing neither Remorse nor Regret for having perpetrated them.

How should Crimes be prevented amongst us, when even Hanging is but a Matter of Diversion and Ridicule? Our Method of extenuating the Infamy deserved by Villains who suffer Justice by a Hangman's Hands, is very shocking, and very pernicious to Society. All possible Means should be invented to deter Villains, and more especially such as seem not afraid of Death. The Duke of Vendosme during the last Wars in Italy, had put to Death a Multitude of Banditti and Assassines, without being able to exterminate them; and there came daily Tidings of fresh Murders. At length, that General, bethought

himself of taking the *Italians* on their weak Side, *viz.* Superstition. He therefore gave Orders, that all those who were apprehended for Assassinations, should be trussed up instantly, without the least Talk with their Priests, or furnishing themselves with the necessary Pass-ports for their Voyage into the other World. This Punishment made more Impression on those murdering Villains, than did the Dread of even Death itself: They would willingly have ventured hanging; but they would not run the Risque of being hang'd without Confession.

At Paris, I was told of a Soldier condemned to die by knocking on the Head. He long, and obstinately refus'd conforming to the Catholick Ceremonies used on those Occasions. In vain the Priests represented to him, that he should be a Prey for Demons, and must undergo everlasting Torments: None of these Discourses wrought any Effect on his Mind. But in his Way to Execution, he had the Curiosity to inquire, where he was to be buried after his Death? He was told, That his Body was to be thrown out upon a Dung-hill. — *What!* (cried he) *am I not to be laid in Holy Ground?* No, (answer'd the Frier) *since you will not die like a Christian, you must not, when dead, be laid among Christians.* The sole Regret this Soldier had at his not being to be interred in a Church yard or consecrated Ground, wrought abundantly more Effect upon him, than the Dread of eternal Damnation.

To these we may subjoin what occurred many Ages ago. The Women, old and young, of a certain Island in the *Archipelago*, had for a long Series of Years, got a vile Trick of killing themselves on every little Disguist. All Means were tried to break them of it; but nothing would avail, till the Magistracy wisely decreed, that all who

to destroyed themselves should be exposed stark naked: Which cured this Evil effectually. These Instances sufficiently evidence the terrible Effects of Shame and Ignominy.

Whitfield Evening Post, March 14.

A WRITER in this Paper first shows that by the Scheme for reducing the Interest of the national Debts to 3 per Cent. (see p. 142.) the Purchasers of the propos'd Annuities must be considerable Losers, they being calculated at Compound Interest, which is a fallacious Way.

And then he observes, that the Method propos'd will not enable the Parliament to give immediate Ease to his Majesty's Subjects, by taking off some of the Taxes which are most burthenfome to the Poor, and especially to the Manufacturers:

For, by the first Proposal, the same annual Interest which is now paid, viz. 4 per Cent. is to be continued for 47 Years; and consequently the Taxes by which that Interest is raised must be continued for that Term, which will give but small Relief to the present Generation.

And in all the other Cases the annual Interest must be augmented, instead of being reduced: For if the Proprietors of 20,000,000*l.* of the Publick Debts could be supposed to accept any of these Annuities upon the Terms propos'd, the annual Interest must then be increased in the following Manner, viz.

For 31 Years	200,000 <i>l.</i> per Ann.
23½ Years	400,000
19 Years	600,000
16 Years	800,000
13½ Years	1,000,000
12 Years	1,200,000

He observes further, That the other Part of the Scheme, which relates to Annuities upon Lives, is liable to the same Objection; for if the propos'd Annuities are taken at a Medium of 3½ per Cent. and the Lives are supposed at a Medium to continue 18 Years (which very nearly coincides with the Rules laid down for finding the Number of Years due to any given Life) then it will be evident, that a further Interest of 4½ per Cent. must be raised to pay such Annuities, which will more than double the present annual Interest.

Craftsman, March 26. N° 560.

A short History of EXCISES.

THE mischievous Consequences of Excises and Excise Laws were so fully explain'd some Years ago, that I hoped there wou'd be no Occasion to resume the Subject.

But they are such favourite Points with designing Ministers, that 'tis always necessary to keep a watchful Eye on their Motions; and there being a Report at present that a certain great Projector is dressing up his old Scheme in a new Shape, I think it my Duty once more to give my Countrymen Warning of it.

The first Mention in History of an Excise in this Kingdom is a Proposition, made to that most anointed Prince, James I. for bridling the Impertinency of Parliaments, as it is call'd, with a little Army of 3000 Men, and a small Corps of Tan-garbers. The Whole is a very curious Piece, which some of our modern Writers, as well as their Superiours, seem to have copy'd after, in several Instances.

His first Reason for bridling the Impertinency of Parliaments, with Armies and Taxes, is this, That in Policy, it is a greater Eye of the People by Force and Necessity, than merely by Love and Affection; for by the one, the Government remain always secure; but by the other, no longer than the People are contented. 1. If forsooth obstinate Subjects to be no more presumptuous, than it pleaseth your Majesty to permit them. 3. That your Majesty's Government is the more secure by the People's more Subjection; and by their Subjection, your Parliament must be forced to alter their Style, and to be conformable to your Will; for their Words and Oppositions import nothing, where the Power is in your Majesty's own Hands to do with them what you pleas.

The next Instance of an Excise was in the Reign of K. Charles I. who, being as little desirous as his Father to be troubled with Parliaments, (they being formerly compos'd of a strange Set of perverse Men, who were far from entering into all the Measures of the Court) he granted a Commission for establishing an Excise here, and sent for 1000 German Horse to raise it.

From these two Instances we may judge how small a Number of Men, with an Excise, was then thought sufficient to destroy our Liberties. The repeated Attempts of that Prince upon them took away all Confidence of the People in him, and occasion'd that melancholy Struggle, which ensued. Necessity and Self-Preservation then introduced an Excise; and an unbounded Desire of giving to his Son more than was reasonable, or even desired, succeeded at the Restoration; an Evil, which hath fatally continued ever since. So intoxicated were the People with Joy, on that Occasion, that they demanded no Security for their Liberties, and only bought off one Badge of Slavery, the Court of Wards, at the Expence of another, which they had so much dreaded; I mean an Excise; the Revenue of which was by good Management

* See Rushworth's Coll. Vol. I. Appen. p. 12.

advanced immensely higher than it was valued at, when first purchased; and, at the latter Part of the same Reign, the King was able to subsist an Army, without a Parliament.

These vast Revenues being once established, they were seized upon by the succeeding Prince, without the Consent of Parliament, and were more than sufficient to keep up that Army, which would have completed the long-projected Scheme of our Slavery, if King James had not meddled with Religion and the Church, or been so precipitate in the Execution of his Designs.

But the Revolution saved us, and once more gave us an Opportunity of securing our Liberties. Many Things were wisely and justly settled; some escaped, as not thought of Consequence enough; and some have arisen since from the Nature of the Alteration made at that Time. Whether it happen'd from Want of Foresight, or any other Cause, the not providing against some of them afterwards produced an Uneasiness between the People and their Deliverer. The Alteration made in the Method and Disposition of the Revenue greatly increased the Number of Officers; who, together with those of the Army and Navy, were soon found to have formed an Influence, that many were convinced how wanting they were to themselves, in not having revived the ancient Law of Triennial Parliaments. This occasion'd many Struggles for it, and for a Place-Bill to preserve the Independency of Parliaments. The first they afterwards obtain'd; and they thought they had got the last in the Act of Settlement; since which, the one hath been gloriously deliver'd up, and the other explain'd away.

The Consequences of the Revolution, and the Preservation of our Liberties, engaged us in an expensive War, which could not be supported without many Taxes; some of which were raised by additional Excises, and being laid on Things, that were before excisable, subjected no new Persons to their Jurisdiction. But these not being sufficient, the Ministers turn'd their Thoughts to other Excises; and, in 1694, a Book was publish'd, entitled an Essay upon Ways and Means of supplying the War. The Design of it was to shew how much better it might be done by Excises than by any other Method of Taxation; but seems to be particularly calculated for the Malt-Tax, which succeeded soon after.

This was subjecting a Multitude of new People to the Excise-Laws, and on that Account was warmly oppos'd by Mr. Hampden and others; who justly thought that the Manner, in which those Taxes were to be raised, for the Preservation of their Liberties, ought not to be such as might some Time or other occasion the Loss of them again. The very Essay-Writer himself, who reasons indirectly on the present Necessity of carrying

on the War, abounds with many Arguments; not only against establishing new Taxes, in Times of Peace, but even against the Continuance of them. He carries it so far as to say, That when the People once grow so degenerate as to surrender the Rights of the Nation, there is no Ward against such Corruption; and a Parliament, that would consent to continue Excises, beyond the Necessities of the War, would give up Magna Charta, or settle the present Land Taxes in Perpetuity upon the Crown. And, in another Place, having argued, as well as Mr. Locke, That all Taxes whatsoever are, in their last Resort, a Charge upon Land; He adds, That there seems little Reason to fear the Gentlemen in Parliament can ever be prevail'd upon to make Excises a standing Revenue.

How far the Posture of our Affairs is since alter'd, from the Doctrine of the Dependancy of Parliaments lately advanced, and the Design of turning Funds, already granted in Perpetuity for the Payment of the national Debt, into an Excise to maintain an Army, must be left to every Man's Judgment.

In Q. Anne's Reign, the Necessity of carrying on the War with Vigour, when we were already loaden with a vast Debt, had drain'd us of every other Source but Excise. This oblig'd us to erect several Funds of that Nature; but it ought to be consider'd in what Case we were then engaged, the Liberty of Europe; nor did those Excises, or any former ones, extend to harassing any Persons but those, who manufactur'd or import'd such Commodities as were excisable.

This was our State, tho' not a very good one, till in his late Majesty's Reign, the Alteration was made in Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, and Brandy, by turning the Customs into Excises; which follow'd the Retailer thro' every Corner of the Kingdom, and put vast Numbers under the immediate Power of the Officers; nay, even the Consumer, in many Cases, is not free from their Vexation.

Some Years afterwards, an ever-memorable Attempt was made to extend the same Powers over all Dealers in Wine and Tobacco; but that was happily defeated by the almost universal Clamour of the People without Doors, and the vigorous Opposition of their Representatives within. (See Vol. II. p. 211, 602.) I shall conclude with putting the Reader in Mind of a Menace, soon after the late Excise-Bill was dropt, That it should be reviewed, when Party-Spleen and Self-interested Views are better reconcil'd to the publick Good, and perhaps for the Bills themselves to be more successfully adopt'd to the Business of the State, and the Humour of the Nation.

This seems to be the Design of the present sweetening Scheme; and if I find it goes on, the Publick may expect to hear farther from me, on the same Subject.

To Miss W—t—n—ll, of Nampwich.

[With Cornaro's safe Way of attaining a long and beautiful Life.]

MADAM,

PURSUANT to your late command, *Cornaro* comes to kiss your smooth, white hand. [o'er,] May you, well-pleas'd, his ev'ry leaf turn Each treasur'd rule, your soft, sweet eyes ex- plore;

And clearly see, in ev'ry charming page, A youthful, vig'rous, sprightly, firm old-age. Nobly the wise *Venetian* makes appear The blessed, brave effects of *moderate cheer*. How plainly we discern each nervous line, With youthful bloom, and sparkling lustre shine!

The wondrous work both profits and delights, And manifests the truth of what he writes. A certain force, and energy appears, Unknown to sickness,—feldom seen in years. With ease, the misiv'd reader may decry, Throughout the whole, a perfect harmony. How just a temperament the treatise shows! With what a gen'rous warmth, each sen- tence glows! [riod flows!]

How grateful to the ear, each tuneful pe- tereby, the pleas'd peruser well may grieve, How much the noble author did possess,— What far exceeds the pomp and pride of wealth,—

That fine surpassing flow'r of perfect health! Which when a long experience had found out,

And steady resolution brought about, Fain he the glorious secret wou'd impart, And from the world from sickness, and from smart.

His great humanity, and friendly zeal, Poor, forsited mankind wou'd help to heal;— With gen'rous ardour, self-industrious aim, A wild, voracious world, wou'd gluttily tame:— To reason's dictates cause 'em to submit, And sensual superfluity to quit; Since nature needs but, up—and then, a bit.

These great endeavours with success to crown,

What safe, what easy methods he lays down, Securely to become, each chearful day, Merry, yet wise; and, with discretion, gay! How justly are those maxims intic'd *sure*, Which do (a' most infalibly) secure That wish'd for, gl'rious end, achiev'd by all;— [great, and small!]

The brave, the base,——rich, poor,——and And, O! most lovely, most discerning fair! May you a large and comfortable share Of that transcendent blessing, health, obtain, From pining sickness free, and tort'ring pain! May you, henceforth, from each disorder freed, [read:—] Experience well the truth of what you

Still reap the wholesome fruits of good advice; [entice:—] See, how those err, whom banquetings And, whence most corp'ral ills have their unhappy rise.

But, why shou'd you sweet *temperance*, (*Mis'm!*) be taught? [iraught,] You!—who, with every grace, and *virtus*, And, with true wisdom eminently bless'd, *Perfection's* pattern, plainly stand confess'd. May riches, honour, health, and length of days, [praise.]

(This *life's* great promises,) proclaim your Long may you *live!*—and late,— (O! very late!) And calmly yield to unrelenting fate. May you all temp'ral happiness enjoy: And, when—(for, O!— ev'n you your self must die!) [cense,]

When so much worth, and virtuous inno- For heav'n's mature, must be translated hence, Fly then, O raptur'd soul! to joys un- known; [moan:] And make, fair satir! no misbecoming Feel thro' no painful pang, nor fetch re- luctant pain.

As for poor mortals of the middling sort, (Of your bright standard infinitely short!) Whose virtues are but of the vulgar size; *Cornaro's* counsel let 'em duly prize.

Let 'em his sage instructions well observe, Nor, from his wholesome precepts, dare to swerve,

Who makes it, to a demonstration plain, From whence flow sickness, *peevishness*, and pain.

How lively does the noble *Sketch* appear! Come, all, that value *life* and *health!*— draw near.

See, for the brave result of sober rules: Behold, what frenzy reigns o'er gormondiz- ing fools!

Joyous advances, each cautious invalid: *Cornaro* take, and with attention read. [fears:] Come, raise your hopes; and lay aside your And learn to live, — at least, an hundred years.

Learn, learn to live, in very dead and truth; Learn to enjoy sound health, and lasting youth! *Life's* but a ling'ring, specious kind of death, If *managements* must help to spend our breath: A poor, precarious *nature* 'tis, when we By vile prescription, and by simple fee, A p'atry, mean, impov'rish'd living hold, Thus man grows poor, and weak; — but, seldom, old.

Old, he may seem; thro' *medicines* magic force; [source!]

Med'cine!— of num'rous ills, the fertile If war with nature, art resolve to wage, Soon we decry th' infirmities of age. Full soon, alas! the martyr'd wretch appears In *constitution* old;— tho' young in years.

Nor let the sensual, brutish Epicure, One jot more wise, be thought, or more secure.

The full, stuff'd idiot, a voracious maw,
 Into the same sad snare, is sure to draw;
 Who, still, to *hogbush opposite*, a slave,
 With all-devouring *tush*, loon digs his grave.

Come then draw near, and strict attention
 Give,

All, that is *earnst* do desire to live; — [days:
 Who long wou'd live, and wish to see good
 Mind what the sound, serene *Cornaro* says.
 Without delay, the *temp'rate course* begin:
 And life's protracted thread more firmly spin.
 In its first rise, each hank'ring thought sup-
 press;

Fly the full bowl, and shun the hearty *meat*.
 Of the repeated, dang'rous dose beware:
 Of fatal *temp'rings* take especial care.
Excess, in food and *physic* both, avoid;
 Be nature's real needs your constant guide.
 Let *reason's* dictate bear despotic sway;
 No more with *aps* and *cochatrices* play;
 Bet throw all dirty *dabs*, and pois'nous
slaps away.

Hippocrates, avault thy *Galen*, hence!
 No longer, now, your nauseous drugs dispense.
 Pack up your devilish *owls*, and hence depart,
 Ye murd'ring, unnecessary *sons of art*,
 With minds on money, and on mischief bent,
 On taking *ses*, and uring *fats*, intent.
 For *stib* and *blood* can't iustification make:
 Our lives and fortunes both are brought to
 stake.

You pick our pockets, and our bodies *steal*,
 Rapacious *barpias*! *homid birds of prey*!
 Who, *vulture* like, to *carcasses* repair;
 And, of your worthless *scaves* alone, take care.
 Ye barb'rous, *beach'ring chives*! ye men of
blood!

Your best *prescriptions* do more harm, than
 You're bungling *stabs*, all — (by *Jove*)
 [no true;]

For *five holes* stop, ye *fifteen* make above:
 Nay, (hous'n *defens* us) *more*; — and
phlegm large *more* too.

Hold, hold your tongues! — nor gibb'ring
 cast by rote,

Y' officious fools of great, and lesser note.
 Mix not, with *sun*, *dead hand*, a *pois'nous*
draught,

With dreadful, consequential ill full-fraight.
 Nor, with *licentious pen*, a ward our doom;
 But, by your kindly sight, for pleasing hopes
 make room. [sorrow'd]

But, here, — mistake me not, ye much
 Ye *learn'd*! — *judicious*! — and of *skill*
 professed! [debate]

Whate'er *vanities* worth, I would not here
 Nor throw, upon the faculty, disgrace.

For, tho' the great *disappeared* *nom'd*,
 And noble *Galen*; yet, the *justly-ferm'd*
 From me, shall never suffer vile abuse; [since;
 Nor shall my tongue their mighty names tra-
 But treat with all due deference and respect; —
 On such as these, I mean not to reflect:
 Whom any *quest* hurt; who need no full
 Nor, on poor patients, *troops of physic* give

A *Wilkes*! — a *Freind*! — a *Radclyff*! — or
 a *Mood*! —

These thou'dst be honour'd; such as these, obey'd.
 As for your *Salmon*, — *T-y-ee*, — and
 the rest;

(*Quacks*, of consummate impudence, confess'd!)
 Who make false claims, — who *boast* and
 not *see*, — [these runs;

Nay, thro' whose veins, with much ado,
 A sluggish sort of blood, on both sides *hale*;
 These let all fly, that have or *exit* or *grace*;
 All, in their senses, shun the vile, detestful
race.

And now, — fair, virtuous, lovely maid
excuse

This odd behaviour of an ill-bred *mafe*; [thead,
 Whole lines to *wholesome* *doctrines* wou'd pro-
 Yet thwart those *males*, they'd seem to re-
 commend.

How ill accord my subject, and my song!
 The *element* are too large, the *grass* too long.
 A *spoonful* who prescribes, yet gives a *quart*;
 Sure, acts a strangely inconsistent part.
 Who quits unamindful of their *task* are found,
 Who *thaw* with *superfluity* abound,
 A *temp'rate life*, seem most unfit to teach:
 But, ah! — too few still *practise*, what they
preach.

Judicious, fair! — O truly welcome guest!
 How happy thou'd I be; how greatly blest'd,
 Cou'd I provide, so well as I cou'd wish,
 A *post*, an elegant, yet frugal *dish*;
 And suit my *fire* to *refrid* *trifles*;
 Not this; my time, impertinently waste.
 But, O! I fear, I've run on quite too fast,
 Who now obtrude an *bumble*, *bug* *rap*;
 Who pall *spanders*, expensively *steal*,
 With *unprofitable* *mafe*, — (instead of *lander*
stics.) [stake, or *stics*]

An *hodge-podge* sad and vile, without or
 In fine, — *dear* *mafe*! — with patience be ca-
 du'd;

While I an *improvement*, and so conclude,
 Since then *Cornaro*, — sage, of high re-
 nown!

So rare, so best a regimen lays down; [rid, —
 Ho! all, that of *complaints* wou'd take get
 Carefully do, what he — both said, and did,
 Be sober, *temp'rate*, *chaste*; nor live too fast;
 Who long on happy life desire to last; —
 Or, to possess, are any ways inclin'd,
 An *healthful* body, and a *cheerful* mind,
 'Tis *best* on earth; that may be thus ob-
 tain'd: [regain'd]

Or, sure, methinks, at least, — the *paradise*
 — R. D.

A PASTORAL. Occasioned by the Death
 of Sir Harbottle Luckin, late of Mel-
 sing in Essex, Bart. By M. D.

Datum.

WHY, *Scorpion*, why beneath this
 gloomy shade

Disolv'd in tears and silent sorrow laid?
 — R. D.

Reveal the cause, that I may help sustain;
For grief conceal'd is made a double pain.

Strepson.

O *Damon*, my suspensious sorrows swell
Beyond what you can think, or I can tell;
When told, you'll wish it never had been
said;

But, O my *Damon* — good *Amiter's* deed.
Damon.

O Gods! that word made all the moun-
tains groan,
And *Echo* told it in a mournful tone:
Not with a greater grief the nymph reply'd,
When with a groan her lov'd *Narcissus* dy'd,
Strepson.

He pious shepherd, best of rural swains,
In vain was lord of all these groves and plains;
In vain with gaudy affluence was he blest,
In vain of ev'ry shepherd's love possess:
Those groves and plains, that wealth, nor
shepherds love [remov'd]
Could buy his life, and death's cold stroke

Damon.

Those mourning groves are now bedew'd
with tears,
Disrob'd of lustre ev'ry plain appears;
The shepherds mourn, their pipes aside are
laid,
And nature weeps for kind *Amiter* dead.
Strepson.

My beddng soul, methought some ill must
prove, [grove]
When hollow murmurs groan'd around the
When croaking ravens cover'd yonder tree,
I thought them omens of ill luck to me.

Damon.

Sure all things griev'd, and nature seem'd
to groan,
And good *Amiter's* coming fate bemoan:
Agst now the soul to glorious regions fled,
Has left on sorrowing earth *Amiter* dead.
Strepson.

Once I can'd merry sing a sprightly air,
To praise some nymph, or celebrate some fair;
But now *Amiter's* dead I'll sing no more,
Except to tell his worth, or fate deplore.

Damon.

I almost fear my feeble voice to raise
To mourn *Amiter's* loss, or sing his praise;
Lest I in striving either to exceed
Should shade the one, or make the other less,
But yet desert commands, and I must try.

Strepson.

Begin, and mournful *Strepson* shall reply.
Damon.

Not you bright sun, that does his glories
shroud, [cloud]
And faintly glimmers through th' obscuring
When he shines glorious in his greatest light,
Is more than his great soul feebly bright.
Strepson.

Nor this unbounded air serene and free,
More easy, soft, more generous than he;
As if spread round, and bus by heaven's comb'd;
Should'd the boundless greatness of his mind,

Damon.

The pleasing beauties of the brightest day,
When all is quiet, calm, serene and gay,
When gentle *Zephyrs* blow a balmy breeze,
Just represent his temper, form'd to please.

Strepson.

When on those banks, where fragrant vi-
lets grew,
But now disrob'd of all their flow'ry hue,
Th' inspiring god of wit my bosom warm'd,
Methought like him his conversation charm'd.
Damon.

Mourn all ye shepherds, weep ye rural
swains,

And water with your tears the fading plains
That, these he cherish'd much as falling dew,
And O how generous, how good to you!

Strepson.

O *Damon*, we as soon may number all
The scap'd leaves that do in autumn fall,
Or the small blades that grow around, as well
As all his noble, generous actions tell.

Damon.

O how *Matrona* weeps, *Pastora* mourns!
And how with grief the good *Fraternus* burns!
The first bewails her child before her fled,
And these the dearest, tend'rest brother dead.

Strepson.

Matrona weeps, *Pastora* mourns in vain,
And good *Fraternus* fruitless does complain:
For tho' by that their tender love's desir'd,
Had love avail'd *Amiter* had not died.

Damon.

Now mourn ye fields, deserted mowen ye
groves,
No more in you the lov'd *Amiter* roves;
But smile ye heav'n's, for now above he
reigns, [sol place]
And 'read of earth's, tread heav'n's delight-

Strepson.

That pleasing thought affords me some
relief,

And half allays the pow'r of rising grief:
Methinks I see him tread the fields of light,
Clad with celestial robes serene and bright.

Damon.

But see, you sun, like good *Amiter*, shin,
To shine to other worlds, in other skies:
Black night will soon her ebon mantle spread,
And put on mourning for *Amiter* dead.
Let us our socks to yonder folds convey,
And try to drive our gloomy cares away.

KISS for KISS. A TALE. Imitated
from La Fontaine, by Mr. Lockman.

A B Collis saunter'd with his bride,
A rural 'squire the couple spy'd;
When tripping to 'em, Col, says he,
This beauty thine? It ne'er can be. —
Troth, but he is, cries lubber lout; —
Then, quoth his worship, turn about,
And let me kiss her damask lip;
I must; I will; — but just a sip.

When

When I am marry'd, here's my hand,
A kiss shall be at thy command.

Nay an 'tis so, cries honest Col,
You're welcome, sure, to buss our Doll.

The 'quire his eager lips applies;
Quick to her cheek the colour flies:—
Thank ye, sweet Sir;—away she hies.

But now his worship, folks declare,
Is wedded to a beautetow' fair.

Briek *Colin* hasts; he less the 'quire;
The lady comes; his heart's on fire.—

Quoth Col, and grins:— Good Sir, I wot,
You have not yet your word forgot:—

No, no:— why then I'll kiss the dame.—
He smiggles till she cries:— for shame!

The clown retires with awkward bow:—
A worthy gentleman I trow;

But when our *Dolly's* lips he prest,
I wish he'd carry'd on the jest:

For had they slept between the sheets,
O! I had tasted honey sweets!

[See another Imitation of the same Tale,
Vol. IV. p. 386.]

From the Whitehall Evening Post.

HORACE, Lib. IV. Ode I.

TO VENUS.

A GAIN new tumults in my breast?
O spare me, *Venus*; let me, let me rest!

I am not now alas the man,
As in the glorious reign of good queen *Ann*:

Ah sound no more the fest alarms,
Nor circle sober fifty with thy charms.

Methas, too fierce of dear desires, [fears
Turn, turn to willing hearts your wanton
To number five direct your doves, [loves;

There spread round *Mary* all your blooming;
Noble and young, who wins the heart,

With every sprightly, ev'ry decent part;
Equal the injur'd to defend,

To charm the mistress; or to fix the friend;
He with an hundred arts refin'd

Shall spread thy conquests over half the kingd;
To him each rival shall submit,

Make but his riches equal to his wit:
Then shall thy form the marble grace,

(Thy *Grecian* form) and *Cloe* lend the face:
His house embosom'd in the grove,

Sacred to social life and social love,
(His house thy fans) shall deck the pen-
dant green.

Where *Thamus* reflects the visionary scene.
Thither the silver-sounding lyres

Shall call the smiling loves and young desires:
There ev'ry grace and muse shall throng,

Exalt the dance, and animate the song;
There youths and virgins ever gay

Shall bless thy name at least some twice a day.
With me, alas! those joys are o'er,

For me the vernal garlands bloom no more.
Adieu fond hope of mutual fire,

The still believing still renew'd desire;

Adieu the heart-expanding bowl,
And all the kind deceivers of the soul.

But why, ah *Patty*, still too dear,
Steals down my cheek th' involuntary tear?

Why words so flowing, thoughts so free,
Stop, or turn nonsense, at one glance from
thee?

Thee, dost in fancy's sily beams,
Absent I follow thro' extended dreams.

Now, now I staid, I clasp thy charms,
And now you burst, ah cruel! from my arms;

And swiftly shoot along the *Malk*,
Or softly glide by the canal;

Now shewn by *Cynthia's* silver ray,
And now by rolling waters wash'd away.

An ODE on her Majesty's Birth-Day. By

RICHARD SAVAGE, Esq;

I.

YE guardian pow'rs! that *Ether* rove,
That breathe the vernal soul of love,

Bid health descend in balmy dews,
And life in ev'ry gale diffuse:

That give the flow'rs to shine, the birds to sing;
O glad this natal day, the prime of Spring!

II.

The virgin *snow-drop* first appears,
Her golden head the *crocus* rears;

The flow'ry tribe, profuse and gay,
Spread to the soft, inviting ray.

So arts shall bloom by *Carolina's* smile,
So shall her fame waft fragrance o'er the isle.

III.

The warblers various, sweet and clear,
From bloomy sprays, salute the year.

O music, awake! ascend and sing!
Hail the fair rival of the Spring!

To woodland honours, woodland hymns belong;
To her, the pride of art! the muse's song.

IV.

Kind, as of late has element sway,
The season sheds a tepid ray.

The storms of winter are no more;
The storms of faction cease to roar.

At vernal suns as wintry tempests cease,
She, lovely pow'rl smiles faction into peace.

To Democritus Etonensis, upon his blundering
Charge against the Reading Bards. (See
p. 48.)

Quid dignum tanto ferret hic promissor bistu?
Parturient montes nascetur ridiculus mus.

IN *Urban's* defence, see *Democritus* come!
And vow that they'll mob him unless he
makes room:

All *Eton* is join'd in the dreadful attack,
A noble support to *Sylvanus's* back!

But shou'd you, good *Urban*, this youngster
believe,

His boasting, alas! will your wishes deceive.

Who leans all his weight on a shattered staff,
Cannot fall by his fall of creating a laugh.

'Tis plain this poor youth is kept quite in the dark,

His shafts are let fly so far wide of the mark.
For thinking he comes in full view of his

game, [aim, }
First at *Archi* he takes his preposterous
And furious lets fly, but mistakes in his
man.

'The public may judge of his fightless condition;
Since *Archi* ne'er wrote the polite *apparition*.
But when he complains of his private abuses
Bids *Urban* produce his original *misses*.

'Gainst the second, believe me, this ignorant youth

[truth, }
In his charge has just hit the reverse of the
If the scene were once drawn, and the fact
but display'd, [trade, }

We shou'd *Urban* behold at the cobbling
But little he thought, give the rhymers his
due, [you, }

When he aim'd at the *cobler* he struck full at
But take his advice, if you'll still be a *favor*,
Nor beyond your own *lass* go so far for the
future.

The third, who becomes the full butt of his
fury, [Cambridge, }

His tale might send down from the fam'd
To me he's unknown, so without further
poth, [fodder, }

Eaton may take him to eat up his
He has *ribbles* enough for himself and his
brother.

The fourth's usher'd in with a palpable blun-
der, [wonder, }

But, so dull are his opticks, that this is no
Philautus, he tells you, appears once again.
If before he appear'd, *dear Droll*, tell us when?
You fancy the infant had fatherly care,
Will the publick believe one so subject to err?
Of supposing mistakes you had better be sparing,
The complain't's not at all about *making* but
marring. [daddy, }

You're out once again, for that same foster-
What spoke like a man, made to lisp like a
baby. [miss the white; }

But, so dim are your eyes, you must needs
O *T-y-l-r!* restore the blind youth to his sight;
And when your hand's in give a cast of your
skill,

To clear up the opticks of poor master *Syl*.
PHILAUTUS.

A FIT of the SPLEEN. By a Clergyman
well known and esteem'd by the Men of Ge-
nius of his Time. In Imitation of Shakspear.

A constant vapour o'er the palace flies;
Strange phantoms rising as the mists arise:
Dreadful, as barm's dreams in haunted shades.
Rape of the Lock.

FAREWEL, vain world, and thou its
vainest part,

O lovely woman! fram'd for man's destruc-
tion!

Beauty, like nightshade to the teeming wife,
If seen gives wishes restless, endless longings;
If tasted, death:---too hard decree of fate,
That life must be a burthen, or must end!

Farewel, vain world, dwelling of ill, and
fears, [tance; }

Full of fond hopes, false joys, and sad repent-
For tho' sometimes warm fancy lights a fire,
That mounting upwards darts its pointed head
Up, thro' the unopposing air, to heav'n,
Yet then comes thought, consideration cold,
Lame afterthought with endless scruples big,
Benumb'd with fears, to damp the goodly blaze.

Farewel, vain world;----yet e'er I die,
I'll find [row: }

Contentment's seat, unknown to guilt, or for-
Haste then, for nimble death pursues me close,
Methinks I hear his steps, tho' trod in air;
My fluttering soul seems like a bird entrap'd,
That beats his wings against the prison walls,
And fain wou'd be at liberty again:

And oft the death-watch with ill boding beats
Hath warn'd me that my time wou'd soon
expire; [more, }

And that life's thread, ne'er to be wound up
Wou'd by the spring of fate be quickly drawn
To its full stretch.--Haste then and let me find
A shelter, that may shut out noise and light,
Save one dim taper, whose neglected snuff,
Grown higher than the flame, shall with its
bulk

Almost extinguish it;---no noise be there,
But that of water, ever friend to thought.

Hail, gloomy shade, th' abode of modesty,
Void of deceit;---no glittering objects here
Dazzle the eyes: and thou, delightful silence,
Silence, the great Divinity's discourse,
The angel's language, and the hermit's pride,
The help of waking wisdom, and its food;
In thee philosophers have justly plac'd [vows,
The sov'reign good, free from the broken
The calumnies, reproaches, and the lies,
Of which the noisy, bubbling world complains.

Said to be added by Mr. POPE.

What are the falling rills, the pendant shades,
The morning bow's, the evening collonades,
But soft recesses for th' uneasy mind
To sigh unseen into the passing wind?
So the struck doe, in some sequester'd part,
Lies down to die, the arrow in her heart;
There hid in shades, and wasting day by day,
Inly she bleeds, and parts her soul away.

ECLOGUE.

STREPHON, DAPHNIS.

WHEN genial suns with vernal airs
arrive, [live }
And future flowers in earth's warm bosom
When

When birds and beasts soft-melting passions
move,

And ev'ry breath of nature whispers love:
'Twas then, where a tall oak its foliage spread,
[Its spreading foliage form'd a grateful shade]
Strophon to *Daphnis* made his ardour known,
And wak'd his passion whilst he told his own:
No vulgar swains, who knew the gifts to use
Of rural pleasures and a rural-muse.

Thus *Strophon*: *Venus*, queen of soft desire,
O aid my raptures as you rais'd my fire.
Thou' on the plain ten thousand virgins shine,
Mine *Sylvia* is, and is for ever mine.

What tho' she's brown, and *Amyrillis* fair;
Villets we find a dusky colour wear;
Yet what so fit as that superior flow'r,
Or weaves the garland, or adorns the bow'r?
Young linnets sing where flow'ry furrows rise,
And tender swallows skim to summer skies:
Bees seek the thyme, and grasshoppers the dew;
So draws my *Sylvia*, and so I pursue:
Witness the pines, the mountain's tow'ring
pride,

Witness the floods that roll the silver tide;
Witness my love that shall no changes know,
While stand your mountains, or your waters
flow.

Sooner shall heroes shun the clash of arms,
Than I the best approach of *Sylvia*'s charms;
Sooner I cease to tune my rural lays,
Than cease to tune 'em to my *Sylvia*'s praise.
When *Sylvia*'s near, new verdure crowns the
woods,

And other sun-beams dance along the floods,
When *Sylvia*'s near, all dullness is no more,
Fled swift as billows from the rocky shore.
So bright the sun in flaming pow'r appears,
When blackning clouds infect the loaded
spheres;

[Fly,
So quick the blackning clouds his presence
When the bright sun darts flame around the
sky.

[surmise,
—Says, *Lova*, what'er men feign, or misde
That power's from heav'n which gives such
heav'nly joys:

If blind thou art, that blindness is the best;
If lost in error we're in error best. [Goes:

Here *Strophon* cess'd, and *Daphnis* here be-
O youth, O first of the inspired train,
So soft, so sweet to me thy days appear,
As murmuring fountains to the low-sick ear;
So grateful they, as to the tender maid,
Or winter fire-hearth, or the summer shade.
But *Lova*, if aught from what we feel we
know,

[was;
Of human pain's the source, and human
In *Lybia* sure he paid'd his infant years
By savage tigers bred, or nurs'd by bears:
In *Chloris*' form he racks my tortur'd breast,
And last my tortures while her beauties last.

— Curse! that I long'd the neighb'ring
nymphs to see;

Curse! that I saw so fair a nymph as she.
For, oh! I saw—I lov'd, I rag'd, I paid'd
My ardent passion with a lover's taste:

She heard my passion—from my arms she flew;
Swift as a deer, when opening bounds pursue
Love-wing'd I chase, and to the charmer run,
And clasp as ivy to the *Parian* stone:
Like ivy I the trembling maid enfold;
Like marble she, as lovely and as cold.
Fir'd with resentment she forsakes the plain,
Mocks my mad passion and derides my pain;
And scarce I've since the dear tormenter seen,
Though twice the forests have renew'd their
green. [that face,

— Whence, *Chloris*, love you to conceal
And fly those pleasures you was form'd to
grace?

If not the world, why shun you only me,
And die to him alone who lives for thee?
Ah! why art thou of all *Cybera*'s care,
Lest yielding kind, because more heav'nly
fair?

In words like these I mourn to all around
And words like these from hills and dale-re-
bound.

In rhymes I oft' and passive verse complain,
The verse avails not, and the rhymes are vain
And oft to heav'n my suppliant vows appear,
The adverse heavens dispense my vows in air;
Not all the gods show pity to my love,
Nor aid the passion they so much approve.
But since the flames which rage within my soul,
Nor *Chloris* blesses, nor can I control;
From distant prospects of eternal joys,
In my torn breast eternal woes arise;
I'm ever doom'd the pleasures to becomen
I only wish'd, but never made my own.

The Last of the Mill. A SONG.

1.

DAN Pope first in vogue
Brought the blith *Molly Mag*,
And flourish'd her praise with his quill:
But strange! that as yet
Not a *Twittermoo* wit
E're thought of a neighbouring mill.

2.

That the sea's foaming jaice
Did a *Venus* produce,
Let poets insist on it still:
I stoutly aver,
That a fairer than her
Took her rise from the froth of a mill.

3.

But say, O ye ains,
How a nymph so divine
Could the lap of a miller's wife fill?
Say, did not some god
Scray out of his rosd,
And set up his staff in the mill?

4.

You're roguish and loose,
In the shape of a goose,
Did *Leda* so lovingly bill
That *Helen* she hatch'd,
Who never was matech,
But by the fair lass of the mill.

5.
In another disguise,
Alcmena he plies,
Like *Amphytrion* frolics his fill:
Then why might not *Yove*,
As a cloak to his love,
Take upon him the man of the mill?

6.
How to tell ev'ry grace
Of this fresh-water las;
I own far surpasses my skill:
Even *Pope* could not do't,
And from head unto foot
Describe the fair las of the mill.

7.
Once *Homer* inflam'd
An hundred tongues claim'd,
Some arduous task to fulfil;
Let me tell the old bard,
This task is too hard,
Tho' he had all the clocks of the mill.

8.
Ye youths all beware,
She's bewitchingly fair,
Her eyes most affreedly kill;
A bosom more sleek
Than the downy swan's neck,
Has the beautiful las of the mill.

9.
Under petticoat hid
Tho' her feet be well hid,
Yet peep they alternately will;
Which plainly must shew,
More charms in perdue,
Has the beautiful las of the mill.

10.
With influence benign,
Oh! would the incline
With my stars but to favour my will;
So 't might be with her,
'Twas'd be raptures, I swear,
And music to live in a mill.

11.
Then fair one be kind,
Nor with water or wind
Inconstant turn round with the wheel;
Lest, when I am dead,
It should truly be said,
Thy heart was the stone of the mill.

The following EPITAPHS may not be un-
certaining to some of our Readers.

Upon a Tomb-Stone in the Neighbourhood of
London.

By a LADY upon her Husband.

O! cruel death! how cou'd you be so un-
kind,
To take him before, and leave me behind?
You should have taken both of us, if either;
Which wou'd have been more pleasing to the
survivor.

Upon a SEXTON at St. Edmondsbury.

I THAT had carried a hundred bodies brave,
Was carried by a fever to my grave:
I carried and was carried, so that's even;
May I be porter to the gates of heaven.

In Grantham Church-Yard.

JOHN Palfryman which lieth here,
J. Who sidd twenty four year;
And near this place his mother lies,
Also his father, when he dies.

A Lady being in Company with a certain Cler-
gyman, they had some Discourse about Dr.
Tindal's Book. He ask'd her what she
thought of the several Answers to him, par-
ticularly Dr. Cony—re's and Dr. Cock-
b-n's? She desir'd some Time before she gave
her Opinion, and not long after sent the Cler-
gyman her Sentiments in the following Lines.

TINDAL, give o'er, thou ne'er wilt
gain thy ends;
Whilst Cok and Cony are the church's friends.

EPIGRAM.

CRIES *Celia* to a rev'rend deac,
What reason can be given,
Since marriage is a holy thing,
That there is none in heav'n?
There are no women, he reply'd:
She quick returns the jest,
Women there are, but I'm afraid
They cannot find a priest.

An EPIGRAM, occasioned by the Di-
spute between Dr. STERLING and Mr.
FOSTER, on the Subject of Hesiay.

THE Doctor puts the case so odd,
That both are in the lurch:
Himself a heretick to God,
And Foster to the church.
The Doctor's in a hopeful case,
Poor Foster is undone;
For heave, we know, abound with grace,
But Oh! the church has none.

On the Death of the late Lord Chancellor.

HEAV'N calls him hence; his soul e-
bedient flies, [flies;
High-blazing mounts, and glides the azure
Whom the astronomer descies from far,
And for a comet takes the new-made star.

The Lady's RESOLVE.

WHILST thirst of praise, and vain
desire of fame,
In every age is every woman's aim;

X

With courtship pleas'd, of silly toasters proud,
Fond of a train, and happy in a crowd;
On every fool bestowing some kind glance,
Each conquest owing to some loose advance:
Whilst beauties lay their baits to be pursu'd,
And think they're virtuous, if not grossly lewd:
Let this great maxim always be my guide:
She is in part to blame, who has been try'd;
He comes too near, who comes to be deny'd.

STANZAS occasioned by reading Mr. Pope's
Imitation of HORACE, Book IV. Ode 1.
(See p. 158.)

1.
WHILE Pope to friendship consecrates
the lyre, [through;
The loves to hear the notes assembled
And with the softness of renew'd desire,
Inflame the dear re-animatèd song:
Unrivall'd bard!—the kindly task forbear,
The youth before had worth enough to boast;
You Orpheus-like, but raise the Syren air;
The British nymphs approach!—your
friend is lost.
Hard fate! a praise so wish'd as yours to shun,
Or by the fair encomium risque to be undone.

2.
But oh I err!—and M---y must forgive
A fame that brings such unexampled bliss:
To love is sure the noblest way to live:
Grandeur and wealth are toys compar'd to
this. [wait;
Descend, dear youth! the shining guest a-
For beauty's queen the rostrate bower prepares;
Let her gay smiles adorn thy rising fate,
And soften all the pomp of future care:
And, like *Adonis*, boast the envy'd pow'r,
To charm the wise and fair—when Pope
must charm no more.

PHILO-MORAVIUS.

The FLIGHT. An ODE.

*Non astitit, nec tamen ferar
Pennis biformis per liquidum aethera
Fatis: nec in terris morabor
Longius:—
Jam, jam residunt cruribus aspera
Pellus: & album mutor in alitem
Superna: ascensusque levas
Per digitos, humerosque plumae.*

HORAT.

ALAS! what prodigy is this!
What means this wond'rous change!
My limbs their wonted burthen miss,
My soul pants thro' unknown bliss,
And longs thro' air to range,
Shall we then henceforth credit give
To poets antient tales?
Shall we their vary'd fables believe?
Or do my senses me deceive?
Or h't some dream prevails?

Oh! if I be ordain'd a prey
To that transformer *love*,
Let me thy dreaded arms convey,
Oh! let me face the god of day,
In pity, mighty *Jove*!
See, see the feathers round me grow!
Behold my arms extend
To plummy wings! I feel below
My feet contract, I know not how,
And into pounces bend.

I scorn on humble earth to tread,
See I begin to rise!
The trembling birds around are fled,
Soon as I shew my royal head,
And dart along the skies.
Now *Venus*, for the wrong I've born,
O dear delicious thought!
Shall see her doves in pieces torn,
While she sits helpless and forlorn
With sobs availing nought.
All, all her *Ganymedes* around,
As *Troy* saw heretofore,
I'll with my circling claws surround;
I'll bear them into distant ground,
Ne'er to be heard of more.

Delia, forbear—in vain you screen
Those loves that round you wait;
You are the cause of this strange scene,
But for your eyes this ne'er had been,
And I had kept my state.

I see them nestle to your breast,
Their pinions flag with fear;
Their bosoms pant with grief oppress'd
To leave that sacred place of rest,
Than *Venus*' self more dear.
What joy to find their arrows lie
Neglected and forgot,
Their bows un bent, thrown useless by,
Whose wounds how deep, none more than I
Severley have been taught!

Forbear my pity to implore,
Revenge is my design:
'Tis glorious such a nymph to adore,
I own; but freedom's something more,
There's something in't divine.

A FAREWELL to FRIENDSHIP.

— Nomen inane, vale.

FRIENDSHIP adieu!—thou dear de-
ceitful good,
So much profess'd, so little understood!
How often to thy sacred injur'd name,
A thousand vain pretenders lay their claim?
Like flies attend the summer of our day,
And in the sun-beams of our fortunes play!
But when life's wintry evening shades
come on
Soon we behold the treacherous insects
And find ourselves at once deserted and
undone!

The new Eating Song is our next.

Monthly Chronologer.

TUESDAY, March 1.

THE Anniversary of the Queen's Birth-Day was celebrated, when her Majesty enter'd the 55th Year of her Age.

THURSDAY, 3.

Twelve Malefactors condemn'd the three last Sessions at the *Old-Bailey*, were this Day executed at *Tyburn*, viz. *George Sutton* and *Robert Campbell*, for robbing *Mr. Smith* on the Highway in *Great Russell-street*: *William Wager*, alias *Cocky Wager*, and *Edward Baker*, for robbing *Mr. Lewis*, and several others on the Highway. *David Jenkins* and *Tho. Seaford*, for breaking and entering the House of *John Dally* near *Hyde-Park* Corner, and stealing the *Till*, with several *Guineas* in it. *These six were condemn'd in December last*. *James Ryan*, *Hugh Mac Mahon*, and *Gerard Farrel*, for robbing *Mr. North* and others on the Highway. *These three condemn'd in January last*. *Mary Shrewsbury*, for the Murder of her *Bastard*: *Charles Orchard*, for robbing *Elizabeth Elly* on the Highway, and cutting her Finger off: *And Wm. Maw*, the Soldier, for killing *Charles Dubois* the Watchman at *Wapping*. *These three condemn'd last Month*. *Jeffrey Morat*, the Black, was to have been executed with them; but he died in the Cell in *Newgate*. He was condemn'd for breaking and entering the Dwelling House of the *Marquis of Lindsey*, and robbing him, and assaulting with an Intent to kill *Mrs. Emberton*, and robbing her. He was however hung in Chains, with the above mentioned Soldier.

Four others condemn'd in these three Sessions, dy'd also in the Cell in *Newgate*. And *Joseph Herbert* for stealing the Tankard at the *Globe-Tavern* in *Fleet-street*; *Phillis Frater*, for stealing *Callimacoe* and other *Mercurial Goods* from *Mr. Ryder*; *Catherine Polard*, for stealing four *Silver Plates*, the Goods of his Majesty; *Gerard Fitzgerald*, for assaulting *Mr. North* (with the aforementioned *Erismen*); And *John Watson*, for breaking open the House of *Mr. Cook* his Master, of *Sussex*, and stealing Plate; were *reprie'd for Transportation*.

SATURDAY, 5.

This Night a great Number of Footmen assembled together with Sticks, Staves, and other offensive Weapons, in a tumultuous and riotous Manner, and broke open the Doors of *Druery-lane Play-house*, for not being let into

what they call *their Gallery*; and fought their Way in so desperate a Manner to the Stage Door (which they forced open) that 25 or 26 Persons were wounded in a very dangerous Manner, in the Fray; and *Col. De Vail* who was in the House, being thereupon applied to, and required to read the Proclamation, did accordingly attempt to do it, having a small Guard to support him; but such was the Violence and Number of Footmen in this riotous Assembly, notwithstanding their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of *Wales*, and others of the Royal Family were there, that it was impossible to appease their Fury, without coming to such Extremities as he thought very improper; and being thus obstructed; and hindered from reading the Proclamation, in the Execution of his Duty, and not knowing where this dangerous Attempt would end, he caused several of the Ring-leaders of this Disturbance and Riot to be taken into Custody, the Audiences having been put into the utmost Confusion, and several Ladies greatly frightened. The Prisoners that were taken were under Examination before *Col. De Vail*, in an adjacent Room to the Play-house, till two o'Clock in the Morning, and several of them (after long Examination) were committed to *Newgate*. A great Number of Persons wounded had, during that Time, their Wounds dress'd by a Surgeon in the said Room. (See p. 107 and 249.)

MONDAY, 14.

His Grace *James Duke of Atholl*, one of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*, took the Oath and his Place in the House of Lords as *Lord Strange*, his Grace having made out his Right to the said Barony, as *Great-Grandson*, and sole Heir of *James Lord Strange* (afterwards *Earl of Derby*) who was summoned to Parliament by that Name in the third Year of the Reign of King *Charles I.*

A Petition was presented to the House of Commons, for an Act for better Regulating the Nightly Watch in the City of *London*: And also for an Act to enable them to build a Mansion House on *Sticks-Market*, and for removing the said Market to *Fleet-Ditch*.

The same Day were drawn in two Carts from *Newgate* to *Execution-Dock*, with the Oar, the Naval Badge, carried before them, the four Pirates lately condemn'd as a High Court of Admiralty, viz. *Nicholas Williams* and *Edward Johnson*, for the Murder of *Benjamin Hawes*, Master of the *Dove Brigantine*;

gantine; *Lawrence Sennet*, for robbing and piratically running away with the said *Brigantine*; and *Richard Coyle*, for the Murder of *Capt. Hartley*; and about a Quarter past Two o' Clock they were turn'd off. They are all four hung in Chains. It appear'd against *Coyle* at his Tryal, that he being Mate of the St. *John Phis*, *Benjamin Hartley* Master, did in concert with 3 other Mariners (not yet taken) on *Aug. 27, 1735*, about 2 in the Morning, murder the said Master, 20 Leagues distant from *Madras* in *Turkey*: When the Captains first perceived their Design, he shriek'd out upon the Deck, and then got upon the Fore Top, begging and praying for his Life; crying, *Dear Mr. Coyle, what are you against me?* who answer'd, *yes, he was, it being a Thing confuted among the Ship's Company, and that Overboard he must go, and Overboard he should go.* He then begg'd for *Crisp's* Sake, to spare his Life, and he would hurt none of them: He continued to entreat him in the Name of all things Sacred, to spare him for his Wife and Family's Sake; but *Coyle* call'd out, *G—d d—s you, why don't you stab him down? why do you stand, talking to him? as we have begun, we must go through;* and soon after the Carpenter beat his Brains out and hove him into the Sea. *Coyle* was taken some Time after at *Tunis*. Against *Williams* and *Johnson* it appear'd, that the former being Mate, and the latter a Mariner, on Board the *Dove Brigantine*, *Benjamin Hawes* Master, they did, on the 7th of *Sept. last*, murder the said Master, when he was asleep in his Cabin, near *Leghorn*, by giving him several mortal Wounds with a Knife in his Body; that the Captain's Servant, complaining of this Tragical Scene, they were going to murder him also; but the Lad leaping overboard into the Sea, swam to some *English* Ships, in the Mole of *Leghorn*; notwithstanding they threw a sharp Knife at him in the Water, and pursued him in the Boat to no purpose. The Merchant Ships dispatched immediately several arm'd Boats and secured the Murderers, and others on Board, and sent them to *England*. *Lawrence Sennet* was acquitted of this Murder, but convicted of feloniously and piratically endeavouring to make, and causing to be made, a Revolt in the said Ship, and running away with the same.—One *Mara* an *Irisman* was principally concern'd in both Facts; but was admitted an Evidence.

THURSDAY, 17.

: This Morning about One o' Clock a Fire broke out at *Mr. Harding's*, late a Distiller, but since the late Act of Parliament against *Spirituos Liqueurs*, as Oilmen, near the Pump in *Little Britain*, near *Aldersgate*, occasioned. it is thought, by a Stove Chimney: That Hoop, with every Thing belonging to it, was consumed, and the two adjoining

Houses damaged. *Mr. Harding's* Wife, who came about *Michaelmas* from *Jamaica*, brought with her a Black Woman from that Island, who lay in about two Months ago, who, with her Child, and a Niece of *Mr. Harding's* about 16 Years of Age, perished in the Flames.

A General Court was held at the Bank of *England*, when a Dividend of 2 and 3 4ths was declar'd on the Capital Stock of the said Company, due at *Lady-Day* next. The Directors agreed to allow a farther Time to the Proprietors of their Bonds, to bring them in, and have them mark'd for 3 per Cent. or be paid off.

MONDAY, 21.

His Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to the Mutiny and Desertion Bill, the Two-penny Scots Bill, and three private Bills.

At the Assizes at *Reading* 7 Persons were capitally convicted, one of whom was for Murder. At *Chelmsford* 8 were condemn'd. At *Bedford* two. At *Oxford* three. At *Hartford* *Mr. Belsbam* was tried for the Murder of *Mr. Prieß*, and *Mr. Newport* for the Murders of his Nurse or Servant; but both were proved lunatick, and acquitted. At *Gloucester* 3 were condemn'd. At *Cambridge* four. At *Bury* six. At *Thetford* three. At *East Grinstead* one. At *York* five. At *Nottingham* one. At *Kingston, Surry*, eight; one for the Murder of his Wife. At *Horsford* two; one for the Murder of his Wife; At *Salisbury* six, one for poisoning his Wife and Child. At *Winchester* an old Fellow of the Isle of *Wight* for the Murder of his Grandson. At *Rochester* one was convicted for Smuggling; one for the Murder of his Wife, and two for Burglary.

At the same Assizes a remarkable Case was tried on the following Occasion. A Gentleman being hunting near *Maidstone*, one of his Dogs ran after a Farmer's Cat, and kill'd her. The Farmer valuing his Cat, came out and shot the Dog dead. Upon which the Gentleman brought his Action against the Farmer for killing his Dog. The Farmer's Attorney advised him to bring his Action for his Cat being kill'd. The Gentleman obtain'd 20s. Damage for his Dog, and the Farmer 21s. Damage for his Cat.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

REV. *Mr. John Castellman*, Fellow of *All-Souls, Oxon*, to the Hon. *Mrs. Brodrick*, Sister to the Lord Viscount *Middleton*.

Sir Francis Whitchcote, Bart. to the Right of the late *Sir Newville Hickman*, Bart.
Thomas Brightwell of *Hertfordshire*, Esq. to *Mrs. Warburton*.

John Wadman, junior, of *Imber, Wilts*, Esq; to the Honourable *Mrs. Windsor*, eldest Daughter

Daughter to the Lord Viscount *Windsor*.

James Jackson, of *Reading*, Esq; to *Milly Salmon*, only Daughter and sole Heiress of *George Salmon*, Esq;

The Lady of the Rt. Hon. the Lord *North* and *Guisford*, safely deliver'd of a Daughter.

The Right Hon. the Countess of *Andram* safely delivered of a Son and Heir.

The Lady Viscountess *Natterville*, of a Daughter; at her House in *Dublin*.

The Lady of Sir *Robert Marlon* of *Gogary* Bart. safely deliver'd of a Son.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice *Willes*, also safely delivered of a Son.

DEATHS.

AT *Froome* in *Somersetshire*, Mrs. *Elizabeth Rowe*, formerly *Singer*, the celebrated Author of *Friendship in Death*, and *Letters Moral and Entertaining*.

At his House in *Fetter-lane*, Sir *George Stonehouse*, Bart.

Mr. *Serjeant Baynes*, Standing Council to the Admiralty, and Steward of the Manor of *Rumford*.

William Wilkins of *Great Marlow*, *Oxfordshire*, Esq;

The Lady *Chetwynd*.

At *Kew-Green*, Sir *Jasper Williams*.

Rev. Mr. *Gerard de Goh*, Rector of *St. Peter*, in *Sandwich*.

At his Seat at *Wycomb-Abbey*, near *Scarborough*, *Edward Hutchinson*, Esq; a Gentleman of a very considerable Estate in that Neighbourhood.

At his Seat at *Hoslewood* near *Sligo*, the Rt. Hon. *Oswald Wynn*, Esq; Lieut. Gen. and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Forces in *Ireland*, in the Absence of the Lord Viscount *Shannon*.

Near *Dublin*, *Joseph Damer*, Esq; Knight of the Shire for *Tippary*.

At his Seat at *Bisley*, near *Norwich*, Sir *Edward Ward*, Bart.

At *Dublin*; the Lady *Bligh*, Grandmother to the Earl of *Darnley*.

The Hon. Mrs. *Eumby*, Relict of the late General of that Name, Uncle to the Earl of *Scarborough*.

Sir *Jubianus Isham*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for the County of *Northampton*.

Tho. Davis, Esq; an eminent Merchant, Deputy of *Candlewick Ward*.

At *Marlborough*, Capt. *John Beate*, belonging to the *Artillery*.

At *Corbalroo*, the Rev. Mr. *Hollyer*, Rector of that Parish.

At *Ware*, in *Hertfordshire*, *Joseph Johnson*, Esq;

Nicholas Des, Receiver-General for *Suffex*.

At his House in *St. James's-square*, the Right Hon. *John Earl of Ashburnham*, Capt. of the Yeomen of the Guard,

William Bromley Esq; lately chosen Member for the University of *Oxford*.

Robert Astop, Esq; Alderman of *Queen-bike Ward*, and next: the Chair.

Dr. Fullerton, Physician of *Christ's-Hospital*.

Mr. William Green, Surgeon of the same Hospital, Senior Surgeon of *St. Bartholomew's*, and *F. R. S.*

Joseph Child, of *Canterbury*, Esq;

Baron Hartoff, his Majesty's Secretary for the Affairs of *Hannover*.

At *Richmond*, *Surry*, *Cha. Trevanion*, Esq;

Elizabeth, Dutche's Dowager of *Portland*.

Right Hon. *Rebecca*, Lady Baroness of *Abergawney*.

The Relict of Sir *Thomas Frankland*, Bart. & Reverend Mr. *Spencer Warren*, Rector of *Badsworth* in *Yorkshire*.

The Rt. Hon. the Countess of *Antrim*.

Benjamin Burroughs, Esq; in the Commission of the Peace for the Counties of *Middlesex* and *Buck*, and some Time High Sheriff of the latter; a Gentleman remarkable for his great Humanity and Affability, whose Death is lamented by all who had the Happiness of his Acquaintance;

Edward Turner, Esq; of *Gray's-Inn*, (known by the Name of *Plumb Turner*.)

ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

Mr. Henry Beadly presented to the Vicarage of *Hasley*, *Lincolnshire*.

Dr. Rye appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at *Oxford*, in the room of the present Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

His Grace has appointed the Reverend *Dr. Bateman*, of *St. Dunstan's in the East*, to be his Senior Chaplain; the said Gentleman is also appointed Archdeacon of *Suffex*.

Mr. John Malton presented to the Rectory of *Hamington*, *Norfolk*.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

William Poole, Esq; made Receiver-General of the Stamp-Duty.

Edward Tucker, Esq; appointed Supervisor of his Majesty's Quarries in the Isle of *Wight*.

The Earls of *Westmorland* and *Essex*, succeeded the late Earl of *Westmorland*, as Wardens of the *East-Bailiwick*, in the County of *Northampton*.

George Drummond, Esq; made Secretary of the Most Noble Order of the *Thistle*.

Mr. Say, Secretary to the Bishop of *Ely*, appointed her Majesty's Librarian at the new Library in *St. James's Green-Park*.

Henry Hiteb, Esq; made a Commissioner of the Salt Duties.

Mr. William Talbot, Nephew to the late Lord Chancellor, made Clerk of the Dispensation-Office, in the Room of *Mr. John White*.

The Earl of Crawford appointed *Aid de Camp* to his Majesty.

John Bird, Esq; Member for *County*, made a Commissioner of the Stamp-Duties.

Captain *St. Lee* appointed Commodore of the small Squadron of Ships of War, to be sent to the *West Indies*, to relieve Commodore *Dent*.

Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Duke of *Devonshire*, chose Governors of the *Charter-house*, in the room of *Abp. Wals* and Lord-Chancellor *Telbot*.

Robert Wesley, Esq; Treasurer of *St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, chosen Alderman of *Queenhitb-Ward* without Opposition, in the Room of Alderman *Altop*, deceased.

Mr. *Biggs*, Assistant Surgeon, appointed one of the Head Surgeons of *St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, in the Room of *Mr. Green*; and Mr. *Serafus* chosen Assistant Surgeon.

New Members chosen.

Sir *Robert Cowen* for *Tragony, Corow*, but he is since dead.

John Crowley, Esq; for *Marlborough, Wilts*; *Anthony Clute* of the *Vine*, for *Yarmouth* in the Isle of *Wight*;

Armine Wodehouse, Esq; Knt. of the Shire for *Norfolk*.

John Olmius, Esq; for *Weymouth, Dorsetshire*.

Buffy Mansel, Esq; Knt. of the Shire for *Glamorgan*.

Persons declared Bankrupts.

JAMES Bugg, of *Norwich*, Woolcomber; *George Davis*, the Younger of *St. Leonard Shoreditch, Middlesex*, Clothweaver.

John Williams, of *Snow-hill, London*, Inn-holder and Chapman.

Yanus Cabuac, at the Sun behind the Royal-Exchange, Vintner.

Robert Wadham, of *Pole*, Ironmonger.

Charles Margat, of *Longgate-hill, Chinnemen*.

William Abram, of *Exeter*, Linen-drapers; *John Church*, of *Bristol*, Vintner and Peruke-Maker.

William Caddick, of *Liverpool*, Woollen-drapers.

Richard Ralphson, of *Chester*, Grocer.

James Wilson, of *Highbate*, Linen-drapers.

John Lindsey, of *Brook-street*, near *Haymarket-Square*, Dealer and Chapman.

Joseph and Edward Bently, of *Limbourne*, Merchants and Co-partners.

William Chambers, of *Cambridge*, Draper and Chapman.

Andrew Martin, of *Red-Cross-Street*, *Southwark*, Oilman and Shopkeeper.

Joseph Dooly, late of *Stratford upon Avon*, Malter.

John Bishop, of the Parish of *St. Thomas*, *Southwark*, Cordwainer and Chapman.

William Presh, late of *Taunton*, *Somersetshire*, Chapman.

Prices of Stocks, &c. towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 101 1/2	98 1/2	99 1/2	Afric. 14
—Bonds 3	14	2 10	Royal Aff. 109 1/2
—Annu. 110,	107	2 1/2	Lon. ditto 15
Bank 142 1/2			3 per C. An. nothing
—Circ. 21	108		Eng. Copper
Mil: Bank 120			Salt Tallow 1 1/2
India 178,	177		Emp. Loan 1 1/2
—Bonds 61	135	2 10	Equiv. 115

The Courts of EXCHANGE.

Amsf.	35	3	2 1/2	Bilboa	41	1/2
D. Sight	35	1/2		Legborn	50	
Roster.	35	4	2 1/2	Genoa	53	1/2
Hamb.	34	3	2 1/2	Venice	50	1/2
P. Sight	32	1/2		Lisb.	51	6d
Bourdx.	31	1/2		Oport.	51	5d
Cadiz	41	1/2		Antw.	35	5
Madrid	42	2	1/2	Dublin	10	1/2

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat	30	33	Oates	10	14
Rye	12	17	Tares	22	24
Barley	13	18	Pease	20	24
H. Beans	20	23	H. Pease	16	18
P. Malt	19	21	B. Malt	16	18

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Feb. 22. to March 22.

Christned	{ Males 695	{	1356
	{ Females 661	{	
Buried	{ Males 908	{	1820
	{ Females 912	{	
Died under 2 Years old			637
Between 2 and 5			170
5			65
10			47
20			164
30			188
40			198
50			158
60			92
70			75
80			26
90 and upwards			6

1820

Hay 45 to 52. a Load.

THE *Dégrace* of *Monf. Chevalin*, and the Abstractions it may produce in the *French Affairs*, takes up all the *Conversations* at *Paris*; and as usual upon such Occasions, these very Fellows who were but a Week before writing Panegyrics upon him, and justifying every Part of his Conduct in all Companies, are now writing Lampoons upon him, and accusing him of the most horrid Crimes; for he is not only accused of having sacrificed the Honour and Interest of his Country, from mercenary and corrupt Motives, to the Queen of *Spain*, but of having prostituted the Laws, and set Justice up to Sale; by which it is said he has amass'd above 30,000,000 of *French Livres*; or (near 1,500,000*l. Sterling*) and indeed the great Fall of *Stocks* at *Paris* plainly evinces, that he had large Sums privately vested in them, and that he has all along had a close Friendship and Correspondence with the *French Stock-jobbers*; for we may conclude, that upon his *Dégrace* both he and all his principal Favourites, would fall out as fast as possible, in order to place their Plunder out of the Reach of the new *French Ministers*, by remitting it to foreign Countries. Since his *Dégrace*, he has been conducted to *Novers*, where he is to reside a Sort of State Prisoner; and his great Favourites and Friends, the Prince and Princess of *Carignan*, will, 'tis thought, be soon ordered to retire from Court; for which the latter, they say, is sufficiently provided, she having amass'd several Millions in Gold, Silver, and Jewels, during the Administration of *Monf. Chevalin*. The Cause of this Minister's *Dégrace* we shall not pretend to ascertain; but it seems probable that his insolent and over-bearing Spirit was one of the chief; for he would not allow any of the Princes of the Blood, or other great Men of the Kingdom, to have a Share in the Administration, unless they were such as would submit to be his Tools, and to do nothing without his Direction; and the Cardinal was, it seems, so wise as to foresee, that he could not support himself, if all the Men of Quality and Sense in the Kingdom should join together against him; but whatever may be the Cause, the People are generally extremely pleas'd with the Downfall of this Minister, and are so good-natured as to forget that it was the Cardinal who rais'd him to Power, the Memory of which is now quite obliterated by his Removal, and the whole Nation join in praising his Eminence for his Wisdom and Justice; which shews how easy it is for a King to atone for the Crimes of his Ministers, and preserve the Affections of his People.

The Society call'd *Freu Mason*, so famous and so much encouraged in this King-

dom, having lately set up a Lodge at *Paris*, the *French Nobility* and Gentry began to be as fond of being admitted into it, as ever the *British* were; but as the *French Ministry* are careful not to allow of any Customs being introduced that may tend to debauch the Morals of the People, and as this Society seems greatly to promote Drinking and Tipping, at Taverns and Alehouses, an Edict of the King's Council was immediately issued for suppressing it; which would perhaps by some be look'd on as a Restraint or Incroachment upon Liberty in this Country; but People ought to make a Distinction between Liberty and Licentiousness; for the most certain Method of overturning the former, is by giving a fall scold to the latter.

The Malecontents in *Corsica* have lately renewed their Engagements to one another, and have taken an Oath to die, every Man of them, rather than submit again to the Republick of *Genoa*: In the mean Time they are supplied with Arms, Ammunition, and Provisions from *Catania*, and often advance up almost to the very Gates of *Bastia*, from whence they lately carried off an out Centinel.

On the 7th Instant, *N. S.* died at *Vienna*, in the 80th Year of his Age, the famous Count *Staremberg*, General Field Marshal of the Emperor's Armies, one of his Imperial Majesty's Privy Counsellors, and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot. And on the 12th *N. S.* died suddenly, in his Way to *Philipsburg*, the Duke Regiment of *Wirtemberg*, likewise one of the Emperor's Generals, and a considerable Prince of the Empire.

We have an Account from *Constantinople*, that in Order to provide for their great warlike Preparations, they had laid a considerable Capitation Tax on all the Merchants, and Mechanicks, within that vast Empire; from whence we may suppose they follow that wise Maxim, of Taxing poor Labourers and Manufacturers, in order to prevent their being obliged to tax the Rich and the Powerful.

The States of *Holland* and *West Frisland* have at last appointed *Mynheer Vanderbein* Counsellor-Pensionary of that Province, commonly call'd *Grand-Pensionary*; but they have given him such Instructions as restrain his Power much more than any of the late Pensionaries: However he has accepted of the Post, being sensible that such Instructions are necessary, in order to prevent the Pensionary's making himself a Sort of Stadtholder; which is a Power he has always declared himself against, and therefore he does not desire to be put in a Condition of assuming any such Power to himself.

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T H E

LONDON MAGAZINE.

APRIL, 1737.

The following Letter having been sent some time since to a Club of Gentlemen in this City, we believe it may be useful to some, and agreeable to all of our Readers, especially on the present Occasion; therefore we shall give it a Place in this Month's Collection.

A Letter from a Country Gentleman, just come to the Possession of an entailed Estate, in relation to the Debts contracted by his Father; very proper to be read upon the present Occasion, by all Creditors or Tenants of entailed Estates.

Gentlemen,



S I have the Honour to be an unworthy Member of your polite and ingenious Society, and as there are in your Club Gentlemen of all Sciences and Professions, I can now where apply so properly for Advice in a Case, in which my Honour, my Conscience, and my Family, are deeply concerned.

You all know, I lately succeeded,

by the Death of my Father, Sir *Thomas Bubbie*, to a very opulent Fortune, from which I had but a small Benefit during his Life, and should have had a much less after his Death, if it had not been for the Entail by which his Power was limited: Which Danger, I must by the by take notice, in Justice to my Father, was not at all owing to any vicious Inclination, or Want of paternal Affection in him, but merely to his good Nature, and the mistaken Notions, or private Views, of those, who, to the Misfortune of his Family and Estate, had got the absolute Management of him.

To this it was owing, that, notwithstanding my being Heir to so considerable an Estate, I was obliged to live in such a private Manner, while I had the Honour and Happiness of being one of your Society; where I soon learned, that true Grandeur consists not in a great Expence, but in great and noble Sentiments and Actions; and that there is nothing so mean as spending more than our yearly Income, be it what it will.

Before I can state my Case, I must give you an Account of the Circumstances

stances of my Estate, and a short History of my Father's Management, or rather the Management of those who were his Favourites.

I must therefore acquaint you, that the present great Value, as well as the yearly Revenue, of my paternal Estate, depends chiefly upon a Number of Villages, which are full of Manufactures and Tradesmen. To every House, in each of these Villages, there belongs a small Parcel of meadow and arable Land, for which the Possessors pay an excessive Rent, a Rent they could not possibly raise from the Land itself; but from the Produce of the Land, they are enabled to support their little Families, and by the Profits of their Trade or Manufacture, they are enabled to pay their Landlord so excessive a Rent.

These little Villages have likewise greatly improved all the other Parts of my Estate; for by their Means my Farmers have a ready Sale, and a good Price for every Thing they can produce, and they never want Labourers in abundance, when their Harvest, or any other Occasion, calls for more than their usual Hands.

When my Father succeeded to the Estate, the Farmers were all rich, the Grounds well stocked, and the Villagers full of Employment; Plenty appeared in every House, and Joy and Satisfaction in every Countenance. All were happy, but none excessively rich, and therefore every Man was frugal and saving.

Unluckily, at that Time, we had a neighbouring Knight, named Sir *Marmaduke Modish*, who was of such an unjust and ambitious Temper, that he was every Day removing his Neighbour's Land-mark, and incroaching upon their Estates. He had not indeed made any Incroachment upon my Father, because of his Estate's being surrounded with a large Ditch, in the Middle of which there were high Pallisades, which my Father might easily have made insurmount-

able; but the other Neighbours filled my Father with Apprehensions, that this incroaching Neighbour would at last get over the Ditch, and take his Estate from him; and as they knew his weakest Side, they told him, that if he would join with them in a Law-suit for confining this troublesome Neighbour of theirs, within his own proper Bounds, they would commit the Management of the Suit entirely to him and his Lawyers; by which Means they not only prevailed with him to join in the Law-suit, but to make himself Principal in the Cause.

Thus a Chancery Suit was begun, in which the Lord *Sullen*, Sir *John Lofty*, 'Squire *Fenn*, and my Father, were the chief Plaintiffs; but my Father bore the greatest Part of the Charge. 'Tis true, 'Squire *Fenn* was likewise at a considerable Expence; but then he had one Son in the Six-Clerks Office, another in the Register's Office, and a near Relation in the Examiner's Office; so that his Family got more by the Law-suit than it cost him.

This Law-suit was carried on for several Years with very little Success, occasioned chiefly by the bad Conduct of my Father's Lawyers, and the Backwardness of the other Plaintiffs in advancing their respective Quota's of the Expence; however, the Cause was so just, that at last they got a material Point determined in their Favour, and would soon have got a final Decree to their own Liking, but their Antagonist had the Cunning to draw them into an amicable Agreement, by which they so dis-obliged Sir *John Lofty*, that he not only forsook them, but contracted an Intimacy with Sir *Marmaduke Modish*, and happening to die soon after, bequeathed his whole Estate to one of Sir *Marmaduke's* younger Sons.

This was indeed of dangerous Consequence to the Lord *Sullen*, 'Squire *Fenn*, and several other Neighbours

hours of lesser Note; but to my Father it did not signify much, both because of the insurmountable Boundary before mentioned, and because there had always been such a close Correspondence between the Friends and Tenants of Sir *John Lofly*, and my Father and his Tenants, that it was very much the Interest of both Families to keep well with one another; and it is not the first Time we have seen a Son go to Law with his Father, when their Interests happen to clash; which in this Case might probably have happened, if my Father had cultivated a Friendship with Sir *Marmaduke's* Son, who was then of Age, and had taken upon him the Management of the Estate bequeathed to him; for his Father's Estate, and that he had succeeded to, were so intermixed, and the Boundaries between them so uncertain, that it was almost impossible the Possessors of the two should long continue in a perfect good Understanding.

For these Reasons, several of my Father's Friends endeavoured to persuade him not to engage himself in any new Law-suit, unless Sir *Marmaduke* should begin to renew his former unjust Method of in-croaching upon his Neighbours; and that even in that Case, he should avoid, as much as possible, having any direct Quarrel with Sir *Marmaduke's* Son, who had succeeded to Sir *John Lofly's* Estate; because as the Tenants of that Estate were chiefly employed in Iron-works, and knew nothing of mechanick Arts, or Manufactures, a free Intercourse with them had always been of great Advantage to my Father's Tenants, who furnished them with almost all the Necessaries of Life; and got their rough Iron in Return, without which they could not well carry on their Manufactures. But this good Advice was defeated by the private and selfish Views of *Squire Fenn's* Family, and some of my Father's

favourite Servants; for the Understanding of which it will be necessary to inform you of an antient Custom always before practised in our Family, and how that Custom came to be altered by my Father.

From Time immemorial the Custom had been, that when the Representative of our Family was engaged in a Law-suit, or involved in any other extraordinary Expence, the Tenants of the Estate, assembled together in the Court Baron, resolved to contribute voluntarily such a Sum as they thought would be necessary for defraying that extraordinary Expence; provided, they found, upon Enquiry, that the engaging in any such Law-suit, or extraordinary Expence, was absolutely necessary for the Preservation or Well-being of our Family or Estate. This Contribution was raised by making every man contribute, according to the Rent of the Estate he possessed, the Value of his Effects, and the Profits of his Trade; if he had any other besides that of Farming. The Rent of every Man's Estate was well known, and every one, by a solemn Declaration, put a Value upon his own Effects, and the Profits of his Trade; but if any one was suspected of undervaluing either the one or the other, he was obliged to procure six of his Neighbours to declare, that they believed he had put the highest Value upon which ever of them was contested; so that every Man generally chose to exceed, rather than to fall short of the true Value. If the Sum at first contributed was found not sufficient, a new Sum was raised in the same Manner; but in all such Cases, the honest Farmers and Tenants, assembled in the Court Baron, took a Privilege of inspecting the Conduct of the Managers, and of correcting them if they ran into any needless Expence, or protracted the Law-suit.

I need not observe to you the

great Advantages that have often accrued to our Family from this Method of Enquiry, and the just and wise Restraint it put upon all our Managers; but when my Father entered into the Law-suit abovementioned, his Managers, it seems, resolved to free themselves from this Restraint; and therefore instead of raising Money by voluntary Contributions as the Occasions might require, they advised him to raise the Rents, at first, of but a few of the Tenants, and to mortgage that improved Rent for a certain Number of Years. This Project was, 'tis thought, first contrived by 'Squire *Fenn*; but be that as it will, it was certainly very much encouraged by the 'Squire and his whole Family, for two very obvious Reasons: *First*, Because they were sure of getting a much higher Interest for their Money than they could have any where else; and, *secondly*, Because, by this means, they thought they might get my Father to load his Tenants with such excessive Rents, that it would be impossible for them to carry on their Business, which would of course contribute greatly to the Improvement of their Estate, most of which was likewise laid out in Villages, and the Inhabitants employed in Manufactures of much the same Kind with those made by my Father's Tenants.

Those intended Mortgages were, 'tis true, liable to a great Objection, it being publickly known that my Father was only Tenant for Life, and that the very next Heir of Entail might, if he pleased, refuse to pay out Shilling either of the Principal or Interest; but the *Fenns* from thence foresaw, that they would get the highest Interest for their Money; and to guard against the Danger of the Mortgages being declared void by the next Heir of Entail, they got a great many of my Father's Tenants and Servants, tempted by the high

Interest offered, to embark in the same Bottom with them; by which means they hoped to prevail with every succeeding Heir to confirm the old Mortgages, under Pretence that by them the Estate was preserved, and that therefore the Family was in Honour obliged to see them paid.

In short, after having by some Means or other engaged my Father's most favourite Stewards and Servants in their Design, they easily prevailed on him to alter the ancient salutary Method of raising Money for extraordinary Occasions, and to run headlong into the Project formed by them; so that before the Law-suit was at an End, the Rent of almost every one of my Father's Tenants was considerably raised, and that whole improved Rent mortgaged for the Payment of the principal Interest due to 'Squire *Fenn's* Family, or to my Father's own Stewards and Servants; most of which had been due to them, by Means of the large Sums they expended in the Management of his Law-suit; for tho' the Tenants made several generous and voluntary Contributions among themselves for carrying on the Law-suit; yet those Contributions were so small, and the improved Rents they were loaded with, so imperceptible, that they did not much trouble their Heads with the Management of the Suit, nor ever made any proper Enquiry into the Expence.

In these melancholy Circumstances was my Father, when Sir *Marmaduke's* younger Son succeeded to Sir *John Lofly's* Estate, which ought to have been a strong Argument with him not to have engaged himself in any new Law-suit; but he was overpersuaded by his Lawyers, his favourite Servants, and the Family of the *Fenns*, who had all tasted the Sweets of his having been engaged in the former Law-suit, and of the Methods they had put him upon to raise Money for carrying it on. If they

they could but prevail on him to engage in a fresh Chancery Suit, they made no Doubt of persuading him to make Use of the same Methods for raising Money; by which Means, it may be presumed, some of his Stewards and Servants expected to enrich themselves and their Families, and the *Fanns* hoped it would compleat the Ruin of his Villagers; therefore they all united in the same Interest.

By this their Joint-Interest they got him not only to engage with Lord *Sullen* and 'Squire *Fenn* in a new Chancery Suit, against Sir *Marmaduke* and his Son, but to forbid all Correspondence or Intercourse between his Tenants and the Tenants of either; which last was a Step of infinite future, as well as present Detriment to his Villagers, a Step he had no Occasion to make, and a Step which never was made by 'Squire *Fenn* during the whole Course of the Law-suit. After having once got my Father so deeply engaged, the Lord and the 'Squire grew so faucy, that nothing leis would serve them than turning young *Madish* out of the Estate bequeathed to him, and giving it to a younger Son of Lord *Sullen's*, under Pretence of some Contracts formerly entered into by Sir *Marmaduke*. In pursuance of this Resolution a long Bill was filed, and many Lawyers retained, in which great Care was taken by all Parties concerned, to load my Father with the chief Part of the Expence, tho' no Provision was made for his getting any Thing by the Event, save only the free Enjoyment of his own Estate, which he was then most quietly in Possession of.

As they had now in Hand a Question in its own Nature more doubtful, and a much stronger Party to deal with than they had in the former Law-suit, it was natural to expect leis Success; but by good Fortune for them, they happened so

pitch upon the two ablest and honestest Lawyers that ever, I believe, lived in any Age or Country, and to them the three Parties first concerned committed the entire Management of their Cause. By the faithful and dextrous Management of these two Lawyers, they got the better of Sir *Marmaduke* and his Son, almost in every Point, tho' both the Lawyers were very much plagued with 'Squire *Fenn*, who would needs be intermeddling in every Part of their Conduct, and was chiefly the Cause of the Suit's being protracted much longer than it might otherwise have been; for whoever lost, he was sure his Family would get by the Suit; and at last he became so flushed with Success, that he began to think of getting a good Slice of Sir *Marmaduke's* Estate added to his own.

During the Continuance of this Law-suit, my Father pursued the same Methods of raising Money he had done in the former; and as he not only paid his own Quota of the Expence, but often made good the Deficiencies of others, it cost him so much, that before it was ended, his Tenants, especially his Villagers, were loaded with such excessive Rents, that it was hardly possible for them to support their Families: His Stewards, indeed, his favourite Servants, and all their Friends and Companions, were become excessively rich; for they neglected no Means proper for that Purpose. It would be endless to recount the Methods they contrived for getting Money; but one I cannot omit mentioning, which was this. Instead of paying ready Money, they gave Tickets to all the Hackney-Writers, Porters, and other mean Persons they employed in the Law-suit; and in particular to those who were employed for preserving the Ditch and the Palisades which surrounded our Estate. As those poor People could not lie out

of their Money, their Tickets soon came to a great Discount; and when they were fallen as low as it was proper to allow them, the Favourites sent out their Agents, and privately bought them all up. Then they were all honourably paid off, and vast Profits made by those that had last purchased them.

By this likewise the Farmers and Villagers suffered extremely, because many of these Tickets fell into their Hands for the Necessaries of Life they had sold to the poor Persons who were the first Proprietors; so that by one Means or other, almost all the Farmers and Villagers were reduced to great Poverty; but they comforted themselves with the Hopes that as soon as the Suit was finished, their Rents would be lowered, and their Trade restored to such a flourishing Condition, as would soon enable them to recover from the Distress they then found themselves in. This made them pay their exorbitant Rents with Pleasure, and even raise large annual Contributions for bringing the Suit to a happy and speedy Issue; but unfortunately Lord *Sullen's* eldest Son happened to die, by which the second Son, for whom Sir *John Lofly's* Estate was design'd, came to have a Right likewise to Lord *Sullen's*; and both 'Squire *Fenn* and my Father being afraid, that, if the *Sullen* and *Lofly* Estates should become united in one Person, he might prove more troublesome to them than ever Sir *Marmaduke* had been, both of them secretly resolved to come to an Agreement with Sir *Marmaduke* and his Son; but neither of them durst impart the Design to Lord *Sullen*, nor indeed to one another. 'Squire *Fenn*, however, delayed putting his Design in Execution, because of the Hopes he had of getting Part of Sir *Marmaduke's* Estate to himself; which Design being discovered by my Father, it occasioned his breaking the Ice, and

coming to an Agreement with Sir *Marmaduke*; by which he provided sufficiently for all Parties concerned with him in the Cause, and very advantageously for himself and his Tenants, if a proper Use had been made of the Terms he at first stipulated.

Notwithstanding the excessive and unequal Expence my Father had been put to by these two Law-suits, and the heavy Debts he had thereby incurred, yet the improved Rents of his Estate were so considerable, that they were sufficient to have answer'd a moderate Interest for every one of those Debts, and to have paid off a Part of the Principal yearly; so that if he had lived frugally, and without engaging in any Law-suits, or other extraordinary Expence, they might have been all cleared off before his Death, and the improved Rents so reduced, as to have enabled his poor Tenants to have lived comfortably, and to have carried on their usual Business; but this was not consistent with the private Interest of his Creditors, because they could not any where else place their Money out to so good an Advantage. For this Reason they every Year endeavour'd to persuade him to involve himself into some extraordinary Expence, in order to oblige him to make use of all, or a Part of that Money he had appointed, for paying so much of their principal Debt yearly; and they resolv'd never to make him uneasy about the Payment of their Principal, provided the yearly Interest was regularly paid.

For this Purpose they endeavour'd in the first Place to possess him with a Notion, that they were his only true Friends, and that if it were not for them his Tenants would destroy him and his whole Family: Nay at last, they made him believe, that none were his Friends but his Creditors, and those he kept in daily Pay; from whence they took Occa-

tion to make him keep a much greater Number of Liverymen, Rent-gatherers, &c. than ever had been kept by any of our Family; insomuch that even the Number of the Palisades in the Ditch surrounding his Estate were reduced, in order to enable him to keep the more Footmen and other Liverymen about him; and tho' he put great Trust in his Liverymen, yet he was so jealous of the Designs of his poor Tenants, that if ever any of his Liverymen spoke a Word in their Favour, he immediately turned him out of his Service.

Then in the next Place, they endeavour'd to persuade him, that he was the principal Man in his County, and that therefore he ought to prevent any one Man's being oppress'd by another: From whence, if a Law-suit was commenc'd by the most remote Man in his County against his Neighbour, they pretended he was bound in Honour immediately to join the weaker, and to pay the greatest Part of the Charge; or at least that he ought to have his Lawyers all ready, in order to protect the Plaintiff, or Defendant, which ever should appear to be in most Danger of being oppress'd: Nay, what was more extraordinary, if any two Neighbours had but a friendly Meeting, they endeavour'd to make him believe, it was with a Design to concert Measures for oppress'ing him, and that therefore he ought immediately to retain a Number of Barristers, Solicitors, Attornies, Clerks in Court, and at a great Expence to engage some other Neighbours to join with him; so that if he had taken their Advice, let his Neighbours agree or disagree, he would always have been sure of putting himself to a great Expence.

'Tis true, they did not succeed in all their Attempts, but they succeeded in so many, that he diminished his Debt but a very little, and con-

sequently never had it in his Power to give any Ease to his Tenants. On the Contrary, that Part of the improved Rents he had appointed for that Purpose, or a great Share of it, was every Year converted to his immediate Occasions; and so far were his Creditors from making any Representation against it, as they might and ought to have done, that some of them took Occasion, from the Silence of the rest, to persuade him, that he was no Way oblig'd either in Honour or Interest to apply that Money regularly to the Use for which it was at first design'd.

From this Conduct one would almost suspect the Creditors had all forgot, that my Father was only Tenant in Tail, and that it would be in my Power, as soon as I came to the Estate, to put a full Stop to all further Payments, either of Principal or Interest; and this Suspicion seems to be confirm'd, by an Accident that happened some Years before my Father's Death; for some of his most friendly Tenants having represented to him, that, in order to enable him to give some Ease to his poor Tenants, they and some others would endeavour to get him as much Money, at a less Interest than what he then paid, as would put him in a Condition to pay off such of his old Creditors as would not agree to take the same Interest at which the others were willing to lend, the old Creditors, and particularly the *Fenns*, joined in a general Clamour against this Project, and endeavour'd as much as they could to terrify every Man from coming into it, or contributing to its Success; tho' it was then evident, that it was become absolutely necessary to lower the Rents of every one of my Father's Tenants, in order to preserve his Estate from Ruin.

Had the Creditors generously and freely come into this Scheme, I confess I should have been under much

greater Difficulties than I am at present, with respect to my taking Advantage of the Entail against them; but by the Clamour they raised, the Interest they made with every one who was then willing to assist my Father, and some other indirect Practices, this honest Scheme was rendered abortive; and when they had thus rendered it abortive, they endeavoured to make my Father believe it was all a Chimera, and that it was contrived by his Enemies on Purpose to ruin him, by making a Breach between him and his only Friends: This is the true History of their Conduct upon that Occasion; and from such a Conduct, I think, I may most justly conclude, they were never real Friends to my Father, nor ever had any Regard for his Family.

Thus were the poor Tenants disappointed in their long and patient Expectation, of being relieved from the heavy improved Rents they groaned under, and now they found their Case was become desperate; for during the two long Chancery Suits my Father and all his Neighbours were engaged in, of one Side or other, neither of the Neighbours had Time to mind the Improving of his Estate, by encouraging Tradesmen and Manufacturers; so that my Father's Tenants got what Prices they pleased for the Produce of their Industry, which enabled them to carry on their Business, notwithstanding the heavy additional Rents they were subject to; but by the great Expence he was at in both these Chancery Suits, every one of the Neighbours had taken Notice of the Advantage he made by his Villages, and the great Revenue he raised from them, and therefore, as soon as they were free from the Law-suit, every one of them, but particularly Sir *Marmaduke Modish*, began to improve his Estate in the same Manner, and to give great En-

couragement to Tradesmen of all Sorts, to come and settle in Villages they had erected for that Purpose; and their Projects in this Way met with great Success; by reason of the heavy Rents my Father's Villagers paid, which prevented their underselling these new Beginners as they might otherwise have done.

The Success the Neighbours met with soon reduced the Price of all the Productions of Art or Industry, not only within each of their respective Estates, but in all the Countries round us; so that my Father's Tenants could sell few or none of their Things at so high a Price as formerly, and the exorbitant Rents they paid, prevented its being in their Power to sell at a cheaper Rate, or near so cheap as their Neighbours; yet still they laboured and struggled, in Hopes their good Master would soon be in a Capacity to give them some Ease in their Rents: So loth were they to leave the Place of their Nativity, that even the very Journeymen chose rather to live almost idly, and in a Sort of starving Condition at home, than to go to any of the neighbouring Estates, where they were sure of meeting with constant Employment, and good Encouragement; but when they found this last Scheme for their Relief defeated, they lost all Patience, and in Shoals began to retire, Masters as well as Journeymen, to some of the neighbouring Estates. Thus were my Father's Villages in a short Time mostly deserted, and by the Breaking of his Tenants some of his best Farms were thrown into his own Hands; by which Means the Rents of his Estate were so much reduced before his Death, that instead of being able to pay off a Part of the Principal yearly, he was hardly able to support his Family, in his usual Way, and pay the Interest of the Debts he owed; but what was worst of all, his Neighbours being sensible

he had no Money wherewith to go to Law, and the Palifades in the Ditch surrounding his Estate being very much in Decay, each of his Neighbours in their Turn were beginning to get over the Ditch, in order to make Inroachments upon his Estate, or to plunder his Tenants.

Now, Gentlemen, I come to my own unlucky Case. As the Rents now stand I might perhaps for some Time be able to support my Family in that frugal Manner in which I have hitherto lived, and to pay a Part of the Principal as well as the Interest of my Father's Debts yearly; but the Tenants who still remain upon the Estate, Villagers as well as Farmers, all stand at the improved Rents my Father raised them to, which I am afraid they cannot long support; so that, if I subject myself to my Father's Debts, and confirm all the Mortgages he made, my Ruin will, I fear, become at last inevitable; for if I confirm my Father's Mortgages, I must continue the present high Rents, the certain Consequence of which will be, that in a few Years I shall not have a Tradesman or Villager left in my Estate; and if my Villages should be all rendered desolate, none of my Farmers will be able to pay one half of the Rent they now stand at: In which Case the whole Revenues of my Estate would not be sufficient to pay the Interest of the Debts due to my Father's Creditors; and from their late Behaviour towards him, I have Reason to believe they would rather see me and my Family starve, than give up one Shilling of the Interest or Principal due to them.

For this Reason, to save my Estate from utter Ruin, and my Family from starving, I believe it will be necessary for me to give up most of the improved Rents; and in order to restore my Villages, if possible, I must be at a great Expence yearly in rebuilding decayed Tenements, and

other Means, for inducing my old Tradesmen to return, or others to come and settle in their Room. By this Reduction of my Rents, and the great Expence I must be at, in endeavouring to restore my Villages to their former Lustre, I had I shall be but barely able to support my Family out of the remaining yearly Income of my Estate; so that the only Means I shall have left for paying either Principal or Interest due to my Father's Creditors, must proceed from the future voluntary Contributions of my Tenants; and it is a great Question whether or no it will be in their Power to make such large Contributions as will be necessary for that Purpose, but yet a greater, whether they will have any Inclination so to do; for if the Family should be necessarily involved in any new Law-suit, or other extraordinary Expence, it is certain they would not be able to contribute enough for both, and would therefore insist upon it, that the Contributions made by them should be regularly applied to the defraying of that extraordinary Expence, and to that Use only.

These are the present melancholy Circumstances of my Estate and Family; and to these Circumstances we are reduced by that Project my Father was led into, of providing for the extraordinary Expence of his Law-suits, by raising the Rents upon all his Tenants, and mortgaging those improved Rents for great Numbers of Years, instead of providing for his extraordinary Expence, as usual, by large voluntary and annual Contributions from his Tenants; and the worst of it is, that this Project has ruined all the Tenants as well as the Master; for if the Tenants had made such Contributions yearly as were necessary for the current Expence, each of them would have contracted his Method of Living, in proportion to the Sum he found it was necessary

to give to his Master. If a Farmer of 20*l.* a Year Rent, had contributed 10*l.* a Year, he would have lived more frugally than ordinary, in order to have saved that Sum out of the Year's Expence of his Family; but when an additional Rent of 20*s.* **A** only was laid upon him, and that 20*s.* mortgaged by my Father for the 10*l.* he might otherwise have had without Interest, and without any Obligation for Repayment, the additional Rent was so imperceptible, that the Farmer did not think of altering his Way of Living; his Expence continued the same, and his net Income being every Year imperceptibly reduced by the additional Rents heaped upon him, tho' he toiled as hard, and lived as frugally as usual, his Substance imperceptibly decayed, and at last he found himself unaccountably undone.

When I came down to take Possession of my Estate, there was a Rumour spread, I do not know how, that I would never pay a Shilling of my Father's Debts, whereupon one of his old Stewards came and asked me, If there was any Ground for that Rumour? I told him I had asked no Advice of him, and therefore he had no Title to ask any Questions of me. With this short Answer he was no way abashed, but gravely began to tell me, That my Father's Creditors were my only Friends, and that my Family would be ruined, if I did not cultivate a Friendship with them: To which I answered, that our Family had always been supported by the Industry and Friendship of their Tenants, and therefore I was resolved to cultivate their Friendship preferable to that of any other Set of Men whatever. Then he had the Impudence to tell me, that if I did not honourably discharge the Debts of the Family, no Man would ever lend us a Shilling for the future: I calmly answered, that if I followed the ancient Maxims of the Family, I

should never have Occasion to borrow, because my Tenants would always supply my necessary Occasions: Then I turned him out of Doors, with express Orders never to come again within my Gates.

A The Conclusion of this Conference made it generally believed the Rumour was well founded, and therefore some of my Father's principal Creditors had a Meeting, and deputed two of their Number to converse with me upon this Subject.

B These two Gentlemen, both very rich, had likewise been old Servants of my Father's, but being by my Behaviour towards the Steward made sensible, I was not to be dealt with in the same Manner my Father had been, they represented to me in the humblest Manner, That all the Money had been lent to my Father, to supply Occasions of the most pressing Nature; that he could not then raise Money any where else; that our Family would have been ruined, and the Estate taken from us, if they had not lent their Money for the Preservation of the Family; that all the Money had been employed for the Benefit of the Family, and ought therefore to be made good by the Family; that if the first Lenders were guilty of any Fraud, most of them had sold their Debts to others who were perfectly innocent; and that Numbers of Widows and Orphans would be undone, and reduced to a starving Condition, if I did not confirm the Mortgages made by my Father. To which Representation I answered thus:

C *Gentlemen,*
 ' I have not had Time to enquire into the Circumstances of my Affairs, therefore have not yet determined, whether I shall confirm those Mortgages or not. In the mean Time I must let you know, that you and I differ very widely in Opinion. The Occasions for which this Money was borrowed

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were, I grant, very pressing; but I absolutely deny that my Father could not have raised Money any where else: He might have had what was really necessary by annual voluntary Contributions from his Tenants; and his not having raised what he wanted in that Way, gives me a shrewd Suspicion that a great Part of the Money he borrowed was not employed for the Benefit of the Family.

Our Family might, 'tis true, have been ruined, if either of the Law-suits he engaged himself in, had had a contrary Event; but I cannot easily admit that Self-Preservation obliged him to engage so deeply as he did; for by engaging so deeply he only took the Burden off of the Shoulders of those who were more exposed to the Danger, and therefore more immediately concerned: However, suppose it was necessary for him to engage so deeply, I am sure the Tenants would have most willingly contributed what they saw was necessary for the Preservation of their Master's Family or Estate; and therefore I am so far from thinking our Family would have been ruined, if you had not lent my Father Money, that I believe the present distressed Condition to which both our Family and Estate are reduced, is owing to your having been so ready upon all Occasions to lend him Money, or at least to your not having insisted upon the proper Application of that Part of the improved Rents which was originally appointed for your Payment.

In short, the raising of Money for extraordinary Occasions, by Loans, or by any other Method, except by the annual and voluntary Contributions of the Tenants, has always been reckoned inconsistent with the Good of our Family, and therefore, whatever I may do with respect to the Mo-

ney borrowed by my Father, I am resolved never to borrow any myself; however, though I am no Way obliged in Law to pay you, tho' I am very far from thinking the Preservation our Family ever depended upon the Money you lent, or now depends upon your Payment, yet I am resolv'd to pay every Shilling, if I can possibly do so, without ruining both my Family and Estate; but I hope you would not have me reduce the many Hundreds of industrious Tenants and Villagers I have within my Estate to Beggary and Starving, for the Sake of maintaining twenty or thirty Persons who happen to be my Father's Creditors, in Wealth, Idleness and Luxury, which I know would be the Case with most of you.

Perhaps some of the present Possessors of the Mortgages made by my Father may be Purchasers from the first Lenders; but no Man can be an innocent Purchaser of a bad Title, when the Lameness of the Title appears upon the Face of the Title Deeds; and beside, even the present Possessors cannot be said to be otherwise quite innocent, because they, at least, connived at my Father's applying that Money to other Uses, which by the very Mortgage Deeds was appropriated to the Payment of their Principal: There may likewise be among you some poor Families whose All depends upon the Payment of what is due to them from my Father; but I know how to extend my Charity to real Objects, without ruining myself and my Tenants, for the Sake of maintaining others in the Height of Opulence and Extravagance.

Therefore, Gentlemen, consult among yourselves before it be too late: It may be in your Power to assist me: If you are moderate, I will be generous, (I can call it no-

‘ thing else) because you say you
 ‘ were my Father’s Friends, tho’
 ‘ I believe most of you were so,
 ‘ only for what you could get by
 ‘ him; but in all your Deliberations
 ‘ remember this, *that the Happiness*
 ‘ *of my Tenants is what I shall al-*
 ‘ *ways prefer to every other Conside-*
 ‘ *ration: By consulting their Happi-*
 ‘ *ness, I know, I shall engage their*
 ‘ *Affections; and I despise every pre-*
 ‘ *tended Security that is founded upon*
 ‘ *any Thing else.’*

In a few Days after this Confe-
 rence, I made a Progress through
 my whole Estate, which I do assure
 you raised both my Pity and my In-
 dignation; for except those who had
 been in the Secret of the Manage-
 ment under my Father, and were
 consequently his Creditors, I found
 all in the greatest Distress: The Far-
 mers I found very poorly stock’d,
 and what Stock the Farmers had up-
 on their Grounds, was generally
 mortgaged to some one or other of
 my Father’s Creditors: The Villages
 again presented me with a more
 shocking Scene of Misery; almost
 one Half of the Houses in each were
 either in Rubbish or quite empty;
 and in those that were inhabited,
 the Master Tradesmen had hardly the
 necessary Tools for their respective
 Employments, and most of the Jour-
 neymen hardly Clothes to their Backs.

Among the many little Families
 whose Conduct I enquired into, the
 Oeconomy of one gave me great
 Delight, and their Complaints, be-
 cause they were just, an equal Con-
 cern. The Man, a Weaver by Trade,
 I found busy at his Loom; the Wife
 busy at Spinning; their Daughter, a
 Girl about eight Years old, washing
 some earthen Dishes; their eldest
 Son, about seven, filling Quills for
 his Father; and a younger Son, a-
 bout four, rocking their last Born
 in its Cradle. Upon my asking the
 Man what he got by his Labour in
 a Day: He answered, O Lord! Sir,

but very little during these short
 Days: I could earn a great deal more,
 if I could work by Candle-Lights;
 but our Candle-Maker has raised his
 Candles so much, on Account of the
 high Rent he pays, that we poor
 Folks cannot find our Account in
 working by Candle-Light. Then I
 asked the poor Woman, what she
 might get by her Spinning: Hardly
 Salt to my Porrage, says she, now
 ’tis so dear; for a great Part of what
 I get is laid out in the Purchase of
 Soap, for washing my Yarn and ma-
 king it fit for Market. Upon my
 observing that none of the Children
 had Shoes, says the Woman, why,
 Sir, our increased Rents have made
 the Tanner raise the Price of his
 Leather, and the Shoe-maker the
 Price of his Labour, so that we pay
 almost as much now for one Pair of
 Shoes as we formerly paid for two,
 and therefore we poor Folks must
 let our Children go without. After
 this I asked for a Draught of their
 Small-Beer: Small-Beer! says the
 Man, God help me! Sir, I never
 had any in my Family: We drink
 nothing but Water, only now and
 then we mix it with a little Milk:
 My Father, who was but a Weaver
 as I am, and brought up a greater
 Family than I have, used to brew his
 own Drink, and generally had a Cup
 of good humming Liquor for a
 Friend; but latterly the Master pays
 so high a Rent for his Malt-house;
 and therefore puts so high a Price
 upon his Malt, that we are not able
 to purchase it, now that the Rents
 of our Houses are so dear and the
 Labour of our Hands so cheap. I
 was really afraid of asking any more
 Questions, therefore I slipt a Crown
 into the poor Woman’s Hand, bid
 her buy what she thought was most
 necessary for the Use of her Family;
 and made my Retreat; not without
 some severe Reflections upon those
 who, for selfish Ends, had been the
 Authors of such Misery.

Before I conclude I must let you know, that the Entail by which our Family has been preserved for many Generations, is a very extraordinary, and, in my Opinion, a very excellent one; for every Grant made, and every Thing else done, by the former Tenant, stands good till declared void by the next Heir of Entail; and if the Tenant gets any Grant, or other Deed of his, confirmed by his Court-Baron, and that Confirmation entered in the Court-Rolls, it is not in the Power of the next Heir of Entail to alter or avoid that Grant or Deed, without the Consent of his Court-Baron. As my Father's Creditors neglected nothing they could think of for their Security, they got all his Mortgages, and every Thing else they prevailed on him to do, confirmed by his Court-Baron: which the Tenants were at first easily brought into, because they did not clearly see the Consequences of what they were about; and at last the Tenants grew so poor and the Creditors so rich, that the latter bore the only Sway in the Court-Baron, and got every Thing they had a Mind confirm'd in the most solemn Manner: But to me this signifies nothing; for as I can take Care, that the Creditors shall make use of no undue Influence on the Tenants in my Court-Baron, I am sure, when the Circumstances of the Case are fairly laid before them, they will do what shall appear to be most proper and beneficial for my Family and Estate; all of them being now fully sensible, that their own Security and Happiness depends upon the Preservation of me and my Family only, and that every one of them must be totally ruined, if I am not immediately put into a Capacity of lowering their present Rents.

I shall not pretend that all my Father's Creditors were guilty of the many indirect Practices I have mentioned, for preventing us being in

his Power to pay them off; but it is certain the chief of them were, and all the rest approved, at least by their Silence, of what the others did: Nay all of them were active, and even diligent, in raising a general Clamour against the above-mentioned Project proposed to my Father some Years before his Death, for reducing their Interest. As their Behaviour lessens, in my Opinion, any Obligation I may in Honour lie under, with respect to their Payment, and is, I think, a plain Proof of the Ridiculousness of that Notion my Father was possessed with, That his Creditors were his surest Friends, therefore I thought it necessary to represent to you their Behaviour in its most true and genuine Light.

Thus, *Gentlemen*, I have laid before you the present unlucky Circumstances of my Estate and Family. I beg you will consider my Case seriously, and let me have the Opinion of the Club, how far I am oblig'd in Equity, in Conscience, in Honour, or even in Charity, to pay the Debts so contracted by my Father; for the legal Obligation I am under may, I know, be dissolv'd by my Court-Baron, whenever I have a Mind. I am,

Gentlemen,

Your most sincere Friend

And humble Servant,

EDWARD BUBBLE.

We shall endeavour to get the Answer to this Letter, and publish it the first Opportunity.

Gazetteer, March. 25. N^o 547.

A remarkable Story of Henry V. when Prince of Wales.

THIS Paper first takes Notice of Mr. D'Anvers's Want of Matter, which appears by his begging the *Gazetteer* to favour him with a Word or two in Dishonour of Edward, the *Black Prince*, that he may have

have an Opportunity to prove it to be false and insolent. A very civil Request indeed! It is only to desire a Gentleman to belye his own Judgment and Conscience, on purpose that Mr. D'Anvers may have Materials to fill up half a Dozen Journals with Quotations out of History, where every Word one meets with, relating to that illustrious Hero, contains nothing but Admiration and Praise. (See p. 151. F.)

Let us now see a little of his Judgment and Modesty as to Historical Facts. He was charged with abusing the Character of Prince Richard, purposely to fix the Abuse of an imaginary Allusion, on the Author of the Letter in the *Gazetteer*; and, as if the falsifying History on purpose to injure an innocent Man, was no Crime; he only cries out, *What then?* (See p. 151.)

After some Particulars about Prince Richard, he says, 'Twill be the same with another Falstiy I shall charge him with. He affirms, after Raptus, as he says, but I have nothing to do with that; that Prince Henry struck the Lord Chief Justice of England over the Face in the King's-Bench Court at Westminster: All which is not true, as will be seen by this plain Narration of the Fact after old Stow. I am the more willing to insert it, because it is very curious and affecting, and will prove the Falshood of that abominable Insinuation in the *Craftsman* of March 5. that King Henry IV. directed some about his Son to lead him into dishonourable Courses. (See p. 132. F.)

'It happen'd, says Stow, that one of Prince Henry's Servants, whom he favoured, was arraign'd at the King's-Bench Bar; of which the Prince having Notice, and being incensed by light Persons about him, he went thither in a Fury, and commanded the Officers to set the Prisoner at Liberty; at which all that heard it, were abash'd, ex-

cept the Lord Chief Justice, who humbly exhorted the Prince to be ordered by the ancient Laws of the Realm; or if he would have his Servant sav'd from the Rigour of those Laws, that he would please to apply to the King his Father for his Pardon, whereby Law and Justice might be preserved. The Prince, still insisting on the Deliverance of his Servant, offered to take him from the Bar by Force; which the Lord Chief Justice observing, he with great Resolution and Presence of Mind, commanded the Prince, upon his Allegiance, to leave the Prisoner and the Court; at which he was so enraged, that he came up to the Judge in a terrible Manner.' So far Stow goes; but says not a Word of the striking over the Face. And Sir Henry Spelman (speaking of this Judge, Sir William Gascoigne, and of this Incident, says only he was provok'd to commit him by his reproachful Words, *per contumeliam a Principe Walliæ laceffitus*. No striking over the Face you see. Sir William Gascoigne, with a steady Look and Voice, declared the Majesty of the King's Place of Judgment, and said, 'Sir, remember yourself, I keep here the Place of the King, your Sovereign Lord and Father, to whom you owe double Obedience; wherefore I charge you in his Name to desist of your Wilfulness, and henceforth give a good Example to those which shall hereafter be your proper Subjects; and now for your Contempt and Disobedience, go you to the Prison of the King's-Bench, to which I commit you, and remain you there Prisoner till the Pleasure of the King your Father be farther known. With which Words, and the Gravity of the Judge, the Prince was so stricken, that laying down his Sword immediately, he made a low Reverence to the Lord Chief Justice Gascoigne, and went directly to the King's-Bench Prison. His

Servants ran to K. Henry with
 Complaints against the Judge: But
 when the King had heard how the
 Matter was, he paus'd silently a-
 while, and then lifting up his
 Hands and Eyes to Heaven, burst
 out in a kind of Rapture, *O mer-
 ciful God! How much am I bounden
 to thy infinite Goodness, in these
 Things especially, for that thou hast
 given me a Judge who fears not to
 do Justice, and also a Son who can
 obey Justice, and suffer it.* Is it
 likely that a Prince of such pious
 Sentiments, should place lewd and
 wicked People about his Son, with
 any Intent that they might corrupt
 and debauch him?

Common-Sense, March 26. N^o 8.

S I R,

YOUR generous Method of
 communicating Common
 Sense to the Publick upon very
 cheap and easy Terms, calls for the
 utmost Acknowledgment from those
 who are sensible of the Evils occa-
 sion'd by the Want of it; to which,
 I really think most of those Misfor-
 tunes, of which we complain, owe
 their Origin; (at least I find it so in
 my own Case) then judge with how
 much Joy a weekly Supply of so
 valuable a Commodity must be re-
 ceived. Yet, Sir, give me Leave to
 lament, that I find by your Paper of
Feb. 26. (see p. 130.) a great Part of
 our Species utterly excluded from
 all the Benefits of it; *viz.* the ugly
 Part of Woman-kind. Now we are
 very sure, Ugliness is involuntary,
 and by Consequence no Crime, and
 therefore ought rather to be treated
 with Compassion than Contempt; and
 sure Common Sense and Compassion
 together, might have found out some
 better Employment for the unhap-
 py Creatures than you have assign'd
 them; but for the Sake of being
 witty, you have laid both those a-
 side, otherwise they would have dic-
 tated to you, that tho' you exclude

them from other Relations, yet they
 may still be valuable as Daughters,
 Sisters, Friends, and Neighbours;
 and given them room to hope, that
 as your Paper diffuses, if they take
 care of the Improvement of their
 Minds, no System of Features, tho'
 ever so bad, is sufficient to exclude
 them from some Degree of Love
 and Esteem, or make them proper
 Subjects of Ridicule. I have been
 told personal Defects ought never to
 be so, unless a Way could be found
 out to laugh People out of their De-
 formity. And since it is impossible
 for them to arrive to Dignities by
 Drinking and Hunting, which have
 preferred many of your Sex to high
 Stations, sure it were not difficult
 for a Genius like yours, to find out
 something for which they were fit,
 especially if you consider, *That Na-
 ture has made nothing in vain.*

Now, Sir, as you may plainly
 perceive this is a Cause in which I
 am deeply interested, the Result of
 all is an humble Petition, that as you
 have most judiciously directed those
 who are already amiable how to ap-
 pear more lovely, and those that are
 in the Decline of Life how to become
 venerable, so you will provide some
 other Recourse than that of a third
 Sex for the rest; and in order to
 take off all Prejudice, when you are
 so unhappy as to converse with any
 of them, do but forget that they
 are of any Sex at all, and then it is
 possible you may be as much edified
 and entertained, as with many of the
 very pretty Gentlemen, or elderly
 Beaux, with which this populous
 Town abounds. I am, &c.

HIDROSA.

Grubstreet Journal, March 31. N^o 379.

Of Diet in general, and the bad Ef-
 fects of Tea-drinking. In a Let-
 ter from a SOUTH BRITON.

THE Matter of Diet, in every
 Country, consists chiefly of

such Animals and Vegetables which Experience has proved to be nourishing, without giving any Disturbance to the Body. Some other Articles are generally added in our Diet for the Sake of Pleasure. Animal Food is of the highest Kind, for Nourishment and Pleasure also, while the Appetite lasts; but when that is satiated, Meat is too rich to be continued any longer out of Pleasure. Fish indeed is of a lower and poorer Nature; yet even that is sufficiently rich to clog the Appetite before the Stomach can be said to be full. Vegetables may be eaten after either: For there are very few so satiating, but a Person may fill his Stomach with them after his Appetite has been satisfied with Fish or Flesh. Hence we may observe, that no Diet which is very nourishing can be eat to Fulness: Because those Parts which nourish are oily and very satiating, as Flesh, Eggs, &c. but that Diet which is less nourishing may, as Vegetables in general. There is however a very great Difference in Vegetables; some are of oily Parts and very nutritive, such as Peas, Beans, Almonds, Wheat, Barley, Oats, &c. some less nutritive and less oily, as Turnips, Carrots, Parsnips, Jerusalem Artichocks, Potatoes, Cabbage, Spinage, Salating. Other Vegetables which are eat for Pleasure have the least Oil in them, and nourish the least of all; as Apples, Pears, Plumbs, Goosberries, Currants, and all the juicy Fruits. Providence has furnish'd every Country with a Mixture of these pleasant Things, along with those which are for our real Support; and those which grow in every Country, either spontaneously, or by Culture, are generally speaking most friendly to the Inhabitants. This seems to be a Matter of Necessity; for as we see the different Climates frame very different Appetites and Constitutions; so it is very natural to expect,

that our Produce for Food in this cold northern Isle, should be unfit for those in the warm southern Parts. A Pound of roast Beef and a Quart of Ale, which is a common Meal for a hearty Man here, could hardly be eaten by, or if eaten, might endanger the Life of an *East-Indian*. On the other Hand, a Piece of Sugar-cane, and a Cup of Water, which is a very good Meal there, would reduce an *Englishman* some Pounds lighter and much weaker in a few Days. So that our Diet should undoubtedly be of home Growth, unless it be of the Grain or Pulse Kind; which grows in all Climates, either naturally, or by Cultivation.

When *Englishmen* go to the *East-Indies*, the Diet there is so different from ours, that notwithstanding the *English* on the Spot have naturalized it as much as possible, yet Multitudes die; which I don't impute to the Heat of the Climate only, but to the Diet which is unnatural to *English* Constitutions, especially that which is used for Pleasure. Here it may be observed, that the Disorders which happen to *Indians* upon using our Country Diet, are of the inflammatory Sort; and the Disorders which happen to the *English* upon using theirs, are of the colliquative Sort. This shews that our Diet is richer and stronger than theirs; and that a changing of ours for theirs does not only hazard our Health but enfeeble our Constitutions. The Poorness of their Diet is undoubtedly the Cause of the Feebleness and Effeminacy of their Persons. On the contrary, our *English* Beef and Wheat-Pudding for Eatables, and good Ale for Drinkables, has very probably been the Foundation of the ancient *English* Strength and Courage; the Decrease of which I cannot mention without much Regret.

Now for the Nature of *Tea*, of which there are several Sorts; but as they are but one Kind of Plant, and differ

differ only as Malt may do, in being high or slack dry'd, or being finer or coarser, so I shall consider them all as one. *Tea* is the Leaf of a small Shrub of the Kind of our *Dog-Tree*, of an austere, bitter, astringent Taste, without any aromatic Warmth. It has but very little Oyl in it, and that which it has is of the resinous Kind, is narcotic and stupefactive: It has also but a very little Salt, and that is of the fixed Kind.

If we compare the Nature of Tea with the Nature of *English* Diet, no one can think it a proper Vegetable for us. It has no Parts fit to be assimilated to our Bodies: Its essential Salt does not hold Moisture enough to be joined to the Body of an Animal; its Oyl is but very little, and that of the opiate Kind; and therefore it is so far from being nutritive, that it irritates and frets the Nerves and Fibres, exciting the expulsive Faculty; so that the Body may be lessened and weakened, but it cannot increase and be strengthened by it. We see this by common Experience; the first Time Persons drink it, if they are full grown, it generally gives them a Pain at the Stomach, Dejection of Spirits, cold Sweats, Palpitation at the Heart, Trembling, Fearfulness; taking away the Sense of Fulness, tho' presently after Meals, and causing a hypochondriac, gnawing Appetite. These Symptoms are very little inferior to what the most poisonous Vegetables we have in *England* would occasion, when dried and used in the same Manner.

These ill Effects of Tea are not all the Mischief it occasions. Did it cause none of them, but were it entirely wholesome as Balm or Mint, it were yet Mischief enough to have our whole Populace used to sip warm Water in a mincing, effeminate Manner, once or twice every Day; which hot Water must be supped out of a nice Tea-Cup, sweetened

with Sugar, biting a Bit of nice thin Bread and Butter between Whiles: This mocks the strong Appetite, relaxes the Stomach, fatiates it with trifling, light Nick-nacks, which have little in them to support hard Labour. In this Manner the Bold and Brave become dastardly, the Strong become weak, the Women become barren; or if they breed, their Blood is made so poor, that they have not Strength to suckle; and if they do, the Child dies of the Gripes: In short, it gives an effeminate weakly Turn to the People in general. The poor People's Children which are bred with it, as they really are in the Cities and Towns, are only fit for Foot-men and Chamber-maids. May not this ill Diet be a great Cause of the Want we have of labouring Servants, the Rise of their Wages, and the Prodigality which the common Servants have shewn within these last 50 Years? It is now become a Part of the Covenant with labouring Servants truly, that they must be allowed Tea for Breakfast. If this unwholesome Weed is not in some Degree prohibited by the Government, I can expect nothing less, in one Generation more, but that we must hire Foreigners, as they do in *Spain*, to do our hard Labour; and for the Defence of the Nation, I leave any one to judge what Soldiers we are like to have.

Tea was first used by the Rich, and when that had flatted their Spirits and racked their Stomachs, a Dram was a known Remedy. This might probably bring the poorer Sort into Dram-drinking; for they could not so well return to their Labour with their Fibres relaxed and Spirits dejected. May it not be necessary then to put a Check upon the poorer Sort of People's using this depauperating Liquor Tea, now the Legislature have debarred them the Help of Drams? It seems very rea-

sonable to allow the labouring People some cheap spirituous Liquor; or to lay an equal Restraint on that, which in the Use of it calls for necessarily for such Aid and Assistance. Yet I cannot confine the Restraint I mention to the poorer Sort only, because I am convinced, that such poor hot Suppings help to unman our very Governors; and the Spaniards, very likely, had felt the Force of English Beer within this last 20 Years, if the Use of it had not been exchanged for warm Water bewitched with Indian Poyson. He concludes, that considering the Number of Tea Drinkers, it has done a great deal more Hurt than Dram-Drinking.

Craftsman, April 2. N^o 562.

A New EXCISE-Scheme.

S I R,

EVERY Thing is to be fear'd from the desperate Designs of that bold Projector, to whom we were oblig'd for the late Excise Scheme; you cannot do more Service to your Country than by alarming it, whenever he is attempting any Thing of the same Nature; for let his Steps towards extending of Excises be ever so small, or specious, they ought always to be suspected.

When one considers the great Talents, eminent Virtues and Abilities of the noble Projector, who is at least equal, if not superior, to all that have gone before him in these laudable Arts of softening Mankind; what have we not to dread, when he continues to declare, that whenever he hears the Word Excise, he cannot avoid repeating what he hath often said, that the Gentlemen of England were never more miss'd upon any Subject, or more impos'd upon, than they were upon that of the Excise. In this he corresponds with the Passage quoted in your last Paper, of waiting a more proper Opportunity for putting his late Excise-Scheme into Execution; (see p. 154.) but surely

a little more Oblivion must be necessary to co-operate with his most persuasive Power, before the Gentlemen of England can think they were miss'd, on that Occasion. The Point, to which he particularly alludes, was the pretended Ease to be given the Land by that pernicious Project. It therefore becomes necessary just to mention that, upon the Examination of the Commissioners of the Customs, the putting of Tobacco under an Excise would not have produced above 17,510*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* a Year in England, more than it did before, according to the highest Computation; out of which additional Sum there would have been paid to the Civil List 2,764*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* and it was allow'd that the additional Charges of Management would be 12,000*l.* a Year; so that the remaining 2,745*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* was all that could accrue to the Publick, by their own Calculation, and the Bill itself. What Ease could the deluded Land-holders expect from so small a Sum? Was it a Temptation sufficient to justify the Design of putting the rest of our Fellow Subjects under the most oppressive and arbitrary Laws?

It is a melancholy Consideration, that the annual Pursuit of some Persons is either the Multiplication of penal Laws, the Extension of Excises, or the Increase of the Civil-List. Every new Power of these Kinds, which we grant, renders them so much the more habitual to us, that we seem not to know when to stop, or where to refuse; and we see, by foreign Nations, that even Slavery itself becomes supportable by Custom. Is it not therefore high Time, if we would preserve our Remnants of Liberty, whatever they are, that we should put a Stop to these growing Powers? If Necessity and Self-Preservation have already carry'd us to great Lengths; what Reason can there be why we should now, in Time of profound Peace, be for raising new Taxes in that Manner, which is not

agreeable to *some Persons*, because most oppressive, and the *People* are thereby put the more under their immediate Power?

Last Year, when *foreign Affairs* were not thought so clear as at present, Part of the *Sinking Fund* was mortgaged for 600,000 *l.* But now, since we have the Honour and Happiness of parcelling out *Europe* into a Peace, by our *Plan of Accommodation*, which we are assured is so much like the *Preliminaries*, that they are taken for one and the same; it is certainly proper that the Nation should receive some immediate Ease from it; and how can that be done, consistent with that glorious Plan of Power *some Persons* are pursuing, better than by steadily adhering to the Method already chalk'd out to them, upon fulfilling all the Engagements of the *Vienna Treaty*, by carrying the Troops of *Don Carlos* into *Italy*? We were then told, * that when every Thing abroad bath thus succeeded to our utmost Wishes; when we can no longer justify Delays to ease the People, from any visible Uncertainty of our Affairs; shall we do nothing to convince the People that we have a Peace, but merely by telling them that we have procured it; or rather ought we not from the Difference of Taxes to show them the Difference between certain and unsettled Tranquillity? For this Reason, the *Land-Tax* was reduced to 1 *s.* in the *Pound*, and the *Salt-Duty* was laid on again for 3 Years, to supply the other *shilling*, with its 600 pretty Attendants. Nay, under the Pretence of continuing this charming Ease, in the Difference of our Taxes, tho' the greater in our Payment, it was thought that the late detested Scheme might have been brought to pass. But since we have now farther succeeded to the utmost of our Wishes, by bestowing of *Crowns* upon the

same young Prince, it becomes still more necessary to convince the People of the Benefit of it, by some farther Difference in our Taxes. Two *Shillings* in the *Pound* and 400,000 *l.* out of the *Sinking Fund* would be too much like the Grants of last Year; whereas it will afford another new Scene, to see the whole *Sinking Fund* apply'd to the Uses, for which alone it was design'd, and to take this favourable Opportunity, as the first Fruits of Peace, to establish and extend new *Excises*.

There is nothing more ridiculous than the Arguments, lately advanced upon what are call'd and desired to be known by the Name of *Sweets*. It is to be the same Thing; that was designed to be tax'd by the 10^{*th*} and 11^{*th*} of *K. William*, and yet 'tis not to be the same Thing. It is appropriated to the *Sinking Fund*, and it is not; for the *Publick* have a Right to it. It is not to be a new Tax, by taking off two Thirds of the Duty, but an old one, which altogether produced but 23 *l.* a Year; and by the single Dexterity of taking away 14 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* from it, is now to produce 25,000 *l.* a Year, tho' Computations are made that it will produce 50,000 *l.* a Year.

It must be observed, that the Dealers in *Wine* formerly used to mix their *Wines* with a Liquor call'd *Stum*, which came from abroad; and that, to save the Duty, as well as in some Measure to supply the same Uses, *Sweets* were made here: And as the Practice upon a new Law is generally esteem'd the best Interpretation of the Design of the Legislature, and every one will easily believe that the Commissioners of *Excise* are not the dullest Interpreters of *Revenue Laws*; it is natural to conclude, that since they have not thought fit, in this long Course of Time, to extend it by Judgments of their own to any Thing

* See a Letter to a Freeholder on the late Reduction of the Land-Tax to one Shilling in the Pound,

but *that single Liquor*, upon which it was originally intended to be laid, there was neither *Law* nor *Power* to collect it on *those many other Liquors*, which their *Officers* have endeavour'd to do before *those*, upon whom they thought to impose. How much therefore are the *Gentlemen of England*, who are *Justices of the Peace in the Country*, oblig'd to *them*, as well as the *Prosector* himself, who founds his *Scheme* intirely upon a Declaration that the *Country Justices* would not execute the *present Law*, because the *Duties* were too high, and therefore it is necessary to reduce them *two Thirds*?

In his *late Majesty's* Reign, when the *Practice*, *Force* and *Extension* of the *Law* for the *Duties on Sweets* must have been sufficiently known, there was an *Act* pass'd, if not at the *Desire* of the *Commissioners of Excise*, at least not without their *Knowledge*, by which it appears that *Sweets* were not *Liquors drinkable* of themselves; and the *Method* of preventing *Frauds* in them is, that the *Maker* shall not remove them without a *Certificate*, nor any *Vintner*, or *Vintners*, receive them without *such a Certificate*, under the *Penalty* of *10 s. a Gallon*. This intirely agrees with the *Description* of them, in the *Act* of *K. William*; for after enumerating the *several Ways* that *Sweets* may be made, it goes on thus; and commonly made *Use* of for recovering, increasing, or making of *any Kinds of Wine or Cyder*, or of *any Liquor call'd Wine*, shall be deem'd to be *Sweets within the Act*. From whence it is plain that the *Wine* and the *Cyder* can't be charged as *Sweets*, but only that *Part of the Liquor*, or any *new Inventions of the same Kind*, to supply the *Use* of what was formerly call'd *Sweets*.

The *new Tax*, now in *Agitation*, is on all *Liquors made by Infusion*, *Fermentation*, or otherwise, from *foreign Fruit*, or *Sugar*, or from *Fruit*,

or *Sugar mixt with other Materials*; which will include not only all *English Wines* made of *Sugar*, *Raisins*, *Grapes*, *Elder-Berries*, *Currants*, *Goosberries*, *Cherries*, &c. but likewise all *foreign Wines*, mix'd or increased with any *such Materials*. Nay, even a great *Part of the Cyder* made within this *Kingdom* will come under *this Law*; and *such a Tax*, with the *Duties* already on it, will amount to a *Sort of Prohibition*. What *Numbers* will this involve in that rigid *Inquisition*, the *Excise*?

This Excise-Scheme on Wine may be more extensive than the *last*, which so happily miscarried; for *that* related to *foreign Wines* only; whereas this takes in *several other Liquors*, and consequently may subject greater *Numbers* to its *Power*. Nor will it be the less grievous in this *Light*, because it is computed that it will produce so much less than we were desired to estimate the *other* at; for it renders it the more suspicious that the *Power* alone is aim'd at, since the *Money* is not so much wanted.

Nobody therefore ought to be deduced with the *Expectation* of its stopping, before it comes to be his own particular *Case*; nor can any *Persons*, with *Justice* to themselves and their *Country*, be for laying any *Part* of their *Fellow-Subjects* under *such grievous and oppressive Laws*, without an immediate *Necessity*. It is to be hoped that the *Spirit of Liberty*, which so lately preserved us, is not yet sweeten'd into a more ready *Compliance*.

I need not explain the vast *Benefit* our *Sugar Colonies* will receive from *this Tax*; which, together with the *late Act* for preventing the publick *Sale of Rum*, and all *other spirituous Liquors* made into *Punch*, will certainly retrieve them from that deplorable *Condition*, under which they now labour.

Common-

Common Sense, April 2. N^o 9.

Of the Prerogative of the Crown and the Liberties of the People, and the Necessity of preserving an equal Balance in the Constitution.

S I R,

WE that are out of Affairs may sometimes see more than those who are in will thank us for seeing; but still there may be some Things, which none but those that are in Secrets can truly lay open, and which ought to be laid open before proper Remedies can be applied; notwithstanding this, I shall take the Liberty of offering some Things which are obvious enough, and yet such as ought to be taken into Consideration whenever the Cause comes to be heard.

I must begin, by putting you and the World in mind of that Maxim which will eternally hold good—That when any Alterations are made in a free Government, upon some Necessity, whether pretended or real, if it is not soon brought back to its first Institution, it cannot long continue a free Government.

That which must preserve our Government free, must be an equal Balance betwixt the three constituent Parts of which it is composed; viz. the Regal, the Noble, and the Popular—I believe it is demonstrable, that for several Years past the Regal has drawn from the other two.

I conceive there are three Things which have thrown an Addition of Weight into the Royal Scale.—

The immense Debts of the Nation (I hope that is not the Reason why so little of it has been paid off) which have created new Funds, the Produce of which being appropriated to paying the Interest of the Creditors, passes every Year thro' the Hands of the Ministers, and might be a Source of Corruption, if our Ministers were not Persons of great Integrity.

The second is, the numerous Penal

Laws, which have created new Crimes, and new Punishments; and lays almost all the Trading Part of the Nation, at one Time or other, at the Mercy of the Ministers.

The third is, the great Increase of the Civil List.

All Things in limited Governments are in Nature of Contracts betwixt the Governors and Governed. The People are to allow the Prince his Prerogative, and the Prince to allow the People their Rights. If the People should desire the Prince to give up his Prerogative, and give back his Civil List, that they would allow him what Servants were necessary, would pay both them and his Tradesmen, and take care that he should want for nothing, or, in other Words, that they would make no bad Use of it: Would not the Courtiers say it was a Plot to destroy the Crown, and overturn Monarchy itself?

He who is a Trustee or Representative of the People, would no more give greater Powers to the Crown, than what has been found convenient, than he would give up the Deeds and Titles of his Estate, if he was not under some very corrupt Influence.

In all Treaties, Negotiations, or Bargains whatsoever, where Concessions are made on one Side, there is a Right to expect they should be proportionably made on the other. In limited Governments it must be so, otherwise the Balance must be destroyed. If a Prince should demand more Powers, and more penal Laws than what he had before, he ought certainly to part with some of those of which he is already possess'd.

The King cannot restrain the Liberty of the Subject, without such and such Causes as are limited by our Constitution; but what an Absurdity should we introduce into our Constitution, if we should give the King such a Power, only upon a Presumption, that he will not make Use of it.

Nothing can be so dangerous to the

the Liberties of a Nation, as an immense Civil List in the Hands of the Crown; for in all Countries, whoever has all the Money, will have all the Power, nay, may have it according to Law.

If the Civil List was so large that the Crown should be able to save 3 or 400,000*l.* per Annum, nay, but 100,000*l.* out of it, what is it they might not do? Money has a magnetic Power; Money, and Interest, is of so prodigious multiplying a Nature, that it has been proved, by a plain Calculation, that 100*l.* laid out at Interest, at Ten per Cent. shall, in the Space of 70 Years, amount to above 100,000*l.* If therefore the Prince could be able to lay out 100,000*l.* at Four per Cent. or even Three per Cent. and add every Year 100,000*l.* to his Capital, must not all the Wealth in the Nation in a few Years center in the Crown?

In a Country where Taxes are high, and Living dear, the landed Gentry will certainly run out. And where there is a saving Court, and a necessitous Gentry, the Prince may get Footing into all the Estates in the Kingdom; they may have their Trustees, their Scriveners and Agents to take Mortgages for them in feign'd Names; so that what with this, and with a Number of Places, scarce any Man will know how to live, that has not something given by the Court.

Let it be consider'd what a shocking Sight it would be to behold the Descendants of the reduced Nobility and Gentry, cringing at the Levee of some insolent Upstart, begging for the Payment of a small Pension; while the vile Instrument of arbitrary Power might draw out the alphabetical List of all his Mercenaries, with their several Wages in Columns, in the same Page where he kept another List of Spies and Informers. If ever this should come to pass, I don't know whether we

should be better Christians, or better Protestants than we were heretofore, but certainly we should be more like the old Apostles; for we should be able to say truly with them, *Silver and Gold have we none,* &c.

Fog's Journal. N^o 437.

EXTRACT of a Letter from a British PLANTER now settling in a Dutch Sugar Colony, to his Friend still residing on his Majesty's Island of Antego.

Nov. 30, 1736.

S I R,

OUR News is, that a Plot which had been long forming among the Blacks of Antego to kill the Whites, was to have been executed on the 11th of last Month, being the King's Coronation Day, when they knew the Governour was to make a Ball for the principal Inhabitants; that the Conspirators (chiefly Creoles, and such from Africa, as had been best treated, and most trusted) were first to blow up the Ball-Room (when fullest) with Gun-powder, next to set Fire to the Town in several Places, and then to fall in Sword in Hand among their Owners, from whom, or the King's Troops, they fear'd the leas Resistance, as being a Night consecrated to Mirth; that after a total Massacre ashore, except some Females to be kept for their Lust, they meant to embark in your Ships, and to force the Seamen to navigate them to Africa: But that the Governour thinking fit, on the Death of his eldest Son, to defer the Ball to the 30th, being the King's Birth-Day, a Division soon arose among them, some being for falling on on the 11th, and others for putting it off to the 30th of October, which begot a Discovery; and that, what by Hanging, Burning, Breaking on the Wheel, and Starving on Gibbets, 30 of them are already put to Death. The

The Conduct of *Antego* on this Occasion will, no Doubt, be scan'd by many a Critick at home, where the Fault of the *Slave-Trade*, and all its direful Consequences, are constantly cast on the immediate Possessors of the *Slaves*, and on none else; A for you can no more convince the People there, than you can those very *Slaves*, that the first Authors of this Trade are the Gentry that rule in *Africa*, and sell them to the Traders from *England*; that the next are the *English* Traders who buy B them in *Guinea*, and retail them in the *Sugar* Islands; that the third are the good People of *England*, who protect and encourage this Trade, because all the Gain, both of it and the *Sugar* Trade, always centers among themselves; and that C all the Concern the Planters have in it, is, that rather than drop the *Sugar* Manufacture, they submitted to carry it on with *Slaves* brought to their Door by the Traders of their Mother Nation. Most certainly, no Man who knows what these D *Negroes* are, the Manner of their Conveyance from *Guinea*, &c. can help dreading to have to do with any of them: In Fact, when they provoke a rougher-hewn Planter to Wrath, and one puts him in Mind of the Patience of *Job*, the Answer often is, *there were no Negroes in the Land of Uz*; and many a Time have I heard many of the best and wisest Planters passionately wish, that there was never a *Negro* more to be brought from *Africa* to *America*, and that all the *Slaves* in the *British* *Sugar* Islands were in *Africa* again, or any where but where they are. But these, I say, are Facts not at all minded in *England*, where the *Masters* of the *Slaves* which the Forces on her *Sugar* Islands, after long and various Tortures, have at length got very near the *Coup de Grace* by the late Regulation in the Sale of certain Spirits, and where

even the vilest Scoundrels take the Liberty to treat the same *Masters* with the worst of all Indignities, and to hasten their approaching Ruin. What do you think of the *Speech* in the *Prompter* of *Jan. 10, 1735*, (which you have seen in the *London Magazine* of that Month p. 13.) wherein the naughty Caitiff *does all he can* to animate these unhappy *Slaves* in their Rebellions against their more unhappy *Owners*? And this, as far as yet appears, without any Rebuke, or rather with the good Liking of some no mean Men in *England*.

Favour me, Sir, with a full Account of the Plot, and in Requital I will endeavour to shew you, how the like Conspiracies may be prevented for the future, or how the *Blacks* in the *Sugar* Colonies may be kept in full Obedience. For tho' the *Slave-Trade*, taking it from first to last, and in its full Extent, passes with some, and possibly with me, for one of the foulest Wickednesses the Sun ever saw; yet, when a Nation will give into it, a private Person, who can neither prevent nor remove the Cause, can hardly deserve Blame for seeking to blunt the Edge, and deaden the malign Influences of it, if he can.

Universal Spectator, April 2. N^o 443.

The Mischiefs of Avarice, especially to Lovers.

O Cursed Avarice! Full of thy baleful Influence, what Miseries are suffer'd unredress'd? How few are mov'd with human Woe? How many avert their Eyes and Memories from their unfortunate Friends, and leave them unassisted to struggle with Grief and Disappointments, rather than damp their own Gaiety by entering into their Distress, or hurt their Interest by relieving it?

But of those whose Unhappiness

is owing to this reigning Vice, none seem more the Objects of Pity, and yet are less pity'd, than Lovers: My Friend *Sylvius*, whose Good-Nature, Good-Sense, and agreeable Person gain him the general Esteem of both Sexes, is destroy'd by a successful Passion, and has long dragg'd a hated Life, because the Father of *Callis* thinks his Fortune, tho' competent and capable of answering all the necessary genteel Conveniencies of Life, is not equal to what his Daughter may expect; tho' naturally good and compassionate, he can't prevail with himself to make the least Abatement in his Prospect of Wealth and Grandeur for her. *Pride* and *Luxury*, the Parents of *Avarice*, have introduced so many unreal Wants, and made it so hard to purchase what the deprav'd World calls the Conveniencies of Life, that Parents betimes insinuate to their Children, that neither the Beauties of the Mind or Body can cancel the Defects of Fortune, and therefore are not to be look'd upon with favourable Eyes, but when that is annex'd: Hence Thousands, whose Purity of Inclinations and Sentiments declare them form'd for each other, are for Life separated, and for Life unhappy; because their Fortunes are not exactly equivalent, or not affluent enough to secure to them what the World calls a genteel Life; while others are join'd for Life, with no other Parity than their Fortunes, and who thereby being incapable of entertaining each other with any tolerable Satisfaction, in vain seek to make up the Loss of Love and Friendship in the Glitter of a Drawing Room, the Glare of Jewels, Dress, and splendid Equipage, or the Lull of an Opera: Wretched Exchange! How inferior in Bliss to the following Picture of Life!

But happy they! the happiest of their kind,
Whom gentler strains unite, and in one fate
Their hearts, their fortunes, and their beings
blend!

'Tis not the coarser tie of human laws,
Unnatural, and foreign to the mind,
That binds their peace; but harmony itself
Attuning all their passions into love:
Where friendship full exerts his softest pow'r,
Perfect esteem, enliv'n'd by desire
Ineffable, and sympathy of soul, [ing will,
Thought meeting thought, and will prevent
With boundless confidence; for nought but
love
Can answer love, and render bliss secure.

Thompson's Spring.

Gentleman's Journal, April 7. N^o 330.

Some general Remarks on a Bill now depending in Parliament, entitled, A BILL for the more effectual punishing Rogues and Vagabonds, and for the better Relief and Employment of such poor Persons as are therein mentioned. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament.

S I R,

As you have ever exerted yourself in Support of our Constitution and Defence of our ancient Liberties, I cannot help applying myself to you with regard to the present Bill, which is now under your Consideration.

I must confess, from the specious Title it bears, I was induced to think the Bill a very necessary one, little imagining a Poor's Bill could be fraught with such dangerous Powers; but on Examination I find, what was designed for punishing Rogues and Vagabonds, may prove a Scourge to the People, and while it proposes Relief to the Poor, imposes a Yoke on the Publick.

As all Approaches towards absolute Power and arbitrary Administration ought to be strenuously opposed, so we should be more than ordinary careful that such superior Powers never come into the Hands of so inferior a Magistrate as a Justice of Peace, I shall submit, Sir, the following Remarks to your Consideration.

BILL, Page 4. Among other Things, Be it enacted, that all Persons whom the Justices shall adjudge dangerous

dangerous to the People; shall be deemed incurrible Rogues.

This general Power of adjudging Persons dangerous to the People, may prove of fatal Consequence, since any one who either by voting at Elections contrary to the Inclination of the Justices; or by any other Means may incur their Displeasure, may easily be adjudged within the Description of these general Words, dangerous to the People, and suffer the Punishment of incurrible Rogues, which by this Bill is made Transportation, and from which Sentence there lies no Appeal.

Page 6. Be it enacted, that any two or more Justices, in the last Week of the Month of March, June, September, and December in every Year, or oftener if Need be, shall meet in their respective Divisions, and by their Warrants command the Constable of every Hundred, &c. in their several Divisions, who shall be assisted with sufficient Men of the same Place, to make a general privy Search in one Night thro' their several Limits, for the finding of Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars; and such as they shall apprehend they shall cause to be brought before any Justice, &c.

This is certainly a very dangerous Clause, for the Latitude of Power it gives the Justices, any two of whom may, as often as they please, meet and empower a Constable with his Myrriors, to make a general privy Search in the Night-times which Search we may observe is not at all limited, but general, and consequently every House liable to it; thus every Man's House may be visited at Midnight: at the Will of the Constable, who has this Advantage over the Executioners, that the one cannot do it without a particular Information upon Oath, the other may without any Information at all.

Page 7. Be it enacted, that when any Person or Persons shall be so apprehended, and brought before any Jus-

tice or Justices, it shall, and may be lawful for such Justice or Justices, if, upon Examination, he or they shall see Cause, to commit such Person or Persons to the House of Correction till the next Quarter Sessions.

By this Clause a Justice of Peace has the Power to commit any Person to the House of Correction till the next Quarter Sessions, which may be 3 Months, without Bail or Mainprize; what fatal Uses may be made of this Power, and how deeply it strikes at the Foundation of Liberty, let any one determine!

Page 8. Be it further enacted, that if, at the Quarter Sessions, the Justice shall adjudge any Person so committed, to be an idle disorderly Rogue, they may confine him in the House of Correction for a Time not exceeding 12 Months. If they adjudge him to be a Rogue and Vagabond, they may confine him a Twelvemonth to hard Labour. If they adjudge him to be an incorrigible Rogue, they may, and shall confine him in such House of Correction, or transport him for 7 Years.

By this Clause, after a Person has been committed without Bail or Mainprize by any one or more Justices, perhaps in 3 or 6 Months Time, he may have the Comfort to be tried by the Brethren of the Bench; who may confine or keep to hard Labour for a Twelvemonth, or transport for 7 Years. Thus the Justices have a Power, first of committing without Bail, afterwards of judging their own Proceedings, and the Subject is deprived of that inestimable Privilege a Jury. Could it be imagined that Justices would ever make an ill Use of this Power, what Hazard might they make on the Liberties and Properties of the People?

Page 9. Be it enacted, that if any Persons find themselves aggrieved by the Act of any Justice or Justices of the Peace out of Sessions, &c. they may appeal to the next General Quarter Sessions, giving reasonable Notice thereof,

thereof, whose Order therein shall be final, and no Certiorari shall be granted to remove any Warrant, Order, or other Proceedings whatsoever, of any Justice or Justices of the Peace, or Sessions concerning the same.

By this Clause, if a Person is injured by any Justice, he can only appeal to his Brother Justice for Redress; and how unequal the Contest would be between a Member of the Bench, and a poor Appellant, is easy to determine, if it should happen that they should err in their Judgment (and every one will allow a Bench of Justices not to be infallible) the injured will then have no Refuge left, since, by making their Order final, the Bench is become the *Dominant Resort* of all Right and Justice; thus this Clause may serve the Justices as a Tower of Defence against the People, from the Batteries of which they may annoy them without Fear or Danger.

Thus, Sir, I am apprehensive that this Bill, should it pass in the Form it now is, will only conduce towards weakening the Constitution, and rendering the Liberties of the People more precarious.

Daily Gazetteer, April 7. N^o 558.

Of the first Establishment of the BANK.

HERE, certainly, never was a Body of Men, that has contributed more to the publick Safety and Emolument; than the Bank of England; and yet, even this great, this useful Company, has not escaped the Investives of malicious Tongues.

The Bank was erected by Virtue of an Act of Parliament, made in the fifth Year of K. William and Q. Mary, which gives a Power to their Majesties, by Commission under the Great Seal, to authorize and appoint any Number of Person^s, to take and receive all such voluntary Subscriptions as shall be made, to-

wards the raising and paying into the Receipt of Exchequer, the Sum of 1,200,000*l*. Part of 1,500,000*l*. which was granted by Parliament, by several Rates and Duties upon Tunnage of Ships and Vessels, and upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for carrying on the War against France.

And by the same Act of Parliament, their Majesties were further enabled, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal, to incorporate such Subscribers and Contributors, their Heirs, Successors, or Assigns, to be one Body Corporate and Politick, by the Name of the *Governor and Company of the Bank of England*; and by the same Name to have perpetual Succession, and a Common Seal; and to grant them several other Privileges, Immunities, and Advantages; in the Act particularly expressed.

Bishop Burnet says, That when the erecting this new Corporation was under Consideration, it occasion'd great Debates: Some, says he, thought a Bank would grow to be a Monopoly; all the Money of England would come into their Hands, and they would, in a few Years, become Masters of the Wealth and Stock of the Nation. But those that were for it, argued, that the Credit it would have must increase Trade, and the Circulation of Money, at least in Bank Notes. It was visible, continues he, that all the Enemies of the Government set themselves against it with such a Determiner of Zeal, that this alone convinced all People, that they saw the Strength that our Affairs would receive from it. I had heard, says he, the Dutch often reckon up the great Advantages they had from their Banks; And they concluded, that as long as England continued jealous of the Government, a Bank could never be settled among us, nor gain Credit enough to support itself; and upon that they judged, that the Superiority in Trade

must still lie on their Side. And a little further the same Historian says, *the Advantages the King, and all concern'd in Gallies, had from the Bank, were soon sensibly felt, that all People, fell into the secret Reason, that made the Enemies of the Constitution, set themselves with so much Earnestness against it.*

After the Bank was established, the publick Credit revived, and the King was supplied with Money regularly, and upon reasonable Terms. He was enabled to push the War on with Vigour against France, in Defence of our Religion and Liberties, which tho' the Price of so much Blood and so much Treasure, yet by those who have a just Sense of those invaluable Blessings, cannot be thought to be purchased too dear.

And not only in those Times of Danger and Distress, but ever since, this flourishing and opulent Company, have, upon every Emergency, always cheerfully and readily supply'd the Necessities of the Nation; so that there have never been any Difficulties, any Embarrassments, any Delays in raising the Money which has been granted by Parliament for the Service of the Publick; and it may very truly be said, that they have, in many critical and important Conjunctions, reliev'd this Nation out of the greatest Difficulties, if not absolutely saved it from Ruin; and therefore it is not at all to be wonder'd, that there should be Persons now, as well as formerly, who take all Occasions to lessen and depreciate this great Fund of publick Credit, and this great Support of the present Establishment.

Craftsman, April 9. N^o 562.

A Proposal for the Benefit of the Country, &c.

WHEN we consider the slow Progress, made in the Payment of our Debts, by the Sinking

and, in the last blessed 20 Years; and that we now owe as much as we did upon the Conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht; tho' the People have not paid less in Taxes than they did, whilst they were carrying on that glorious War; tho' the Proprietors of the publick Debts have suffered a Reduction of one Third of their Interest for that Use, and are soon like to have it reduced to one Half; yet still there is annually rais'd upon the People as much as ever, and the only Ease they have received was a Year and a Quarter's Discharge from the Salt Tax; which was almost sufficient to convince us that our Debts were never to be paid off, if we expected at the same Time to get rid of our Taxes and Collectors; this,

I say, must give a melancholy Prospect; but how much more must it affect us to hear it publicly avow'd, *That it is necessary to continue the Debts of the Nation, at the best Security of the Protestant Religion, and the present Royal Family on the Throne.* According to the Reasoning of those who think Interest the governing Principle of all human Actions, nothing can tend so much to the Revival of Jacobitism, as the Doctrine that all are to pay that a few only may receive. If such Doctrines as these were to take Place, there is Reason to apprehend the most dreadful Consequences. In such a Case, indeed, it will be our Happiness that the glorious Plan of Power, so successfully pursued, will be the only Thing, that can save us; and that the first Maxim in the Proposition to K. James I, for bridling the Impertinency of Parliaments, will be verifi'd; viz. *That in Policy it is a greater Tye of the People, by Force and Necessity, than merely by Love and Affection, for by the one, the Government resisteth always secure but by the other, no longer than the People are contented.* (See p. 153.)

This new Doctrine seems to be
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substituted in the Room of *another*, now almost quite worn out; viz. that the Debts of the Nation are the Riches of the Nation; and as we have hitherto been very provident in not losing those Riches, so our present Situation is such, that we shall hardly know what to do with all the Money, now so easily collected from the People, notwithstanding the very expensive current Service of the Year. These happy Inconveniences would therefore be in some Danger, were it not thought advisable to postpone the Discharge of any of them, for 14 Years, upon this valuable Consideration to the Publick, of their parting with one Fourth of their Interest; from whence it might be naturally imagined, that some of our most burthensome Taxes would be taken off; but as it hath been declared, that the Publick is not to receive any such Benefit from this Scheme, every Body is at a Loss to guess how the *Sinking Fund* (as it was formerly call'd) is to be apply'd; since no Debts are to be discharged, nor any Taxes taken off.

Tho' I confess myself one of those, who labour under this Difficulty, I can by no means approve of the following Proposal, which hath lately fallen into my Hands, upon this Subject: Which, whether it was calculated for the Service of a certain Person, or only by Way of Mirth, is not very plain.

A Proposal for the Benefit of the Country, by keeping the Gentry there, for 14 Years, and not holding of any Parliaments, during that Time.

In order to show the Practicability of his Scheme, the Projector begins with observing that the *Sinking Fund*, with the Million, that is to be paid off this Year, will produce *annuus Annis*, 1,150,000*l.* The additional Increase, by the Reduction of Interest to 3 per Cent. and taking off no Taxes, is 450,000*l.* a Year: Then granting the *Commissioners of the Cu-*

stant the same Powers over their *superior Officers*, as the *Commissioners of Excise* have, (which they declared would enable them to prevent the Frauds in Wine and Tobacco) there will be an additional Produce, according to former Estimations, of 500,000*l.* per *Annus* and as so great an Increase will arise from this small Alteration upon two Articles alone, it may be modestly computed that at least 100,000*l.* per *Annus* will be farther saved by preventing all the other Frauds in the Customs: The Savings upon several Items, by not holding of Parliaments, will be, upon the lowest Calculation, 250,000*l.* per *Annus*. These several Sums amount yearly to 2,450,000*l.* The Expence of the current Service, even for this Year, exclusive of the Deficiencies of former *Land and Malt-Taxes*, is about 2,000,000; and tho' the same Army and Navy should be kept up, a Saving of 100,000*l.* per *Ann.* may be justly allow'd, upon those Heads; which reduces it to 1,900,000*l.* and this being deducted from the 2,450,000*l.* above, there will remain 550,000*l.* a Year, to supply all extraordinary Occasions and Emergencies of the 14 Years, without the farther Assistance of Parliament.

The Advantages to the Nation, by rendering this Scheme effectual, will be,

1. That the *Land and Malt-Tax* will cease; which will enable Country Gentlemen to make a better Provision for their Families, than having 1 per Cent. more paid for Interest of Money.

2. They will live more comfortably and hospitably amongst their Neighbours than they have hitherto done, when that Bone of Contention, Elections for Members of Parliament, is taken away.

3. Their Health and Virtue will be the better secured, by their not being infected with the Luxuries and

Debaucheries of this Town; by which Means we may hope to see hereafter a new Race of healthy, robust, vigorous young Gentlemen.

It is apprehended that if this Project was to take Place, there would be no Occasion for the late Scheme of Excises, or any new ones; but if they should be thought wanting, the *Affair of Swess* may be easily extended to include all Dealers in Wine, and, upon a third Reading, a Rider may take in all the Rest, that is found necessary. (See p. 187.)

There is no Danger in this Projector's Scheme; since he hath not founded it on the Principles of Action, which now alone prevail. He hath calculated it for those primitive Times, when the Ladies were contented with their Dairy, and Housewifery; the Gentlemen with their Hunting and Husbandry; Peasants and Ministers with being only watchful Guardians for the Good of the People. But the present Generation are grown so much wiser, there can be no Apprehension that the Members will be brought into such destructive Measures to themselves and their Posterity. No, they will bask and rejoice in the Sunshine of Liberty, the annual holding of Parliaments; and will certainly meet once a Year, for the better Improvement of their Country and themselves, and for disposing of the Moneys already collected.

It is likewise against the Interest of those, whose Parts, Knowledge, and past Experience render them capable of the greatest Service to their King and Country. It would then no longer require an able and dexterous Minister, broken in the Paths of Virtue, to govern; since the first Minion, who came to Hand, might be thought sufficient for that Purpose. For this Reason, even the worst of Ministers, in all Cases, (except one, which I shall mention hereafter) will be against any Proposals of this Na-

ture. It will always be their Interest not to load the People with burthenome Taxes only, but by an oppressive and influencing Collection; nor will they ever part with such Taxes, when they have these farther, advantageous Circumstances attending them, that the Consumer does not see he pays any Tax; and, from the Length of Time, it is almost forgot that any Duty is laid upon those Commodities; but that their Dearness proceeds from other Causes. From whence too many are induced to believe, that they pay no other Taxes than such as go immediately out of their own Hands, or are charged in their Accounts. This Sort of imperceptible Taxes, as they are justly call'd, tends very much to make a bad Administration easy; since it furnishes them not only with the Means of Money, but at the same Time takes away the principal Reason of Opposition to their Measures, and even the very Feeling of the People that they pay for them.

But let us now consider the only Case, in which a desperate Minister would be for such a Scheme. It must be, when he hath involved his Country in the most disgraceful, as well as hazardous Measures. It must be, when he hath endanger'd his Prince, by robbing him of the Affections of his People, and by laying his own Guilt at his Door. It must be, when he finds that he can no longer go on in the same Methods, which he hath hitherto pursued; when he hath try'd all his Arts, and publicly declared, that he hath endeavour'd at a Reconciliation, and would be glad of any Means to bring it about; even almost to being the Scape-Goat himself.

Were this our Situation, much might be apprehended; but it is our present Happiness, that no Scheme of this Nature, or any that can have the least Tendency to it, is likely to meet with any Success. I shall therefore

fore' conclude with the *Fable of the Fox and the Wren*; as it is translated from *Æsop* by Sir Roger L'Estrange, with his Reflection upon it.

A slim, thin-gutted Fox made an hard Shift to wriggle his Body into an Hen-roost; and when he had stuff'd his Guts well, he squeez'd hard to get out again; but the Hole was too little for him. There was a Wren by a proper Way off; that good learning at him all the while. — Brother Raynard, says he, your Belly was empty, when you went in, and you must e'en stay till your Belly is empty again, before you come out.

Reflection.

The Fox's Case here is that of many a publick Minister, who comes empty in; but when he hath cramm'd his Guts well, he is fain to squeeze hard before he can get out again, and glad to compound with his very Skin for his Carcase.

Common Sense, April 9. N^o 10.

Some Thoughts on LEONIDAS, an Epic Poem lately published.

S I R,

SINCE I have read *Leonidas*, I have been so full of all the Beauties, I met with in it, that to give some Vent, I found it necessary to write to you, and invite my Countrymen to take Part with me in the Pleasure of admiring what so justly deserves their Admiration. And in doing this I have yet a further View, I desire to do them Good as well as please them; for never yet was an Epic Poem wrote with so noble and so useful a Design; the whole Plan and Purpose of it being to shew the Superiority of Freedom over Slavery; and how much Virtue, publick Spirit, and the Love of Liberty are preferable both in their Nature and Effects, to Riches, Luxury, and the Insolence of Power.

This great and instructive Moral is set forth by an Action the most proper to illustrate it of all that an-

cient or modern History can afford; enforce'd by the most sublime Spirit of Poetry, and adorn'd by all the Charms of an active and warm Imagination, under the Restraint of a cool and sober Judgment.

And it has another special Claim to your Protection; for I will venture to say, there never was an Epic Poem which had so near a Relation as this to *Common Sense*; the Author of it not having allow'd himself the Liberty so largely taken by his Predecessors, of making Excursions beyond the Bounds, and out of Sight of it, into the airy Regions of *Poetical Mythology*. There are neither fighting Gods, nor scolding Goddesses, neither Miracles nor Enchantments, neither Monsters nor Giants in his Work; but whatsoever human Nature can afford that is most astonishing, marvellous, and sublime.

And it has this particular Merit, to recommend it, that, tho' it has quite the Air of an ancient Epic Poem, there is not so much as a single Simile in it, that is borrowed from any of the Ancients, and yet, I believe, there is hardly any Poem that has such a Variety of *beautiful Comparisons*; so just a Confidence had the Author in the Extent, and rich Abundance of his own Imagination.

The artful Conduct of the principal Design; the Skill in connecting and adapting every Episode to the carrying on, and serving that Design; the Variety of Characters, the great Care to keep them, and distinguish each from the other by a Propriety of Sentiment and Thought, all these are Excellencies which the best Judges of Poetry will be particularly pleas'd with in *Leonidas*.

Upon the whole, Sir, I look upon this Poem as one of those few of distinguish'd Worth and Excellence, which will be handed down with Respect to all Posterity, and which, in the long Revolution of past Centuries, but two or three Coun-

And I can't help congratulating my own, that after having in the last Age brought forth a Milton, she has in this produced *no more* such Poets, as we have the Happiness to see flourish now together, I mean Mr. Pope, and Mr. Glover.

Fog's Journal, April 9. No 438.

Monsieur Chauvelin's Miserere to his Eminence, the Cardinal, the Day preceding his Disgrace. (See P. 167.)

MISERERE *Moi*: Most eminent Cardinal; commiserate me according to your accustomed Compassion, and do not suffer me to be unmasked.

Et, Secundum Multitudinem: And, answerably to your abundant Goodness towards me; screen my Iniquities, my Thefts, and those many *Arts*, to which I have affixed the proper Seals, after I had made the requisite Alterations, and converted them to the Use and Profit of those who offered most Money.

Amplius lava me: Redouble your Favours to me, spite of all my Wickedness. I have the Ambition to be a Duke; it is very just and reasonable that my Family should pass after years; cleanse me, and cause the Means of my Origin to disappear.

Quoniam iniquitatem meam: I acknowledge all my Prevarications; whereof the least Part only are suspected by the Publick. I have had all my Crimes and Backslidings before my Eyes, ever since you began to perceive them: They incessantly rise up against me; the Gratifications which I received from Spain, to bring you over to conclude the *Sevil* Treaty; what was remitted me

from England, to engage you not to push on the Disgrace of *Pelesier des Forts*; the Procedure of *M. de la Mothe**; the Murder of *M. de Plelo*†; my haughty Deportment towards the Secretaries of State; my Alliances and Union with the *Janseists*; my keeping back and secreting your Dispatches, to send away Orders quite contrary to yours; my Knaveries with Regard to the *India Company*; my *Portefueller*, which I took Care to stuff full of *Actions*; the bad Use I was pleas'd to make of the Authority my Post gave me; the infamous Measures I took to defraud the Prince of *Carignan's* Creditors; who perished for Want; my betraying the most momentous Secrets; the abominable Perfidy I practis'd against the Marquis of *Segurs*; my Ingratitude to the *Marechal D'Uxelle*; my many great Insolencies; my Intrigues; and finally, even the *Conrats of Sultan Mahomet II.* which my Wife disposed of: All these Objects, which are eternally before me, make me suffer Martyrdom, filling me with Horror, Confusion and Reproach.

Tibi soli peccavi. Yet the most heinous of all my Offences, is my having sinned against you, and gone about to supplant even your Eminence.

Dotebo iniquos vias tuae. I will give a favourable Turn to your Steps, and Proceedings, among those who hate you; I will re-establish your Credit with the King of Spain, and will prevail on *Monsieur* the Duke to speak well of you.

Libera me de sanguinibus. Deliver me from the Enemies who surround me, and who thirst after my Blood; you who are the Divinity whom they adore. The Parliament, *Marechal*

* It was by the Keeper of the Seals private Order, that *Mons. de la Mothe* hinder'd the Junction of these Ships: which were appointed to favour the *Danzickers*, and let them be sent up in their City by the *Russians*. † *Mons. de Plelo*, who oppos'd the Keeper of the Seals in his Design, and who was for forwarding the Affairs of *K. Stanislaus*, was kill'd before *Danzick*, not by the Enemy, but by our own People.

de Noailles, with such Numbers of others, wait only for the Maturity of their Project, in order to tear me piece-meal: O leave me not to them: And this astonishing Goodness of yours will very speedily be counted a consummate Act of Justice.

Domine labia; Restore to me the Use of my Tongue which I have lost: It is now three Months that I have not known what I should say to any of the Embassadors, or other Foreign Ministers.

Quoniam si voluisti sacrificium. If I might appease your Eminence at the Expence of a few Millions, I would lay them down to you upon the Spot. But what Service would that be to you? You are at the Fountain-Head: Besides, your Eminence does not covet Wealth, in order to employ it in exterior Pomp and Splendor.

Benigne Fac. Persevere in your good Opinion of me; suffer me to accumulate a new Mass of Wealth, wherewithal to accomplish my commenced Purchase of *La Brie*, and to convert once more *Gnosbois* into a stately Castle.

Tunc acceptabis; I will cause your Eminence's Arms to be station'd by my own, and that shall remain a precious Monument of my Acknowledgment.

Et super altare tuum vitulos; And my Son, who is really fit for nothing else, shall constantly make his Court to your Eminence's Nephews.

GLORIA CARDINALI,

Craftsman, April. 16. N^o 561.

Of the FREE-MASONS.

S I R,

AMONGST all the Instances, lately produced; of our Advantages over other Nations, in Point of *Liberty*, there is one that deserves your serious Consideration; I mean the Toleration of that mysterious Society, call'd FREE-MASONS, who

have been lately suppress'd not only in *France* but in *Holland*, as a dangerous Race of Men; (See p. 167.) whereas here they are permitted to hold their private Meetings, in every Part of the Town, and even to appear in publick Procession, with the Ensigns of their Order.

Indeed, I have often wonder'd they have not been laid under some Restraints even in *England*; for tho' our present most excellent Ministers have always preserved a sacred Regard to *Liberty*, I think no Government ought to suffer such dark and clandestine Assemblies, where Plots against the State may be carried on, under the Pretence of *Brotherly Love* and *Good-Fellowship*.

The Act of Toleration does not allow of private *Conventicles*, even in Cases of Conscience, but enjoins that all Meeting-Houses, or Places of Worship, shall be not only licensed but publick; and all others are punishable as contrary to Law. Shall more Indulgence be granted to this inconspicuous *Fraternity*, who do not pretend to plead Conscience, or any publick Emolument, in their Behalf?

They derive their Original, as I am inform'd, from the Building of *Babel*, which was an audacious Attempt against *Heaven*; insomuch that God himself thought fit to defeat their Design by the Confusion of Tongues, that such impious Offenders might not understand one another. But our modern *Masons* pretend to an universal, dumb Language, by which People of all Nations, who are initiated into their Mysteries, can easily converse together, by the Help of certain Signs, which nobody understands but themselves.

It is likewise said that by the same Signs they can oblige any of their Brethren to leave off their Business, and follow them wherever they please; a Power of a very dangerous Nature, and which may be some Time or other turn'd to a very ill Use.

The Concord, which reigns amongst them, is very surprizing; for tho' they are compos'd of all Nations, Parties and Religions, we are told there hath not happen'd the least Quarrel or Disturbance in any of their Assemblies.

That impenetrable Secrecy, for which they are so famous, is likewise Matter of just Suspicion, and seems to indicate that there is something in their nocturnal Rites which they are afraid of having discover'd.

For this Reason, they not only lock themselves into the Room, where they meet, and suffer none to wait upon them, except Brethren; but upon all extraordinary Occasions, (such as admitting new Members, or instituting Lodges) a Centinel is plac'd at the Outside of the Door, with a drawn Sword in his Hand, to prevent all Discoveries.

This is not the only Mark of their being a military Order; for they give their chief Officer the Title of Grand-Master; in Imitation, I presume, of the Knights of Malta; nay, he hath a Sword of State carried before him, almost as large and richly ornamented as that of his Majesty. This Sword was presented to them, as I am inform'd, by a great Roman-Catholick Peer: With what View I shall not take upon myself to determine. But if the worshipful Mr. B. were taken up, and closely examined about it, I fancy he might be induc'd to make some usef'ul Discoveries.

There seems likewise to be something emblematical in their Gloves and Aprons. A Glove is only another Word for a Gauntlet, and a Gauntlet is a Piece of Armour for the Hands. An Apron, indeed, is a proper Badge of Masonry, in the literal Sense; but I am told, it is likewise a Term in Gunnery for a flat Piece of Lead to cover the Touch-hole of a Cannon, when it is loaded; and I leave my Superiors

to judge whether it may not be made Use of by our Free-Masons to typify something of the same Nature.

It farther deserves Notice how artfully they have dispersed themselves, in different Lodges, thro' all Parts of the Kingdom, and particularly in this great Metropolis; as if it were on Purpose to beat up for Volunteers, in which they make no Distinction of Persons; for they not only admit of Turks, Jews and Infidels, but even Jacobites, Nonjurors, and Papists themselves.

They keep their Proceedings so very private, that it is impossible to guess what Seal of Secrecy they have invented, which is able to tie up the Mouths of such Multitudes of People; for there are many of them, whom the most solemn Oaths could not bind, on any other Occasion, and yet nothing hath been able to shake their Fidelity, in this Particular: I wish it may not be somewhat like that horrid Obligation, which Casilthe administer'd to his Fellow-Conspirators.

Upon the whole, this mysterious Society hath too much the Air of an Inquisition, where every Thing is transacted in the Dark; and I wish it may not be spawn'd from the same hellish Original, notwithstanding its pretended Antiquity.

I am sensible that many plausible Reasons may be alledged, in Favour of this Fraternity.

And, first, it may be said that a learned and worthy Divine of the Church of England hath long ago publish'd the Institutions of the Free-Masons, which contain nothing but what is perfectly innocent, and prove them rather to be a whimsical than a dangerous Sect. But this Book seems design'd rather to amuse than inform the World, and put them upon a wrong Scent; for it is not to be suppos'd he would reveal those boasted Mysteries, in which the very Essence

of their Society consists. They have, no Doubt, their *Secreta Monita*, as well as the *Jesuits*, and we can never hope to see them, in *one Case*, unless by meer Accident, as it happen'd in the *other*.

But the most material Argument is, that there are so many of the *Nobility, Gentry*, and even the *Clergy*, of the most undoubted Affection to his Majesty, in *this Society*; that as it will be impossible to carry on any wicked Designs against him, without their Knowledge, so it cannot be supposed they will concur in them, or conceal them. But, with all due Deference to *these honourable and reverend Persons*, I must beg leave to give my Opinion, that *this Argument* is very fallacious, and upon which we can have no sure Dependence; for I apprehend the *Obligation*, which the *Free-Masons* take, to be of such a Nature, that the *blackest Conspiracies*, or *Machinations*, will not allow them to break thro' it. Besides, how can we be sure that *these Persons*, who are known to be well-affected, are let into all their *Mysteries*? They acknowledge, there is a Distinction between *Prentices* and *Master-Masons*; and who knows whether they may not have an higher Order of *Cabalists*, who keep the *grand Secret* of all intirely to themselves?

It may likewise be ask'd, perhaps, in what *Plots*, or *ill Designs*, they have been engaged, ever since the first Foundation of *their Society*? This Question is not easily answer'd; for their Principles and Actions are so unfathomable, that nobody can pretend to say, with any Certainty, in what they are, or are not concern'd; but I cannot help thinking them at the Bottom of *one Affair*, which hath lately happen'd, and is now upon the *Tapis*; I mean the late Tumult at *Edinburgb*, and the Murder of Capt. *Porteous*; which was concerted and executed with so much

Unanimity and *Secrecy*, that none but a *Mqb. of Free-Masons* could be guilty of it, without the Discovery of *one Person* in so numerous a Multitude as were concern'd in that *atrocious Fact*. (See Vol. V. p. 510.)

A I am glad to hear that a *Law* is likely to pass, in the Nature of the *Black-Act*, (the most compendious of all *penal Laws*) for preventing any *such Riots* for the future, by trying the *Authors*, or *Accomplices*, of them, in *England*; for if the *Scots* will not find one another guilty, there is all the Reason in the World they should be try'd by an *impartial Jury*, who know nothing of them, or *their Characters*; and I hope to see the *Free-Masons* included in the *same Bill*; for they may be properly said to go in *Disguise*.

I know *these Men* are generally look'd upon, in *England*, as a Parcel of idle People, who meet together only to make merry, and play some ridiculous Pranks; but it is very plain that the wise Governments of *France* and *Holland* look upon them in a very different Light; and I humbly hope to see my own Country follow the Example of the *latter*, at least, by suppressing *such dangerous Assemblies*.

B But if a *total Suppression* should be thought inconsistent with our *free Constitution* and *most incomparable Government*, I have an Alternative to offer; which is to lay a double Tax upon all *Free-Masons*, as there hath been for many Years upon the *Papists*.

G I flatter myself that *this Scheme* will not prove disagreeable, at present, when *great Sums of Money* are wanted, and *Ways and Means* are so very hard to be found. I am sure, it will be more acceptable to the Generality of Mankind, or at least of Womankind, than the *Reduction of Interest* to 3 per Cent. without any *Redemption of Taxes*; for as the *Ladies* have a very bad Opinion of the *Free-Masons*,

Messons, and are incapable of being admitted into *that Order*, they will never complain of any Tax being laid upon *keeping a Secret*, which they are not let into themselves.

I am, SIR, &c.

JACHIN. A

Daily Gazetteer, Apr. 16. N^o 366.

ONE who subscribes himself an *Adventurer in Politicks*, in a long Letter to the *Author of Common-Sense* (whom he charges with falsely assuming that Title) in Answer to his Paper of Apr. 2. (p. 189.) among other Things, says: To convince you how little *Common-Sense* there is in your three Assertions, I shall observe on the first Head, That the Funds being conceded by you (as in Truth they are) to be *appropriated by Parliament*, a Minister is accountable to Parliament for any Draught made, and much more so, if contrary to its *Appropriation*; and I question much, if an Order from the *Treasury* for a large Sum out of any of these *appropriated Funds*, payable to other Persons, and for other Purposes than those appointed by Parliament, would be immediately complied with, by the Officers of the *Exchequer*, with whom such *Trust of Funds* is vested; so that it is a Mistake (hardly possible for *Common-Sense* to make) to say these Funds may be a Source of Corruption, by passing thro' the Hands of the Ministry; for they have no other Direction in the *Application* of it, than as *Members of Parliament: Lords of the Treasury; or Officers of the Exchequer*, draw, indeed, and pay, but 'tis in Conformity to the Application made by the first.

For Instance, there is a Million appropriated by Parliament, for paying off so much of the Old S. S. Annuities. Can the Minister touch any of this Money, and apply it to other Uses? Can the Treasury

issue out Orders for disposing of it, any other Way? It passes no more thro' the Hands of the Ministry, than any Money in an Office does thro' the Hands of those who hold that Office: And as these, under the Penalty of the Law, may alienate any Money intrusted; so at the same Price indeed, may the Minister; and the whole of this Danger, is no more than what any Society may apprehend from any, one single Member of it, who may violate the Laws, if he will incur the Penalty: But Society, in its Nature, can admit of no other Security.

As to the second, till you, Sir, will be pleased to shew with *Common-Sense*, what new Crimes and new Punishments are the Birth of the numerous Penal Laws you inveigh against, and what those Penal Laws are, as well as how the trading Part of the Nation lies at the Mercy of the Ministers, it will not be necessary to add any Thing farther on that Head; for I can hardly think you have in your Eye any late Acts against *Smuggling*.

As to the third, I shall only observe, that when any such *necessitous, greedy and rapacious Fellow* shall be afterwards *rise at Court, and by the Plunder of the Publick, shall not only have enriched his worthless Family, but made a waxen Parliament*, I may then, with you, apprehend all you fear, for our Liberties. In the mean Time, as I can at present discover no such *Fellow*, and am willing to believe the greatest Part of that august Assembly which, at this Instant, represents the People, are Men of *Principles*, as well as *good Sense and Honour*, I cannot from *unsupported Postulata*, draw real Inferences of present Danger.

The Civil List is, indeed, Money, of which no Account can be demanded by Parliament; nor, indeed, ought: So that if this may be a possible Source of Corruption, it has

been so ever since there has been a *Civil List*, and must continue so while there is one. This is one of those necessary Evils all Governments are subject to, and 'tis quite idle to quote this *Constitutional Error*, in Aggravation of the present Times.

I pass over your Chain of Suppositions, as having neither *Common Sense* nor *Common Truth* in them, in their Application to the present Times. As general Maxims I'll allow them to have both, as have all *Political Maxims*; but the Dangers foreseen by *Political Maxims*, need not alarm a Country with Fears of Loss of its Liberty, or Subversion of its *Constitution*. And that Nation that should receive a *Panick* from a Survey of such Dangers in *Political Theory*, would deserve as much Compassion and Regard, as a Man who having read a Treatise, *Of all the Dissempers incident to the human Body, should fancy himself attack'd by them all, because liable to them all.*

Common-Sense, April 16. N^o 11.

Of Taxes and Tax-Gatherers.

IT is an Observation made of the People of this Island by all Foreigners, That no People dabble more in Politicks, no People understand less of them. They have likewise begun, of late Years, to make another Observation, which, I hope, has not as yet any Foundation, That no People talk more of Liberty, no People enjoy less. This, I say, has not as yet, I hope, any Foundation. It must proceed from their Ignorance of our Constitution, and of the Happiness we at present enjoy, by means of the Frequency, and the Independency of our Parliaments. But if a late Doctrine should prevail,

that the present High Duties upon our Trade, our Labourers, and Manufacturers, ought to be continued, under Pretence of giving Ease to our Landed Gentlemen; the last Observation will, in a few Years, become as true as the first.

I am far from imagining, that the whole Expence of our Government should be laid upon our Landed Gentlemen. I think there should be no Tax laid upon Lands, but what ought to be equally laid upon every other yearly Revenue, let it proceed from what it will; and in this Country, as well as in every other, some Methods may certainly be found out for making every Man give an Account of his yearly Revenue, whether it proceeds from Land, from Money, from Trade, or from any Post or Employment. But, I say, that all Excises, all Duties laid upon Goods, and levied from the Importers, Manufacturers, Retailers, or Consumers, have been thought inconsistent with the Liberties of a free People; because they cannot be levied without maintaining a great Number of Officers, and enacting severe penal Laws; both which have always been deem'd inconsistent with Liberty.

The *Roman Senate*, in the purest Times of that Republick, were of Opinion, that every Kind of Duty or Imposition, which required the Employing of a great Number of Officers, was inconsistent with the Liberties of a free People. For when they took into Consideration the Settling of the Government of *Macedonia* and *Illyria*; after they had conquer'd them, *Livy* tells us, among other Things, it was resolv'd to abolish the Duties upon the *Macedonian Mines*, and upon the *Pridure* of *Country Farms*; the first of which brought in a most prodigious Revenue: Because without *Publicans*

*: *Publicani*, or *Publicans*, was a general Term used by the *Romans*; for those we call *Custom-houses* and *Excise Officers*; and what Opinion the People had of them we may judge from the *New Testament*.

It was impossible to collect those Duties; and where such Officers are employed the Publick must either lose its Rights, or the People their Liberties. Even the Macedonians themselves were not able to collect them; for where Peoples Goods are subjected to the Danger of being made a Prey of by Officers, Occasions of Sedition and Contention will never be wanting.

The only Taxes that seem consistent with the Liberties of a free People, are those which the Romans call *Tributes*, and which we call *Land-Taxes*, or *Poll-Taxes*; Such Taxes, or Taxes of the like Nature with our Stamp Duties, may be raised without employing any *Publicans*, and consequently without endangering our Liberties; therefore they are the only Taxes we ought to have recourse to, except in Cases of Necessity; but, as I said at first, some Methods ought to be contrived for extending our Land-Tax to every Sort of Revenue; and if that were effectually done, and no needless Expence incurred, it would give as much Ease to our Landed Gentlemen as they could in Justice desire, or in Reason expect; a much greater Ease than any Landed Gentleman of a small Fortune ever received from being freed from a Shilling in the Pound upon Land, and in lieu thereof subjected to a heavy Tax upon some of the Necessaries of Life.

Craftsman, April. 23. No 564.

I do not intirely agree with the Author, (says Mr. D'Auvers) in every Part of the following Proposal, yet I think proper, for the sake of Impartiality, to offer it to the Publick.

S I R,

OF all the unhappy Distinctions amongst us, that between the

Landed, and mortgag'd Interest is like to be most fatal; because whilst those two Interests are watching all Opportunities of making their Advantages one of another, there is a third, which encourages their Animosities, and by playing them against one another, will, in all Likelihood, ruin them both. Whatever Advantages the Landed Men may promise themselves from the intended Scheme of *reducing-Interest*, if they are not very cautious, they will find they have only been preparing the same Favour for themselves, which *Polypheme* promised *Ulysses*, of being the last swallow'd up.

The Landed Gentlemen flatter themselves that the *Reduction of Interest* will tend to the taking off *Taxes*, tho' they know they lost the Question upon that Matter, by the old Art of postponing such Things as it is not proper absolutely to reject. They ought to reflect upon what happen'd, when the *Salt-Tax* was taken off; how soon it was brought on again. They should think too upon the Manner of reviving it; first only for 3 *Years*; but when that Point was carried, the very next Session it was farther mortgag'd for *ten Years*.

Such Reflections should, I think, put them upon their Guard, and be sufficient Proofs that they must expect all imaginable Opposition to the Redemption of any *Taxes*. They think themselves sure that the *Land-Tax* will be taken off; and perhaps some Part of it may; and continue so till it is grown into a settled Custom to apply the whole *Sinking Fund* to the current Service of the Year; which, whenever it happens, will, unless we suppose there is Virtue enough to reduce our *Expences*, be of the most dangerous

Testament, where Publicans and Sinners are always rank'd together: I must however, here take notice, that we find no Traces in Antiquity of what we call Excise or Excisemen; if the Ancients had been plagu'd as much with them as the Moderns, 'tis probable they would have reckoned them much worse than Publicans or Sinners.

Consequence to this Nation. I have always thought the *Land-Tax* to be one of our greatest Securities, as it makes Country Gentlemen attentive to the Application of the Money granted by Parliament; but when they have not the Disposition of this *Tax* to watch over, how much more easy will it be for *Ministers* to persuade a Parliament to come into dangerous and unnecessary Expences?

There is still a Point farther, which some Gentlemen are credulous enough to give into. They fancy the whole *Land-Tax* will be taken off; and that whenever any Occasion calls for a *new one*, it will be put upon an equal Foot. Those, who have Faith enough to believe this, ought to ask themselves what hinders its being done now? A little Consideration will furnish them with the Reason. It is because there is a Majority of those, who are *undertax'd*; and would not the same Majority subsist, if the Matter was to come on afresh? Is it not reasonable to imagine that the Gentlemen of the *North*, and *West*, who make the present Majority, would, if they must have a Rate, settle it upon the old Foot?

It is of great Importance to consider how the intended Reduction may affect *Foreigners*. If either so low an Interest as 3 per Cent; or a Jealousy of what may be farther intended, should put them upon drawing their Money out of our Stocks, it must put our Affairs at home into great Disorder; it would certainly carry off, for a great Number of Years, the whole Balance of our Trade, and probably a considerable Part of our Species.

I know Gentlemen are very uneasy at the great Sums of Money paid at present for Interest to *Foreigners*; but if we consider that whilst we pay them 4 per Cent, and perhaps less, we are turning their Capital in Trade, we shall find that we ra-

ther get than lose by them; for the Case of the Nation is, in that Respect, like the Case of a private Merchant, who having not Stock enough of his own to carry on his Business, borrows Money at a low Interest, and he pays that Interest out of his Profits, all which would have been lost, had he not been able to borrow the Money; for that we pay *Foreigners* out of our Gain in Trade is most certain; since if we did not, we should have been long ago drain'd of our Species. But put the Case, it was possible to let *Foreigners* get out their Money, without greatly injuring ourselves at present, it will be proper to consider what they are like to do with it. But a small Part of it will go into any Securities abroad. The rest must be turn'd in the Trade and Cultivation of other Countries; either in raising new Manufactures, or in carrying those they have higher; and how this may affect us is worth our Attention. Princes abroad would be able to furnish themselves with Money upon easier Terms than they can now. It likewise deserves Consideration whether, when the Subjects of other Nations are so deeply concern'd in our Stocks, their Governors may not be less inclined to disturb us; at least, those Subjects, who are concern'd, will be always very useful Spies.

But farther, I fear *this Reduction* will send great Numbers of monied Men into our northern Colonies in the *West-Indies*. They will soon think, when their Money is reduced here, what Advantages may be made by transporting themselves into Countries, where there is the true Source of all Wealth to be come at easily; large Tracts of Land capable of all Kinds of Cultivation; and under such Governments as are like to keep off Oppression longer than any other now in the World seem to be.

I will now offer some Thoughts of what I believe would be the best

Way of accommodating Things for the mutual Advantage of the landed and monied Interests.

The first Thing is the paying off such Taxes as more immediately affect our Manufactures. These are the Duties upon Salt, Soap, Candles, and Leather. When that is done, I would propose making the remaining Funds an irredeemable Perpetuity of 4 per Cent. subject to the same Aids with the Land. This, I know, cannot be done without the Consent of the Proprietors of the Funds, on Account of Act of Parliament, which guard against the Funds being tax'd; but I make no doubt that the greatest Part of these Proprietors would readily come into such a Proposal, rather than be liable to be paid off, or to have their Interest reduced; and tho' I might say that the Reason of all the Reason in the World to be pleas'd with the Proposal of having the Income of Money subject to the same Aids with their Land, perhaps it may be objected, that what I propose, would be establishing for ever all those Officers, who will be necessary to collect the irredeemable Funds; and it is certainly to be wish'd that some *safer* Method of Collection than what they are in at present could be brought about.

But allowing it to go on for ever in the Method it now is, by paying off *those* Funds I have propos'd should be paid off, there would be so considerable a Reduction of Officers, that I think there would be no great Reason to apprehend much from those, who would remain.

In short, I hope the landed Gentlemen, will be prudent enough not to be tempted, by the Prospect of a present Advantage, to agree to such Measures as seem likely to bring on a large independent Revenue, and its natural Consequence, arbitrary Power.

Universal Spectator, April 23. N^o 446.

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of EDWARD HUMDRUM, Esq;

1. HICKATHRIFTIADOS; or, the English Worthy. An Epic Poem, Containing the Actions, Sayings, Prowess, Life and Adventures of Jack Hickathrift. In 4 Volumes. Folio.

2. The Perpetual Motion; or, a Project to pay off the National Debt. Dedicated to B^{ro} Kn^t. To which is added, by Way of Appendix, the Camelion; or, the Art of living upon the Air. Patriotically inscrib'd to all Orphans, Widows, younger Brothers, &c.

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5. A Treatise of Chiromancy; or, Palmistry improv'd: In which is set forth the Courte Art of Fortune-telling; informing you how, by properly crossing the Hand, you may rise to great Riches and Honours.

6. Solomon's Fool; or, the Art of political Thinking.—By an impartial Hahd.

7. Modern Ecclesiastical Policy; or the Orthodox Love Hunters. In which the Practice of Commendams, Translations, Stipend Cures are largely consider'd. Dedicated to the Right Reverend ^{the} ^{Bishop}.

8. Paganology; or, the Art of inventing Titles: Demonstrating that a Title-Page should be the Quintessence of the Volume. By E^d C^o, Title-vampyr in Ordinary and Extremity.

9. Religio Bibliopola; or, the Encouragement of Learning; Being some Orations and Assignments of Gurbanish Hookwit, Citizen, pronounced at Sea^{ter}s Hall, tending to prove, that no Poet cou'd write well if not in a Garret.

10. Apologia Prosaica-Poetica, Politica & Rhetorica: Being an Essay to save a Tragedy from being damn'd. Humbly inscrib'd to the younger Students of the Inns of Court, by C. C.—r, p^oct. L^o.

11. Mulum in Parvo; or, The Power of Gold: Being a short practical Treatise of Rhetoric, containing all that can be said on a Political Debate to the Purpose. By the Right Hon. ^{the} ^{Baron}.

12. Parvum in Multo; or, Senatorial Oratory, shewing a Knack of talking an Hour, yet saying nothing. By Sir William ^{the} ^{Baron}.

Common-Sense, Apr. 23. N^o 12.

POLITICAL RELIGION.

I WAS reading the other Day in Dr. Heylin's Cosmography. In his Account of Germany

I am,

SIR, &c.

Germany he tells us, that in several States, where the Popish and Lutheran Religions are equally tolerated, there are certain Preferments Civil and Ecclesiastical, which, by the Constitution of the Empire, are to be possess'd in some Places by *Lutherans*, and in other by *Papists*; in other Places they take it by Turns: Notwithstanding this, when any fat Benefice becomes vacant, it is a common Thing to see Candidates of both Religions present themselves; and he that has the best Interest, or Pretensions, always carries it, as if he was not laid under any Incapacity on Account of his Religion; and the Reason is, because it is the Custom of the Country to conform. However, to do them Justice, he says they seldom change their Religion unless they get something by it.

As to the Women, it is the Custom in several Parts of *Germany* to breed them up of no Religion at all; and this is done from good Policy, that a Woman, when she comes to be married, being a *resc Tabula*, may be ready to receive the Religion of the Husband, if he has any.

*So turning of Religion's made
The means to turn and wind a trade;
And tho' some change it for a worse,
They put themselves into a course:
For all Religions flock together,
Like tame and wild fowl of a feather.
Hence 'tis, hypocrisy as well
Will serve to improve a church, as well;
As persecution and promotion,
Do equally advance devotion.*

Hudibras.

I am afraid too much of worldly Interest often enters into the Concerns of Religion, in some other Countries as well as *Germany*. I remember last Year, when the Dissenters applied to Parliament for a Repeal of the *Tith Act*, those who were not very well affected to them, consider'd them as an overgrown Body of People, that were making a Push to engross all the beneficial Employments in the Kingdom.

Tho' I declare I have no Prejudice to any Set of Men for their Manner of saying their Prayers, yet if I thought the Bussle they made proceeded from a secret Ambition of this Nature, I should be heartily against them; and my Reason is, that as the Number of Employments we have already become one of our greatest Grievances, I should be very sorry to see them increas'd; which, if I may compare a Nation to a Beast of Burden, would be overloading the Horse.

One of the chief Reasons of those that argued for the Repeal, was, That it was not consistent with the Liberties of a Free People, that any Body of Men should be excluded from their natural Rights on Account of their Consciences; by which they seem to understand, that a Man has by the

Laws of Nature a Right to a good Employment; but I shall beg Leave to differ with these Gentlemen, for by the Laws of Nature all Men are equal, whereas nothing contributes so much to destroy all Equality, as Offices and Employments.

A Is it by natural Right that the lazy Part of the Subjects should be maintained in Pride and Luxury, at the Expence of the Honest and Industrious? Is it by the Laws of Nature that Thousands should live in Indigence their whole Lives, that others may indulge all their Vices; that the Wife of one Man shall scarce have Necessaries, that the very Strumpet of the other may shine in Gold and Jewels?

B I am doubtful whether, by the Laws of Nature, there ought to be any Employments; but if those Authors had told us, that in Countries where there are Employments, every Man has a Right to enjoy them in his Turn, a great deal might be said on that Side of the Question; for as Employments are a Burden upon the Community, every Individual has a Right to be eas'd of it; by enjoying an Employment some Time or other: By which Way of Reasoning, it is high Time that some, who have been on Horseback a great while, should dismount, and be rid in their Turn; this is no more than fair Play.

C Tho' the Dissenters, including all *Sects*, may be very numerous, yet I conceive that those of them that are excluded from Employments by the *Tith Act* are but few. Atheists, Deists, and Free-Thinkers, are certainly Dissenters from the Church of *England*; yet there is nothing in their System of no Religion, that can hinder them from receiving the Sacrament, provided they may get a good Employment by the Bargain. And a great many of those who herd among the Presbyterians, are not very strict-laced when a good Employment falls in the Way.

E Men of Conscience never make great Fortunes by Employments, no more than Men of Honour. We have seen Lord Treasurers go out as poor as they came in; in wiser Times every Man has got as much as he could.

F Suppose a Man was to go and visit a certain great House in the Country (I beg Pardon, I should have call'd it Palace) and when you have beheld that luxurious Expence in Gardening, Building, Carving, Gilding, Pictures, and Statues, and make a Computation of the Owner's Salary, if you were then to ask the Man who shews it, if all this was got by a good Conscience, I warrant the Fellow will laugh in your Face.

G Upon the whole, I take the Road to Dissentment to be like the Road to the Devil, broad, open, and commodious for all Travelers; and I am, for this Reason, of Opinion, that the Complaints of Hardships occasion'd by the *Tith Act*, have very little Foundation; and

and that whoever lays aside Prejudice, must be oblig'd to own, that very few are under any Disabilities by that Act, except *Mahometans*.

What Number of *Mahometans* there may be amongst the Churchmen and Dissenters at this Time, I am not able to compute; but if they are under some Disabilities, they may thank themselves for it: Why must they needs be better Christians than other People?

As to Papists, I take it they are not excluded from Employments by the *Tenth Act*. This Act was made in the Reign of K. Charles II. who, it is thought, had no great Aversion to Popery himself. What need I mention this? It is well known that a Doctrine has been propagated, and believ'd too, that Papists may have Dispensations for doing any thing. This being allow'd, who can pretend to say what Number of Papists there may have been employ'd at all Times both in Church and State?

I can easily imagine how a Jesuit would behave in Case he should be prefer'd to a Bishoprick. He would be grasping for Pluralities; perhaps he would no sooner be settled in one Bishoprick, but he wou'd be pushing to be translated to a better. In his Legislative or Temporal Capacity, he would be a most obsequious Slave to the Court, and be ready to do all the dirty Drudgery of a corrupt Minister; he would Vote for him, Write for him, Lye for him, and do any thing but Pray for him.

But perhaps I should have examined both Sides of the Question, and have enquired what Benefit or Prejudice might have fallen upon the Common-Wealth, in case the Act had taken Place: In a Word then (excepting what I before observed, *viz.* the Danger of multiplying Employments) I can foresee none at all.

As to the Fear that Presbyterians, Quakers, Anabaptists, Muggletonians, &c. &c. might share the beneficial Employments with Churchmen, I see nothing in it that could prejudice the Nation: Let us suppose, for Example, that a Quaker had been made Master of the Ceremonies, how would they have hurt the Common-Wealth? Or suppose a Quaker should get the Command of a Regiment of Dragoons, how would the Nation suffer? If it be objected, that it is inconsistent with the Principles of a Quaker to fight, or so much as draw a Sword, my Answer is, he may command a Regiment for all that. I believe there are more than a Million in this Nation, who are of Opinion, that if the whole Standing Army, for many Years, had consisted of nothing else but Quakers, the Nation would have made the same great Figure in *Europe* it now does.

Craftsman, April 30. N^o 565.

Proposal for a Tax upon URINE.

TO preserve the Health and Morals of the People, after shewing the Insufficiency of the *Gin-Act* for that Purpose, this Writer humourously proposes, that an Act should pass to prohibit any Liquors made by Fermentation or Infusion, and that nothing should be drunk but Water. Bes this, says he, I foresee one Objection will be made to this, *viz.* What will become of our Debts, carry on the present Service of the Year, and above all supply the Civil List? After a long and laborious Search into History, for new Taxes, I have met with one, which I think most proper to our present Purpose.

The Emperor *Vespasian* paid for a pretty good Prince, and oppress'd the People in nothing but Money. But they were so full of Complaints, that *Titus*, that glorious Prince his Son and Successor, could not refrain from speaking to him concerning their Taxes, and in particular of one upon Urine. The Emperor, by way of Answer, fetch'd a Piece of Gold, and made his Son smell at it, and ask'd him whether it smelt of *Piss*.

Amongst the several Observations, which will occur to many, one will be, that the Emperor only suffer'd his Son to smell at Gold. — But to our present Purpose.

Such a Tax will best serve our Turn. It will soon pay off our Debts, even supposing there are within this Island but 8 Millions of Souls; and should every Soul, upon an Average, vent but a Quart a Day; (which, at a Fasting a Quart, would be 71. 2d. Fasting a Year) yet this trifling Tax would produce above 3 Millions a Year.

It will likewise require many more Collectors, than can be spar'd from the other Taxes; and not only Decency may, in some Cases, require Ladies to be employ'd as Collectors, but Compassion, considering how many of them will stand in Need of such a genteel Place, upon the Reduction of Interest to 3 per Cent.

Another great Advantage, is its being observable that Physicians, tho' little acquainted with their Patients, and much less with their Water, sometimes examine it, to find out their Distempers. To what Height of Knowledge may not these daily Inspectors arrive? They will discover not only the Seeds of Dissatisfaction, but of Disaffection. Plots will always be discover'd and stifled in Embrio; by which great Sums will be saved, that are now so wisely given for secret Intelligences.

In short, as all Nations have their Proverbs, and none is a more common one in England than watching your Waters, I humbly recommend my Scheme to the Publick, as the most effectual for that Purpose.

To his Excellency Governor Belcher (of New-England) on the Death of his Lady. (See p. 108.) An Epistle. By the Rev. Mr. Byles, his Excellency's Nephew.

O quam miseram est seorsum mori
Sen. Agamem.

BELCHER, once more permit the muse
you lov'd,
By honour, and by sacred friendship mov'd,
Wak'd by your woe, her numbers to prolong,
And pay her tribute in a funeral song.

From you, great heav'n with undisputed
voice,
Has snatch'd the partner of your youthful joys.
Her beauties ere slow heſtick fires conſum'd,
Her eyes ſhone chearful, and her roſes bloom'd:
Long ling'ring ſickneſs broke the lovely form,
Shock after ſhock, and ſtorm ſucceeding ſtorm;
Till death, relentleſs, ſais'd the waſting clay,
Stopt the faint voice, and catch'd the ſoul
away.

No more in converſe ſprightly ſhe appears,
With nice decorum, and obliging airs:
Ye poor, no more expecting round her ſtand,
Where ſoft compaſſion ſtretch'd her bounteous
hand;

Her houſe her happy ſkill no more ſhall boaſt;
Be all things plentiful, but nothing loſt.
Cold to the tomb ſee the pale corſe convey'd,
Wrapt up in ſilence, and the diſmal ſhade.

Ah! what avail the ſable velvet ſpread,
And golden ornaments amidſt the dead?
No beam ſhines there, no eye can there diſcern
The vulgar coffin from the marble urn:
The coſtly honour, preaching, ſeem to ſay,
Magnificence muſt mingle with the clay.

Learn here, ye fair, the frailty of your
fate,

Raviſh'd by death, or nature's ſlow decays:
Ye great, muſt ſo reſign your tranſient pow'r,
Heroes of duſt, and monarchs of an hour!
So muſt each pleaſing air, each gentle fire,
And all that's ſoft, and all that's ſweet expire.

But you, O Belcher, mourn the abſent fair,
Feel the keen pang, and drop the tender tear:
The God approves that nature do her part,
A panting boſom, and a bleeding heart.
Ye baſer arts of flattery, away!

The virtuous muſe ſhall moralize her lay.
To you, O fav'rite man, the Pow'r ſupream
Gives wealth, and titles, and extent of fame;
Joys from beneath, and bleſſings from above;
Thy monarch's plaudit; and thy people's love:
The ſame high Pow'r, unbounded, and alone,
Reſumes his gifts, and puts your mourning on.
His chief iſſuet, and his viſſal, death,
Requires your comfort's—-or your flying breath.
Still be your glory at his ſet to bend,
Kiſs thou the ſon, and own his ſov'reign hand;
For his high honour all thy pow'r exerts,
The gifts of nature, and the charms of art:

So, over death, the conquer ſhall be giv'n,
Your name ſhall live on earth, your ſoul in
heav'n.

Mean time my name to thine ally'd ſhall ſtand,
Still our warm friendſhip, mutual flames ex-
tend;

The muſe ſhall ſo ſurvive from age to age,
And Belcher's name proteſt his Byles's page.

DEMOCRITUS.

HUMANE curæ mentis vocatio dira,
Stemmata, divitiæ, gaudia, vota, mu-
tus;

Quicquid agunt homines, noſtri eſt cenſura cæ-
ciani,

Democriti riſus ingeminatque ſopbi.
Cum divos nummos congeſtos condit, & uti
Paupertatis eis omnia falſa votant;
Hiſce opibus tandem ſuccedit prodigus hæres,
Et nimio luxu perdit avita bona.

Ecce ſenis miſeri cito ſpes vaniſcit in ævras,
Annorum & curas diſſipat una dies.
En ſortem dabiam! quantum eſt in rebus inane?
Quot mentem humanam, quantaque vana
tenent?

Non opus hic riſu multo? teneatis, amici?
Et non res hominum creditis eſſe jocum?
Spernite vos igitur, vos omnes ſpernite curas;
Fortunæ & facili peſtore ſerta vices.

DEMOCRITUS.

E'ER Rome was fam'd for arms and arts,
In ancient times (my book imparts)
Democritus, a brother ſage,
Bleſt with his art that early age.

Far had he roam'd in queſt of learning,
Emptying good bags of father's earning;
Till tir'd with jaunts by land, and ſailing,
Cloaths thread-bare, patrimony failing,

He built a houſe for ſcholar's uſe,
And in its garden turn'd recluſe;
There taught, liv'd debonair and jolly,
And always laugh'd at mankind's folly;

Smil'd at the pleaſures, pompous ſtate,
And ſerious trifles of the great;
Tho' thoſe old times were better far,
Than any of our modern are:

What wou'd he do, did he ſurvey
The vices of the preſent day,
When folly ſtalks with larger ſtrides?
What wou'd he do?—he'd ſplit his ſides.

The world, we grant, was ſimpler then;
But in all ages men were men,
Had the ſame follies to engage
The laughter of the hum'rous ſage;

Each ſex were frail, capricious, vain,
Coquets cou'd liſp, and jilts cou'd feign;
Prudes reputations cou'd beſpatter,
Great rogues inſult, and poor ones flatter;

The ſop, that infect ſwoll'n with pride,
The merry ſage might well deride;

Nor less the miser might entice
To laughter—slave of fordid vice!

The griping wretch keeps close immur'd,
His gold with numerous locks secur'd;
Yet fearful lest his other soul
Shou'd by rapacious hands be stole,
He creeps full twenty times an hour,
And views with joy his darling store;
Counts and recounts with eager pain,
Then locks his treasure up again.
Thou' whilft he hears a useless clod,
He scarce allows his body food;
Sleep sits not on his weary eyes,
Tormenting care its room supplies;
He wishes still for this or that,
And fears he knows not why or what;
Thieves, murders, terrors and alarms
His fancy vex and rouse to arms:
Reason and passion always jar,
And keep perpetual mule and war.
What wou'd *Democritus* then do?
Wou'd he not laugh, and justly too?
To see e'en plenty serve to curse
This monstrous self-made *Tantalus*,
Still fearing lest he shou'd be poor,
Restless and greedy still for more,
Amid such inexhaustible store.

Now turn the tables—view his heir;
Cou'd our blith soph to smile forbear?
When he beheld him sport away
The riches, in one wafull day,
That poor old gripe in twenty years
Hed must'r'd up with toils and fears.
He'd laugh outright, to find that one,
For such a worthless spendthrift son,
Shou'd so perplex and rack his brain,
And live in constant want and gain;
And t' other, when he might with ease
Remain in happiness and peace,
Shou'd throw away, with lavish hand,
The joy and health he might command.
Such coxcombs ev'ry age are found,
In ev'ry country such abound;
And tho' with fools vice freely passes,
Still wisemen laugh at knaves and asses,

An Excellent new EATING SONG. Set by
Dr. GREENE.

1.

YE sons of the platter, give ear,
Vener *babet* *auris*, they say,
The praise of good eating to hear,
You'll never be out of the way,
But with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs
as keen,
Stand ready to cut thro' fat and thro' lean,
Thro' fat and thro' lean,
Stand ready to cut thro' fat and thro' lean,

2.

The science of eating is old,
Its antiquity no man can doubt:
Tho' *Adam* was squeamish, we're told,
Nev soon found a dainty bit out.

Then with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs
as keen, [&c.
Our passage let's cut thro' fat and thro' lean,

3.

Thro' the world from the west to the east,
Whether city or country, or court,
There's none, whether layman or priest,
But with pleasure confesses the sport:
When with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs
as keen, [&c.
Their passage they cut thro' fat and thro' lean,

4.

At fair *London* the chief magistrate,
From a sermon at holy *St. Paul*,
Straight rides in a great coach of state
To a dinner at *Fishmongers* hall;
When with knife sharp as razor, and stomach
as keen,
His passage he cuts thro' fat and thro' lean, &c.

5.

There come aldermen wrapt up in fur,
And swordbearer too at that call;
Or how were he able to bear
The sword—and the scabbard and all?
Then with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs
as keen, [&c.
Their passage they cut thro' fat and thro' lean,

6.

Common-council, and livery-men,
The rulers of every street,
There come to cut and come again;
A magistrate lives but to eat.
Then with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs
as keen, [&c.
Their passage they cut thro' fat and thro' lean,

7.

At the sound of the good college-bell,
On a gaudy the doctors descend,
With a grace all in *Latin* to tell
The founder to eating a friend.
Then with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs
as keen, [&c.
Our passage let's cut thro' fat and thro' lean,

8.

At the horn's most untunable notes
The judges replenish their maw,
And with napkins tuck'd up to their throats,
Shew good eating's according to law.
Then with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs
as keen,
Their passage they cut thro' fat and thro' lean, &c.

9.

At the knock at the buttery-hatch,
The rosy-gill'd chaplain comes down;
And my lord himself makes such dispatch,
That his gout at that sound is quite flown.
Then with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs
as keen,
Their passage they cut thro' fat and thro' lean, &c.

10.

Neither horns, neither knockers, nor bells
Hath the plow-man to give him his cue:
His stomach his dinner-time tells,
And he whets his case-knife on his shoe.
D d a

*Then with edge sharp as razor, and stomach
as keen,*

His passage be cuts thro' fat and thro' lean, &c.

11.

The 'quire makes the chase all his care,
O'er hills and thro' valleys his course;
And after a whet of fresh air,

He as hungry returns, as his horse;

*Then with knife sharp as razor, and stomach
as keen,*

His passage be cuts thro' fat and thro' lean, &c.

12.

Here the doctor, the lawyer, divine,
The courtier, the tradesman, all meet;

Their care and their toil is to dine;

— 'Tis all — to be able to eat;

*Then with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs
as keen,*

Our passage let's cut thro' fat and thro' lean, &c.

13.

A feast is an emblem of life,
Where no sooner we taste, but we're
gone;

Few can say, I have play'd a good knife,
Few or none, life's so short, few or none.

*Then with knives sharp as razors, and stomachs
as keen,*

Our passage let's cut thro' fat and thro' lean;

14.

Thro' fat and thro' lean,

QVAD, Elegy III. Book 3.

Esti Deus exoptamine? &c.

TELL me no more of an avenging
heav'n:

Corinna's broke the sacred pledge she'd giv'n;
Nor, though forsworn, do her false charms
confess,

Thro' all her frame, one faded beauty left.
Her fine long hair in the same order flows;
The snow-white lily and the blushing rose
Still in her face unite, and blended charms
compose;

That long, small, taper foot, where beauty
reigns,

As long, as small, as taper still remains;
Her piercing eyes, by which so oft she's
sworn, [dorn,

Still, like bright stars, their shining orbs
The gods the *fair ones* guilt regardless see;

And beauty sure has some divinity.
When by her eyes and mine the falsly swore,

'Alas! mine felt alone your injur'd pow'r.

But say, ye gods, if partial to the fair,
Their vows neglected still ye mean to spare,

Can it be just that I by griefs atone
For others crimes, for guilt that's not my
own?

Is't not enough, *Andromeda* thus sigh'd,
A sad atonement for her mother's pride?

Is't not enough, she mocks, securely vain,
My easy faith, and your derided name?

That I must suffer because she's forsworn,
And tho' injur'd for the deceiver mourn?

Or heav'n's an empty name, by motion
rubs,

The wild creation of deluded souls;
Or if indeed there is a powerful Jove,

This mighty monarch yields to mightier Jove;
For us dead *Mars* does his dire falchion bear;

For us *Minerva* shakes her vengeful spear;
For us his founding bow *Apollo* bends;

For us the glowing lightning swift descends.
But heav'n to punish perjur'd beauty frowns,

And, tho' by them despis'd, the fair reveres;
And shall we then our pious homage pay,

And fragrant incense on their altars lay?
Thunder the temple strikes and sacred grove;

But heav'n averts the bolt from perjur'd love,
Gods! where's your justice, who the guilty
spare,

To injur'd innocence avenge severe?
Fair *Semele* great *Jove's* warm passion crown'd,

And by compliance sure destruction found;
But had she shunn'd the god's delusive arms,

With blasting lightning fraught, her tender
charms [known

Had been secure; nor had the thund'ring
A mother's burthen in his embryo son.

But — — — — —

Why with reproaches do I hemo'n infect?
The gods have judging eyes, an yielding breast;

Was I myself great nature's pow'rful lord,
A tender fair might safely break her word.

Nay I myself in the best season wou'd join,
And swear 'twas true to favour her design.

But still, my fair, tho' such your potent
sway,

That willing gods themselves your wills obey;
Your pow'ful charms let kind indulgence
share:

At least my guiltless eyes for pity spare.

FIDELIO,

THE MOURNFUL APOLOGY.

[From a fond Husband, to his dear, distressed
Wife.]

WHY, — O thou dearest, best of wo-
mankind! — [clin'd?

Is, on thine hand, thy drooping head re-
Why have sweet smiles that charming face
forsook? [jected look?

Why cast those lovely eyes, that poor, de-
Is it, because I fondly did expose

Thy wondrous *verse*? — or, that the world
now knows, [see,

And all, well-pleas'd, that mighty genius
The present age can justly boast in thee?

Those dear, upbraiding looks! — how they
accuse

A bold betrayer of a modest trust! —
Behold, sweet love! — see, how I mourn-
ful stand, [stand,

In doleful dumps; my trembling, treacherous
Scars

Source able to hold up: — some pity take,
 While I, poor culprit, full confession make.
 'Twas I, 'twas I, (but with no bad intent,) *[sic]*
 That up to town thy lovely labours sent.
 'Twas I, (dear *Poll!*) I fairly do confess,
 That by the *post*, convey'd 'em to the *press*.
 This nimble *scoria*, and his sweating *fluid*,
 Were both co-partners in the daring deed.
 Bold, hurrying *highway-lad!* — vile, *lucy*
back!

Ye base assistants in a crime so black!

O! the *fly-thief!* — *stethinks*, I see him
 yet;

(His leering look I never shall forget.)
 No sooner he the glorious booty seiz'd,
 But the arch rogue seem'd wonderfully pleas'd;
 Which in his leathern, mire-besprinkled bag,
 Now made secure, — he straight began to wag
 His well-arm'd heels — the scrubby, scawy tit
 Soon took the hint, look'd fierce, and champ'd
 the bit: *[morris]*

And then, (O sad!) without the least re-
 Proceeded on his well-known, wonted course.
 The road behind, the conscious rider view'd,
 As tho' he apprehended being pursu'd.
 But, when the knave perceiv'd the coast was
 clear,

He forward set his face, and dropt his fear:
 Then, for his horns, with hasty hand, he
 seeks; *[his cheeks,*

Fills his strong lungs, with wind, and swells
 Soon, from the well-inflated tube, arise
 Blasts long and loud! enough to rend the skies.

Tan-tivy-tivy, — as he jogg'd along, —
 Still *Tan-tivy-tivy* was the joyful song.

Swift was his pace, without or stop or stay;
 Ready the road; for passengers gave way.
 The kissing found, is sharp and shrill before,
 Crew still more faint and soft; — and then
 we heard no more.

To think, in serious sort, I now begun,
 What my too hasty forwardness had done.

Thought I, — among the gazing croud
 to push,

And put my beauteous fair-one to the blast;
 T' unveil th' amazing beauties of her mind,
 Which, to some friends alone, before, had
 shin'd,

Is monstrous violence! — such a vile abuse
 Of such high worth admits of no excuse.

But, ah! — 'twixt o'er and past! — 'twixt
 now too late,

(The plaguey *post-boy* rode at such a rate!)
 With unavailing sorrow to repent
 Of having rashly to the printer sent
 So rich a treasure: — who, with reviv'd eye,
 In ease, transcendent worth, and soon deserv'd.

What have we here? (says he;) — who
 thus cou'd write?

* When in my bed I spend the silent
 night; —

He read it thro'! which missing well his taste,
 With greediness he fell upon the rest.
 What's here? — * You may suspect me, if
 you will; —

Still, as he read, he prais'd; and pity'd *skill's*
 And coming soon to its too sudden end,
 He thus the short, sweet copy did commend.

How generous seems the lady's just defence! —
What sweet good-nature's here! — *what fine*
good-sense!

How poignant is the piece! — *how sweetly smelt*
Easy and free; and quite devoid of art.

Now willing to pursue the pleasing text,
 He eagerly began upon the next.

* Is this the end of all my promise's joy? —
 With much ado, he then forbore to cry.

Indeed, I think, a tear — (nor is it strange,) —
 Did him o'er-take, and oft his colour change,
 When he the various turns of passion saw,
 Which, to the life, thy lovely hand can draw.

Metinks, (he cry'd,) *I very plainly see*
Beauty o'erwhelm'd with wrongs and misery,
Can any brute on earth show cool neglect

To one, that justly claims such vast respect? —
Or, in such vile behaviour pleasur'd take?

(But O! — the riddle shows, 'twas, all, mistake.)
What genuine signs of true regard appear! —

What tender love! — *how (seemingly) sincere!*
What sweet resentment's this! — *what soft dis-*
trasts! —

And vastly moving too! — *I solemnly profess.*

He paus'd, perus'd, — and prais'd, — and
 read again:

O happiest thou (says he,) of mortal men,
Whoe'er thou art! — *how bless'd thou to find*

The singl', brightest, best of woman-kind!
Mayst thou the matchless blessing duly prize;

Mayst thou continue to be good and wise;
In gratitude, return the dearest love;

Mayst thou, still faithful, kind, and constant
 prove. *[rest, —*

My candid, courteous friend, — of all the
 With equal joy, his sentiments express'd.

He read thy charming copies, ev'ry one:
 And, when the sweetly-pleasing track was done,

Thus spoke my correspondent; — (as he rose,
 With purpose, soon, the secret to disclose)

To his admiring readers; and dispers'd,
 Ear, near, and wide, and broad, the sweet,
 delicious verse.)

Says he; — *Those goods I like: — Ago! — misse*
will do! —

Such wares, as these, I meet with but a few.
Such glittering, glorious gems will brightly
shine,

And make more welcome, still, my Muscadin.
O lovely Sappho! — planet of the age!

Long mayst thou stay on life's uncertain stage.
Long mayst thou live, — and love, — and waste,

— and write;
And give a wond'ring world extreme delight.

And now, (sweet spouse!)—of your disgust afraid,

Have I a clear, and full discov'ry made
(But much abus'd your patience and your time,)
Of each accomplice in that grievous crime.
For pardon, sure, a fair confession pleads;
And true remorse the way to mercy leads.
My wretched instruments, and mournful
ms, ---

Excuse, (kind, tender-hearted love!) *all three*.
The disobliging act all sadly rue; ---

The *post*,—the *printer*,—and the *parson* too.

(In ev'ry *plot*, or *machination* deep,
That makes us loudly laugh, or sorely weep,
Thus,—at *the bottom*,—if we duly mind,
Or *priest*, or *female*, still we're sure to find.)

For pardon, — see! — thy *over-lov'd Honey*
sues:

Forgive us *all*,—good, dear, offended spouse!
Poor *post-boy*! — lackaday! — he meant no
harm;

Nor wou'd he, for the world, thy fears alarm.

'Twas no insult, nor in the way of scorn,
That he (poor lad!) so loudly blow'd his horn,
No! --- 'tis that customary song of joy,
He's us'd to sing, when'er he passes by; ---
An *overture* too (or I have mist'd my aim),
Of thy succeeding praise, and future fame.

As for the *book-seller*; --- this I can tell, ---
He wishes you (my dearest!) wond'rous well;
(But this, by what's above, you'll understand.)

[brand.]
Him then, I prithee, don't with censure
Beside, -- he was (it ought to be surmisd,)
Of *clandestine conveyance* unappris'd.

'Tis I, — *poor I!* — that am the most in fault;
'Twas I, alas! that rudely did assault
Your *cabinet*, --- and, with o'er-curious eye,
Into the close recess profanely pry; ---
Ransack'd each draw'r, and took away by
stealth,

[wealth;
What I far more esteem, than heaps of
The rare, best secrets impiously disclos'd,
And *private thoughts* to public view expos'd.

Ah! pilfer'd papers! --- little did I think,
You'd thus ha' brought me to the fatal brink
Of all this dreadful, deep, and desp'rate
wot: ---

But (precious *Poll!*) some gen'rous pity shew.
Pity the case of one, that loves you more,
Than, sure, a mortal man e'er lov'd before.
O! think not only of the *means*, I us'd;
Consider too the *motives*, that insus'd
A strong desire of aptly setting forth,
In its true *light*, your great, uncommon worth.

Indeed, what suits our taste, or fancy strikes,
Oft we suppose, another person likes.

As oft we all, -- what'er they do, or say, --
A partial fondness, for our friends, betray:
This, I'll allow, is consonant with truth:
And this, moreover, -- that a *sweet-meat tooth*

Grows in the mouth of many a courteous
guest, ---

By all must needs be equally confess'd.
All eyes, upon the dish, with pleasure, look,
That's neatly order'd by some skillful cook.

And all, but downright foes to common sense,
Must like that food, thy nicer hands dispense:
Nay, dotingly admire, and vastly prize
What pleases thus their taste, but never cloye.

Then graze not (lovely fair-one!) in the
least,

Be *public* thus, thy hungry friends to feast.
Think it (my charming dear!) no shameful
thing

For one, indu'd with such a voice, to sing.
Thy unaffected, sweet, harmonious lays,
May all, that listen, hear; and hearing praise,
Let an unnumber'd audience closely throng;
And thousands bless the music of thy tongue; ---
To thy soft lyre, with ravish'd ears attend:
Nay more; --- may thee a *Boyle*, or *Swift*
commend.

Acquire (my *Poll!*) a never-dying name:

* *Sapphira* rival in the lists of fame.

Thy *name* but little differ'd, *once*, from hers
And scarce, her *name* to thine, the public
now prefers.

[wrote, ---
But they're the *verses*, before *marriage*
Those, dear, sweet pledges of respect! --- (I
wot,)

That my poor love objects against, in chief;
And which occasion all this mighty grief.

Poor *Poll*, perhaps, will say, --- 'twas most
unkind, ---

And what the little did expect to find, ---
That he, to whom the frankly did impart
The secret workings of her tender heart,
Shou'd in vile fashion, thus, abuse her for't! --
Her, who, still, treatment of a better sort
Had ever well deserv'd!

With mournful sigh,
My sorrowing dear (no doubt,)-- and weeping
eyes, --- [times,

Has dearly wish'd, a thousand, thousand
I'd been more wise, than thus to shew her
rhimes,

And to a ridiculing world rehearse
The female fondness of her simple verse.

She'll add, --- that still more vain and fool-
ish I,

In this, her patience too severely try;
And, by divulging, thus, her am'rous flame,
Expose her folly, more than spread her fame.
In this, -- (thou'lt say, --- my much offended
dear! ---)

A monstrous breach most plainly does appear,
Both of good-manners, and of friendship
too:

To be so strangely false to one so true! ---
This, this, on gully me, thy just displea-
sure drew.

* Mrs. Mary Barber, of the Kingdom of Ireland: *Who lately publish'd, by Subscription, a very choice Collection of her own truly admirable Poems.*

Ah! love! --- of dull, perplexing thoughts
 take heed,
 That from mistaken principles proceed.
 This preternat'ral tide of fancy'd woes
 From false, delusive springs entirely flows.
 Ah! me! --- what times are these! --- what
 num'rous ways,
 Imbitter we, with grief, our fleeting days!
 To be uneasy, O! what pains we take!
 What insufficient grounds suffice to make
 Poor mortals wretched! --- ah! what mere
 conceit

Renders the real ills of life compleat!
 What strange, prepos't'rous notions oft assail,
 And o'er the most ingenious minds prevail!
 What, to a *priest*, in *private*, is confess'd,
 (O thou, of wives, -- nay, womankind, -- the
 best!)

Shou'd not, my lovely dear! I freely own,
 In any wise, be *publicly* made known.
 The crime, he ought, in justice, to conceal;
 Nor once presume such secrets to reveal.
 This I allow. --- 'Tis very wrong, 'tis base,
 The matter to *divulge*, where *sin* is in the
 case.

But is it sinful, --- is it then a crime,
 To intimate respect in gen'rous rhyme!
 Shou'd not a lady (O thou lovely fair!)
 In any sort her sentiments declare,
 Before the grave, hard, hamp'ring knot be
 ty'd? --- [*bride?*]

Nor love the man, e'er the commence a
 Where there's no sin, there ought to be no
 shame:

Think me not therefore, nor *yourself* to blame.
 But, after all, --- if it be deem'd a fault, ---
 If envious minds with malice still assault,
 And *speaking truth* may for the crime atone; ---
 I, then, sincerely say, and humbly own,
 'Twas all *your goodness*, no *desert of mine*,
 That first did you, in my behalf, incline.
 Nor let the recollection make you sad:
 Consider, (fair-ones!) -- both on *good* and *bad*,
 (Tho' none, the least of favours, may de-
 mend.) [*one hand:*]

How's your *flow'rs* down *blessings* with a plente-
His sun shines forth, his *fruitful rain descends*
As well on thankless foes, as *faithful friends*:
All, all, his boundless pow'r protects and
 aids; [*braids.*]

His *mercy* all wou'd save; his *justice* none op-
 A copy to divine, O then transcribe!
 And groundless notions now no more imbibe.
 So blest'd a pattern still before you set;
 Commiserate, relieve, forgive, forget.
 Let sweet, returning smiles my pains remove;
 Nor blush to own, you, *see*, vouchsaf'd to
 love; ---

Me, worthless me, to love! --- unkind, per-
 verse; [*tender wife.*]

And, that kind love inspir'd your soft and
 Be not ashamed, --- nor to confess to loth,
 That me you lov'd before your plighted
 troth: ---

That me you lov'd, e'er you became my
 spouse;
 And lik'd the man before the *marriage-vows*.
 Leave it to great-ones, *Poll!* --- and fools of
 state, [*hate.*]

To feign respect, and marry, where they
 Let titles, equipage, and grandeur please,
 (As empty gewgaws will,) such childish
 things, as these. [*show!*]

Ye slaves to glitt'ring pomp, and outward
 Domestic jars, and wedlock's ev'ry woe,
 False hearts, distracted heads, and bitter
 tongues; ---

Of these, the sole propriety, belongs
 To you --- and still be yours th' unenvy'd right;
 To you alone belong such soft delight.
 Still, still enjoy, --- ye lofty, courtly dames! ---
 The dire result of false, unhallow'd flames.
 May grave grimace, and chagrin'd looks be-
 tray

A sad remembrance of your wedding-day.
 Still sigh, and sob, and rave, and fret, and
 hide; [*pride.*]

And reap the just reward of *avarice* and
 But, *thou!* --- chief comfort of my languid
 life!

My beauteous *besom friend!* my dearest wife!
 Whose heart such trifles never cou'd allure;
 And, in whose steadier flame, more bright,
 more pure,
 The views of int'rest, or the helps of art,
 Or counterfeit-disguise, cou'd have no part: ---
 Be *thou* possess'd of ev'ry blissful joy;
 Do *thou* the world's fallacious maxims fly;
 Thy much disturb'd, mistaken thoughts
 compose;

Nor yield to such imaginary woes.
 Let calm reflections dissipate thy grief:
 Come, come, with smiles, (dear *Poll!*) to
 my relief.

Let *sitting gossips* grin, and do their worst;
 And *old, envious maids* with rancour burst.
 But be not *thou* ashamed (sweet love!) to own
 Thy true respect, or make thy passion known.
 Let not thy *wedded*, plaintive *tongues* retract,
 What thy dear, *virgin-hand* did kindly act.
 Thou wert not *wir'd* (my *Poll!*) to be unkind;
 O! --- love me still! --- still let me favour find.
 Yet don't mistake me; --- though I seem to
 boast: --- [*nefs* most.]

Thy love I justly prize; but O! thy good-
 Ponder --- (to be entirely disabus'd,) ---
 The *end propos'd*, as well as *method us'd*.
 Were my design, but to expose thy love,
 The barb'rous motive, all might well reprove.
 No, no! --- thy charming lines were brought
 to light,
 Not, out of *falsehood, vanity, or spite*;
 But, that the world might see, how *thou*
 (sweet *Poll!*) canst write.

Me then, O me! --- th' unhappiest, sure,
 of men! ---
 Whose fauk'ring tongue, and sympathizing
 pen,

(Such is my grief!) much longer can't improve, ---

To favour, (dearest!) once again restore,
Thy poor, well-meaning *Hon*, at length,
forgive; [live:

And be quite friends: --- or, oh! he cannot
His slippery state of health, already bad,
Must grow still worse, if thou continue sad.
Come then, with speed, -- and interpose, -- and save

Thy half'ing husband, from the yawning
grave.

O! help, in time! --- or, it may be too late
T' avert th' impending strokes of unrelenting
fate. [head

Henceafter, *Poll*! --- when thy poor *Henny's*
Is laid full low, and he, among the dead,
Has long been number'd; --- *then!* (if not before,
fore,) [o'er,

Whilst thou these mournful lines art reading
In grave and serious mood, --- 'Oh! well-a-
day! [say:

'My dearest *Henny!*' --- thou, perhaps, wilt
Nay, sighing, say, and letting fall a tear; ---
'Poor, loving, faithful *Hon*! --- Oh! --- I was
'too severe!'. R. D.

We are oblig'd to our Correspondent for making us so truly express our Sentiments of this Lady's very agreeable and justly admir'd Compositions.

VERSES, apply'd to the Memory of the late LORD CHANCELLOR.

WEEPING o'er thy sacred urn,
Ever shall the muses mourn;
Sadly shall their numbers flow,
Ever elegant in woe.

Thousands, nobly born, shall die;
Thousands in oblivion lie:
Names that leave no trace behind;
Like the clouds before the wind,
When the dusky shadows pass,
Lightly fleeing o'er the grass.

Then, O *Talbot!* shall thy name
Through every age still rise in fame:
Sweet remembrance thou shalt find;
Sweet in every worthy mind.

Upon reducing the National Interest:

IN vain at our vices the parsons exclaim,
The bean is embroider'd, brocaded the
dams; [out-done
Their preaching avails not -- see how they're
By a scheme that is father'd by pious Sir *J. n*:
Our interest reduc'd, our expences must lessen,
And so will our *hne* -- won't this be a blessing!
In vile masquerades nothing now can be spent,
Nor can *Hoide-r* open *ridotto's* in *lont*;

To open subscriptions 'will take off the
itch,
And *H--l* and *P--d* will die in a ditch,
And with 'em likewise our fam'd harlequin
R--cb.

The ladies of pleasure, now under tuition
Of old mother *H--d*, and train'd for fruition
Instead of *rach punch*, with the * *spread eagle*
jellies, [bellies.
Must be glad of *loot broth* to still their damn'd
Of strangers no more shall we bear the re-
proaches,

That here the physicians make visits in coaches;
His full-bottom'd wig the lawyer must quit,
And his chariot with springs the extravagant
cit:

The tradesman no longer his spouse shall regulate
At *Stepney* (on *Sundays*) with buns and with
ale.

'Tis hard upon them; but the bellies and the
beaus

Must all stay at home, for want of fine clothes,
So godly a change! who will dare to gain-say? --
Religion will flourish, tho' our trade will de-
cay. [degrees,

Thus with poverty blest, we shall starve by
And plainly illustrate the *sale of the bees*.

A Paraphrassical Imitation of Horace, Book III. Ode 13.

O THANKS, what river can with thee
compare? [to clear?
What glass so smooth, what crystal shines
Full cups of wine, with twisted chaplets
crown'd,

Shall in libation wet thy sacred ground.
Behold that goat, whose horns begin to spread,
See how he frisks, and shakes his bunting head;
His tender breast just feels new lustful flames
To rout his foe, and court his shaggy dame.
Vain his young hopes; ja -- to-morrow to the knife
He yields reluctant his lascivious life.
To thy cold brink the victim shall be led,
And thy white waters run disdain'd with red.

In vain the dog-star boasts his strongest hour,
The mid-day fierceness of his burning power.
The shepherd, to thy cool, refreshing side,
Shall at that season drive his woolly pride.
Tir'd with the plow and sultry toils of day,
The fainting oxen in thy stream shall play;
From the kind draught new vigour shall obtain,
Cool their parch'd throats, and swell up ev'ry
vein. [crown'd,

Whether with nodding trees thy margin's
Or rising buildings load the verdant ground;
Where gilded turrets from the heavens to brave,
Their pointed spires reflected in the wave;
Still shalt thou please, and please in ev'ry eye,
Till *Thame* and *Isis* feel their channels dry.
For has not *Dombas* sung thy limpid stream?
(The praise of *Dombas* is the voice of fame.)

And has not *Pope*, the favourite of the nine,
 Proclaim'd thy beauties in his matchless line;
 Trac'd thy meanders with such wond'rous art;
 That the soft verse runs gliding to the heart?
 E'en when thy lutes' d' waves refuse to flow
 And pay the sea the tribute which they owe;
 Yet fear not then thou shall in darkness lye,
 Immortal verse forbids thy fame to dye.
Keats and *Thomas* have nothing left to dread
 Till *Pope* and *Hour* shall no more be read.

The Pleasures of the Spring-Gardens, Vaux-
 Hall. A Song: By Mr. Lockman. Set
 to Musick by Mr. Boyce. Organist and
 Composer to his Majesty.

FLORA, goddess, sweetly-blooming,
 Ever airy, ever gay,
 All her wonted charms refusing,
 To Spring-Gardens calls away.
 With this blissful spot delighted,
 Here the queen of *May* retreats;
 Belles and beaux are all invited
 To partake of varied sweets.
 See! a grand pavilion yonder
 Rising near embow'ring shades;
 There, a temple strikes with wonder,
 In full view of colonades.
 Art and nature kindly lavish,
 Have their mingled beauties yield;
 Equal, here, the pleasures ravish
 Of the court and of the field.
 Hark! what heavenly notes descending
 Break upon the list'ning ear:
 Musick all its graces lending,
 O, 'tis ecstasy to hear!
 Nightingales the concert joining,
 Breathe their plaints in melting strains;
 Jugglers' d' now, their groves resigning,
 Soon they fly to distant plains.
 Lo! what splendor, round us darting,
 Swift illumine the charming scene;
 Chandellers their light imparting,
 Four fresh breeches o'er the green.
 Glistening lamps in order placed,
 Strike the eye with sweet surpris:
 Adam was not more enchanted,
 When he saw the sun first rise.
 Now the various bands are sent,
 All dispos'd in bright array;
 Business o'er and cares retreated,
 With soft joys they crown the day.
 Thus, of old, the fons of pleasure
 Put's d' in shades their favorite hours:
 Neither chiding their gay leisure,
 Blam'd by love, and crown'd with flowers.

The Reading Birds. A Song. (See p. 158)

Eccæ Crispinus misimo me propeper. Hon.

1.
 SHOUD *Democritus* rave,
 And *Nelson* believe
 In dialect loathsome and nasty, damn'd nasty,
 Till his ballads are sold,
 Or jointstool grows old [hasty;
 And coo the same wittling so nasty, damn'd
 Tho' the quaker wou'd smile
 At the *Billinggate* stile. [blame him;
 Nor can any sober man blame him, — man
 Bot if *Dem.* shou'd appear
 With his *sal de lal* here,
 † A *sofs* in the blanket shou'd tame him,
 shou'd tame him.

2.
Democritus — sic!
 I can't, let me die, [low;
 Believe you are such a stout fellow, stout fel-
 Tho' you talk twice as big
 I care not a fig, [quite mellow;
 For I know it must be when you're mellow,
 I'd have you proceed
 With moderate speed, [can, fir;
 Write reason as rhyme if you can, fir, you
 Then *Urban* and *Pbil*.
 May prose at their will — [fir,
 In verse I declare I'm your man, fir, your man,

3.
 You say — (tho' at best
 It proves but a jest) [voks ye,
 That the *tripartite leagues* provoke ye, pro-
 I scorn the low ban
 — See the wolf and the lamb [joke ye;
 Where witty old *Æsop* does joke ye, down
 'Twas you made th' attack,
 I heard the loud thwack, [Eaton;
 Or *Reading* had ne'er droight of *Eaton*, of
 And right well I ken
 Old *Nick*'s in the men [bottom.
 If by *Syl. Will.* and *Dem.* they are beaten, are

4.
 If right what you said,
 The leagues betray'd [set, their senses
 Went of sense, when they perceiv'd their sense-
 To find the true name,
 Which the owner for shame
 Had chang'd for *Dem. Kestrels*, — *scenists*;
 The thing is so clear
 — I'm sorry to hear [pothor;
 These gentlemen made such a pothor, a
 For sure half an eye
 Might plainly descry [ther.
 The phys of old *Marvins*'s brother, his bro-

* *Democritus* may puzzle his *Senses* if he professes (and if the Words convey any Ideas) to find out what Place this is. † I hope *Dem.* will be as cautious of coming here as *Urban* was of going to *Eaton*, when threatened; especially, when I assure him we have as many *Men* to handle him, who are in all Respects equal to the *Eatonians*.

The RAT call'd HERMIT.

A FABLE. (From the *Craftsman*.)

HOW few, of ev'ry wish possess'd,
Whom cares and fears do not molest?

But most precarious is the fate
Of a prime minister of state,
Or a dry Death the phantom ends,
Or Infamy his name attends.

(But be we rightly understood,
We speak of bad, here all are good)
If wise the prince, great are his pains,
And not exorbitant his gains.

If weak, and choleric, and proud,
To fill his chests will be allow'd.
To fleece the people both agree,
And next invade their liberty.

* But damned minutes tells he o're,
Wretched amidst his ill got store.

The people curse his iron sway;
They curse, but servilely obey.

Proud, he supports his slavish state;
For meaner slaves upon him wait.
Secure, that pow'r applause will win,
He blunders on thro' thick and thin.

At length, for num'rous crimes abhor'd,
No more protected by his lord,
He quenches his ambitious fires,
He quits his post, thro' fear retires.

Retires, d'y'e say? — to what retired? —
To what by most men is desired;

To wealth immense; and wealth immense
Is all — but honesty and sense;

Retired to sumptuous palaces,
To live in luxury and ease.

Do Men thus criminals regard?
Is this to punish, or reward?

Are injured nations thus appeas'd,
When knaves from toil are gladly eas'd?

Humble at first, their fears they hide,
Soon they disclose their native pride.

Bold, by impunity, now grown,
They scorn the fools, for mercy shewn.

Then like this Rat, they plentiful live,
And the more euis'd, the more they thrive.

An ancient Rat, by rapine fed,
Or earn'd by theft his daily bread.

Each cranny of the house he knew,
Did he want food, did foes pursue?

Of he purloin'd the legs of capon,
From far cou'd wind the fav'ry bacon.

Gimalkin, to his kind sworn foe,
To seize him found his speed too slow.

In vain were traps and gins apply'd;
Or craft, or chance their snares defy'd.

A num'rous issue round him play'd,
Their sustenance the publick paid.

Of all their vices he approved;
But above all, himself he loved;

There center'd kindred, wife, and friends;
And hiding thus his selfish ends,

He fighting fast (with looks demure,
With front of brass, with mind impure)
Long have I ruled, and well may boast
My foes pursued me to their cost.

You have I nourish'd with their spoils,
And your good plight rewards my toils.

Now worn with cares, impair'd by age,
'Tis time to quit this busy stage.

To lonely cells I will retire,
Nor mask you after me enquire.

Be it your care to spoil and waste,
And mine to meditate and fast.

With grief they heard, amaz'd they stood,
A thoughtless, heedless, guilty brood.

Dispersed they roam, sad was their state,
But most they mourn'd their leader's fate.

Ten days were past without their head;
They now (concluding he was dead)

Resolved his sad remains to view;
To such a chief a grave was due.

Soft they approach the mournful cell,
And sighs and tears their sorrows tell.

Aghast they cast their eyes around;
When, to their great surprize, they found

Their *fire*, in plenty and at ease,
Sit mumping in a cheddar-cheese.

The Successful BEAUTY.

WHILST Fanny's native charms amaze,
And seem by fate design'd

To conquer all who on them gaze,
And captivate mankind;

Folly, and pride, her mind inspires;
She's fickle, vain, and coy:

That all the conquests one acquires,
The other doth destroy.

A Balled as Nothing. Time, Which nobody
can deny.

FROM nothing the stoutest assistance must
borrow,

By this be the arts of his loves gone through;
For a promise to-day stands for nothing to-mor-

row: [free
Of their purses and gold the French have been
To reward *Farinelli* — by this we may see

Other climates are as much charm'd with nothing
as we. [grown]

When *Ward* without act a sum'd doctor is
When *Attop* excels surgeons in getting a bone,

That your doctors and surgeons are nothing
you'll own. [mend]

Some wits to the stage will their writings man-
Full of nothing they write, and to nothing they

tend;

So beginning with nothing, in nothing they end.

N. B. The earnest Entreaty has been receiv'd.

The *Ascension*, the *Peasie to Cells*, the *Fading
Flower*, &c. and the *Witch* come too late for
this Month, but shall be in our next. We should
be glad of *Philomena's* further Correspondence

Monthly Chronologer.



IN the 21st of last Month, the Court of Justiciary at *Edinburgh* sat from 7 in the Morning till about 3 at Night, upon the Tryal of *William MacLachlan*, Servant to the Council of *Wemyss*, for being concern'd in the Murder of *Capt. Porteus*; Upon full hearing of the Evidence on both Sides, the Jury brought him in *Not Guilty*.

At the Assize at *Bristol*, 6 Persons received Sentence of Death; and one at *Shrewsbury*.

An odd Trial came on at *Leicester Assize*, the Case being thus; one *Beggery* being hired to work about 5 Miles from *Grady*, and being jealous of his Wife, was afraid to leave her to her own Inclinations, therefore put in Execution a most villainous and barbarous Design, which she Wile told her Mother and Sisters of, and they the Neighbourhood, who released the Woman from her great Pain, and took him up. His Indictment was as follows. *That he, George Beggery, on Oct. 15. with Force and Arms at Grooty, against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, then and there did make an Assault; and that the said George Beggery a certain Needle and Thread into and thro' the Skin and Flesh of the Private Parts of the said Dorothy Beggery, in divers Places then and there wickedly, barbarously and intemperately did force; and the said private Parts of her the said Dorothy Beggery, with the Needle and Thread aforesaid, did then and there sew up, to the great Damage of the said Dorothy; and against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.*

To which Indictment the Prisoner pleaded Guilty, and the Court gave him a very severe Reprimand; but considering his great Poverty, set him 20 s. a. and to be imprisoned for two Years. As he was carrying from his Trial to the Goal, the Woman fell upon him, and scratch'd him terribly, soiling him all the ill Names they could think of.

FRIDAY, April 1.

The Lord *Provo* of *Edinburgh*, having with order to attend the House of Lords, on Account of the late Riot, and Murder of *Capt. Porteus*, was this Day taken into Custody of the Gentlemen Usher of the Black Rod.

Extract of a Letter from Preston. There has a most terrible Accident happened at the *Kannel-Pit* at *High*; a Boy by his Carelessness has set the whole Mine on Fire, and God knows where it will end; eight Men that went down there to work, were immediately suffocated by the Smoke and

Smoke of the burning Minerals; the Water that comes out of the Loughs is so impregnated with Copperas and other melted Minerals, that it has turn'd the River *Douglas* so green as Grass, and will in all Probability destroy all the Fish. *Mr. Bradleigh* is gone over there, and has raised all the Country about *Wigan*, in order to stop up all the Eyes of the Fish, which is the only possible Way of extinguishing the Fire, because it keeps the Air from it.

TUESDAY, 5.

This Day *The Cooks, Esq;* was chosen Governor, and *Nath. Gould, Esq;* Deputy Governor, of the Bank of *England*; and the next Day the following Gentlemen were chosen Directors, viz. *Sir Edw. Bellamy, Kt.* and *Ald. John Bate, Esq;* *Stamp Brookbank, Esq;* *Sir Gerrard Cuyler, Kt.* and *Ald. Deillors Corbould, Will. Foxhallor, Frid. Frankland, Esq;* *Mr. James Gualtion, Sam. Holden, Hen. Neale, John Rudge, Esq;* *John Roper, Will. Snelling, Chas. Savage, James Spilman, Esq;* *Mr. Sam. Trench, Bryon Biscoe, Hen. Harring, Matth. Howard, Esq;* *Mr. Will. Hunt, Sir Will. Jones, Mr. Benj. Lambullier, Mich. Roper, Esq;* *Mr. Alex. Shaws.* The Eight last were not in the Direction last Year.

THURSDAY, 7.

The following Gentlemen were chosen Directors of the *E. India Company* for the Year ending, viz. *Rob. Adams, Abr. Adams, Miles Bares, Esq;* *Thos. Wm. Bilton, Kt.* *Steph. Biss, Esq;* *Mr. Rich. Black, Chas. Burrow, Esq;* *Mr. Rich. Chancery, Chas. Colburn, Esq;* *Mr. John Kummerow, Peter Godfrey, Will. Goffins, Harry Gough, Alex. Hume, Esq;* *Mr. Sam. Hyde, Mich. Inpy, Haz. Lisslet, Edw. Lovibond, Matt. Martin, Will. Pomeroy, James Raymond, Esq;* *Sir John Salter, Kn.* *Capt. James Winter, Johas. Worsworth, Esq;* Those mark'd * were not in the Direction last Year.

TUESDAY, 12.

This and the following Days several Boats were overboard, so that in this Week near 30 Persons were drown'd between *Greenford* and *London-Bridge*; most of which met their unhappy Fate in coming from *Greenwich*, chiefly occasion'd by the Watermen overlooking their Boats.

THURSDAY, 14.

Came on the Election of one of the Sixteen Peers of *Scotland*, in the room of the Earl of *Orkney*, when the Earl of *Sour* was unanimously chosen.

The same Day several Persons set out from *Edinburgh* for *London*, to appear as Evidence on the 24 of *May*, the Day appointed for the second Reading of the Bill for disabling and imprisoning *Alexander Wilson, Esq;* Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*, abolishing the City-Guard, and taking away the Gates of the *New-bow-Port, &c.*

SUNDAY, 17.

The Court went into Mourning for a short Time, on Account of the Death of the Duke of *Wirttemberg*, and the Bishop of *Augsburgh*.

TUESDAY, 19.

The Lord Provost of *Edinburgh* was admitted to Bail, himself in 2000*l.* and his Sureties in 1000*l.* each.

THURSDAY, 21.

This Day being the Feast of the Sons of the Clergy, there was collected 114*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* for putting-out Apprentices the Children of poor Clergymen; and at the Rehearsal of the Musick at *St. Paul's*, the *Tuesday* before, there was collected 282*l.* 1*s.*

FRIDAY, 22.

His Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to the Land-Tax Bill; the Bill to make perpetual the Act to prevent the infamous Practice of Stockjobbing; the *Salisbury* nighty Watch Bill; the *Worcester* and *Dunwich* Road Bill; the *Wybury* Chalk Bill; the *Dumfries* two-penny Scots Bill; the Bill for making navigable the River call'd *Wicke* Brook in *Leintwardin*; and to ten private Bills.

His Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, by a Clause in the Land-Tax Bill, exempted from paying the 6*s.* in the Pound, called *Civil-Lit-Money*, to his Majesty for this Year, which amounted to upwards of 3000*l.*

SATURDAY, 23.

Came on at *Hicks's-Hall*, the Trial of the two Footmen, for a Riot at *Drury-Lane* Play-House (See p. 116.) There were 30 Witnesses examin'd on both Sides; and the Trial lasted near 4 Hours, when the Jury brought them in guilty of the Indictment; whereupon the Court ordered them to be kept in hard Labour for six Months.

The Sessions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the 8 following received Sentence of Death, *viz.* *Berthy Fitz*, for breaking open the House of *Sarah-Borman*, and stealing from thence *Portugall-Gold* to the Value of 2*s.* 4*d.* and upwards; *Anne Madd*, for the Murder of her Husband. (See p. 107.) *Jonathan Aley*, for breaking open the Drawer of *Isaac Howe*, and stealing thereout about 27*l.* *Henry Bewaraway*, for the Murder of *John Moore*, his Fellow-Servant; *Samuel Mearns*, for stealing a Watch from *John You*; *Richard Harper*, for breaking open the House of *Mr. Hobbys*; *Mary Brown*, for stealing Goods out of the Shop of *Mr. Hinchliff*; And,

James Kelly, for the Murder of *Robert Listermore* in *Newfoundland*. The Sentence on *Anne Madd*, was, that she should be drawn on a Horse to the Place of Execution, and there burnt.

SUNDAY, 24.

Don Antonio, Minister from the King of *Portugal*, gave a grand Entertainment to the Ministers of State, Foreign Ministers, &c. on Account of the Accommodation between *Spain* and *Portugal*.

MONDAY, 25.

Advice came from *St. John Norris*, to the Duke of *Newcastle's* Office, and also to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, of the safe Arrival of the Squadron under his Command, from *Lisbon*, at *St. Helen's*, off *Perthmouth*, on Sunday.

TUESDAY, 26.

Upwards of 12 Persons were convicted before the Commissioners of Excise, in the Penalty of 100*l.* each; for retailing spirituous Liquors contrary to the late Act of Parliament.

WEDNESDAY, 27.

Sir John Norris was introduced to his Majesty at *St. James's*, and also to her Majesty and the Royal Family, and met with a most gracious Reception.

There were cur'd and discharged the last Year, out of *St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, 508 out of *St. Thomas's*, 5214; and out of *Bartholomew*, 110.

• MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

ROBERT *Trotter*, of *Cardinal*, Esq; to *Mrs. Affick*.

William Deering, of *Torford*, *Norfolk*, Esq; to the Right of the late *George Trenchard*, of *Essex*, Esq;

His Grace the Duke of *Bedford* to the Hon. *Mrs. Gower*, Daughter to the Right Hon. the Lord *Gower*.

Thomas Partridge, Esq; to *Mrs. Lloyd*.
John Phillipps, Esq; to *Mrs. Langham*, of *Surrey*.

Victor Cornwall, Esq; Knight of the Shire for *Hampden*, to *Mrs. Hambury* of *Essex*, *Surrey*.

William Banks, of *Bishop*, *Oxfordshire*, Esq; to *Mrs. Ansell*.

Nicholas Bailey, Esq; Memb. of *Parl.* for *Angles*, to the only Daughter of Colonel *Page*.

William Soyner, Esq; youngest Son of *St. Edward Soyner*, to *Mrs. Hippy*.

Henry Courtenay, Esq; to the Hon. *Mrs. Barbury*, Daughter of the Lord *Barbury*.

The Hon. *Herbert Windsor*, Esq; Son to the Lord *Melbourn*, to *Mrs. Clowring*.

The Right Hon. the Lord *Dumbaron*, to the other *Mrs. Clowring*.

Mr. Grosvenor, jun. a Wholesale Stationer in *Leadenhall-street*, to *Mrs. Limbury* of *Tongmers*, a Fortune of 3000*l.*

The Lady of the Lord Viscount *Galloway*, safely delivered of a Daughter.
 The Lady *Gower*, also delivered of a Daughter.
 The Lady of *Abel Waters*, Esq; Son of Mr. *Waters*, formerly Knight of the Shire for *Surrey*, brought to Bed of a Son.
 The Lady of *Edmund Gibbes*, Member of *Parli.* for *Petersfield*, brought to Bed of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

AT *Edinburgh*, the Countess Dowager of *Kincardin*.
 At *Athen*, the Rev. Mr. *Cannon*, Fellow of *Clare-Hall, Cambridge*.
 At *Chesham*, *Hertsfordshire*, *Stephen Foulkes*, Esq;
 At *Yoring*, the Rev. Mr. *Cunningham*, Fellow of *Winchester College*.
 Rev. Mr. *White*, Fellow of *Clare-Hall, Cambridge*.
 Rev. Mr. *Curtis*, Minister of *Duffry* in *Glasgowshire*.
 Mr. *Fowler*, an eminent Banker in *Fleet-Street*.
 Rev. Mr. *Spencer*, Chaplain to the Lord *Break*.
 At his Seat at *Pakenham*, near *Bury*, Suffolk, Sir *Wm. Spring*, Bart.
 Captain *Smale*, Commander of the *Oxford Men-of-War*.
 Thomas *Morre*, Esq; Secretary to the Corporation of *Q. Anne's Bounty*.
 Right Hon. *Arthur Annesley*, Earl of *Anglesea*. He is succeeded in Dignity and Estate by the Rt. Hon. *Richard Annesley*, Lord *Albem.* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.
 Thomas *Hanner*, Esq; Member of *Parliament* for *Castle-Rising, Norfolk*.
 At *Wells, Somersetshire*, Robert *Kendall*, Esq;
 Arthur *Bernardiston*, Esq; an eminent Turkey Merchant.
 At *Athen*, Daniel St. *Claire*, Esq;
 Sir *George Beaumont*, Bart. Member of *Parliament* for *Leicester*.
 Brook *Bridges*, Esq; one of the Five deput Searchers of the Export Customs.
 At *Wotton*, George *Delilors*, Esq;
 At *Tamworth*, the Rev. Mr. *Warburton*, a Nonjuring Clergyman.
 Rev. Mr. *Uvedale*, Rector of *Bishop's-Cleeve, Gloucestershire*.
 At *Holyport, Berks*, Thomas *Wright*, Esq;
 Rev. Mr. *Will. Blah*, Vicar of *East-Tisbury, Essex*.
 Mr. *John Moore*, the famous Worm-Doctor.
 Dr. *Strecher*, an eminent Physician, Author of several Physical Treatises.
 Near *Stratfordbury*, *John Corbett*, L. L. D. of *Barham Down*, near *Canterbury*.
 At *Ashford, Kent*, the Rev. Mr. *Bissh*, Fellow of *Chr. Ch. Coll. Oxon*.
 At *Marborough*, Daniel *Everfen*, Esq; formerly Deputy Commissary of the Forces in *Ireland*.

Mr. *John Miff*, reputed to have died worth 50,000*l.* he was Pavior to the Royal Palaces, Pavior to the Office of Works, Slater, Car-taker, Thatcher, Scavenger, Foundation-Digger, &c. He finished the great Drain in *Pall-Mall*, and since the new Road in *Hyde-Park*.

Mr. *Thomas Goodell*, Butler of *Caen College, Cambridge*.

At *Clavin*, (the Seat of the Earl of *Windsor*) in the 100th Year of her Age, the Right Hon. *Mary-Lady Dolwin*, Mother to the said Earl.

At *Colchester*, in the 17th Year of his Age, the Hon. *George Peger*, Esq; younger Son of the Lord *Peger*.

At *Bath*, the Lady *Parker*, Relict of the late Sir *Gilbert Parker* of *Dorset* in the County of *Glouc.* in *Ireland*.

Mr. *Johns*, the noted Iron Gate-Maker, said to have died worth 25,000*l.*

Capt. *John Gibbs*, an old experienc'd Officer in the Royal Navy.

Thomas *Thompson*, Esq; a Gentleman possessor of a plentiful Estate in *Kent*.

ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

Mr. *Joel* presented to the Rectory of *Carlton, Yorkshire*.

Mr. *Steven Walsh*, to the Rectory of *Oving, Bucks*.

Mr. *Francis Fitz Edwards*, to the Rectory of *Bishop's Clive, Gloucestershire*.

Mr. *Harby*, Rector of *London*, in *Kent*, appointed Chaplain of the *Tower*, in the room of the late Mr. *Hawkins*.

Dr. *Sacher*, promoted from the See of *Bristol* to that of *Oxford*.

Dr. *Goock* nominated to the See of *Bristol*.
 John *Billingsley*, M. A. presented by the Lord Chancellor to the Rectory of *Newington* with the Chapel of *Brightwell*, in the County and Diocese of *Oxford*.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

PHILIP *Green*, Esq; made Governor of *Polywania*, in the room of the late Col. *Patrick Gordon*.

Duke of *Downshire*, made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

Duke of *Dorset* appointed Lord High Steward of his Majesty's Household.

Matthew *Kendrick*, and *John Bird*, Esq; made Commissioners of the Stamp Duties.

Duke of *Chandos* made Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, in the room of the Earl of *Ashburnham*, deceased.

George *Brown*, Esq; appointed a Capt. in the Reg. late Sir *Adolphus Ouzbaw's*.

John *Manning*, Esq; a Capt. in the Royal Train of Artillery, commanded by the Duke of *Arzyl*.

Lord *Elphinstone* made one of the Lords of *Judiciary* in *Scotland*.

Earl of *Granard*, Ambassador at the Court of *Turin*.

Mr. *Rob. Greening*, Surveyor of his Majesty's Roads in the Forest of *Windsor*.

Dr. *Banks* elected Physician of *Christ's Hospital*; and Mr. *Holloway* Surgeon of the same.

Capt. *Ingram* appointed Col. of a *Company* and Lord *Murray* and Capt. *Obboly* Captains, in the 3d *Regt.* of Foot *Guards*.

New Members chosen.

Sir *Edmond Isham*, Barr. for *Northamptonshire*, in the Room of his late Brother, Sir *Juditham*.

Dr. *Butler*, for *Oxford University* in the Room of the late Mr. *Bromley*.

Lord *Essex* and Mr. *Neale* (who lately opposed each other) for *Greenwich*. Mr. *Bird's* Seat in *Parl.* was vacated by his being made a Commissioner of the *Stamps*; and Mr. *Neale's* former Election was declared void.

Lord *Vise. Andover*, for *Castle Rising*.

Roger Tuckfield, Esq; for *Abbarston*.

Persons declared BANKRUPTS.

JOHN Vaxiner, of *Wob* *Torock*, *Essex*, *Viscount*.

William Beaumont, of *Biggleswade*, *Chapman*.

William Garforth, of *Cambridge*, *Shopkeeper* and *Chapman*.

James Madocks, of *St. Giles's* in the *Fields*, *Viscount*.

William Youngblood, of *Robert's*, *Merchant*.

John Poye, of *Robert's*, *Mariner* and *Merchant*.

Joseph Oates, of *Walsfield*, *Cloth Merchant*.

John Buge, of *Chancery*, in the *Mile* of *Ely*, *Linen-droper* and *Chapman*.

John Bailman, of *St. Botolph's*, *Hop-Faller* and *Merchant*.

Thomas Murray, of *Chancery Lane*, *Broker* and *Chapman*.

Thomas Smith, of *Windsor*, *Tailor-Chandler* and *Grocer*.

Elizabeth Brishell, of *Dover*, *Widow* and *Mercer*.

Thomas Richardson, of *St. Leonard Street*, *Weaver* and *Chapman*.

Richard Cross, of *London*, and *William Crosser*, of *Reading*, *Hair Merchants* and *Partners*.

Samuel Washburn, of *Burgworth*, in *Worcestershire*, *Ironmonger*.

Michael Hall, of *Worcester*, in *Staffordshire*, *Master* and *Shop-keeper*.

Prices of Stocks, &c. towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

<i>S. Sea</i> 102 1/2	<i>Africa</i> 14
<i>Bonds</i> 3 6	<i>Royal Aff.</i> 108 1/2
<i>Ann.</i> 118 1/2	<i>Lon. dilt.</i> 14 1/2
<i>Bank</i> 145 1/2	<i>3 per C. An.</i> 105
<i>Circ.</i> 21 5/8	<i>Eng. Copper</i> 1
<i>Mil. Bank</i> 120	<i>Salt Tallow</i> 1 1/2
<i>India</i> 180 1/2	<i>Emp. East</i> 116 1/2
<i>Bonds</i> 61 5/8	<i>Egypt</i> 117

The Course of EXCHANGE.

<i>Amst.</i> 35	<i>Bilboa</i> 41 1/2
<i>D. Sigbl</i> 34 10	<i>Leghorn</i> 50
<i>Rottm.</i> 34 1/2	<i>Genoa</i> 53 1/2
<i>Hamb.</i> 34 2 1/2	<i>Venice</i> 58 1/2
<i>P. Sigbl</i> 32 1/2	<i>Lisb.</i> 51 1/2
<i>Board.</i> 32 1/2	<i>Opert.</i> 51 3/4
<i>Cadiz</i> 41 1/2	<i>Amst.</i> 35 1/2
<i>Madrid</i> 41 1/2	<i>Dublin</i> 10 1/2

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

<i>Wheat</i> 20 33	<i>Oats</i> 12 14
<i>Rye</i> 13 18	<i>Tares</i> 22 24
<i>Barley</i> 13 17	<i>Pease</i> 20 23
<i>H. Beans</i> 20 22	<i>H. Pease</i> 16 17
<i>P. Mals</i> 20 22	<i>B. Mals</i> 16 18

Abstract of the LONDON WEEKLY BILL, from March 22 to Apr. 26.

<i>Christened</i>	<i>Males</i> 769 1/2	<i>Females</i> 801 1/2	1570
<i>Buried</i>	<i>Males</i> 1128 1/2	<i>Females</i> 1029 1/2	2157
<i>Died under 2 Years old</i>			205
<i>Between</i>	<i>4 and</i> 5		196
	<i>5</i>	<i>10</i>	70
	<i>10</i>	<i>20</i>	60
	<i>20</i>	<i>30</i>	177
	<i>30</i>	<i>40</i>	212
	<i>40</i>	<i>50</i>	283
	<i>50</i>	<i>60</i>	389
	<i>60</i>	<i>70</i>	109
	<i>70</i>	<i>80</i>	95
	<i>80</i>	<i>90</i>	33
	<i>90 and upwards</i>		10

Hay 4s. to 4s. 1/2. a Load.

2157
A 5

As the Disgrace of M. Chevalier still occasions a great deal of Talk, and many various Speculations among the People at Paris, we have had many atrocious Crimes laid to his Charge in our News Papers here, most of which are so ridiculous, that 'tis impossible to believe a Man of common Sense would have been guilty of them; because they are such as could not be concealed; and as M. Chevalier is generally allowed to be not only a Man of good Sense, but a very able Minister, it can hardly be supposed he would have either chosen his Master, or persuaded the People in such a *brazen* Manner, as not to admit either of a Concealment or Excuse. One of these Crimes laid to his Charge, he may, indeed, very probably have been guilty of, which is, That by his being at the Head of publick Affairs, he had increased the Rise and Fall of their Stocks as he thought fit; and had thereby, in borrowed Names, made great Advantages by *Stock-jobbing*; but if this were a good Reason for a Minister's Disgrace, it is to be feared few Ministers could long hold it in any Country where there are publick Stocks or Funds; and M. Chevalier's Friends begin now to give out that the true Reason of his Disgrace was, That he found he could not bring the Cardinal into some Measures he thought absolutely necessary for the Good of that Kingdom, and was therefore concerting Measures with the Family of Guise, and some other great Men of the Kingdom, to render themselves independent of the Cardinal. What Truth there may be in this we shall not pretend to tell; but 'tis probable, his having been a little too diligent in making the best of the *high Post* he was in, was not the only Cause of his Disgrace; for persuading the People is never the sole Cause of a Minister's Disgrace, in Countries where there are no Parliaments independent of the Sovereign; and as in France there is no Judicature where a Minister can be fairly and impartially tried, which is a great Defect for all honest Ministers, it is not to be expected we can in this Age determine, whether M. Chevalier be guilty or innocent?

Among others who have shared in the Disgrace of this Minister, is the famous *Marguis de Masi*, who acquired so much Reputation when Ambassador from France in Poland; and who upon his Return to France was honoured with the Order of the Holy Ghost, and greatly cherished by the whole Court; but now, it seems, it has been found, that he put into his own Pocket several of those *Stamps* which were sent him to distribute among the Grandees of Poland, in order to attach them to the Interests of King Stanislaus; which Charge does not seem very probable; for by one means or other he an-

gaged the far greatest Part of that Kingdom in the Interest of that unfortunate Monarch; which certainly required very great Address, if not large Sums of Money, considering the powerful Interest they had against them.

The Disputes between Spain and Portugal are now entirely adjusted; so that Spain seems now to be in a perfect Tranquillity, and yet they keep still a great Number of Transports in their Service, having discharged only such of them as were *English*, which affords some room for Speculation; but if her most Catholic Majesty had any *troublesome* Design in her Head, 'tis probable they are disappointed, by the late Change in the French Ministry, unless that Change be a Sort of *State Politick*, as some would have us believe.

We have two very remarkable Accounts lately from Naples: One, that his Neapolitan Majesty has resolved to reduce to 4 per Cent. the Interest of those publick Debts which were before at six or eight; but we do not hear that he offers to pay off those who do not incline to take 4 per Cent. The other is still more extraordinary, and yet a great deal more just, which is, that he has a Design to appropriate to the Use and Security of the Kingdom, a great Part of the *Revenue of the Church*; and for the future to allow to each Monk, Nun, &c. a daily Allowance, sufficient for the Support of Life, in that Method in which by their Profession they ought to live, tho' not sufficient for the Support of their usual Luxury: And 'tis likewise said they are become so great Libertines, in that Country, that they are going to make a Law for putting in out of the Power of any Man to raise his Family by leaving his Estate to the Church.

The Evangelical Body at Ratibon are every now and then writing Letters to the Emperor soliciting the Redress of Grievances in Religion, which generally meet with the usual Reception; and even the Revocation of the 4th Article of the Treaty of *Ratisbach* seems now to be farther off than ever; for the Emperor in his Answer to the last Memorial presented to him upon that Subject, tells the Protestant Powers, that they cannot expect the King of France should now sign to a Demand he would give so far to at the Treaty of *Utrecht*; which shows how careful the Protestant Powers ought to be of their Religion in all the Treaties of Peace or Alliance they make; for there is the only Time they can expect any Concessions in their Favour.

There is such a terrible Raging in some Parts of Poland that the People are destroying and sucking upon one another; and as it is in some Places accompanied with a pestilential Sort of Distemper, the People fancy they see Spectres come out of their Church-yards, who kill every Person they touch.

ENTERTAINMENT, PLAYS and POETRY.

1. **T**HE Independent Patriot. A Comedy. By Mr. *Lynch*. Printed for *J. Watts*, price 1s. 6d.

* 2. Divine Wisdom and Providence. By Mr. *Bridges*. The 2d Edition. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1s.

3. *Leonidas*. A Pæan. Printed for *R. Dodley*, price 10s. 6d.

4. A curious Collection of entertaining Novels. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 2s. 6d.

5. The Prophetic Physician. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6d.

6. A Poetical Paraphrase upon some select Psalms, &c. By Mr. *Daniel*, Dean of *Armagh*. Printed for *J. Fisher*, price 2s.

7. The Merry Songster. Printed for *J. Robinson*, price 1s.

8. Epigrams on the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, &c. Sold by *O. Strahan*, price 6d.

9. Fatal Curiosity. A true Tragedy. By Mr. *Lillo*. Printed for *J. Gray*, price 1s.

GRAMMATICAL.

10. Grammatikæ Latinae Institutiones, facillæ, & ad Puerorum captum accommodatæ, Methodo præscriptæ. T. *Rudolphimano*, A. M. Author. Sold by *J. Davidson*, pr. 2s. 6d.

* 11. The Natural Method of Teaching: Being the Accidence in Questions and Answers, fitted to the Use of the lowest Form. By *Samuel Headley*, M. A. The 9th Edition. Printed for *T. Ashley*, price 1s. 6d. bound.

HISTORICAL.

12. The History of the ancient *Germans*. By *T. Ledward*, Esq; Vol. I. 4to. Printed for the Author, and deliver'd by him to Subscribers.

13. The first Number of the History of the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*. By *W. Maitland*, F. R. S. Sold by the Author, pr. 1s.

14. An Historical Account of *Thomas Sutton*, Esq; and of his Foundation in the *Charterhouse*. By *P. Blearst*, D. D. Sold by Messrs. *Knapton* and *Hirt*, price 5s. 6d.

15. The Life of *Humbel*. Printed for *J. Gray*, price 2s.

16. A Compendious History of the *Indian War*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, 12mo, pr. 2s. 6d.

17. The *Memorie* of *Sig. Gaudenzio di Lucca*. Translated from the *Italian*. By *E. T. Gent*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, 8vo, pr. 4s. 6d. LAW and POLITICKS.

* 18. Every Man his own Lawyer. The 2d Edition. Printed for Messrs. *Hamard*, *Birt* and *Cordet*, 8vo, price 5s.

19. Considerations occasion'd by a Proposal for reducing Interest to 3 per Cent. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6d.

20. A Letter to the Author of *Common Sense*, of *Strawday*, April 16. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6d.

21. A Speech without Doors; addressed to the National Creditors for the Redemption of the *4th 6th* Cms. Printed for *J. Wilford*, pr. 6d.

22. The False P—'s Confession; or

B—'s Address to Ambition. To be had of *R. Chardon*, price 6d.

23. A Plea on Behalf of the People call'd Quakers. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

* 24. The Sacred Classics defended and illustrated. Printed for *C. Rivington*, 2 Vols 12mo, price 6s.

25. An Abridgment and Review of a Discourse concerning the Law of Inheritance in Fee. Printed for *F. Gyles*, price 6d.

26. Reflections upon Polygamy. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 2s.

27. The Heads of the most illustrious Persons of *Great Britain*. N^o 2. Printed for Messrs. *Knapton*, price 1s.

28. The Man of Manners. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1s.

PHYSICK and PHILOSOPHY.

* 29. The Anatomy of human Bodies, with Figures drawn after the Life. By *W. Cooper*. The 2d Edition. Deliver'd to Subscribers by Messrs. *Inys* and *Manby*, Folio.

30. A Dissertation on the Venereal Disease. By *J. Douglas*, F. R. S. Printed for the Author, price 1s.

31. The Astronomical Year. By *W. Whiston*. Printed for *J. Whiston*, price 6d.

32. Two Essays, explaining the Hieroglyphical Figures belonging to the Mummy of *Capt. Leitch* and *Dr. Mead*. By *A. Gordon*, A. M. Sold by *A. Miller*, price 4s.

33. A Description and Draught of a new-invented Machine for carrying Ships or Vessels out of or into any Harbour or River against Wind and Tide, &c. By *Jonathan Hulls*. Sold by *T. Bownan*, price 6d.

SERMONS.

34. Twenty-two Sermons preach'd on several Occasions. By *William Wake*, D. D. late Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Sold by Messrs. *Batefworth*, *Hitch*, *Davis* and *Ashley*, 2 Vols. 8vo, price 2s. 6d.

THEOLOGICAL.

35. A Defence of Natural and Revealed Religion; being an Abridgment of the Sermons preach'd at the Lecture founded by the *Hon. Robert Boyle*, Esq; With a general Index. By *Gilbert Burnet*. Printed for Messrs. *Batefworth* and *Hitch*, 4 Vols. 8vo, pr. 1l. 1s.

36. A Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist. By *D. Waterland*, D. D. Printed for *C. Crownfield* and Messrs. *Inys* and *Manby*, price 6s.

37. A Demonstration of the gross and fundamental Errors of the *Plain Account*, &c. By *W. Low*, M. A. Printed for Messrs. *Inys* and *Manby*, price 4s. 6d.

38. A Spiritual, but real Union and Communion of the worthy Receiver, &c. In a Discourse on Occasion of the *Plain Account*, &c. By *Peter Du Bois*, M. A. Printed for *S. Anson*, price 1s. 6d.

39. Five Letters on Theological Subjects. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1s.



T H E

LONDON MAGAZINE.

M A Y, 1737.

To the Author of the LONDON
MAGAZINE.

S I R,



HERE is one Passage in the Roman History which I never reflect on without Surprise, nor can I think of it without Indignation.

The Passage I mean

is, the Elevation of *Claudius* to the Throne of that Empire. There is no Passage in History points out to us more clearly the wretched and contemptible Condition a People may be reduced to by a general Depravity of Manners, and a total Decay of Virtue and publick Spirit. The two preceding Tyrants *Tiberius* and *Caligula*,

one would think, might have been sufficient to have given any People upon Earth a Surfeit of arbitrary and tyrannical Government, and to have raised an universal Detestation of that Family which had subverted their Liberties, and produced two Monsters so ridiculous and inhuman; but when a People have once lost all Regard for the publick Welfare, and are directed only by a sordid and selfish

View of some private Advantages, no Example can divert them from what they think their immediate Interest, no Thought of any consequential Danger or Misfortune can get Admittance into their corrupt Minds.

When the *Romans* were set free from one of the most cruel Tyrannies under which a People ever groaned, by the Death of *Caligula*, who was murdered, or rather most justly executed, by the Officers of his own Guard, there was not any one Person remaining of the *Cesar* Family who had any Character among the People, or in the Army; nor had the Conspirators who put an End to the infamous Life of *Caligula*, concerted Measures for raising any Person to the Throne; so that the Senate and People were left at full Liberty to restore the Commonwealth, and establish it in what Manner they thought most proper.

This was an Opportunity so little expected, an Opportunity so much and so long wished for, that no Man could imagine it would be neglected, nor was there any one that could entertain the least Hope of setting himself up in the Room of the Tyrant they had so luckily got rid of. Their Consuls, their Generals, their Govern-

nors of Provinces, in short, all their Magistrates were upon so equal a Footing, that none of them had any Prospect of being able to subdue the rest; and the Conduct of the two former Tyrants had prepared the Minds both of the People and Army for a thorough Change in their Form of Government; so that every Circumstance seemed to concur in Favour of the People's resuming their ancient Liberties.

Accordingly the Consuls and Senate immediately assembled in the *Capitol*, with a Design, as all of them pretended, to re-establish their Government upon its ancient Footing; but from the Event we may conclude, that few or none of the Members of that Assembly had a true and disinterested Regard for the Happiness of their Country; for instead of coming to any speedy Resolution, or taking any Measures for securing the Army that was incamped without the Walls of the City, both which were extremely necessary upon that Occasion, they spent the whole Evening and Night, and a great Part of the next Day, in Contests, and Debates, without uniting in any one Resolution; from whence we may suppose the real Dispute among them was not about concerting such Measures as were proper for restoring their Liberties, but that each Man was endeavouring to bring the Senate into those Measures which he thought would contribute most to the Advancement of his own Faction or Party; for in an Assembly actuated by a publick Spirit, they easily agree upon one Measure, because they have but one View, but in an Assembly where each Man has a selfish View of his own, 'tis impossible they should agree upon one Measure, they must naturally and necessarily break into different Parties and Factions, which always breeds Delay, and generally ends in Ruin.

Claudius, the Uncle of *Caligula*, had always been reckoned, and was really in his Nature, next Degree to

an Idiot, which was the Reason *Caligula* never suspected any Danger from him, and therefore spared his Life. In the Confusion and Disorder that of course happened in the Palace, when the Emperor was killed, *Claudius* had run and hid himself behind the Hangings in one of the Rooms of the Palace; but being discovered by a common Soldier belonging to the Army incamped without the City, he was by that Soldier, and some of his Companions conducted to the Camp, where he passed the whole Night without knowing what was to be his Fate. When the Senate heard he was in the Camp they sent and invited him to their Assembly, but he answered, *He was detained Prisoner by the Soldiers*; yet the Senate were so infatuated that they could not agree upon any proper Measures for getting him out of the Hands of the Soldiers, or for compelling them to yield Obedience to the Consuls, who of course had then the Sovereign Power in their Hands, imagining perhaps it was not possible the Army could take it into their Heads to make a Man Emperor, who had all his Life been look'd on as an Idiot. But the Senate having so long delayed coming to any Resolution, and having in the mean Time neglected to take any proper Measures for preventing a Sedition in the Army, the common Soldiers began to lose Patience, and at last came flocking about *Claudius*, calling out, *They would have but one Governor, and Claudius should be the Man*; whereupon he was declared Emperor by the Army, and the Consuls and Senate being divided amongst themselves, they were all obliged to submit.

Thus the *Romans* lost one of the best Opportunities a People could ever have for recovering their Liberties; and considering what they had suffered from their two former Emperors, considering the Character of the Man then chosen Emperor, it is surprizing to think that such an Event should have

happen among a People who were even then famed for Wisdom, who had formerly carried the Notions of Liberty as high as ever any People did, and who could hardly be supposed to be at that Time inured to Slavery; for they had lost their Liberties not a compleat Century before this Event happened. What may still add to this Surprize is, that even the Army had a most contemptible Opinion of the preceding Emperor, and some of them had been in great Danger of being most cruelly used by him; for in his Return from the ridiculous Expedition he made towards Germany and Britain, he took a Resolution to have had several Legions cut to Pieces, for no other Reason but because those Legions, many Years before, had raised a Mutiny against his Father *Germanicus*, tho' it could not be supposed that a twentieth Man was then in either of the Legions who had been in it when the Mutiny was raised; and from this Resolution he was deterred rather by his own Fears, than by any Good-will towards Mankind or towards the Soldiers.

This was publickly known in the Army, this had happened but five or six Months before his Death, and the Danger those Legions had been in, which was then fresh in every Man's Memory, one might have Reason to think, would have made all those at least who were then of the Army resolve, never to subject themselves again to the arbitrary Will of any one Man; but the Memory of this Danger, as well as the Fear of those Dangers which were most justly to be apprehended from investing such an Idiot as *Claudius* with arbitrary Sway, were extinguished by the selfish Views of those who conceived great Hopes from their being the chief Authors of his Advancement to the Throne; and the Cause of Mankind, the Cause of their Country, and there own future Security and Happiness were sacrificed by the Soldiers, for the sake of a small immediate Reward in ready Money

he promised to pay to each of them upon his obtaining the imperial Dignity.

Altho' this Emperor was not near so whimsically cruel as either of the two former, yet he was in his Nature so jealous and fearful, that he caused to be put to Death at different Times, several of his nearest Relations, *five and thirty* Senators, and above *three Hundred Roman* Knights, all upon Suspicion of their plotting against his Life, which, by the by, was very little worth either taking or defending; for he was so indolent, and so much under the Direction, or rather Command, of those about him, that he punished, pardoned, granted Honours, and even Generals Commissions in the Army, solely at the Desire of his Wife or of his favourite Slaves, which they either sold to the highest Bidder, for satisfying their Avarice, or made Presents of to their Stallions, their Patricks or Panders, for the Satisfaction of their lustful Appetites.

From this remarkable Passage of the *Roman* History, we may make these two Remarks, That when the Nobles and Chief-men of any Country are actuated only by private and selfish Views, it is impossible for them to agree upon Measures either for Supporting or Restoring a free Government; and that when the People find their Nobles and Chief-men have no Regard for Virtue, or the publick Good, they naturally incline to follow the Example of their Betters, and generally at last take Refuge in arbitrary Power. While the Representatives of the noble, rich, and ancient Families of a Country, continue to act upon noble and generous Principles, and often give Examples of preferring the publick Good to private Interest or Safety, the People will not only continue to act upon the same Principles, but will preserve such a Veneration and Esteem for them, as will render it impossible for any single Man, either by Force or Corruption, to establish an arbitrary

Government; but when the Nobles and Chief-men begin to act upon different Principles, the Vulgar not only follow their Example, but begin to despise and hate them, which makes it easy for any ambitious cunning Man, to set himself at the Head of a popular Faction, so as to be able at last to destroy all those noble Families who oppose him, and to trample upon the Laws and Liberties of his Country.

As this can never happen till a general Depravity of Manners has spread itself first among the chief Families, and has from thence diffused itself thro' the whole Body of the People, the same Cause which produces the Establishment of an arbitrary Government, will always prove its Support, unless some great Genius appears, who by his Birth or Fortune has great Interest, and by his Sagacity and Experience knows how to take Advantage of some lucky Incident for restoring the Virtue and the publick Spirit of the People, which seldom or ever can be done but by the Destruction of a great Number of the noble and antient Families of the Country; for as arbitrary Governments are seldom or ever established but by some popular Faction, so they are seldom or ever overturned but by the same Sort of Faction; because after such a Government has been for some Time established, the antient noble Families that are left, not only submit, but join with the upstart Families in being its Tools and Supporters. With respect therefore to the Ruin that attends the noble Families of a Country by the Establishment or Overthrow of arbitrary Power, the only Difference is, That all those who have any Honour or publick Spirit greatly perish by the former, and all those who are void of both are justly sacrificed to the latter.

Thus the noble and great Families of a Country must always suffer both by the Establishment and Overthrow of arbitrary Power, and while it sub-

sists, they are of all Sorts of People the most exposed to the Jealousies, the Resentments, the Insults, and the Lusts of despotick Sovereigns, whose greatest Favourites and chief Confidants are almost always taken from the lower Sort, and sometimes from the very Dregs of the People. A Man who is not eminent by his Birth or Fortune, and who takes Care, or who has the good Fortune, to have no Possession, no Wife, no Son, nor Daughter beautiful enough to attract the covetous and lustful Eye of an Emperor or imperial Slave, or of any of their Sycophants, may steal through Life without meeting with any horrid Piece of Injustice or Cruelty, and even without being obliged to make any slavish Submissions; but a Man who is eminent by his Birth or his Fortune, must expect to meet either with the one or the other: If he does not make his Court to some imperial Slave, he is immediately look'd on as an Enemy, or his Neglect is considered as a Contempt, and he is sure of falling a Sacrifice to their Jealousy, or their Resentment: On the other Hand, the very Attempt to make Court to such vile Wretches as those Slaves generally are, is inconsistent with the Character of a Man of Quality; and yet that Court cannot be made but by the most slavish Submission, nor without often meeting with the most shocking Indignities; for of all Masters a Slave or a Sycophant is the most insolent and intolerable.

But the Loss of Liberty is not the only Misfortune that attends a Decay of Virtue and publick Spirit among the Nobles and Chief-men of any Country. The Virtue of the Nobles or of the People is never improved or restored by arbitrary Sway. Their selfish and slavish Spirit becomes every Day more sordid, more abject and fawning; so that at last it becomes amazing to observe what Indignities, what Insults, what cruel Oppressions, even Men of the first Quality will tamely submit to, for the

Take of prolonging a most wretched Life, or what they call preserving, a most unhappy Family. From hence it is that the Overthrow of Liberty is attended with a yet greater Misfortune, if any greater can be, which is, an Impossibility of its being ever restored: Even the best Opportunity that can offer will be neglected, and the generous Designs of the few, if there happens to be any such among so unfortunate a People, will certainly be defeated by the private Views of the many. Unless, by some very rare and very remarkable Piece of Providence the Virtue of the People be restored, it will for ever be impossible to restore their Liberty: They will continue to pursue, each Man his own private Views of some immediate Advantage, and to plunder, murder, and make a Prey of one another by turns, till some foreign Enemy does them the Favour to make a Prey of them all, and to murder the greatest Part.

From these Observations we may see, that of all Degrees of Men there are none who have a greater Interest in promoting the Principles of Virtue and publick Spirit, than those who have the Honour to represent, or to be descended of, the noble and antient Families of a Country; and in their Power alone it is, to promote and preserve such Principles among the People; for Virtue and publick Spirit are in all Countries inculcated by Precept, but Example will always prevail over Precept; the most enormous Vice may become general, may come to be openly practised and avowed, by being made fashionable, and Fashions are always introduced by the Opulent and Powerful; therefore whenever we see in any Country a general Decay of Virtue and publick Spirit, when most Men are directed by nothing but little sordid Views of their own, and when true Honour, and a generous Regard for the publick Good, are look'd on as the Effects of Madness and Enthusiasm, we may assure ourselves the ori-

ginal Cause of this fatal Effect proceeded from the noble and chief Families of that Country: Yet upon such a melancholy Occasion there is nothing more ordinary than to hear those great Men who have been the chief Causes of this fatal Effect, who never in their whole Lives spoke, voted, or acted, but from some private, avaricious, revengeful, or ambitious View, who have made it the Business of their whole Lives to bribe Men out of their Virtue, and to debauch the Morals of the Vulgar both in publick and private Life, I say, there is nothing more ordinary than to hear such Men exclaiming against the Wick- edness and the Depravity of the Age, and giving that as a Reason for justifying their Conspiracy against the Laws and Liberties of their Country.

The Example of Persons of Quality and Fortune has so remarkable and so certain an Influence upon those of inferior Degree, that in a Country blessed with Liberty, we may, from the Behaviour of the former, make a tolerable good Judgment how long that Liberty is like to continue; for when, with respect to private Life, we observe, that the principal Quality and Gentry think of nothing but their Luxury and Pleasure, entertain no Favourites but such as contribute to their Diversions, or perhaps to the Satisfaction of their vicious Appetites, and lavish their Money in the most extravagant Manner upon the Luxuries and Vanities of Life, while at the same Time they are most parsimonious in every Thing that may contribute to the Improvement of their Minds, or to the Support and Welfare of their Country; and when, with respect to publick Affairs, we observe the most of them influenced by nothing but their own private Advantage and Ambition, and even openly boasting of their corrupt and dishonourable Conduct; when we observe them for selfish Ends joining in Measures which evidently tend to the Destruction of their Country, and the Oppression of the People; and when we observe them

them in their Assemblies screening one another from just Punishment, and considering, not the Merits of the Cause, but the Person only that applies to them for their Vote, in Matters of private as well as public Right: I say, when we observe these Things, we may conclude the Liberties of that Country can be of no long Duration; for the Infection will certainly spread, if not quickly rooted out, and as soon as it becomes general, their Liberties must necessarily be overturned.

I shall not at present apply these Reflections to any particular Country or Kingdom, but as it is a Subject which highly deserves the Consideration of every Man who has the Happiness to be a free-born Subject of Great-Britain, you may perhaps think them worthy of a Place in your Monthly Collection.

I am, SIR,

Your constant Reader,
and humble Servant,
PHILELEUTHERIAS.

REASONS for the Representatives of the People of Great Britain to take Advantage of the present Rate of Interest, for the more speedy Lessening the National Debt, and Taking off the most Burthensome of the Taxes.

NO more Money ought any Year to be raised, or continued at any Time to be raised, on the Subject, than is absolutely necessary for the Well-being of the Nation, and to enable it to make good its Engagements.

Whatever Money is raised for the Current Service of the Year, or extraordinary Sum annually paid for Interest Money to the Publick Creditors, ariseth from Taxes on the People of Great Britain.

The People of Great Britain have a Right, and it is but Justice, that the Money raised upon them, by the many and various Taxes, should be

managed to the best Advantage, and most for the Publick Interest.

A Trustee for an Infant with a Mortgage on his Estate at 4 per Cent. would be guilty of a Breach of Trust, if he could borrow Money at 3 per Cent. to pay it off, should he refuse to do it.

Every Member of Parliament is a Trustee for the People, and bound in Duty to manage the Publick Affairs for their greatest Advantage.

The Creditors of the Publick can have no just Cause to complain, if the Parliament act no otherwise than in pursuance of their several Stipulations with them.

However inconvenient it may prove to the Whole or any Part of the Publick Creditors, particularly Widows and Orphans, to receive 3 per Cent. in lieu of 4 per Cent; this higher Rate of Interest cannot be continued to them whenever sufficient Money can be borrowed to pay them off, without doing the biggest Injustice to the Subjects in General, by continuing the Payment of extraordinary and unnecessary Taxes upon them.

Many of the Taxes lie heavy on the Poor and the Manufacturer, by being laid on the Necessaries of Life, of which the Poor consume more than the Rich; as the Excises on Malt, Beer, Ale, and Salt, and also the Taxes on Soap, Candles, Coals, and Leather.

As nothing but absolute Necessity could justify the laying such heavy Taxes on the Necessaries of Life, so nothing but absolute Necessity can justify the continuing them. Certain it is, that the Conveniency of a few particular Persons can never do it.

All the Money, which the Necessities of the Publick require to be raised, ought to be raised on Property, or Articles of Luxury; but nothing on the Necessaries of Life without the most absolute Necessity.

One per Cent. saved on the Publick Debt due to Foreigners is so much Money, as it shall amount to, actually

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be saved to the Nation, and by One per Cent. being saved on all the Redeemable Debts, so much Money as that shall amount to, there will be left to be raised by Taxes on the People of Great Britain.

The Nation is not able to continue to pay the high Rate of Interest it does to Foreigners, because in Time it will drain the Kingdom of too much Money to be spared, or is either prudent or just for it to spare.

One per Cent. saved out of Four per Cent. will in 47 Years, if that One per Cent. be constantly applied to discharge the Debt, entirely pay off the same.

If the Debt should continue at 4 per Cent. without paying off any of the Principal, the Nation, at the End of 47 Years, will be in the same Condition, in respect to its Debt, as it is now, tho' in the mean Time it will pay to Foreigners, supposing their Debt twelve Millions, above twenty two Millions and a half of Money. — A Sum too large for this Nation to part with, and yet not be any Thing more out of Debt!

A large Debt carrying a high Interest to Foreigners, will be as certain Ruin to a Nation, as high Interest is a certain Ruin to any private Person in his Estate.

This Nation being then in this very bad Situation, is it not absolutely necessary for the Peoples Representatives in Parliament to use their utmost Efforts to endeavour to get the Nation out of Debt, consistent with Justice and Parliamentary Faith?

Whatever Objections are made from Prejudice, and which are only suggested, not proved, that the Lowering of Interest will have an ill Effect on all Sorts of People, as well Landholders and Tenants, as Traders; they have not in Fact any Thing to do with this Question, because it is not proposed to lower either the Rate of Interest between Man and Man, or the current Rate of Interest of the Publick Stocks and Securities.

It is evident, that the current Rate of Interest of all the Publick Securities is under 3 per Cent. since no Three per Cent Securities can be had under a Premium; and were the Legislature to enact the Four per Cents. perpetual unredeemable Annuities, they would sell at 140 at least; so that altho' the Publick would pay 4 per Cent. the Rate of Interest at Market for these Annuities would be under 3 per Cent.

It is not in the Power of the Legislature by a Law to make the Rate of Interest either between particular Persons, or in respect to the publick Securities, higher or lower; both will be governed by other Causes which are natural.

If One per Cent. shall be saved by a Reduction of Interest on the publick Debts, and some of the most burthensome Taxes taken off in Proportion, it will be so far from lowering the natural Rate of Interest that it will have a Tendency the other Way.

It is the Force of Money drawn from all Parts of the Country into one Place, that has operated so strongly to reduce the Rate of Interest of the publick Securities; like Water, which when collected into a Body, has a Force, which it is destitute of when spread over a large Surface.

A poor, labouring Man, who has a Wife, and a Number of Children to maintain from the Sweat of his Brow, is as much intitled to Compassion, as a Widow and Orphans, who may have the Conveniencies, or even the Necessaries of Life lessened by a Reduction of Interest.

There is Justice as well as Compassion on the Side of the People in general, and only Compassion on the Side of the publick Creditors in particular.

The publick Debts encourage Idleness, the Mother of Luxury, which if paid off, would encourage, and even force Industry in Trade, Manufacture, and Improvements of Lands, by which the Nation must necessarily flourish

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flourish and grow strong, altho' every Individual in the Nation should fancy himself, for the present, something affected by this Alteration.

This may be illustrated by Money raised on every Subject in the Kingdom, which although it brings a present Inconvenience, yet if it be employed to prevent some impending Ruin, and actually procures that End, fully repays the present Inconvenience.

No Nation, which is incumbered with a great Debt, and heavy Taxes, can, on any proper Occasion, exert itself in such a Manner as it could do, if it were free from such Incumbrances.

Every Nation ought, in case of a most necessary War, to raise as much of the Money as is possible for the carrying on that War, on the present Generation.

If the necessary Demand for that War be more than can well be raised within the Year, it is fit and proper to mortgage Taxes to carry it on, for the Benefit of the present and future Generations: But as soon as that War is over, it is highly incumbent on the present Generation to take all just and proper Methods to extricate the Nation from that Load of Debt, which the Necessities of former Times had involved it in.

To consult too much our present Ease, and say, that Posterity ought to bear its Share of the Burthen, because they will reap the Benefit of it, proceeds wholly from a meer selfish Principle, and is entirely void of any true Love for our Country, and acting accordingly, may deprive a Nation of the Means of defending itself in a Time of as much Danger as any former War, or lay the Legislature under a Necessity of breaking through Parliamentary Faith.

If this Nation had been as much in Debt at the Beginning, as at the Ending of the last great War, it had been utterly impossible to have carri-

ed on that War, either in the glorious Manner, or at the great Expence it was carried on.

It is the Plenty of Money that makes the Rate of Interest low, and that, in all Countries, tends to make Provisions of all Kinds dear, how therefore can the Lowness of Interest make them cheap? If Provisions are cheaper since the Interest on the publick Securities was lessened, it must necessarily proceed from some other Cause.

If it be said, that the less People receive from the Publick for Interest, the less they will have to spend; to this it is answer'd; First, that Foreigners spend not any Part of this Interest Money in Provisions; Secondly, that great Part of what is received by the Subjects of Great Britain is not spent, but laid out again in Securities publick or private; and, Thirdly, that if the Taxes shall be taken off, or less raised, in Proportion to the Money saved by a Reduction of one per Cent. the People in general will have so much more to spend.

But the Argument for the Publick to continue to pay 4 per Cent. in order to keep up the Price of Provisions, if it prove any Thing, it will prove too much; since it will equally prove, that the Publick ought to have continued to pay 6 per Cent. or a bigger Rate of Interest.

The Reasons for the lowering of the Interest of the publick redeemable Debts are plain, evident, and just; the Reasons against the doing it are unjust, and not capable of being made out with any Clearness and Certainty.

Evil ought not to be done, that Good may come of it; consequently, grievous and heavy Taxes ought not to be continued on the Poor, to pay Interest Money, and (if some Gentlemen's Arguments are of any Weight) to make Provisions dear.

It is desir'd, on the one Hand, that the Manufactures of this Kingdom may be made cheap, in order to preserve to it its foreign Trade; and,

and, on the other, that *Provisions* may be *dear*, for the sake of *Rents*. These are Contradictions, since *Labour* is generally *low* when *Provisions* are *cheapest*.

Altho' it is said, and, probably, with Truth, that when *Provisions* are *dear*, the *Manufacturers* will work more Days in a Week than they will do when *Provisions* are *cheap*, and from thence argued, that the *Cheapness* of *Provisions* is a *Hindrance* to *Manufactures*; the Argument is fallacious.

For though *some* of the People may be idle, and work but little when *Provisions* are *cheap*, yet it is certain, there are *great Numbers* of laborious People who work *every Day* in the Week, and yet can hardly supply a *Wife* and *many Children*, which is often their Lot, with the *bare Necessaries* of Life; and, surely, *these* ought not to be oppress'd because *some* People will be idle. When the *Dearness* of *Provisions* arises from the *Scarcity*, the *poorer Sort* must be destitute of *sufficient* of the *Necessaries* of Life.

If it be said, that if *Provisions* were *always* dear, all the Poor would be forced to make an Offer of working *every Day*, and by that means give the Persons employing them an Opportunity to *reduce* their *Wages*; it is answered, That, in such Case, if the *common Plenty* of *Provisions* continued, and there were no *Multiplication* of *Work*, the *Price* of *Provisions* would inevitably *fall*; because a very considerable Part of the Produce of the *Lands* of *Great Britain* is consumed by *working People* and their *Families*.

It is true in *Theory*, that the following Maxim stands good, *viz.* *Take away the Cause, and the Effect ceases*; but in *Fact* it often happens, that the *Effect* continues when the original *Cause* has ceased.

The present bad Situation of the *Farmers* seems to arise from the following Causes, at least in Part.

The *Landlords* being oppress'd with the *Land-Tax*, as well as *other Taxes*, during the last great War, and seeing their *Tenants* *strive*, took the Opportunity, many of them, of *raising* their *Rents*.

A A great Number of People extraordinary being then employed as Seamen and Soldiers, and many of them losing their Lives yearly, there were others entered and list'd to supply their Room, and there being all this Time a *brisk Trade*, which employed the *Manufacturers*, *common labouring People* became scarce, and *Provisions* also rising, the *Artificers* and *Labourers* of all Kinds took the Opportunity of raising their *Wages*.

C The War bringing many Calamities on several Parts of *Europe*, occasioned, among other Things, a very great Want of *Corn*, which Want was generally supplied by large *Exportations* from this Kingdom, which kept the *Price* of *Provisions* in general pretty high; *one* Article of the *Necessaries* of Life having an Influence on *others*: This enabled the *Farmers* to pay their *Rents*, to *advance* the *Wages* of the *Labourers*, and also to live in a *better Manner* than before, even notwithstanding the *new-created Taxes*; and the *People* being generally employed, *Trade* *abroad* very good, and many growing rich by the *War*, or by *lending* their *Money* to the *Government*, they were enabled to purchase *Provisions* at an *advanced Price*, as well as to *bear* and *pay* all the *additional Taxes*.

F Great Improvements having been made of the *Lands* in almost all Parts of *Great Britain* since the Peace of *Utrecht*, and the *Exportation* of *Corn* and the *Publick Expence* of *Provisions* much *lessen'd*, many of the *Farmers* find themselves in Farms paying greater *Rents* to their *Landlords*, as well as *Wages* to their *Labourers*, than before the last great War, and yet *living bigger* than they did *formerly*, and being not able to

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sell their Produce at so good or so certain Prices, and moreover burthened with heavier Taxes, there is hardly any possible way for them to pay their Rents, and live.

It seems therefore highly necessary for the Publick to begin to think of giving some Relief, as well to the Farmers as other the useful Subjects of Great Britain, before they are entirely ruined and beggared, by taking off some of the most burthen-some Taxes.

If any Person should sport himself with descanting on this or that particular Tax, and attempt to shew how light or inconsiderable it will be to any Person greatly interested in the Publick Securities, in Proportion to a Reduction of One per Cent. per Annum; it requires no other Answer, than to observe, That all the Taxes together are a very heavy Burthen on the People in general, how convenient soever they may be to particular Persons concerned in the Collection, or to those who have the Appointments of them; and altho' the Parliament cannot give entire Relief to the Subject by taking off all Taxes, yet this is not any Reason why they should not begin to take off such as are Discouragements to the Produce, Trade, Manufacture, and Navigation of Great Britain, by which the present Burthen of Taxes will be so much lighter, and the rest more cheerfully borne; as it will be an Evidence of the tender Regard which a British Parliament has for those they represent, and an Earnest, that all the other Taxes on the Necessaries of Life, will be taken off the first proper Opportunity.

Upon the Whole, if the publick Revenues are well looked after and improved; if the Parliament enters entirely upon frugal Measures, and shall exert itself on this Occasion; the present great Debt may be annually discharging, and the present large Payment of Taxes to the Publick

will be every Year gradually clearing; which are like so many bloody Issues that emaciate the Body Politick, and render it Hectick and Consumptive; and if the Debt was discharged, or but half discharged, the Nation might get rid of that Variety of new Excises and high Customs which hurt the foreign Traffick and interrupt the domestick Trade of Great Britain, and which are more especially so heavy a Weight on the Wool-len and other its Manufactures.

When the national Debt is mentioned, it is only said, the Publick is so-and-so indebted, and at such-and-such an Interest. But this is not a true State of the Case; for, to speak properly, the publick Funds divide the Nation into two Ranks of Men, of which one are Creditors, and the other Debtors; the Creditors are the these great Corporations and others, made up of Natives and Foreigners; the Debtors are the Land-holders, the Merchants, the Shop-keepers, and all Ranks and Degrees of Men throughout the Kingdom. Thus almost all Great Britain may not be improperly divided into Debtors and Creditors: Nor in a long and expensive War was this wholly to be avoided: But, without doubt, it has not been true Wisdom in continuing this Distinction so long; nor can it be wise and safe to let this Distinction many Years longer continue; for tho' such as Receive may like their Condition, yet such as are to Pay cannot be so well contented. It is true, some modern Politicians have run upon another Notion, and several Persons are weak enough to believe, that the not paying off the publick Debt will engage People the more to preserve the present Government: This Policy indeed of theirs would hold good, if it could be made out that the publick Creditors are stronger and more in Number than those concerned in the Payments to the Publick. But it rather seems to hold in Sense and Reason; that the

Throne of that Prince, in a free Nation, must be most firmly established, whose Affairs will permit him to ask, or who desires to collect, the fewest Taxes from his People.

Common Sense, April 30. N^o 13.

The modern Man of Honour.

A Man of Honour, with the *Beau Monde*, is one who peremptorily affirms himself to be so, and will cut any body's Throat that questions it, tho' upon the best Grounds. He is above the Restraints which the Laws of God or Man lay upon vulgar Minds, and knows no other Tyes but those of Honour; of which Word he is to be the sole Expounder. He must strictly adhere to a Party Denomination, tho' he may be utterly regardless of its Principles. His Expence should exceed his Income considerably, not for the Necessaries, but Superfluities of Life, that the Debts he contracts may do him Honour. There should be a Haughtiness and Insolence in his Deportment, which is suppos'd to result from *conscious Honour*. If he be Choleric, and Wrong-headed into the Bargain, with a good deal of animal Courage, he acquires the glorious Character of a Man of nice and jealous Honour. And if all these Qualifications are duly season'd with the genteel Vices, the Man of Honour is compleat; any Thing his Wife, Children, Servants, or Tradesmen may think to the contrary, notwithstanding.

Belville is allow'd to be a Man of the most consummate Honour. The Men are proud of his Acquaintance, and the Women of his Protection; his Party glories in being countenanc'd by him, and his Honour is frequently quoted as a Sanction for their Conduct. But some original Letters will best explain so shining a Character.

He had run out a considerable Fortune by a Life of Pleasure, particularly Gaming; and being delicately

scrupulous in Points of Honour, he writ the following Letter to his Attorney, after an ill Run at Play.

S I R,

' I had a damn'd Tumble last Night
' at Hazard, and must raise a Thousand within a Week; get it me upon any Terms, for I would rather suffer the greatest Incumbrance upon my Fortune, than the least Blemish upon my Honour. As for those clamorous Rascals the Tradesmen, insist upon my Privilege, and keep 'em off as long as possible; we may chance to ruin some of 'em, before they can bring us to Trial.

Yours, &c. BELVILLE.

To Mr. Tho. Goofetree, Attorney,
in Furnival's Inn.

C But lest the Endeavours of Mr. Goofetree should prove ineffectual, *Belville*, from the same Principle of Honour, resolv'd, at all Events, to secure that Sum collaterally; and therefore wrote the following Letter to the first Minister.

S I R,

' I was apply'd to Yesterday in your Name by *** to vote for the great Point, which is to come in to our House To-morrow; but as it was extremely contrary to my Opinion and Principles, I gave him no explicit Answer, but took some Time to consider of it. I have therefore the Honour now to acquaint you, that I am determin'd to give my Concurrence to this Affair; but must desire, at the same Time, that you will immediately send *** to me, with the 1500*l*. he offer'd me Yesterday, and for which I have a pressing Occasion this Morning. I am persuas'd you know me too well to scruple this Payment beforehand, and that you will not be the first Person that ever question'd the Honour of,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

BELVILLE.

I find another Letter of the same Date, to a Lady, who appears to be the Wife of his most intimate Friend.

My Dear,

• I have just now receiv'd yours, and am very sorry for the Uneasiness
 • your Husband's Behaviour has given you of late; tho' I cannot be
 • of your Opinion, that he suspects our Connexion. We have been bred
 • up together from Children, and have liv'd in the strictest Friend-
 • ship ever since; so that I dare say
 • he would as soon suspect me of a Design to murder, as wrong him
 • this Way. And you know it is to that Confidence and Security of
 • his, that I owe the Happiness I enjoy. However, in all Events, be
 • convinc'd that you are in the Hands
 • of a Man of Honour, who will not suffer you to be ill us'd; and
 • should my Friend proceed to any disagreeable Extremities with you,
 • depend upon't I'll cut the Cuck-
 • old's Throat for him.

Yours, most tenderly.

The fourth and last Letter is to a Friend, who had, probably, as high Notions of Honour as himself, by the Nature of the Affair in which he requires his Assistance.

Dear Charles,

• Prithee come to me immediately, to serve me in an Affair of Honour.
 • You must know, I told a damn'd Lye last Night in a mix'd Company, and a formal odd Dog, in a
 • Manner, insinuated that I did so; upon which, I whisper'd him to
 • be in *Hyde Park* this Morning, and to bring a Friend with him, if he
 • had such a Thing in the World.
 • The Booby was hardly worth my Resentment; but you know my
 • Delicacy, where Honour is concern'd.

Yours,

BELVILLE.

It appears from these authentick Pieces, that Mr. *Belville*, fill'd with the noblest Sentiments of Honour,

paid all Debts but his just ones; kept his Word scrupulously in the flagitious Sale of his Conscience to a Minister; was ready to protect, at the Expence of his Friend's Life, his Friend's Wife, whom, by the Opportunities that Friendship had given him, he had corrupted; and punish'd Truth with Death, when it intimated, however justly, the want of it in himself

To such Practice, and such Examples in higher Life, may justly be imputed the general Corruption and Immorality which prevail thro' this Kingdom. But when such is the Force of Fashion, and when the Examples of People of the first Rank in a Country are so prevalent as to dignify Vice and Immorality, in spite of all Laws Divine and Human; how popular might they make Virtue, if they would exert their Power in its Cause? And how must they, in their cooler Moments, reproach themselves when they come to reflect, that by their fatal Examples, they have beggar'd, corrupted, and (it may be) enslav'd a whole Nation?

Fog's Journal, April 30. N° 441.

A Confutation of the Stories about Vampires, or dead Bodies sucking the Living, in Hungary, &c. (See Vol. I. p. 81.)

THESE are two Ways to destroy all Opinions of these pretended Returners from below-Ground, and to shew the Impossibility of such Effects as these Carcasses, utterly void of all Sensibility, are affirmed to produce. The first is, to explain the Prodiges of *Vampirism* by Physical Causes. The second is, totally to deny the Verity of these Facts. But, as there are People, to whom the Authority of a Certificate seems a manifest Demonstration of the Reality of the absurdest Stories, I will for a while admit that a Number of Persons do really die of a Distemper called *Vampirism*. I

I first lay down this Principle, that it actually may be, that there are certain dead Bodies which, tho' several Days inhumed, put forth a Quantity of fluid Blood. I farther allow, that it is easy for certain People to imagine they are sucked by *Vampires*; and also that the Fear, wherewith this Fancy inspires them, causes in them a Revolution sufficiently violent to deprive them even of Life. Being all Day taken up with the Dread of these imaginary Strollers from the Grave, is it any extraordinary Thing that, in their Sleep, the Ideas of these Phantoms should present themselves to their Imagination, and cause in them a Terror so violent, as to kill some instantly, and others in a short Time after? How many have been known to die on the Spot with a sudden Fright? And has not Excess of Joy frequently produced Effects equally fatal? In examining the Recital of the Death of the pretended Martyrs of *Vampirism*, I discover all Symptoms of a mere epidemical Faticism.

They who have lived in Towns afflicted with the Pestilence, know how frequently People have lost their Lives purely thro' Fear. At *Paris*, a Friend of mine assured me, that, being at *Marseilles* when the Plague raged there, he saw a Gentlewoman actually die of the Fear she conceived at a slight Indisposition of her Maid's, which she thought to be the Pestilence. This Woman's Daughter was also at Death's Door, on the same Account. Two other Persons, living in the same House, took likewise to their Beds, sent for a Physician, and affirmed to him, that they were seized with the Plague. He presently visited the Maid, and all the other Patients, and found not one of them had the least Tincture of Contagion, and thereupon strove to calm their Minds, ordering them to get up and live just as they used to do before: But all his Care had no Effect

upon the Mistress of the House, who died in two Days after having so frighten'd herself.

I come next to those dead Bodies found full of fluid Blood, with their Hair, Beards and Nails growing. We may, I believe, abate at least a Third of these Prodigies, and yet it will be a Complaisance to abate only so small a Portion. All Men of any Discernment know how greatly common Report, and even several Historians, do stretch and enlarge Things which seem ever so little super-natural; however it is no Impossibility to explain the Causes thereof physically.

Experience teaches us, that there are certain Earths proper to preserve human Bodies in their whole Freshness. At *Toulouse*, in a Church, is a Vault, wherein Bodies remain so perfectly intire, that there are some of more than two Centuries standing, which seem actually alive: They are ranged upright along the Wall, and dressed in their usual Apparel. And what is farther remarkable, the Bodies which are placed on the contrary Side of this Vault, do, in two or three Days, become full of Worms.

As to the Growth of the Hair and Nails, the very same is observed frequently in dead Bodies. While a Carcass has any Quantity of Moisture, there can be nothing surprizing in the Case, if we see, for some Time, a visible Augmentation in such Parts as require not the vital Spirits.

The fluid Blood, flowing thro' the natural Conduits, does indeed seem to advance a greater Difficulty: Yet we may be able to produce some Physical Reasons for such Flowings. The Heat of the Sun, affording a strong Degree of Warmth to the nitrous and sulphurous Parts of that Earth, which is proper to keep fleshy Bodies from consuming, these Parts, being incorporated with the newly interred Bodies, occasion their fermenting;

menting; and so, *uncoagulating* and *unfixing* the curdled or clodded Blood, render it liquid, inabling it to distil gradually thro' the Canals. This is the more probable, as it is confirmed by a known Experiment. If we boil in a Vessel of Glafs, or Earth, one Portion of Chyle, or of Milk mixed with two Portions of Oil of Tartar, made by Decantation, the Liquor, from white as it was, will become red, or a Sort of Blood. The Juices of Flesh and of Bones bear a great Resemblance with Chyle, and Fat and Marrow are the most oily Parts of the Chyle. Now all these Parts, being in a Ferment, must, by the Rules of Experience, be changed into a Sort of Blood: So, besides that which is *uncoagulated* and *unfixed*, the pretended *Vampires* will also void that which is formed from the melting of the Fat and Marrow.

The Bodies of these imaginary *Vampires* either do quit their Graves to come and suck People, or they do not. If they do suck, they ought to be visible. Now they are not seen; for, whenever the Complainants call out for Assistance, they who run in at the Out-cry never see any such Matter. They therefore do not come abroad. If the Bodies come not out, it must then be the Soul, and Spirit. Now, can the Soul, or Spirit, composed of so subtile a Matter, can it, I say, gather up and contain, as in a Vessel, a Quantity of such a Liquid as Blood is, and convey into the Body? Really this Spirit is sent on a very pleasant Errand. But it would make me blush to employ any more Time or Pains about proving the Impossibility of *Vampirism* (See some Account of these Stories, Vol. I. p. 76.)

Weekly Miscellany, N^o 227 and 228.

Proper Remarks upon LEONIDAS. (See G p. 198.)

Mr. HOOKER,

THE Letter-writer, in *Common Sense*, has left a wide

Field for *Panegyric* on *Leonidas*, by being so *exceeding modest* in the Author's Praises, as to place him only a few Degrees above *Homer*, *Virgil* and *Milton*; we have some faint Hints indeed of his still greater Superiority; but I will *speak out* in Desfance of all doting Admirers of *Antiquity*, and assert boldly, that the three Names above mention'd, are so far from being *equal* to our modern Author, that you cannot degrade him more than to put him in *Competition* with them.

How much the *Ancients* neglected the Rule of *Common Sense* will be plain by considering what they are chiefly eminent for, *viz. Invention*; by this they assume to themselves a Right of *Creation*; give Existence to Beings that have none but in the Regions of *Fancy*; introduce Characters never heard of; fight Battles never fought; raise Prodigies, Storms, Whirlwinds, Earthquakes, Lightnings, Hail and Thunder at will: These are all plain Deviations from *Common Sense*, which our Author has with great Judgment avoided. And as the very Name *Παύρος*, or *Poet*, is derived from this *Fantastick* *Creatural* Power, I think it the greatest Impropriety to apply so *senseless* a Name to so *Sensible*, nay to so *Common Sensible* an Author. But what Word can be sufficiently expressive of so eminent a Genius? I should even have despaired of finding one in the whole Vocabulary had not he himself directed me to it in the first Page of his Book.

Rehearse, O muse, the glorious deeds and death
Of that fam'd Spartan ———

What can possibly be more *beautifully Simple*? The Verb *Rehearse* is so peculiarly adapted to the Spirit and Genius of the Work, and so exactly foretels all we are to meet with in the Sequel, that it is indeed the *Iliad* in a *Nutshell*, *Leonidas* in *Miniature*, the Sum total of the whole nine Books in one Word. So that the

Name of *Poem* being rendered obsolete and disreputable we are no longer at a loss for one that is perfectly suitable, viz. *Rehearsal*, — the *Rehearsal* of *Laonidas*, — how sensible an Idea does it give? — Thrice happy *Britain* that has produc'd a Genius so far above the *fabulous* *Verifiers* of *Greece* and *Rome*, that their very *Languages* could have scarcely furnish'd a Name worthy of this our *great British Rehearsalish!*

The *Iliad* is exceedingly faulty in its *Exordium*; 'tis crowded with Images of Death and Horror. Had the Translator been blessed with our Author's cool and solid Judgment he would have had *Common Sense* enough to have drawn a Shade over these glaring Faults, and not given us in *English* all the *poetical, hyperbolical Rhapsody* of the Original.

*The wrath of Pelous' son, the direful spring
Of all the Græcian woes, O goddess, sing;
That wrath, which bur'd to Plato's gloomy
 reign,
The souls of mighty chiefs untimely slain;
Whose limbs unburied on the naked shores,
Devouring dogs and hungry vultures tore.*

But the Beauties of the *Exordium* of the *Rehearsal* will appear in their truest Light when compar'd with *Virgil's*.

Arma virumque cano —

Quite beyond the Bounds of *Common Sense!* First, *cano*, I sing, — how exceedingly absurd to talk of Singing when it was never so much as design'd to be set to *Music*? *Homer*, indeed, might use the Word *canō*, because his *Poems* are said to be only a Pack of *Ballads* sung up and down the Streets: But when this Custom was laid aside the Word that was expressive of it ought to have shared the same Fate. Here then is a monstrous Deviation from *Common Sense* in the first Step. In the next, *cano arma virumque*, I sing Arms and the Man, — what Absurdity? — I sing of or concerning Arms would be intelligible.

But lest I should be thought too

partial in *Panegyric*, I must of Necessity confess (what few Commentators care to do) that my admired Author, even in this his admirable *Introduction*, has not quite reached the Tip-top Pinnacle of Perfection, having but too visibly deviated from *Common Sense*, by making an *Invocation* to the *Muse*. I am surprized, he could be led into this, since he is not in the least indebted to her Ideal Goddeship, but drew the whole from his own prolific Genius. It can indeed be ascribed to nothing but our Author's great Modesty, who, reviewing the mighty Works of his Heroic Pen, could scarce believe himself the Author of so many Excellencies; at least was ashamed to assume to himself and monopolize such prodigious Merit; and therefore call'd in this *imaginary* Dame to take her Share of it.

But I beg leave to recommend this Alteration to our Author in his next Edition. Instead of *rehearse O Muse*, read, *I will rehearse*. Upon more mature Consideration, I find great Reason to conclude this to be the original Reading, and the Former a Sophisticated one crept in by the *Oscitancy* and *Halucination* of the Printer, whose Fingers were so accustomed to the Letters M-u-s-e at the Beginning of every Thing called a Poem, that they went mechanically to the Boxes, and ignorantly and injuriously inserted them in the *Rehearsal*. That this is the Case appears evidently from the third Book, where the Author heroically disclaims the Assistance of *Phæbus*, and all his *Seraglio*.

*Not thee whom rancour's jabbling voice delights,
Poetic fancy, to my aid I call;
But thou, historic truth, support my song.*

I shrewdly suspect a Blunder of the Printer also in the last of these Lines. The Author, who in other Places so judiciously avoids talking of *Singing*, could never be guilty of such a gross Impropriety as to use the word *Song* when he was going to give us a *plain* *Hist-*

Historical List of Xerxes's Army. No, no, 'twas unquestionably the Abortive Embryo of the Printer's Negligence, and not the mature Conception of the *Rebearsalist's* Judgment, who, I dare say, wrote it originally thus.

But thou, historic truth, report the throng.

That is, give a full and true Account of the Army.

The next Thing that occurs is the *Entrance*, or *Opening* of the Fable; in which the *Rebearsalist* has greatly excelled the three Epic Poets of *Greece, Rome, and England.* They have got an odd Whim of hurrying us into the Middle of the Action all at once, and we are either engaged in a Quarrel, as in the *Iliad*; souled in a Storm, as in the *Aeneid*; or what is worse than all, plung'd into the midst of Fire and Brimstone, as in *Milton*, without knowing why or wherefore. And *Horace* was such an old Dotard as to lay this down for a Pattern to others.

Semper ad eventum festinat, & in medias res,

Non secus ac notas, auditorem rapit.

Just as if a Man was obliged to follow those Architects who make the Door of their Houses one Story high, and oblige one to go down Stairs to the Ground-Floor. But the *Rebearsalist* has shewed us a more natural Way of Building. His Entrance is where it should be, *even with the Ground.*

I shall here observe of the Fable in general, that, as the Epic Poets by Adultering theirs with such a deal of *Fiction and Romance*, had degraded the very Word *Fable* quite from it's original Signification of *History*, the *Rebearsalist* has restored it to it's former Dignity: Which undoubtedly makes him as superior to them, as *Truth* is to *Falshood*: So that tho' *Homer* and *Virgil* may possibly keep above Ground a little longer, and not be buried quite in Oblivion; at least not till *Leonidas* be translated into *Greek*

and *Latin*; yet, as to *Milton*, I expect to find him hereafter in no other Shops but Grocers and Chandlers. Every one knows how monstrously he soars beyond all Limits of *Common Sense*, each Page teems with *supernatural Births* and meer *Prodigies* of the *Imagination*: And what little he has taken from others, is derived from no better Authority, than that antique, obsolete, little read, and less regarded Book, the *Bible*.

The Author of *Leonidas* has with a *religious Care* avoided every Thing *Supernatural* or *Marvellous*; an Absurdity which the Ancients frequently run into. And *Aristotle* was such a Blockhead as to call it the *Soul of Epic Poetry*. You may guess then what Name Mr. *Pope* deserves who boasts of it's having been first *Breatb'd* into it by his favourite *Homer*. But we have now seen a *wass Genius* who has chosen a *Subje&* so great and sublime as to be able to do without these shining *Follies*. To him their *Affistance* is not necessary; his *Force* is equal to the hardest *Undertaking*. [*Common Sense, No. 10.*]

If there be any Thing that looks like a *Miracle*, it is in the latter End of the fifth Book, where *Leonidas* contrives a *Stratagem* that does indeed seem quite beyond the Reach of a *meer mortal Understanding*. Conscious of this, the Author has with consummate Judgment awakened our Expectation of something inconceivably great. B. V. L. 694.

Now male, the wondrous stratagem display,
Which Sparta's hero, whose presiding care
Mark'd all the great vicissitudes of fight,
And rul'd the course of slaughter, had conceiv'd,
To withstand the numerous long resisting foe
In hideous death, and signalize the day
With horrors new to war.

That the Reader may conceive every Part of this *wondrous Stratagem* and take a View of *Horrors* quite new to War; observe, that the rocky Mountain that hung perpendicularly over the Streights near *Thermopylae* was impervious to the *Persians*, but

easly of Ascend to the Greeks. The Persians having crowded Part of the Streights with their numerous Troops, and the Grecians with Difficulty maining their Ground, Leonidas, with a miraculous never enough to be admired Presence of Mind ordered a Party to ascend the Mountain, get together all the great Stones they could find, sling them down the Precipice and knock all the Persians o'the Head. This undoubtedly was such a Finesse in the Art of War, such a Prodigy of Foresight and Policy as might have been, — *dignus vindice nodus ut Deus interfit.* To have made indeed a real God or Goddess descend would not have been within the Bounds of Common Sense, as the premier Commentator most wisely observes, but Apollo or Pallas might have made him a Visit in his Sleep, for a Grecian might dream, that he saw and talked with such Gentry, but the Absurdity would be to suppose he did it Waking. [Common Sense, N^o 10.] But upon Recollection I find no Occasion for any of these celestial Machines. The Hero of the Rebearfal is superior to the Gods of other Poets. [Common Sense, ditto.]

This puts me in Mind of anotheif of his Warriors who had a Spear run quite thro' his Breast and out at his Back, at which being not in the least shocked, he very sedately drew an Arrow from his Quiver, fitted it to his Bow-string, took exact Aim, and shot it with such Force that it pass thro' the Breast-plate, and deep into the Breadth of one of the first Rate Heroes among the Spartans. [Book 9. L. 584.] From this therefore we may assert, that as his Hero is superior to Virgil and Homer's Gods, so his Soldiers out-do even Milton's Devils.

Let us now proceed to his Similies, in which, says Common Sense, consists his particular Merit, particularly ev'n where every Thing is particularly maritorious. At first Sight I was afraid my Brother had a little

overshot himself in asserting so pe-remptorily that there is not so much as a single Simile taken from any of the Ancients, for in the next Sentence he says, that he believes there is hardly any Poem in the World that has such a Variety of beautiful Comparisons. Now if he only believes this, I at first thought there might possibly be some few Comparisons that he was not acquainted with; and as he was wholly unacquiated with the Author, he could not possibly have this Intelligence from him. But upon more mature Deliberation I find the Assertion right, and will undertake to prove it almost to a Demonstration, such a one at least as a Negative is capable of, viz. by showing that those Similies which may possibly seem borrowed from the Ancients are really not so; but as spick and span new as if none of the Ancients had ever learnt their A B C. I will begin with one where Milton has had the great good Fortune to speak somewhat like our Author. The latter thus compares a short Interval of Joy amidst a Scene of Grief and Woe. [Leonidas, B. 5th L. 108.]

*Like wintry clouds which waiting for a time,
Linge their black skirts with scatter'd beams of day,
Then swiftly closing on the brows of morn
Condense their horrors, and in thickest gloom
The ruddy beauty veil.*

Milton too, a like Interval of Joy. B. 2. L. 488.

*As when from mountain tops, the dusky clouds
Ascending while the north-wind sleeps, o'er
spread*

*Haav'n's cheerful face, the low'ring element
Scorv'd o'er the darken'd landscape snow w
snow's,*

*If chance the radiant sun, with farwel sweet,
Extend his evening beams, the fields revive,
The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
Attess their joy, that hill, and valley ring.*

Now I think it will be plain to every one that compares these two Similies, that tho' the Ground-work of both be pretty much the same, yet the Superstructure being so vastly different, the Modern can be no more

charg'd with imitating Milton, than Sir Christopher may with taking his Plan of St. Paul's from the old Cathedral, because he built it upon the same Spot. Milton's, a meer Gothic Structure, is interspers'd with a vast Variety of Ornaments and Images, whereas the other is plain, solid, and substantial.

What has been said of Milton's Likeness to our Author, will hold equally good of him and Shakespear. After setting down the two Passages he says: since I have quoted Shakespear, I must observe that I know no other Man but Homer, so insufferably guilty of *excess downright Poetry*; scarcely ev'n Virgil or Milton. Several glorious Attempts have, from Time to Time, been made to reduce him to *Common Sense*: Tate and others of the last Age deserve great Applause, and our present incomparable Laureat would undoubtedly have far exceeded his Predecessors, had not the *injudicious senseless Town*, thro' some unaccountable Prejudice to his Person, deprived itself of that *invaluable Performance*. After him I know no one so capable for that great Undertaking as the Author of *Leonidas*.

The next Person he quotes, who has several Times fortunately hit upon the same Sort of Similies with the Author of *Leonidas*, is Spenser. And after him he mentions Virgil and Homer, and gives some Instances out of them: And then says, I cannot conclude without just hinting at the unparallel'd Excellence of our Author, in so frequently alluding in his Similies to the Heathen *Mythology*. What a noble Idea does it give one, when his Heroes are compared to Jupiter, Neptune, Apollo, Mars, Mercury, *Aeolus*? The following one of *Aeolus* is a proper Specimen of all the rest. B. 4. L. 7.

Obedient to his will

Th' appointed legions issuing from their tents,
With deepning ranks Leon das inclose.

So round the monarch in his stormy cave
The winds assemble, from his sable throne

When *Aeolus* sends forth his dread command,
To dispell the main, or bear 'n with clouds deform,
Or bend the forest from the mountain's brow.

The chief End of Similies is to give us a clearer Idea of the Thing to which they are compared. Now there surely never was one which so completely answered that End as this of *Aeolus*. A Man that had never been upon the Parade, or at a Review in *Hyde-Park*, might have but a confus'd Notion of *deepning Ranks* enclosing the commanding Officer. But as every Man living has seen *Aeolus's Cave* and the Manner of his *marshalling* his Winds, Rank and File around him, our Ideas are most surprizingly bright'ned by this Comparison. *Painting*, they say, is nearly ally'd to *Versification*; and it is evident that the Author received the first Hint of this *exquisitely beautiful* Similitude from that inimitable Print of *Aeolus* and his little *puffing* *Murmidons* in the *Dauphin* Editions of *Virgil*. Sorry am I that I have room for no more of the Heathen Gods, who every one of them in their Turn make so *pretty a Figure* in *Leonidas*. I shall only observe of them in general, that there never was since the Days of Pope Gregory, so proper a Time for their *twelve Godships* to make their Appearance in *England*; for as a good Part of the Nation seem determin'd to turn *Christianity* out o' Doors, and a new *Elision* of *Religion* will probably soon come on, they will certainly be in the foremost Rank of *Candidates*, and will probably be restored to their ancient Dignities.

Yours, &c.

MISO-MUSARUS.

Craftsman, May 7. N^o 566.

Of Government, and when it may be said to be Free.

I SHALL not enter into any romantic Enquiries about the Law of Nature; or how far our natural Li-

Berties ought to extend, under *Society*. Let it suffice us to say, in Concurrence with the Generality of People at this Time, that all Mankind were naturally *free*, and therefore all Governments ought to be so.

But the great Mistake is, that Governments are commonly divided into two Classes only, *viz.* *arbitrary Governments* and *free Governments*; whereas there are many different Sorts of each. The Governments of *France* and *Spain* are generally call'd *arbitrary*; tho' they differ as much from the Governments of *Turkey* and other *Eastern Empires*, where *absolute Despotism* prevails, as they do from the Government of *England* and other *European Nations*, where *Liberty* is said to flourish in its fullest Perfection. A *Monarchy*, in the strict Sense of the Word, is *Tyranny*; and a *Commonwealth* is generally supposed to be more free than a *limited Monarchy*; of which likewise these are different Kinds. *Poland* is call'd both a *Kingdom*, and a *Republick*, tho' it seems to partake most of the *latter*; since the *Republick* hath not only a Right to elect their *Kings*, but confine them within very narrow Bounds, when they are chosen. The Government of *Sweden* is somewhat of the same Nature, with Regard to the Right of electing their *Kings*, and controlling the *Power of the Crown*. But, in one Respect, there is an essential Difference between them; for whereas the *common People of Poland* are absolute Slaves, in *Sweden* they are perfectly free, and enjoy a Share in the Legislature. The Government of *England* differs from both, in several material Articles, and is justly esteem'd the most excellent Plan of a *limited Monarchy* in the World; being admirably calculated to make both the *Prince* and the *People* happy, whilst it is exercised with a due Regard to the Rules of the *Constitution*.

The distinguishing Privilege of *Law*

glistmen, is being govern'd by our *own Consent*, or by *Laws of our own making*; that is, by our *Representatives in Parliament*; and certainly, there cannot be a greater Blessing, or Security of *Liberty*, than this *Privilege*, when enjoy'd in its full Extent. But if the *Representatives of the People* should at any Time hereafter be induced, by *Pensions, Places, or other Gratuities*, to act directly contrary to the known Sense, and visible Interests of the *People*, as they have formerly done; how can they be said to be govern'd by their *own Consent*, or by *Laws of their own making*?

It is incumbent on a *wise* and a *free People* not to arm the *Crown* with any Powers, under the *best Prince upon Earth*, - which may be employ'd by a *bad one* to the Subversion of their *Liberties*, and the Establishment of *his own Will for Law*, or converting it into *Law*, whenever he pleases.

I am ready to acknowledge, that this is not our Case at present, and I hope never will; but the *Power of the Crown* is already so extensive, that we ought at least to guard against any farther Growth of it, unless in Cases of the utmost Extremity.

I believe nobody will deny that the *Civil List* is sufficiently large to answer all the *Purposes*, for which it was granted; and it is well known that it hath been hitherto punctually apply'd to them; as it will, no doubt, for the future.

Our *Taxes*, God knows, have been carried as far as the *present Circumstances of the People* can well bear; tho' no farther, to be sure, than the *Necessities of the Government*, and the *Welfare of the Nation*, absolutely required. I cannot explain our Condition, in this Respect, better than by comparing it with that of a *neighbouring Kingdom*, which does not enjoy the same Blessings of *Liberty*.

The People of France are generally computed at 20,000,000 and the Revenue at 11,000,000 per Annum. The People of England are computed at 8,000,000 and the Revenue at 7,000,000 l. per Annum. From whence it appears, according to this Calculation, that if every Individual in France were to be tax'd alike, it would amount but to 11 s. a Head; whereas if the same Method were to be follow'd in England, it would amount to about 17 s. 6 d. a Head. But what is this Difference, in Comparison to our Liberties, which ought to be consider'd as the Purchase for our Taxes?

It was impossible for us to raise such a vast yearly Sum; without having Recourse to Excises, and an almost infinite Number of penal Laws; which Sir Josiah Child, I think, calls the best sumptuary Laws, that can be invented; and so, indeed, they are; for they not only make all the Necessaries of Life much dearer in themselves, by the Taxes hid upon them; but likewise put us to another extraordinary Expence, by the Method of Collection, and thereby have a natural Tendency to check the present, reigning Spirit of Luxury.

But as such coercive Laws are always apt to make the People uneasy, and sometimes tumultuous, we have been oblig'd to keep up a large standing Army, in Times of Peace, to curb their Insolence, and put the Law in Execution. Nay, so audacious are they grown, especially in Scotland, that they sometimes have the Boldness to oppose even these sacred Guardians of our Liberties, as well as the civil Powers; which makes it thought necessary to extend the penal Laws still farther, if not to increase the Army.

It must be confess'd that these necessary Evils (for so they are) have been chiefly occasion'd by the vast Load of our Debts, contracted in the dear Cause of Liberty, and for the

Preservation of the Balance of Europe; the latter of which is now so firmly establish'd, that we have an Opportunity of securing our Liberties, by a Reduction of the publick Expences, and paying off our Debts; which is the only Specifick, in our present Case.

Common-Sense, May 7. N^o 14.

Of the Interest of this Nation, with respect to foreign Conquests.

ALMOST every Age has its peculiar Spirit, which is commonly the Spirit of the Court. In pacifick Reigns, the Blessings of Peace and Plenty are never unprais'd, tho' often unfelt; the Court gives the Word, and the willing Nation echoes it back. Thus, in the pacifick Reign of Harry VII. the People, tho' groaning under the insatiable Exactions of that greedy Monarch, and his rapacious Instruments Empson and Dudley, most cheerfully sang the Song of Peace, and ascribed to the Wisdom of their Prince a Tranquillity they only ow'd to his Avarice, and the Distrust of his Title.

On the contrary, in the Reigns of warlike and enterprizing Princes, the English Valour and Glory have been the Topicks of Conversation, and even the Comforts of a People labouring under Taxes and Misery. It is astonishing to find with how much more Spirit than Common Sense, this Nation supported the Pretensions of our Edwards and Henrys upon France, and with what Alacrity they spilt their Blood, and spent their Treasure, to make themselves in reality a Province to, and dependent upon that Nation. This was so glaring a Truth, that I can hardly conceive how it could escape them; since it is obvious, there is no manner of Difference to this Nation, between conquering France, and being conquer'd by it. In either Case Paris would equally have been the Seat of

Empire, and whether a *Faliois* or a *Plantagenet* wore the Crown, *England* would only have felt its Weight, but never have seen the Lustre of it.

Smaller Dominions united to greater, no matter upon what Terms, are soon absorb'd in them, and become dependent upon them. Thus, tho' it was glorious for *Alexander* to have conquer'd *Asia* with a handful of *Macedonians*, *Macedon* soon became a Province to its new Conquests. And the best it could have hoped for, would have been his intire Oblivion, instead of being so far remember'd by him, as every now and then to receive from him some hungry Deputy to oppress and plunder them.

Scotland, tho' united to *England*, not by the Fate of Arms, but by the Succession of their Prince, soon felt this Truth; for from the Time of that Union, it has never been the Residence of any of their Kings, nor even of that pacifick Monarch whose Country it was; and who, from the Time he succeeded to the Crown of *England*, thought it proper, and, it may be, pleasanter to reside here.

The Strength of this Island consists in that Fortification which Nature has provided for it, and with which it is surrounded. *England*, upon the same Continent with the other Powers of *Europe*, would make an inconsiderable Figure in Comparison with them; but divided from them by the Sea, it is, or at least might be, free from those Dangers and Disturbances which their jarring Interests perpetually occasion; and great in its native Strength, might be courted by them all, and interpose, when proper, with Weight and Efficacy.

But we must lose all these Advantages, if we acquire any Possession upon the Continent. If they are more considerable than *England*, *England* only catches a Tartar: If they are inconsiderable Scraps of beggarly Territories, they infallibly involve us in Quarrels they are not

worth, and in Expences which the Fee-Simple of them, if sold, would not defray.

This being then always the Case, we may, in this Instance at least, assert, that we are wiser than our Ancestors, in avoiding Conquests, which they so eagerly pursued. We have all of *France* that I hope we ever shall have, the Title, and the Arms; the one sounds very well in the Style of our Kings, and the other looks very well in their Escutcheons, but the Reality would ruin us.

I am aware, that some discontented People may urge all these Arguments against those Electoral Dominions his Majesty possesses in *Germany*, and pretend they are disadvantageous and burdensome to this Country; but with Submission to these shallow Politicians, the Case is exactly the contrary, as I shall prove.

The Electorate, tho' possess'd by his Majesty, is not annex'd to this Kingdom, and we are so far from being involv'd in any of the Troubles of the Continent on that Account, that it is expressly provided against by the Act of Limitations; which has been so strictly observ'd, that since the Connexion we have had with those Dominions, *England* has never been engaged in a War at all.

As to the Country itself, tho' an extensive, and to be sure a delightful one, yet it is so far inferior to *England*, that we can never apprehend that any of our Monarchs will make it the Place of their Residence any longer than the Urgency of their Occasions absolutely requires. This likewise appears to have been the Opinion of the Legislature, by their repealing, in the second Year of the late King, that Clause in the Act of Limitations, which restrain'd his Majesty from leaving the Kingdom without the Consent of Parliament; wisely foreseeing that *Hanover* could never, by Way of Preference, become the Seat of Empire.

Nor is it an absolute Government, and, of Consequence, can give our Princes neither a Taste of, nor Relish for unlimited Power; the People have Liberties and Privileges, and the better to secure them, there are States composed of wise and grave Persons, and hitherto, as I am inform'd, uncorrupted.

The late Acquisitions of *Bremen* and *Verden* give us no small Weight in the *North*, that had we (as we shall not) been engaged in twenty Wars with *Sweden* upon this Account, our Money would still be well spent, and our Blood well spilt.

Daily Gazetteer, N^o 579 and 586.

CIVIL LIBERTY, its Extent, and Restraints.

LIBERTY is little understood by those, who think it hard, and a Sort of Slavery, that they cannot say and do what they please in a *free Nation*. It is generally said, That *Words ought to be free*. Yes, innocent Words, such as disturb not Society, nor injure any of its Members. It is certain, that as private Men may be undone by unbridled Slander, so may the Publick be shaken, and even overturned, by prevailing Misrepresentations, and the unbridled Voice of Sedition.

No Country, therefore, not even this Country, the freest of all others, can permit an universal Latitude of Speaking and Writing; and the *Liberty of the Press*, so highly and so justly valued amongst us, is and must be subject to certain Bounds. No Man, I presume, will contend, that by the *Liberty of the Press* any Man should have the Privilege of reviling the Person of the King, or of traducing his Government; or of treating the two Houses of Parliament contumeliously; or of persuading the People that they are *oppressed and enslaved*, and *ought to revolt*; or of spreading Calumnies at random upon Men

and Women of all Ranks, or of any Rank. The *Liberty of the Press*, is, therefore, no more, even in *England*, than the reasonable Liberty of Writing and Publishing whatever is not inconsistent with the *English Laws and Constitution*.

As I am a perfect Friend to such Liberty, I cannot wish it under any new Restrictions; for tho' this Liberty is often abused, I fear those Restrictions would be as much abused; and the Abuse of Penal Laws is generally worse than the Abuse of Liberty. The Abuse of either is very wicked, and must be attended with mischievous Consequences; and they have much to answer for, who commit that Abuse.

Power unrestrained is Tyranny: Liberty unrestrained, does certainly produce Slavery. As all Government subsists in a great Measure, by Restraints and Terrors, the Idea of absolute Liberty utterly excludes the Idea of Government, and consequently, of Society; which may subsist, tho' unhappily, under Tyranny, but cannot where there is no Restraint at all.

It is even necessary to the Existence and Preservation of Society, that the governing Power should be absolute, and have the sovereign Disposal of the Properties and Persons of all the Individuals. Since whatever, or whoever, has a Latitude to oppose it, may destroy it; and therefore no Government whatever admits such a Latitude.

Thus the Power of our three Estates is as absolute as that of the *Great Turk*; but as they are themselves bound and concluded by their own Laws, Individuals are secure by being upon the same Foot with their Governors: And this general and equal Security, this Certainty of what is allowed and what is forbid, by certain and unvariable Laws, is what we call Liberty.

But every Government whatso-

ever is invested with a supreme, uncontrollable Power of preserving itself. For if it could not preserve itself, how could it preserve its People? Nor is any Government upon Earth, even such Governments as are armed with the most sudden and terrible Powers and Methods of Punishment, able to stand against a Torrent of Sedition unrestrained. A single, angry, and declaiming Beggar, by standing in the Market-Place of *Constantinople*, and animating the Crowd about him against the Government, occasion'd a prodigious Revolution there in a Day or two, made and deposed Emperors and Ministers at his Pleasure, acted the Sovereign in Rags, and gave Laws to that mighty Empire.

It is not a sufficient Answer, to alledge that the People had been first greatly oppressed, tho' it be true; for under that Sort of Government they are always oppressed, and the Change of their Governours is only the Change of Oppressors. But it is still very possible, by the same Means, by continual Investives and Slander, thrown out without Check, upon any Government whatsoever, to incense the People against it, to make them believe that they are oppressed when they are not, or to fill them with the Presages and Fears of Oppression, when none is intended: Nay, the very Methods taken to ease and relieve them, shall be misconstrued into Engines of Slavery, and fill them with Terror and Hate, instead of Joy and Gratitude. The *Turks* would think you blasphem'd, if you talk'd to them of restraining or qualifying their savage Monarchy; and the *Spaniards* would burn you, if you proposed to secure them from being burned, by destroying that earthly Hell, the Inquisition.

What one Act of Oppression, what single Sign of Slavery, excited the late Rebellion? Yet the People, or a

great Part of them, believed that they were undone, or going to be undone, because Incendiaries and Slanderers, void of Conscience, told them so. The Multitude have not the keeping of their own Senses, whenever they are well heated by Declaimers, or misled by Deceivers; whatever they are then told, they believe, and not the less for its being false, or even impossible.

Of what Concern was it to the People of *Great Britain*, that the Earl of *Mar*, always reckoned an artful Man, and the Duke of *Ormond*, never esteemed a very able Man, were removed from their Employments by a Prince, who thought he had more Reason to dismiss them than to confide in them? Did the King in thus dismissing them, at all strain the Prerogative, or violate any one Law? Yet we all remember what Outrages followed that Dismission, especially that of the Duke, as if he had been the *Atlas* of the Church, and the Church must have fallen with him, inso much that to save the Church and restore her Champion, all the Acts of Fury, Perjury, Irreligion, and Madness that could be committed, were committed; the vilest Calumnies were published, in defence of the Cause of Truth; and a barbarous Rebellion was raised by the Advocates for Passive Obedience.

SOLON.

Grubstreet Journal, May 12. N° 385.

A Dialogue between Capt. Pet, Mr. Littledone, Don Roberto, and Mr. Sneerwell, concerning an Epic Poem, intituled, Jack the Giant-killer. (See p. 238.)

CAPT. Pet. By G—d, the best Poem in the World.

Mr. L. Don R. Oh! never was the like.

Mr. S. Well, shall we examine it. Don R. Oh, Sir, you are a Critic.

Pray do you understand Mathematics?

Mr. S. Mathematics, Sir! Why

what has Mathematics to do with Poetry?

D. R. Only, Sir, this: That no Man ever was a Judge of any Thing without being a Mathematician. What made *Horace* and *Bossu Affes*; *Dacier* an Owl, and *Aristotle*—yes *Aristotle* had a little Sense; but nothing, Sir, nothing, depend upon it, to what we have in these Days.

Mr. S. If you'll give me leave, you shall hear the Argument of each Book. [reads]

1. A Poetico-historical Account, how *Jack* went to an old *Witch*, to enquire how to make himself glorious. How the old *Witch* told him he must be knock'd on the Head at the *Straits of Gibraltar*. How *Jack*, who laugh'd at all Witchcraft, followed the old *Witch's* Advice, but first took leave of his Wife and Family.

2. How *Jack* travell'd and travell'd, till he came to the *Straits*: How the *Giant* sent Word to *Jack*, he would eat him up: How *Jack* bid him kiss his A---e.

3. How the *Giant* brought all the World to fight against little *Jack*.

4, 5. How *Jack's* Men fought with the *Giant's* Men: But neither *Jack*, no the *Giant* did any Thing.

6, 7. How Prince *Prettyman* fell in Love: And how Miss *Airy* kill'd herself for the Man she never spok'd to.

8, 9. How *Jack*, who for a long while, say'd nothing, say'd his Prayers, went out, and was knock'd on the Head.

———— With Submission, our Poem wants Ornament and Greatness. Besides, how are we interested in the Subject! what's little *Jack* to us, or we to *Jack*?

Mr. L. Interested, Sir! why I'll tell you how we are Interested. Little *Jack* is——and the *Giant* is—— Now you know, Sir.——Then, here are Lines against Bribery and Corruption.

Mr. S. Bad Things indeed, but - -

Mr. L. But, Sir! Why, Sir, if you'll defend such Things as these, I must tell you——

Mr. S. Dear, Mr. L. let us now mind our present Design.

Mr. L. I must own, that I have been so taken up of late in getting my own Speeches by heart, that I have not had Time to read little *Jack's* as carefully as I should. But the Poem shall pass, that's pos.

Snerwell reads,

*The glorious deeds, and glorious death rehearse;
O woe, of little glorious Jack in verse.*

Pray, Gentlemen, is not this glorious Beginning something like the *Cantata nobilis bellam*, which *Horace* objects to?

Don R. Z---, Sir: I say'd, long ago, *Horace* was an Ass. We strike out a new Light: We scorn the Rules of the Ancients.

Here the Company fell into a very warm Debate; whether *Horace* had any Sense or no. In the mean while Mr. *Snerwell* slipt out of the Company, and left them all quarrelling among themselves.

Weekly Miscellany, May 13. N^o. 229.

*Some Queries in relation to Ireland:
From a Piece call'd the Querist,
publish'd there.*

WHETHER it would not be an horrible Thing to see our *Matrons* make *Dress* and *Play* their chief Concern?

Whether our *Ladies* might not as well endow *Monasteries*, as wear *Flanders Lace*? And whether it be not true, that *Papish Nuns* are maintained by *Protestant Contributions*?

Whether it be not a notorious Truth, that our *Irish Ladies* are on a Foot as to *Dress*, with those of *three Times* their Fortune in *England*?

Whether it be not even certain, that the *Matrons* of this forlorn Country send out a greater Proportion of its Wealth for *fine Apparel*, than any other Females on the whole Surface of the terraqueous Globe?

Whether the *Expence*, great as it is, be the *greatest Evil*? But whether this *Folly* may not produce *many other*

Follies; an entire *Derangement* of *Domestic Life*, absurd *Manners*, *Neglect* of *Duties*, bad *Motbers*, a general *Corruption* in both Sexes?

Whether therefore a *Tax* on all *Gold* and *Silver* in *Apparel*, on all *Foreign Laces* and *Silks*, may not raise a *Fund* for a *Bank*, and at the same *Time* have *other salutary Effects* on the *Publick*?

Whether *bad Management* may not be worse than *Slavery*? And whether *any Part* of *Christendom* be in a more *languishing* Condition than *Ireland*?

But whether any *Kingdom* in *Europe* be so good a *Customer* at *Bourdeaux*, as *Ireland*?

Whether the *Irish* do not yearly consume of *French Wines* about 1000 *Tuns* more than either *Sweden* or *Denmark*; and yet whether those *Nations* pay *ready Money*, as the *Irish* do?

Whether there be not every *Year* more *Cash* circulated at the *Card-Tables* of *Dublin*, than at all the *Fairs* of *Ireland*?

Whether it be not evident, that not *Gold*; but *Industry*, causeth a *Country* to flourish?

Whether it would not be a *stilly Project* in any *Nation* to hope to grow rich by *prohibiting* the *Exportation* of *Gold* and *Silver*?

Whether there can be a greater *Mistake* in *Politics*, than to measure the *Wealth* of a *Nation* by its *Gold* and *Silver*?

Whether *Gold* and *Silver* be not a *Drag*, where they do not *promote* *Industry*? Whether they be not even the *Bane* and *Undoing* of an *idle People*?

Whether *Gold* will not cause either *Industry* or *Vice* to flourish? And whether a *Country*, where it flowed in *without Labour*, must not be *wretched* and *dissolute* like an *Island* inhabited by *Buccaneers*?

Whether *Arts* and *Virtue* are not likely to thrive, where *Money* is made a *Means* to *Industry*? But whe-

ther *Money* *without this* would be a *Blessing* to *any People*?

Whether therefore *Mississi*, *South-Sea*, and such like *Schemes*, were not calculated for *public Ruin*?

A To the AUTHOR of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

S I R,

THE Gentleman who wrote the following Letter (on his Death Bed,) to an intimate Friend, was a remarkable Example of the Vicissitudes and Changes of this Life. From the Possession of an ample Fortune (of which he was unjustly depriv'd) he was hurry'd down to a very mean State, hardly able to purchase himself the common Necessaries of Life; but it prov'd a happy Change for him, for he had now Time to apply himself seriously to the Discharge of his Duty, and to settle those Accounts which every Man sooner or later is desirous of doing. He was never heard once to repine at his Fate, but with patient *Job* acknowledg'd all for the best; he found there was no Dependence on the *Children* of *this World*, and that all was *Vanity* and *Vexation* in it. He bore a lingering Illness with the greatest Fortitude, and dy'd a *Pattern* of *Virtue*, *Piety* and *Resignation*.

To Mr. E — K —

Dear Sir,

A T last my *Distemper* has got the better of the *Skill* of the *Physician*, and the *Care* of my dear *Attendants*. *Adieu World* and *Vanity*! *Wearry* of a *noisy tedious Life*, I retire to a *Place* where shall no *Vexation* come. *Happy* for me that I have laid up *Treasure* in *Heaven*, which will stand me in more *Stead* than all the *Pomp* and *Pageantry* of this *sublunary Spot*! My dear *Friend*, one of my greatest *Griefs* is to be parted from thee. Thou wert my only *Solace* of *Life*: Thou wert

the dear Companion of my most serious Hours; the Partaker of all my Thoughts. But we are not immortal. The Struggle I am now going thro', you will in a small Space of Time experience yourself. Oh! that you may with the same Pleasure submit yourself to the Stroke of Fate, with the same Resignation adore the Decrees of Providence, and die with assur'd Hopes of everlasting Joys hereafter. Oh! 'tis a Consummation devoutly to be wish'd! Methinks the nearer I approach the Borders of Eternity, the more elated I seem: And as the Springs of Life decay, I am more and more inspir'd with the Thoughts of my future Happiness. I have a Thousand and ten Thousand Things to say, but the grim Messenger grows impatient, and I have only Time, in the last Agony of my departing Soul, to wish your Welfare; and subscribe myself

Yours in Death,

R— F— a— n— n.

Craftsman, May 14. N^o. 567.

Observations on the Proposal of a Tax upon Urine, &c. (See p. 209.)

Mr. D'ANVERS,

NEITHER intirely approve, nor dislike your Correspondent's Scheme, for prohibiting the Use of all Liquors, except plain Water, and laying a Tax upon Urine, in lieu of them. In the first Place, the Manner of levy'ing this Tax may be attended with great Difficulties. History does not inform us how it was collected amongst the Romans, in the Time of *Vespasian*. It is generally supposed, indeed, that there were publick watering Places in the Streets of Rome, where every Body was obliged to stop, when they had any Occasion, and pay a certain Toll for it. But this Method must be liable to great Frauds, especially in the Night-Time; and therefore I would humbly propose the following Amendments.

1. That all Persons shall be obliged

to keep a regular Account of what Water they make every Day, as in the Case of Coffee, Tea and Chocolate, in a Book deliver'd to them by the Officers of Excise, for that Purpose; which they shall likewise be obliged to deliver back upon Oath, when fill'd up.

2. That all scattering of Water, or concealing it, may be deem'd Running, and liable to the same Penalties, as by the late Smuggling-Act, and other Statutes.

3. That the Officers of Excise shall have Power to enter any Bed-Chamber, or other Place, where they suspect any Water to be clandestinely made, or conceal'd, either by Day or by Night; and any Person, or Persons, obstructing the Officer, shall, for every such Offence, forfeit 100*l*.

4. If the Person suspected of any such Concealment should be a Woman, it will be proper, that a female Officer be appointed to make the Enquiry; and if a Man and his Wife, who cohabit together, should be suspected of combining in the same Fraud, it may be lawful for an Officer of each Sex to enter the Room, attended by a Peace-Officer, if in the Night-Time.

Another Objection to this Scheme is, that the greatest Peer of the Realm will not pay more than the poorest Manufasurer, or Day-Labourer; which will render it a more unequal Imposition than the Window-Tax, the Salt-Duty, the Gin Act, or any of our late Duties upon Commodities.

Besides, I am apprehensive that the English Nobility and Gentlemen of large Estates, in Land, Money, or Places, will never consent to put themselves upon a Level with their Inferiours, by drinking of Water only, for the Good of the Publick.

I therefore make a farther Proposal, either that the Nobility and Gentry should pay for their Urine, in some Kind of Proportion to their Income;

Income; or that they may be allow'd the free Use of *Wine* and other *Liquors*, subject to *double Duties*, for the Sake of the *Revenue*, which would be no Loser upon that Account.

I am likewise aware that this Scheme will be strongly oppos'd by *A* *three Bodies* of People, who compose two thirds of *the Nation*, and have a vast Deal of Weight in it.

The first are the *Ladies*; who will not easily consent to part with their *Coffee*, *Tea*, and *Chocolate*, as well as now and then a *little*, quieting *B* *Dragebt*, to which they have been so long used. But as they are to receive a Benefit from *this Act*, which they never enjoy'd before, it may be presumed that Time will reconcile them to it.

The second is the *Faculty of Physicians*, who will be utterly undone if this Scheme of *Water-drinking* should take Place; especially if our Diet should be laid under the same prudent Regulations. But if the Nobility and Gentry are excepted out of this Act, according to my Proposal, *C* the learned Faculty will be still able to pick up a tolerable Livelihood.

The third Sort of People, who will likewise oppose this Scheme, is the whole Body of *Vintners*, *Inn-holders*, *Alehouse-keepers*, *Coffee-men*, and *other Publicans*. But as the Wisdom *D* of this Age hath discover'd that they are really a *Nuisance*, and ought not to be encouraged by a *sober*, *industrious*, *trading* Nation, I believe little Regard will be paid to them; who may be allow'd, like the *Distillers*, to follow any other Business, either on the *Highway*, or otherwise, as they can best dispose of themselves.

As for the *Army*, if there should be any Difficulty in quartering them, when all the *publick Houses* are demolish'd, it will be easy to build *Bar-*
racks; which will keep them more *E* unmix'd with the *seditious Populace*, and at no great Expence to the Nation.

But my chief Objection to this Scheme is, that I am afraid it will not intirely make good the *present Revenue*; especially that sacred Part of it, appropriated to the Use of the *Civil-List*.

It is almost incredible, at first *Sight*, that any Nation should pay *three Millions* a Year for their *Drink-*
ables only; but when we consider the Excises upon *Beer* and *Ale*, *Mum*, *Cyder* and *Perry*, *Brandy*, *Rum*, *Ar-*
rack, and all *Spirits*, *Coffee*, *Tea* and *B* *Chocolate*, *foreign Wines*, and *home-*
made Liquors, which are now to be call'd *Sweets*, your Correspondent's Computation seems to be very moderate; and considering the growing Increase of many of them, by the happy Prevalence of *Luxury*, I cannot help doubting whether the *new*
Tax, which he proposes to substitute in their stead, will answer the same laudable Purposes.

I therefore propose it to Consideration, whether the Publick ought not to have a Right to the *Urine* it-
self, as well as to the *Tax* upon it; for great Quantities of this Commo-
dity being made use of in *Dying*, *Cy-*
mistry, *Allom-Works*, and other Ma-
nufactures, it would certainly bring in a considerable Sum; tho' *Water-*
drinking would in a great Measure *E* deprive it of those *saline* Particles, which render it chiefly valuable.

Let it be also consider'd whether this Tax might not be extended to some other *Evacuations*, and collected in the same Manner, by inspecting all *publick Houses of Ease*, and ordering *F* *private Conveniences* to be stamp'd, for the future, like *Dice*, *Cards*, &c.

But if all these Proposals should be judged impracticable, or improper, I have another to offer, directly contrary to your Correspondent's Scheme, which I apprehend will effectually answer the Design; that is, by laying a Tax upon *Water* itself, instead of prohibiting *all other Liquors*; which will either bring in a very

great annual Sum, if the People make Use of *Water* only, or drive them to *Beer* and *Ale*, and thereby occasion a vast Increase to the *Civil-List*.

I am sensible that such a Tax will occasion great Clamours amongst the *common People*, and perhaps be compared, by some Persons of an higher Rank, to the *Roman Punishment, Aquæ & Ignis Interdictio*, or *forbidding the Use of Water and Fire*; which being necessary to the Preservation of Life, was only another Term for *Banishment*. But I hope a due Distinction will be made between a Tax upon Water and a total *Prohibition* of it. Besides, it is well known that *Fire* is already tax'd; and why should not *Water* too, for the same good Purposes of Government?

R. DUDLEY.

Common Sense, May 14. N° 15.

The Rat and the Statue: A Chinese Allegory.

HOEN Kong ask'd his Minister *Koan Tcbong*, what was the most to be fear'd in a Government? *Koan Tcbong* answer'd, in my Mind, Sir, nothing is more to be dreaded, than what they call *the Rat in the Statue*. *Hoen Kong* not understanding the Allegory, *Koan Tcbong* explained it to him. You know, Sir, said he, that it is a common-Practice to erect Statues to the Genius of the Place; these Statues are of Wood, hollow within, and painted without. If a Rat gets into one of 'em, one does not know how to get him out; one does not dare to make use of Fire, for fear of burning the Wood; one can't dip it in Water, for fear of washing off the Colours; so that the Regard one has for the Statue, saves the Rat that's got into it. Such, Sir, are in every Government those, *who, without Virtue or Merit, have gain'd the Favour of their Prince: They ruin every Thing; one sees it, one laments*

it, but one does not know how to remedy it.

I approve of the Moral of the Story, and am very much of *Koan Tcbong's* Mind; but how he came to be of that Mind himself, I can't easily comprehend; for our Author says he was a Minister, and consequently of the *Rat Kind*. But as he does not say, that he was first, or sole Minister, I am inclin'd to think he was only one of those who have the Name, and Salary of Ministers, without any of the Power; and who are often glad to give a Slap by the by to the first Minister, tho' they have not Courage enough openly to attack him.

I cannot say this Allegory is so apt as I expected from a People so much vers'd in that Manner of Instruction. The Parallel drawn between the Emperor, and a wooden Statue, is so uncourtly, that I could have wish'd our Author had inform'd us, how his *Chinese* Majesty relish'd the Similitude; for, in reality, it was making no Difference between an *anointed Head* and a *wooden one*. A Rat may very well eat his Way into a Statue unseen, unselt, and unsmelt: But can a Minister, especially such a one as is here describ'd, without Virtue or Merit, nibble himself into his Prince's Favour, and the Prince not *smell a Rat*? I will admit, that the *Eastern* Monarchs have not that Degree of Sagacity, which so eminently distinguishes the *European* ones; and I will allow, that they are more likely to be impos'd upon by the Artifices of a designing Minister; their indolent and retir'd Way of Life, soaking in the Arms of their imperial Conforts, or wantoning in the Embraces of their Concubines, not giving 'em the same Opportunities of seeing or being inform'd. But still, when this general Ruin is universally seen and lamented as *Koan Tcbong* expresses it, the unanimous Voice, and just Complaints of a ruin'd and oppress'd

presid'd People, must reach, affect, and rouse his Majesty, if he be but ever so little above a Statue. If not, if such an Impossibility could be suppos'd, I must then confess, that the Allegory of the painted Wood is so far just, as that the *King's Head* A would properly be *but the Sign of the Government*.

The Conclusion *Koan Tchong* draws from this Allegory, is no less false and absurd. Such tender Regard for the Statue, would much better have become an *Hibernian* Courtier, B than a *Chinese* one; for it is saying, in very good *Irish*, that the Statue, from the Regard one has for it, shall be entirely devour'd, for fear of being a little damag'd or defaced. Whereas, I should rather think, that the best Way of showing that Regard C for the Statue, would be, by saving as much as ever one could of it, from the further Depredations of the Rat; even tho' it were to cost a Limb or two, as is frequently practis'd upon human Bodies. But to do *Koan Tchong* Justice, I don't impute his D Way of Reasoning to his Want of Parts; I rather think it was a Piece of ministerial Logick, which has been used in other Countries besides *China*. For he so closely connects the Rat and the Statue, and, consequently, the King and the Minister, that, in effect, he makes them but one Flesh, and one would think they grew together like the two * *Hungarian* Girls; by this Way of Reasoning, whoever attack'd this all devouring Rat, *alias* Minister, was an Enemy to the Statue, *alias* King; and, *vice versa*, those that were Friends to Rat and Minister, were Friends to Statue and King. E

Let us now consider the Allegory literally. These *sacred, painted, tawdry Images*, are erected to the *Genii* of the Place; they are the Productions G of Superstition, and, probably,

the Creatures of the Bonzes, who dub 'em Sacred, and exhibit them as Representations (wooden ones, alas!) of the Divinity. Sacrilegious Rats eat their Way into 'em, and endanger their wooden Existence. What's to be done? Why truly they are to devour with Impunity, for fear the Statue should receive some small Damage in the Rescue; as if there were not a thousand Ways of coming at the Rat with little or no Danger to the Statue. For Instance, shaking it soundly, might probably make his Dwelling so uneasy, that he might be willing to quit it.

There is another obvious Expedient, which is, sending a Cat up after him; but to this, I own, I have some Objection myself, because, tho' the Cat would kill the Rat, he would possibly remain in his Place, and be as unwilling to quit it: But is it possible that the useful Art of Rat-catching should be unknown to so ingenious a People as the *Chinese*? If it is, I would advise our *East-India* Company to send 'em a Rat-catcher or two next Voyage, for whom they might expect as considerable Returns, as *Whittington* is reported to have made by his Cat. Tho' I am very sorry to say it, the Noble Art and Mystery of Rat-catching has greatly declined even here of late.

But can one suppose, that the Piety of the Bonzes would suffer 'em to remain indifferent Spectators of such sacrilegious Outrages? And that they who can dislodge a Devil, can't get out a Rat? Unless one has little Charity enough to believe, that the Bonzes, by a Sort of Commutation, are not unwilling to let the Rats take Sanctuary in their Statues, to be rid of 'em themselves; and so, by an interested and impious Connivance, give up their Gods, to save their Bacon.

To come now to the allegorical

* Two Hungarian Girls, that were thrown some Years ago as a fine Sight, and who were fasten'd together by the Rump.

Sense, which *Koon Tcbong* has such a Mind to establish. A Minister without Virtue and Merit, gains the Favour of his Prince, he ruins every Thing; one sees it, one laments it, but one does not know how to remedy it. To me the Remedy seems very easy and obvious; take the Minister away from him, and prevent the Ruin that threaten'd both him and his Country. I don't doubt, indeed, but the Minister would, during the Operation, cry out, like *Koon Tcbong*, you attack the King, you deface the King, you wound the King thro' my Sides, and would plead the King, as Women do their Belkies, to respite Execution; but surely, upon Examination, a Degree of Sagacity much inferior to that of Matrons, would be sufficient to bring him in not Quick with King, but a distinct and separate Body, easily mov'd, without the least Danger to the Sovereign.

Old Whig, May 19. N^o 115.

Case of the City of Edinburgh, &c.

S I R,

THE Existence of our Government (as also of all others that are free) depends upon a just Reverence for the Persons and Authority of our Governors, on the one Hand; and a due Tenderness for the Rights of the People on the other. Whatsoever tends to the Weakening of these Principles, either in the Governors or the Governed, doth so far tend to the Dissolution of the Government, and Subversion of the publick Peace. Offences must be animadverted upon, and Malefactors punished; but then the Punishment ought always to fall upon the Heads of the Offenders, and upon them only. The mutual Affection between the Prince and the People in their publick politick Capacity, is never to be infringed. No Offence ought, upon any

Occasion, to be supposed in either of those Parties: Because such a Supposition may do great harm, in shocking the Frame of the Government; but cannot do good, since there is not, nor in the Nature of Politicks can there be, any proper Remedy provided for such Wrongs.

The same Reasoning will hold in proportion, with regard to the Community of any City, or other Part of the Publick. Whatever Offence may have been committed by the Members of such a Body, and however general the Guilt may be, yet the Resentment of the Magistrate is, as in good Politicks it ought to be, pointed against the Offenders singly, and in their natural Capacity: They are severed from the Publick, of which they were Members; and the Affection of the Prince or State towards the City or Community itself, is always supposed and professed to continue.

As the Bill for incapacitating *Alexander Wilson*, Esq; &c. (see p. 220.) is not yet pass'd into a Law; and as it is a Bill of very great Importance, immediately to one City in the united Kingdom, and consequentially to all other Cities and enfranchis'd Boroughs; I hope an *Old Whig* may, without Offence, offer some Thoughts upon it.

What Part my Lord Provost may have acted, with respect to the late Riot, I cannot say: But if I were in the same unfortunate Circumstances, I think I should not trouble either House of Parliament with a Defence of my own Conduct, let the Punishment appointed for me be what it would; or incumbent, with any Thing relating to myself, the Opposition to a Bill, that threatned the taking away the Gates and Guard of a Capital City, to lay it waste and open, and to reduce it to the Condition of a Country Village. Dismal Consequences! As they are justly called by Sir Robert Sawyer, in the opening

of his Argument against the City of London.

Two great Ends of Magistracy are, the protecting of the Innocent, and deterring of Evil-doers: But when a black Note is set upon Magistracy itself, and a City is branded with a Mark of perpetual Infamy; does it not tend greatly to lessen the Terror of Evil-doers, when they behold their Judges under the same Character of punished Criminals, which ought to be a Dread to themselves? How can the innocent Inhabitants of a populous City be defended, when they are stripped of their Fence, and laid as open as the Fields? When their Guard is taken away, and they are left open to the Insults of every ill-disposed Night-walker!

That the Citizens and Inhabitants of *Edinburgh* have been guilty of the late Disorders, is hard to say; because, if any of them are innocent, such a Censure will involve the Innocent in the Punishment of the Guilty. In the Case of the late Riot, above 100 Persons are fled from Justice. These Fugitives, one would think, are very proper Objects of a Bill of Pains and Penalties. And there are numerous Precedents that would justify the making a Law, for appointing *them* a Day to surrender themselves, and in default of their Appearance, for punishing them with Banishment, &c. But to let these escape, and, in their stead, to punish the innocent Inhabitants, who are already supposed to be too great Sufferers from the Remissness of their Magistrates, is very hard. And such Punishments fall the heaviest upon the Innocent and the Virtuous; for good Men are always the most affected, with any Thing that tends to hurt the Welfare of the Publick.

Some Precedents have been brought to justify the Proceeding; but not one that I can hear of that comes up to the Case. The Defence and Watch of Towns has always been preserved intact to them; and whatever Seizures

have been made of their Franchises, they have generally been restored after a very short Time. But this Punishment is to be perpetual: Nor is it to be left in his Majesty's Power to restore them either their Gates or their Guard.

The *Scots* had great Reason to hope that the Privileges of their Royal Burghs should remain intire, notwithstanding their submitting all their Rights to the Power of a *British* Parliament: They having expressly stipulated, that such Rights should remain intire after the Union, and notwithstanding *theresof*, Art. 21. It is indeed argued, that this Article extends not to the several Rights of the Individual Burghs, but should be restrained to their common Rights as a Body. This is not a very liberal Construction: The Words are very capable of one more generous. Such a Stipulation, where so great a Confidence is reposed, ought not to be confined to the most restrained Construction.

It is also said, that the Parliament may vary the Articles of the *Union*, even such as are not declared, to be alterable by the Parliament of *Great Britain*. Undoubtedly they may; they are themselves the only Guarantees of their own Treaty. But that they never will do it without great Necessity, any more than they will violate the Publick Faith in any other Instance, where they have given it, I believe, I may venture to assert.

It is further urged, that all the Privileges of these Boroughs are liable to Judgment of Forfeiture in Course of Law, and consequently, must be subject to the Disposal of the Legislature. That they are left subject to the Jurisdiction of the Courts of Law as they were before, is evident from the Words of the Articles; but that the Legislative Power should not interpose against them, seems to be the very Thing stipulated.

It has been declared with great Justice and Impartiality, in the Name of the Patrons of this Bill, that they would promote a Bill of the same Nature against any Town in the united Kingdom in the like Case. As therefore this Bill will undoubtedly stand as a Precedent with Regard to *London*, whenever the Behaviour of the Citizens may require such a Proceeding; I shall crave a little more of your Patience. I chuse to name *London*, because *London* and *Edinburgh* are the only Towns in the Kingdom, that I know of, that enjoy, what they call a Royal Privilege, the Immunity of quartering Soldiers. And if we consider some late Instances of the Behaviour of the Citizens, we must own, that it is owing, as much to the Lenity of the Government, as to the Conduct of the City, that they are not made the first Instance of a Bill of this Nature. Let us suppose then, in Representation of some future Riot, that the Gates of *London*, next to such Part of the Suburbs as the greatest Number of Soldiers are usually quartered in, are order'd by Act of Parliament to be taken away, and the Communication directed to be kept open at all Times, as well by Night as by Day. In such case the Benefit accruing to the Publick upon all Occasions, by the Interposition of the Military, in Default of the Civil Magistrate, may be very great. But, with humble Submission, I should think, the Bill might need some Amendments. It would be well that the People were particularly instructed, what Deference they were to pay to his Majesty's Troops upon every Emergency. For otherwise, when the Troops are entered the City, some Persons, ignorant of the Intention of the Law, might, thro' Inadvertency, retire to their Houses, and shut their own Doors against the Soldiers, tho' they are not permitted to shut their City Gates; and thereby incur the Guilt, of obstructing the

wife and prudent Measures, that might be concerted by the Officers, for securing the Rights, and preserving the Peace and Liberty of the Town.

I have but one Observation more to trouble you with: And that is, That his Majesty's Royal Progenitors, Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, have been pleased to adorn the two Capital Cities with many and ample Privileges, and imagined that in so doing they reflected an Honour to the Crown. The Liberties of the People are undoubtedly the true Ornaments of the Royal Diadem. Let the Projectors of this Scheme then, who propose the laying open the Walls of a Capital and Royal City, and thereby pointing out the Inhabitants as the Care of the Army, and the Contempt of their Neighbours, consider, whether by such Measures they do not greatly injure his Majesty, and eclipse the Lustre of his Crown.

May 14.

Yours, &c.

1737.

HENOTICUS.

Weekly Miscellany, May 20. N^o 230.

To the Author of LEONIDAS.

S I R,

AFTER my two former Letters, (p. 238) I'm afraid you'll not be over fond of a Correspondence. The real Motives which engaged me in these Remarks, were, *first*, the exorbitant Price of your Book. It will undoubtedly be a lasting Honour to the present Age, that it rewarded Mr. *Pope's* Merit with Independence, Affluence and Splendour; as it is the indelible Infamy of a former, that the poor *Milton* got but 15*l.* for his *Paradise Lost*. But for a young Author, in almost his first Attempt, to value his Works equal to, nay ev'n above Mr. *Pope's*, is a Presumption that ought not to escape publick Censure. In order to impose upon us more effectually, the Imprudence of your

Friends

Friends, (for it certainly is not chargeable upon you) had *put* the Poem both before and after the Publication, so much beyond all Bounds of Truth and Decency, that nothing less than the Fame of *Milton, Virgil, and Homer*, must fall a Sacrifice to yours. Here was another Motive of Resentment. In the next Place, The Honour of the Nation is concern'd. What a Figure must we make among Foreigners of Learning, when, instead of *Spenser, Shakespear, Milton, Dryden, Otway, Pope, Leonidas* is put into their Hands as the best Poem that *England* has produced? Your *Puffers*, not content with enhancing your real Beauties, have bestowed their highest Encouragements upon your greatest Faults; the *flat, dispirited, prosaical* Diction, which disgraces the very Name of Poetry, is entitled by them *Correctness, Perspicuity, Easiness, Common-Sense*. If this be established, the true, bold, nervous *Oriental, Grecian, Roman, British* Genius will degenerate into the *insipid Purity* of a Neighbouring Nation, and we may become very pretty poetical *Petit Maitres*.

For my Part, I have much wondered, what could induce so many Men of Letters to expose their Judgments so monstrously as they have done on this Occasion. Some say, 'tis *Party*; but I profess the Book appears to me perfectly *Inoffensive*. I rather therefore believe it a *Similitude of Genius* in some: In others, Sir, it may arise from some personal known good Qualities in yourself. This Consideration would have prevented that Air of Banter and Ridicule which appear in my former Letters, had not the vast Applauds given to *Leonidas*, when I first had Thoughts of writing against it, rendered any other Method of Opposition impracticable, and that illjudg'd, absurd Puff in *Common Sense* given you, a strong Title to it. The

Sacer, is meant more against that Letter-Writer than you.

I dare say, I should have more Readers should I proceed in Banter. But the chief Reason, Sir, why I quit it, is, to have the Satisfaction of displaying your Beauties as well as Faults. You'll think, I believe, the Contempt express'd in my former Letters inconsistent with any Degree of Esteem for you; but you'll please to observe, that tho' I hold you exceedingly cheap in comparison of *Homer, Virgil, Shakespear, Milton, Pope, &c.* Nay tho' I think your Fame as a Poet not a very long lived one, unless you greatly improve its Constitution; yet with Regard to myself and the vulgar Run of Mankind, who were none of us ever so much as born to Fame at all, but are and always shall be in a State of perfect Nonexistence, I own your Superiority; and subscribe myself,

Your frequent Admirer, and
Unknown humble Servant,
PHILOMUSEAUS.

§. Continuation of the Remarks on
LEONIDAS.

The Generality have either no Idea at all, or a very lax one of Poetry itself, and till we can agree upon that, we shall certainly not agree whether *Leonidas* be such or no. And here we find but little Satisfaction from the *positive Definitions* of Poetry given by either the antient or modern Critics. We may perhaps with much less Difficulty, describe it *negatively*, that is, shew what is not Poetry; and this will be sufficient for a Comment on a Work, whose grand Fault will appear, I believe, to be the Want of it.

First then; A Man must have a very low Idea of Poetry, who thinks it to consist in *Metre* alone; or which is the same Thing, that *Common Sense* put into *Metre* will become Poetry.

Neither, 2dly, Is a well chose History, interspersed with Variety of

moving Incidents sufficient to raise *Metre* into Poetry. I have heard Men of Sense much out in this Particular, who have thought, that whatever in *Metre* affected their Passions and engaged their Attention, must of course be good Poetry. But a tolerably well writ Novel will do this as well or better than the best Poem in the World.

Thirdly, Neither will even great Sentiments joined with the Allurements of History and the Harmony of *Metre* denigrate the Poet. If they would; Poetry would differ in nothing but the *Metre* from History and Oratory, whereas the sublimest and most truly poetical Expressions would be quite absurd in those Sciences. In short, Poetry has a Manner and Style peculiar to itself. Things senseless and inanimate are endued with all the Passions of Life. The Spear *shivers*, and the Sword is *satiated* and *made drunk* with Blood. Virtues, Vices, &c. are rendered corporeal and visible. All the Compass of Nature, all Arts and Sciences, all Customs, antient or modern, must furnish Materials for the Diction alone, where-ever the Idea can be strengthened by an Allusion to any of them. As from Agriculture in the Psalms, *The Ploughers ploughed upon my Back, and made long their Furrows*. Or from Weights and Measures in *Isaiab. Who hath measured the Waters in the Hollow of his Hand, and meted out the Heavens with a Span, and comprehended the Dust of the Earth in a Measure, and weigh'd the Mountains in Scales, and the Hills in a Balance?* Or from natural Images as in *Job; My Root was spread out by the Waters, and the Dew lay all Night upon my Branch*. I have quoted these Passages to shew that *Metre* is so far from being the Whole of Poetry, that it is not ev'n essential to it. *Homer* is the first, I believe, who directs to divest Poetry of its *Metre*, in order to try whether it be Sterling or no: I shall therefore put *Leonidas*

into the Furnace, and see whether the Gold that remains after the Trial will weigh down the Half-guinea we pay'd for it.

Leonidas, B. 1. L. 1.] 'O Muse! Rehearse the Deeds and the glorious Death of that fam'd Spartan, who near Thermopylae, withstood Xerxes's Power and fell to save his Country. When the Persian King had pass'd the Hellespont from the Coast of Asia, with half the Globe that was then peopled, and his boundless Camp was now spread in Thrace, &c.'

B Besides the profane Flatness of the Diction, the Method of this Introduction is quite poor and unpoetical; to begin with an Invocation to the Muse, and then drop into an historical Narration with a *when Xerxes had pass'd the Hellespont*; is like a Man, who pretending to dance a Minuet, should set out with a *Coupee*, and immediately fall into a common Walk. The epick Poets not only with a noble Enthusiasm, immediately shew the Effects of the Inspiration they pray for, but as Mr. *Pope* observes from *Eustatius*, they actually vanish from our View. The Muse herself catches the Narration, and relates the whole. As *Milton* has both imitated and equalled *Homer*, and perhaps excelled *Virgil* in this particular, a Quotation from him alone will be sufficient.

— Say first what cause
Mov'd our grand parents, &c.
What first seduc'd them to that foul revolt?

The Muse herself answers,
Th' infernal serpent! he it was, whose guile
Stirr'd up with envy and revenge, deceiv'd
The mother of mankind; what time his pride
Had cast him out from heav'n, with all his host
Of rebel angels: by whose aid aspiring
To sit himself in gl' above his peer,
He trust'd to have equal'd the most High
If he oppos'd, and with ambitious aim
Against the throne and monarchy of God
Rais'd impious war in heav'n, and battle proud
With vain attempt. Him the almighty pow'r
Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky,
With hideous ruin and combustion down
To bottomless perdition: there to dwell
In adamantine chains and penal fire,

How

How are we at once wrapt into the Subject of the Poem! The Plainness of the Language, in the three or four first Lines of the Narration, only serves as a Shade to the strong Light of those that follow. His Fancy, as Mr. Pope observes of *Homer*, is every where vigorous, but is not discovered immediately at the Beginning of his Poem in its fullest Splendor; it grows in the Progress upon himself and others, and becomes on fire like a Chariot-Wheel by its own Rapidity.

Daily Gazetteer, May 21: N^o 596.

To the Author of Common Sense, &c.

S I R, May 16, 1737.

THO' it has been thought, that there are several Writers of *Common Sense*, divided into *Political*, *Epick*, and *Miscellaneous*; yet as you have not thought proper to be distinguished, a Correspondent can only separate you in his Mind: I therefore take this Opportunity to declare, that it is not to the *Epick*, or *Patron of Leonidas*, who has entred himself an *Idiot* upon Record; nor to the *Miscellaneous*, or *Treater upon general Heads*, with whom, indeed, as a Man not only of Common but Fine Sense, I should chuse to converse; but to the *political Sneerer*, to whom I address this Letter.

You seem surprized that our Ancestors, in the Times of our *Edwards* and *Henrys*, should have so little *Politicks*, as to spill their Blood and Treasure to conquer a Kingdom for their Prince, that must make *their own Country* a Province to it. You might with more Reason be surpris'd, that every Age should have a particular *Genius* or *Character* of its own, than at the Effects of such a *Character*! *Heroism* and *martial Spirit* was the *Common Sense* of those Days; the *Politicks*, the *Ultimatum*, of *Prince*, *Ministers*, and *People's Views*.

But to shew that this was not absolutely a *Romantick Heroism*, a *Quixotism* of Bravery, but the *soundest Politicks* that could be pursued then, I shall lay down as a Fact deducible from History, that this *Spirit of Conquest* not being confined to our *English Princes*, but almost universal, in those Days, it was quite owing to the *manifested Superiority of the English Valour*, in the very Heart of *France*, that *England* did not become a *Province* to the other by *Conquest*.

Had *England* set down contented with maintaining the Balance within itself, between Power and Liberty, and no ways concerned itself abroad, it had sunk into Remissness, Luxury, and Effeminacy; and become an easy Conquest to the first warlike Prince on the Continent; which the constant exercising them in offensive Acts abroad prevented. This, our wiser and braver *Edwards* and *Henrys*, saw, and the *Character* of the Age favouring the Disposition necessary to be inculcated in the People, the *English Youth* were trained up in habitual Notions of Conquest against *France*.

It will result then from this short Apology for our *Edwards* and *Henrys* that *Politicks* must be different in one Age, from what it would be in another. *France* was constantly stirring up the *Scotch*, as well as *acting overtly* herself against *England*; and without, as I observed before, the spirited Bravery of the *English*, would have made this latter a *Païs Conquis*: So that the Difference between *conquering France*, and being *conquer'd* by her, was as great as that between *Liberty* and *Slavery*. And to shew the Falsity of your Observation still more, after *Henry V.* had conquer'd *France*, *Paris* was so far from being the Seat of Empire, that the whole Kingdom was governed, for many Years, by a Regent from *England*; while the Prince made *England* his constant Residence. (See p. 244.)

Fog's Journal, May. 21. N^o 444.

Of the English *Laws, Lawyers, and Debtors.*

THE *English* Manner of administering Justice (*says a foreign Author*) is, in itself, wise, prudent, and worthy the Imitation of all Mankind. When any Proposal made to the Legislature is judged beneficial to the State, they forthwith pass it into a Law; and, while it continues unrepealed, follow it exactly, according to the Letter: But if, by the Consequences, they find it hurtful, they seek not to elude it by vain Explanations; but annul it at once. So wise and provident, in this important Matter, are these Islanders, that, thro' Fear of leaving their Judges at Liberty to follow their own Caprices, they are so far from admitting either them, or any other Magistrates, to the least Share of Despotism, that they suffer even their Kings to be only the Law's Protectors, not its Tyrants.

But thro' *England* is, in this and some other Respects, happier than most Nations, yet are its People, thro' the horrible Abuse of diverse wholesome Laws and Ordinances, more miserably oppressed, than any other People upon Earth. The most notorious among their crying Grievances (whereof the true Source is, the enormous Multitude of Lawyers, with their shameful Impunity, against whose Knaveries, nay glaring Villanies, there is no Remedy, but what is worse than the Disease) is the deplorable State of Debtors, which is here incomparably worse than in any other Country on the Face of the Globe: And not merely such as actually are Debtors, but even those who are either fraudulently or maliciously charged with being so; and this lamentable Grievance proceeds from the too great Lenity in correcting what truly merits the most rigorous

Punishments; I mean Perjury, or giving false Evidence, and from the overgreat Facility of finding subtil, greedy Attorneys who will readily undertake, for Lucre, to defend the unjustest Causes, and daringly affirm, in the Face of Justice. White to be Black, and Black White. How abundantly better and juster is that general Usage, practised in *Turky*, and all *Mohammedan* Countries, (where they have no Lawyers nor Court-Fees to pay, but Plaintiffs and Defendants plead their own Causes, or get Friends to do it) where they admit not as Evidences any who, if called upon, cannot produce Persons of known Credit to give them a Character, and where whosoever asserts a Falstity before a *Cadbi*, or any other Magistrate, is sure of a substantial Drubbing, on the very Spot, and is also soundly fined, if in Circumstances so to do? Here, a Person charged with a Debt, real or pretended, just or unjust, is arrested by insidious Varlets, who go about their iniquitous Occupation in all Disguises. They seldom go single, but there is at least a Pair of them; one a Sweetener, the other a Sourer, Oil and Vinegar, Rough and Smooth. Except the Prisoner insists on going instantly to Jail (which many dread worse than Death, from the Horror of the dismal Abode, where, if low in Cash, they must herd with Felons, or worse) they drag him to a Spunging-House, where if he will not, or cannot comply with all the extortionate Demands made upon him, while he is negotiating his Affair, he is perpetually bullied and threaten'd with the loathed Jail, and this to all the Unfortunate indiscriminately. If the Party bails himself out, and chuses to stand Trial at Law (which it is Lawyers Business, always to promote) then the Attornies on both Sides go to work ding-dong, and, whosoever gets the Better, are sure to be the Gainers.

I was mightily delighted with the

Whim I was shewed on a Sign at a Village not far from this Capital; tho' it is too serious a Truth to excite one's Risibility. On one Side is painted a Man, stark naked, with this Motto; *I am the Man who went to Law, and lost my Cause.* On the Reverse is a Fellow, all in Tatters, looking most dismally, and this Motto, *I am the Man who went to Law, and got my Cause.* This brings to my Mind a Passage reported of their *Scottish King, James I.* who, soon after his Accession to the *English Throne*, would needs be present in Court while a notable Cause was pleading. Those on the Plaintiff's Side having finished what they had to say, it proved so much to the King's Satisfaction, that he cried out, *'Tis a plain Case,* and was going: When some Body say'd to him, *Please to say, Sir, and bear rather Side.* He did so; and the Defendant's Party made their *Case* no less plain to his Majesty's Conception: Whereupon the Monarch departed in a Passion, crying, *Rogues all! Rogues all!* The late renowned Czar, *Peter the Great,* being in England, in Term Time, and seeing Multitudes swarming about the Great Hall wherein are held the three superior Courts of Judicature, is reported to have asked some about him, *Who all those busy People were, and what they were about?* Being answered, *They are Lawyers, Sir.* — *Lawyers!* returned he, *why, I have but two in my whole Dominions, and I design to hang one of them the Moment I get home!*

But I would not be misunderstood so far as to have you imagine, that all of this Profession are intitled to these severe Censures. No; there are certainly, among that learned and numerous Body, Gentlemen of exemplary Worth and Probity, Men of Figure and Fortune, who would scorn to soil their Hands with dirty Work. Nevertheless, at least nine in

ten might be extremely well spared; and Pity it is they are not obliged to betake themselves to other Callings.

Common Sense, May 21. N^o 16.

A To the Author of the Gazetteer of May 7.

S I R,

T HO' the Paper you have attacked me in be so little read, that should you print a Libel in it, you could scarce be said to have published it; yet, as you style yourself an *Adventurer in Politicks*, and as I know a certain Person whom that Appellation will exactly fit, I shall take a little Notice of what you have advanced. This I undertake, not with Regard of what is written, but out of Respect to the Person whom I suppose the Author. And here, if I should happen to mistake you, I hope I shall not offend: For my Lord *Shaftsbury* well observes, that a judicious Beggar, when he addresses himself to a Coach, always supposeth that there is a Lord in it; seeing, that should there be no Lord there, a private Gentleman will never be offended by the Title.

You set out, Sir, with a pretty Panegyrick on the Lenity of the Administration, whence you draw this Conclusion, that it is ungenerous to attack it, because it will not crush you for so doing. *To abuse the Lenity of Power, when Men know it will not hurt them* (say you) *is like talking Obscenity to a Woman who will not defend herself, and must bear it.*

The Comparison between the Attack of a Ministry, and that of a Woman, might afford some pleasant Remarks; I shall only say, I suppose you do not mean an old Woman, seeing, that to talk a little smuttily to such, would be no great Insult, if the common Saying be true, which however I do not believe, that all old Women love B——y.

You are pleased to say, Sir, that

no Argument whatever can be alledged to support the bringing of Politicks on the Stage. If you mean by Politicks, those Secrets of Government which, like the Mysteries of the Bona Dea, are improper to be beheld by vulgar Eyes, such as secret Service, &c. I must answer, your Caution is unnecessary, at least to me, who cannot expose to others, what I have not found out myself. But if by your Politicks, you mean a general Corruption, I cannot think such Politicks too sacred to be exposed. But *Pasquins* was not (as you insinuate) the first Introducer of Things of this Kind; we have several Political Plays now extant: And had you ever read *Aristophanes*, you would know that the gravest Matters have been try'd this Way. A Method which a great Writer (I think Mr. Bayle) seems to approve; where he represents Ridicule as a Kind of fiery Trial, by which Truth is most certainly discovered from Imposture. Indeed, I believe, there are no Instances of bringing Politicks on the Stage in those neighbouring Nations; where, you say, that we may see disguised Informers in almost every publick Place, with blank Lettres de Cachet, ready to fill up with the Names of such as dare barely inquire, in a Manner different from the Sense of the Court, into the State of Affairs, and a Bastile always open to receive them: Nor where you tell us, that a holy Inquisition, and the Gallies, offer their Service to the State, as well as to Religion.

But pray, Sir, what do you intend by mentioning these? I hope not to threaten us, nor to insinuate that any Thing will make it necessary to introduce such damned Engines of Tyranny among us.

The *Historical Register*, and *Eurydice* his'd, being now publish'd, shall answer for themselves against what you say concerning them; but as you

assert, that I have insinuated that all Government is a Farce, and perhaps a damn'd one too, I shall quote the Lines on which you ground your Assertion; and, I hope, then you will be so good as to retract it.

A — Woolley's self, that mighty minister,
In the full blight and zenith of his power,
Amid a crowd of sycophants and slaves,
Was but (perhaps) the author of a farce,
Perhaps, a damn'd one too.

I am far from asserting that all Government is a Farce, but I affirm that however the very Name of Power may frighten the Vulgar, it will never be honoured by the Philosopher, or the Man of Sense, unless accompany'd with Dignity. On the contrary, nothing can be more Burlesque than Greatness in mean Hands. Mr. Penkeithman never was so ridiculous a Figure, as when he became *Penkeithman the Great*. Ridicule, like *Ward's Pill*, passes innocently thro' a sound Constitution; but when it meets with a Complication of foul Distempers in a gross corrupt Carcase, it is apt to give a terrible Shock, to work the poor Patient most immoderately; in the Course of which Working, it is ten to one but he bel—ts his Breeches. I am, &c.

PASQUIN,

B §. Another Writer in this Paper, mentions the Inconveniencies arising from the Want of publick Registers for Estates in almost all the Counties in England.

But the Consequences to the Publick (*says he*) are still worse, for by this Means a necessitous Man, and a bad Economist, by the Reputation of a larger Estate than he has, and an Expeance proportion'd to his reputed Estate, often keeps up an Interest in the Country, in order to gain a Seat in Parliament, and by that Means retrieve his Affairs, or, at least, shelter himself from his Creditors; this Expeance renders him still more neces-

* In the Burlesque of Alexander.

fitous, and more easy to be corrupted; and if he succeeds by it, as is most likely he will, for few rich Men, with no other View than to serve the Publick, will out-spend a Man of this Character; the Publick is like to be faithfully serv'd by a Man whose bad Economy has ruin'd his own Estate, and render'd him liable to be corrupted by those who can pay him best for his Vote and Interest. By a Law now in being, every Member of Parliament must be qualify'd by an Estate of 300*l. per Annum*, Free-hold or Copy-hold, for his own Life, or by some greater Estate, either in Law or Equity, to and for his own Use and Benefit, of or in Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, over and above what will satisfy and clear all Incumbrances that may affect the same, lying or being in Great Britain, Wales, or Berwick upon Tweed; or by being Heir apparent to a Lord of Parliament, or a Person qualify'd to be a Knight of a Shire, who must have an Estate of the like Kind of 600*l. per Annum*, excepting such as are chosen by the Universities.

By this Law, it is plain the Legislature intended that Members of Parliament should be chosen out of such as were Persons of undoubted Property of the most durable Kind, which might deeply interest them in the publick Weal; to which this Method of publick Registers would add greater Certainty, and prevent those Collusions which are with too much Reason suspected.

Craftsman, May 28. N^o 569.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

SIR,

ABOUT two Years ago, I sent you some Remarks on a Bill, for the better Regulation of *Play-houses*; which seem'd calculated to destroy a numerous Body of Men, call'd *Strollers*, both theatrical and political; between whom I drew a short Parallel, and endeavour'd to do Justice to a certain eminent *Stroller*, who hath done his Country as much

Service in the Cabinet, as the Duke of Marlborough did in the Field. I therefore propos'd that the old *Treaty-House* at Oxbridge, with a competent Estate about it, should be bought and rebuilt, at the publick Expence, like the *Castle of Blenheim*, and settled by Parliament upon him and his Posterity forever. Though this *Scheme* hath not yet taken Effect, I have often consider'd of a proper *Statue* to be erected in the Garden, or Front of the House, for the Honour of this great Man.

I had some Thoughts of having him exalted in the Attitude of *Cicero speaking*; but was oblig'd to lay aside that Design, because it would look too much like purloining from his Brother, who is already set up in that Posture, at his *Country Palace*, enveloped with large flowing Robes, which intirely hide his goodly Part, and shew nothing of the Orator but in the *Elasticity* of the Garment.

I then thought of exhibiting him to the Publick, under the Figure of *Mercury*, the God of *Trade*, with *Basso Relievo's* on the Pedestals, representing the Introduction of *Don Carlos* into Italy on one Side, and the Restitution of our Ships taken by the *Spaniards*, on another. The *Spithead Expedition*, and the Honour of the *British Flag*, were to have fill'd up the other two. But as I have long waited for the Effects of our Negotiations with Spain, which were to have been the Subject of my second *Basso Relievo*, I do not think proper to pursue that Design any farther. Besides, *Mercury* ought to be a clean, nimble-body'd Fellow, with Wings to his Head, as well as his Heels; by which the Malicious might object that I intended to denote his *Lightness of Head*, as well as of Foot. Besides, he must have the *Caduceus* in his Hand, by which he lull'd People asleep, or stupify'd them in such a Manner, that they did not know he had pick'd their Pockets; tho' he commonly carry'd a Bag in his Hand, as a Mark of the best Part of his Employment.

Whilst I was under these Difficulties, I had the Satisfaction of reading some pious and eloquent Addresses, particularly from the Assembly in Scotland and the City of York, upon a late happy Occasion; in which they return'd his Majesty Thanks, at the same Time, for giving them Peace and Plenty; which alludes, no Doubt, to the Effects of our late wise Negotiations; and every Body knows to whom we are oblig'd, upon that Account. I have therefore some Thoughts of displaying him in the Habit of a Roman Emperor, scattering Peace and Plenty over the World.

What particularly spur'd me on to this Undertaking, was the ill Treatment, my Hon. Friend hath lately received from several Authors; (and I wish you was not one of the Number) who have not only us'd him very scurvily, but wounded the noble Profession of

Ambassadors and *Negotiation* thro' his Side. They began this Outrage in *Pamphlets*; *Poem*, *Journals*, and other *Libels*; but have since prostituted the *Stage* to the same infamous Purpose, and made him the laughing-stock of crowded Audiences, for several Weeks together. Nay, they proceeded so far at last, that a *Ferge* was actually in Reception, at one of our Theatres, in which the same excellent Person was to have been introduced upon the Stage, as we are inform'd, with a *Pair of Scales* in one Hand, to scandalize his Office, and *lugging up his Breeches* with the other, to reflect upon his *Politics*. But this abominable Design was happily discovered by the Vigilance of another great Personage, nearly related to him, who hath not only prevented the Execution of it, but is determin'd to take ample Vengeance upon all such audacious *Authors* and *Players*, by putting an effectual Restraint upon the *Stage*.

We had some Intimations of such a Design, in one of the *Gazettes*, a Week or two ago; but it is now publickly declar'd, and we are told in all the *News-Papers*, that a *Bill* is order'd into Parliament, for suppressing the great Number of *Playhouses*, or *Players* of *Interludes*, so justly complain'd of; by which no Persons will be allow'd, for the future, to act any *Play*, &c. without first obtaining a Licence from the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, for the Time being; and all Persons acting without such a Licence are to be deem'd *Vagrants*, and punish'd as such, according to the Act of the 14th of *Q. Anne*.

This, I say, will effectually keep the *Stage* within due Bounds, and remedy the Evil, so justly complain'd of; for it is not to be supposed that so great and near an Officer of the Crown, who is to have the absolute Power of licensing *Playhouses*, will ever suffer any Thing to be brought upon the *Stage*, which is not intirely agreeable to the *Court*; much less such obnoxious Performances as the *Baggar's Opera*, *Palquin*, the *Historical Register*, and other Pieces of the like Kind.

I am sensible that the *Patrons* of the *Stage*, who include most People of *Wit* and *Taste*, as well as Multitudes of good Sense and exemplary *Virtue*, may start several plausible Objections against such a Law, and represent it as an Infringment of *British Liberty*.

They will observe, perhaps, that one of the great and original Ends of dramatick Entertainments was to expose *Vice* and *Folly*, in all Ranks of People; especially those, whose Riches or Power put them out of the Reach and Cognizance of the Law; that the chief Characters of *Tragedy* are drawn from the History of ambitious Princes, who endeavour'd to make themselves absolute; or of weak ones, who have been ruin'd by wicked Ministers and Favourites; nay, that even our best and most

celebrated modern Comedies consist, in a great Measure, of what is call'd the upper Walk; that is, in ridiculing the Vices and Foibles of People in high Life. From whence it may be infer'd that to restrain the *Stage*, in this Particular, would be encouraging publick Vice, by taking off this Check upon it, and discourteasing publick Virtue, at the same Time.

It may likewise be said, that the Liberty of lashing wicked Men, in Power, was always allow'd under wise and free Governments, particularly those of Greece and Rome; where the highest Magistrates were oblig'd to submit to this publick Censure of their Actions; and it was never taken away in England, since the first Institution of the *Stage*, excepting the Times of the civil War and Cromwell's Usurpation. But it revived at the Restoration of *K. Charles II.* and the Plays of those Times abound with the sharpest Reflections upon Princes and Ministers; even those of Dryden himself, whilst he was *Post-Laureat*, and a strenuous Advocate for the *Court*. It may therefore be ask'd, what a good Government, such as the present, can possibly apprehend from the Continuance of this Privilege; or whether laying it under a much greater Restraint than was ever attempt'd before, may not give Room to some injurious Reflections, and be compar'd, in some Measure, to putting the Press under the same Restraint of a Licence.

To this it may be further added, that if two or three dramatick Writers have extended this Privilege too far, or even to a Degree of Licentiousness; it is not reasonable that all of them should suffer for their Fault; or that the Theatre should be made a mere Tool of the *Court*, by the Abolition of Patents, which have been declared legal, and converting them into temporary Licences, during Pleasure. The Lord Chamberlain hath already a Power of prohibiting all offensive Plays, and of interdicting the *Players*, when they transgress their Bounds. At least, he assumes to himself the Exercise of such a Power, whether strictly legal or not; as we formerly saw in the Case of *Sir Richard Steele*; and since in that of an old Play, call'd the *Fall of Mortimer*, and the second Part of the *Beggar's Opera*. What Objection therefore is there for the Legislature to interpose in this Case; or to put all dramatick Writers and Entertainments, however innocent and useful, under the absolute Power of an Officer of the Crown? Indeed, were we sure of being always bless'd with a Chamberlain, of the same impartial Spirit and excellent Judgment as the present, to superintend and govern the *Stage*, we need be under no Apprehensions from such a Power being lodged in his Hands. But as all Men are mortal, and God only knows who may succeed him, at some Time hereafter, it may be thought a dangerous Trust, and capable of being turn'd to very bad Use.

Lastly, it may be judg'd a little hard to lay all *Wit* and *polite Learning*, of the *dramatick Kind*, under such a Discouragement, for the Sake only of *one* or *two Men*, who have render'd themselves the Objects of it; especially as no other Reasons have been yet given for it than what are founded upon an *obscure Piece*, which was never exhibited upon the Stage, and pretended to be suppress'd; so that it may have been written on Purpose, for ought we know, and with such a particular Design. But whether it was so or not, it will be said, no doubt, that the *Stage* ought not to be subjected to an *Imprimatur*, upon such a frivolous Account.

I will own to you very freely, Mr. D'Anvers, that I formerly reason'd in this Manner myself, particularly when I wrote my last Letter to you, and I wish that nothing had since alter'd my Opinion; but *desperate Diseases* require *desperate Remedies*, and I am afraid there is no other, in the present Case, but *Amputation*; for we have now a much greater Authority than *Ovid's*, that
 ——— *immedicabile Vulnus*
Ense rescindendum.

I am, SIR, &c.

Common Sense, May 28. N^o 17.

A new Plan of Government for the Corsicans.

IF I were a *Corsican*, I should certainly be a Rebel; that is, I should hazard my Life and Estate to recover my Liberty. But if after all I must submit to be a Slave, I would be a Slave to Baron *Netoboff*, or even to a *Russian Bejor*, rather than to my old Task-Masters of *Genoa*.

The *Corsican* Chiefs, if they would be advised by me, should form the Plan of their future Government even while their Affairs are low, and the Event uncertain. Were I to preside in the Direction of this Affair, I would not make Choice of any Form of Government which is now administered in the World. A King, indeed, I would have, and a King with a Crown on his Head, and a Scepter in his Hand; to whom should be given the Title of Royal, or Imperial Majesty. But my King should not be a Tyrant. He should be even incapable of committing any Acts of Violence, or Oppression. He should be entirely free from Pride, Lust, Avarice, and Ambition. In a Word, I would have such a King as *Jupiter* first gave to the Frogs; who, by the Way, possess'd his Empire by Divine Right. However, I would not have a plain unfashioned Log. My Prince should be made of the Heart of Oak, and wrought into the Shape and Figure of a Man by the most skilful Artists in *Europe*.

To speak intelligibly, I would have an Image or Statue as big as the Life, well shaped,

and finely painted; with a Diadem on his Head, a royal Mantle on his Shoulders, and a Scepter in his Right Hand. He should be plac'd under a rich Canopy, and seated on a magnificent Throne. A Guard of an Hundred Halberdeers should be appointed to attend him, not so much for the Security of his Person, as to serve for Pomp and Shew at the Audience of Ambassadors. His Subjects of all Degrees and Orders should approach him with the greatest Reverence. Those who were introduced to him for a Confirmation of their Privileges and Employments, should be obliged to prostrate themselves, and kiss the Hem of his Garment. No Person should presume to sit, or spit, or cough, or be covered in his Presence; unless it might hereafter be thought proper, as a Reward for great Merit and Services, to treat a Class of *Grandeens*.

If any Person should propose in Writing, or Conversation, to abolish the present Form of Government, by deposing his wooden Majesty, and substituting in his stead a Monarch of Flesh and Blood, whether Man, Woman, or Beast, the Offender shall be guilty of high Treason.

I prefer the Oak to all other Timber, on account of its Duration; and because that Tree, considered only as a simple Vegetable, bears some Analogy to a Crown'd Head; it having been held sacred in all Countries and Ages of the World. The ancient *Druids* paid a greater Veneration to the Oak, than to the most illustrious of the Sons of *Adam*. And even among us *Englishmen*, in a very inquisitive and polite Age, I mean about the middle of the last Century, this Tree obtained the Title of *Royal*. The *Greeks* and *Romans* had so great a Reverence for this Tree, as to imagine, that every Oak was the Habitation of a Divinity; and there was an Oaken Grove within one of the Gates of *Rome*, called, for that Reason, *Porta Quercuæulana*; where all the Trees were worshipp'd as so many Nymphs and Goddesses.

I must submit it to the Consideration of the *Corsican* Senate, whether they will be at the Charge of a Queen. If they are inclin'd to marry their King for any political Reason, I propose they would marry him to the *Corsican* Sea, with the same Ceremonies as are observed when his Brother of *Venice* espouses the *Adriatick* Gulf.

Happy had it been for the World, if the long Catalogue of *Roman* Emperors (3 or 4 only excepted) had been of the Wooden Species! And they themselves think so now, if they are sensible in what Manner they are treated by Posterity.

Reason, which is the distinguishing Excellence of human Nature, can only prove a Blessing to those, whether Princes or private Persons, who are Men of Honour and Virtue. *Cassius's* Letter is too particular to be inserted.

On the ASCENSION:

fic iter ad Astra.

HARK! how the flocks deplore their parting swain,
While vocal hills repeat the mournful strain.
The *Sylvan* shades with murmur'ing noise resound,

And *Woodland* vales with doleful sighs abound.
See bleating lambs with rav'nous beasts inclos'd,
See thirsty flocks to sultry heats expos'd.
On *Carmel's* top the hungry tyger roves,
And seeks his prey in *Sbaram's* spicy groves.
The greedy wolf the tender lamb pursues,
And in his gore his gristly tusks imbrues.
For why? alas! their guardian care is gone,
And quits for better seats this earthly dome.

Damon, the loveliest youth e'er trod the plain,

The fairest he of all the shepherds train,
Leaving his fleecy care, in bright array
Aloft in fleeting air he wings his way.
See how the lovely swain, advanc'd on high,
With radiant splendour fills the azure sky.
Ye heav'nly lights with brighter lustre shine,
Confess him hallow'd, pow'rful and divine!
Sink down ye skies, receive your welcome
God,

And hail him joyful to his blest abode!
Ye starry hosts, ye planets homage pay,
Disperse ye clouds, ye rapid winds give way!
Some equipage divine, some heavenly train,
Aloft in air attend the pious swain.
Y' angelick hosts in thronging crowds advance,
And fill with glitt'ring robes the wide expanse!
Ye timbrels, pipes and trumpets sweetly play,
And through the balmy air conduct his way.

Below a different scene! — the gazing crowd,
With mournful grief bewail their parting Lord!
Nor future joy, nor hopes their grief assuage,
With deep regret they still their Lord survey.

While pleasing raptures fill the empty space,
The poles submissive to their God give place.
And now the bending skies receive him high,
No further penetrates the piercing eye!
No more the trembling clouds their God survey,
While through each higher vault he wafts his way.

Lo! to the heav'n of heav'ns he now is gone
And sits supreme on his seraphic throne.
Both heav'n and earth his regal scepter sways,
And heav'n and earth his holy word obeys.
The praise of their Messiah rends the skies,
While hymns on hymns incessantly arise.

I. M. B.

The WISH.

WOU'D but indulgent fortune send
To me a kind and faithful friend;
One who to virtue's laws is true,
And does her nicest rules pursue;
One pious, lib'ral, just, and brave;
And to his passions not a slave;

Who full of honour, void of pride;
Will freely praise and freely chide;
But not indulge the smallest fault,
Nor entertain a slighting thought;
Who still the same will ever prove,
Will still instruct, and still will love;
In whom I safely may confide,
And with him all my cares divide;
Who has a large capacious mind,
Join'd with a knowledge unconfin'd;
A reason bright, a judgment true,
A wit both quick and solid too;
Who can of all things talk with ease,
And whose converse will ever please;
Who charm'd with wit and inward graces,
Despises fools with tempting faces,
And still a beauteous mind does prize
Above the most enchanting eyes:
I wou'd not envy kings their state,
Nor once desire a happier fate.

New-Castle upon Tyne.

PHILAXIOS.

To CELIA, at Birmingham.

FAIN would I sing! assist me, all ye *stars*;
A task so great, requires a pen divine:
Ye guardian powers, in bright array descend,
And let *Apollo's* shining train attend;
Support my muse in your protecting arms,
To sing my *Celia's* soft, endearing charms.
Her lovely looks, artless and unconfin'd,
Point out superior beauties of the mind;
Disclose the secrets of a soul at ease,
Whose witty turns, have always power to
please:

[*mean,*
Her beauteous shape, her dear enchanting
Can ne'er be justly told, nor safely seen;
Her sprightly wit, just thoughts, and ever
new,
[*gers to!*

Have power to charm, — her sex are stran-
Each look darts forth a soft superior grace,
Which *Titian's* pencil never yet could trace:
Peace, love, and friendship fill her glowing
breast,

And steady virtue brightens all the rest.
In vain the youth of longing hope partakes,
Whilst every setting sun a conquest makes.
Wild, blushing nature, stands amaz'd to see
Unrival'd beauty center all in thee.
Celia! my joys, my expectations crown,
Leave shady groves, my dear! and bless the
town.

When will my *Celia* at the ball appear?
The court, the park, the play, all wish thee
here.

[*ways,*
Thy beauties charm the soul ten thousand
— But silent admiration best can praise.

EUGENIO.

To the W-ful of the J-ful of P-
C-ful for repairing the High-Ways,
and other Gentlemen of the County of —,
and to all others whom it may concern.

TO your W-ful as aforesaid, at your next
general meeting, [greeting,
A traveller from N-w-rk, thus humbly sends

May your w-rsh-ps be d-m'd, or (for a still greater curse,) [cart-horse ;
 May you each be transform'd to a wretched
 And b' eternally doom'd to travel these roads,
 With a cart at your ar--e and on your backs
 heavy loads ; [your fate,
 Be the devil your driver, constant whipping
 'No rest be allowed you to piss or to bait.
 Let him ne'er spare his flogging, tho' your
 w-rsh-ps should tire, [mire.
 Or at each step lose a leg, in Long B--ll--m--s
 Still let him whip on, and shew you no mercy,
 Tho' you'd all broken-winds, spavins, splin-
 ters, and sercies, [due-work,
 Or glanders or gripes ; let him keep you to
 From N--w--rk to Gr--at--m, and from
 Gr--at--m to N--w--rk. [c--m--sion,
 Then (too late) you'd lament, that while in
 You left the high-ways in such cursed condi-
 tion :
 Then, a post horse, tho' tired, would post on
 with good heart, [tugging a cart
 When he saw your d-m'd w-rsh-ps, each
 Stage coachmen and carmen, and carriers
 too, [has his due,
 Would cry with one voice, the de'el now
 And would help him to drive such fine cat-
 tle as you.
 And trav'lers fatigued, mighty comfort would
 take, [make :
 By observing the figure your w-rsh-ps would
 Tho' the roads were much worse, with plea-
 sure I'd go,
 To see you trot on to the devil's gae, &c.

The Pump-room Bull. A SONG.

THE fire of the gods, as old poets have sung,
 Fell in love with an heifer both milk-
 white and young ; [odd is,
 But still what more true, and likewise more
 I sag how a bull fell in love with a goddess.

Derry down, &c.

This bull, as he was but an overgrown calf,
 Came to Bath to be roasted — but first let us
 laugh.

He call'd at the pump-room to visit the fair,
 For those who wore horns he found might
 come there. Derry down, &c.

A doctor starts up in a damnable fright,
 Quoth the pumper, ne'er stir, fir, we're two —
 let us fight ;

As it is not the pope's bull, the doctor reply'd,
 I'm not bound to bait him — ye dog stand aside.
 Derry down, &c.

The ladies all screaming he left in the lurch,
 He found 'twas high time to take care of the
 church ;

Then bequeathing the bull in his own stead a-
 mong 'em ; [one.
 His short leg, 'tis said, ran away from his long
 Derry down, &c.

An Oxonian, who chanc'd to be drinking
ibidem,

Cry'd out, master doctor, ho! *siste per fidem*
 Quoth he, who is safest has reason to grin most,
 I'll take care of one ; so the de'el take the
 hindmost, Derry down, &c.

Cry'd doctor C--s--r, in a tone most solemn,
 This bull is horn-mad, tho' the sun's not in
 Taurus :

As he's Cb--ys--y's patient, and feeds upon grass,
 If I don't do his business, d'y'e see, I'm an ass,
 Derry down, &c.

Lady Mary our bull singled out from the rest,
 For beauty can tame the most unruly beast ;
 Then respectfully stopp'd, and seem'd to ob-
 serve her, [her.

As tho' he was proud, he was a bull to serve
 Derry down, &c.

But tho' our divine in this dreadful quandary,
 Permitted the bull to attack lady Mary ;

Yet, doctor, you still have great reason to fear,
 That next when you meet, you'll be baited by
 her. Derry down, &c.

But after all this, let me still crave the favour
 To commend the bold doctor's courageous be-
 haviour ;

Since the hero, whom *Homer* took so much
 delight in, [his fighting,
 Was renown'd for his running, as much as
 Derry down, &c.

When the battle, quoth *Hudibras*, turns
 to a chase,

'Tis he wins the day, who wins but the race ;
 Hence, doctor, the proof is substantial and full,
 Tho' you did run away, that you still beat the
 bull. Derry down, &c.

EPILOGUE to the EUNUCH of TER-
 RENCE, made and spoken at the CHAR-
 TERHOUSE, by a young Gentleman of
 thirteen Years of Age, in the Character of
 PYTHIAS (a Chamber-maid.)

Ladies,

BECAUSE it is a thing in vogue,
Pythias appears to speak an *epitogus*.
Terence, 'tis true, has drawn me lucky, bold,
 To nought accusom'd but to rail and scold.
 Indeed my part is out of fashion now,
 That was the mode two thousand years ago
 But *Abigail*s are now fantastick creatures,
 Take snuff, drink tea, and paint — to mend
 their features,

Lisp, pretty souls! are subject to the vapours,
 Foot it in balls, and cut *Italian* espere.

At sitty weed * turn up their dainty nose,
 And use their ladies airs — as well as cloaths,
 Receive gallants, torment the anxious lover;
 For *Nabby*, like the world, apes all above her.
 Be not severe, nor judge with too much haste,
 If *Terence* pleases not the modern taste.

These things were never heard of in his days,
 He wrote for *Roman*, not *Gibberian* bays,

In Rome 'twas strange, if chamber-maid should
dance;

But what is Rome to us? we learn of France,
Eunuchs were never known to warble there;
To guard the women, was their chiefest care;
There, *Senesino's* did the table spread,
And *Farinelli's* learnt — to make a bed.

But we with vast expence these eunuchs hire,
Die on their strains, at every note expire.
Here they continue, blest with boundless store,
Fleece us of thousands, ask for thousands more.
If Britons thus for air their substance give,
Britons may soon be brought on air to live.

But if, with *Terence's* sense, we fail to please,
What can be hop'd from such poor lines as these?

The slender offspring of a school-boy's brain,
If void of beauty, born without much pain;
Then, gentlemen and ladies, pray be mild,
And smile upon it, for 'tis *Pythias's* child.

ACROSTICK.

To a Gentleman, constantly attending Tun-
bridge- Wells.

R esolv'd at last, in friendly flowing verse,
O nce I'll attempt thy praises to rehearse.
E ight genius! whose instructive pleasing lays
E ngage attention, and demand our praise.
R ound the fair sex thou often dost impart
T hy morning's * labour, with a cheerful
heart.

M ild as the gentle dawn of blooming love,
A ttend the fair, and silently approve.
R eady to serve, thou mak'st the sex thy
friend,
T oo apt to please, and cautious to offend;
I ntent on good, — to serve is thy desire.
N one can dislike thee, but thy wit admire.
A. Z.

The FADING FLOWER.

O Lack, O lay! O well-a-day!
O sad and doleful ditty!
Great grief to tell, that has beset
Poor, young, unhappy *K—y!*
Of virgin bloom, bereav'd too soon;
Alas the more the pity!
Her merry vein is crack'd in twain;
Ah! poor, unhappy *K—y.*
Mourn her, ye hills, ye rocks and vills;
Mourn her ye flocks that feed a;
Mourn her ye plains, ye nymphs and swains,
Mourn your disflower'd *M—d* a.
O cruel fate! to violate
The charms of one so pretty!
So fair, so young, so sweet a tongue,
So sprightly, gay, and witty!
Of all possess, that could be blest;
Or cou'd be fancy'd pretty;

But now no more, those charms in sight
Ah! poor unhappy *K—y!*
Fade all ye trees, high ev'ry breeze!
Ye mur'm'ring streams deplore a!
The charms of *M—d* by fate decreed,
Are charms, alas! no more a!

J. A. Hesse

The Kiss repaid. By the same.

A S *Delia* pass'd to milk her cow,
Daphnis stood in the vale below,
With fawning air, she chuck'd his chin,
And stroak'd, and chuck'd, and — kiss'd the
swain.

With blushing face, and modest grace,
The shepherd bow'd, and kiss'd again.

The GOOSE QUILL.

By the Author of Quintilian's Complaint.
(Vol. IV. p. 40.)

LET other birds of more ambitious views,
Extend their thoughts, and grander sub-
jects chuse.

For me, I meditate no lofty pitch,
Nor aim at quarry far above my reach.
My theme to ev'ry bird may well belong,
Yet is forgot, and still remains unsung.
Frogs, mice, and goats, their battles and their
praise

Have been recorded in immortal lays.
A splendid *shilling* in poetic lines [shines.
Improves it's worth, and with more lustre
Hoops, buckets, pigmies, puppets, locks and
fans,

Have been commended, by no vulgar pens.
But I no trivial argument rehearse, [verse.
The grey goose-quill shall grace my humble
Who do's not plainly see the various aid
The quill imparts to men of ev'ry trade?
What art, what bus'ness can you take in hand,
That do's not her assistances demand?
From the high statesman, to the lowest clown,
All her peculiar benefits must own;
But scholars most of all (good scholars) will
For ever speak in raptures of the quill.
The swans of old, for some mistaken cause,
The poets always mention with applause.
Mæander's banks were honour'd with their
songs [long.

They shar'd that praise that now to *geese* be-
To *geese* the haughty swans won'd give no place
For inter *anferas* was a disgrace.
But lest I partial seem to judge the fray,
Hear what the feather'd orators can say.
Thou *scragger*, says the swan, of gaggling race,
Amongst us swans how durst thou show thy
face?
Our praises dwell on ev'ry poet's tongue,
Renown'd for beauty, and renown'd for song.

The greatest beauties of *Rome* and *Greece*,
 Extolling *foetus* have meanly spoke of *geese*,
 Ev'n to a proverb, in contempt's your name,
 For *goose* and *fool* now signify the same.
 Vain bird! replies the *goose*, I scorn thy ways,
 To be so fond of false and fulsome praise,
 Beyond decorum you assert your right,
 Is nothing beautiful, but what is white?
 Do poets say you sing? what's more absurd?
 And yet you take the flatt'ring poets word.
 Weak, silly minds by *flattery* are betray'd,
 Of *wisdom* then let not your boast be made.
 But we, whom you despise, with just pretence
 May claim the patronage of men of sense.
 Do's not antiquity our worth extol?
Mansius; and we prefer'd *Rome's* capitol.
 Our wings support old *Home's* deathless name,
 And aided *Milton* in his rise to fame:
 Upon our plumes bold *Historians* soar,
 And *Naturalists* abstrusest things explore.
 Self-praise sometimes bests a modest tongue,
 When calumny and spite have done us wrong.
 My quills have toil'd to gain a *mercant* wealth,
 And wrote a thousand *recipes* for health,
 What parchment-*skins* have they not copy'd o'er
 To make mens rights and properties secure?
 In *pious writings* they no pains refuse,
 But trace the paths to long celestial joys.
 By them the virtuous *lover* does impart
 The soft, engaging dictates of his heart.
 By them the yielding *nymph* replies again,
 And without blushing owns her faithful swain.
 These favours, tho' she do's not dying sing,
 The *goose* contributes from her useful wing.
 Nor do's she beg the boon of flatt'ring verse,
 Her real worth, and merit to rehearse. [days,
 From *Chaucer's* times to these our present
 The grey *goose-quill* was ever held in praise.
 And, if that verse eternity can give,
 Its name and honours shall for ever live.

The earnest Intreaty; or, mild Expostulation:
 An Epistle, to Miss B—b—r, of Ch—.

BE not,—good, dear *Eliza*!—so chagrin'd,
 Tho' (as you're pleas'd to term it,) * *margin*
gassin'd.
 Can simple, harmless, inoffensive verse
 A well-establish'd character asperse?—
 Can it your fame, in any wise, affect?
 Does it imply unfriendly disrespect?—
 Some, who their worthless names can
 barely write,
 Perhaps,—or out of complaisance, or spite,—
 May a censorious sentence freely pass;
 And call the publisher,—*abusive ass*;
 Nay,—a still more vindictive verdict give,
 And say,—your brother is not fit to live!
 But why shou'd you to their opinion trust,
 That always strive to aggravate disgust?—
 Why, take that person for your best of friends,
 Who true respect, but outwardly pretends?

Others, perhaps,—neglected and forlorn,—
 Took up their noses, with an air of scorn;
 Thro' black'ning envy, and with breath impure,

My dear *Maria's* brightness wou'd obscure.
 But, O! how vain are all their wild remarks!
 In vain teach brainless, brutish creature barks.
 For, tho' delirious dames, with less'ning lips,
 Wou'd fain her glorious excellence eclipse;—
 Tho' such bright worth each *fussy female* vex,
 Yet still *Maria* thinks, and *toys*'s above her sex.

Sublime *Maria*!—lovely, charming wife!
 Much envy'd comfort of my crazy life!
 Still sing, and shine, and soar above the skies:
 Still charm; with splendid verse, the wonder-
 driving eyes,
 And ravish'd hearts, of all the good and wise.

As for my own raw, dull, advent'rous
 rhyme;—

Why shou'd it, pray, be judg'd so great a crime?
 Why, why, (*Eliza*!) are you so severe,
 'Cause I in such good company appear?
 You'll grant,—my *Poll's* free, easy, artless lays,
 When seen in private, may deserve some praise;
 But wonder, how I rashly cou'd subjoin,
 That hasty, home-spun, hobbling staff of
mine!—

No, no, I own, does bright *Maria's* merit:
 Yet, hence (I hope,) no diff'rence can proceed.
 Nor can it, sure, the least disparage cause,
 Tho' I still share her justly-gain'd applause.
 For mayn't the husband to himself apply
 The wife's desert, and taste of ev'ry joy?
 O! may he not, with equal justice, claim
 Her portion, parts,—her fortune, and her fame?
 As mutual comfort, what so fit and meet?
 Prosperity, when shar'd, becomes more sweet.

Why, then, *Eliza* shou'd it angry make,
 That of *Maria's* fame I thus partake? [share
 You'll own, no doubt,—my scanty, slender
 Her lustre cannot, in the least, impair.
 And I (with shame, alas!) myself most own,
 My mean attempts were better seen alone.
 While your sweet, charming *sister* is in sight,
 In me, 'tis vain presumption, then, to write.
 All this may well be true, I frankly own;
 Yet may, sometimes, some small regard be shown
 For vulgar things:—thus, when the setting sun
 His daily, glorious task has newly done,
 Still, still, th' unwear'd traveller pursues
 Th' unconstant path; nor does with scorn
 refuse

The help of *meaner lights*, but onwards bend
 His chequer'd course, till at his journey's end.
 If, from my shining spouse, I therefore strive
 A middling sort of merit to derive,
 And, by good chance, her beauteous beams
 reflect,—

Must I, for this, incur your disrespect?
 Sure, sure, *Eliza*! this can ne'er be right:—
 Shall mortals bear the glim'ring moon a spite,
 Because she only shines with borrow'd light?

* See London Magazine, Vol. V. p. 635.

Perhaps, you'll, only—with *a piſt!*—reply,
And, to my ſorrow, ſay,—when ſimple I,
Thus, to my aid, *ſun, moon, and ſtars*, invoke,
I but the more my injur'd friend provoke:—
That, in whatever *light* the thing is ſet,
You've ſtill abundant cauſe to fume and fret;
Ah me! the killing thought!—O dire
diſgrace!—

If this ſhou'd prove my diſmal, deſp'rate caſe.—
But (ſure!) *Eliza* can't be ſo unkind!
Devells ſuch repentment in a lady's mind?

Yet, after all,—if you'll be angry ſtill,
Of ſatisfaction take your utmoſt fill. [*done:*
I thought no harm, I'm ſure;—nor harm have
Tho' ſtill, perhaps, I'm but where I begun.
Yet, why ſhou'd I think ſo?—why thus de-
ſpair?—

Your *ſex* is *ſaw'able*, as well as *ſair*.
And, more than this,—you nearly are *ally'd*
To my ſweet, dear, meek, mild, forgiving
bride;

You are, in part, *Maria's* fleſh and blood;
And will, at length, (I hope!)—nay, cannot
but be—good.

R. D.

*We hope our Correoondent will excuſe the
Liberty we have taken of contracting this
Poem, ſince we find long Performances diſ-
agreeable to the Generality of our Readers; an
which Account we are at laſt oblig'd (contrary
to our Intention) to omit the Sturdy Beggars.*

To the AUTHOR of COMMON SENSE.

IF vulgar ſenſe is common ſenſe,
As all learn'd criticks have agreed,
Thine to its title has pretence;
And thine is common ſenſe indeed!
Common and *proſtitute* agree,
Whoe'er bids moſt, when put to ſale,
Is ſure to buy both her and thee;
The patriot's head, and *ſtrumper's* tail.
Whate'er is common we deſpiſe;

Our wives and wiſe, if common, ſlight;
Change then thy ſtyle, if thou art wiſe,
And proper ſenſe, for common, write.
Yet ſure thy common ſenſe was wrong,
The dregs of *D'Arver's* to refine!

To hope the venom of that tongue,
Which ſtain'd his fame, ſhould brighten thine!
But, ah! at laſt, the *droll* give o'er,
For prudence, wicked ſatire quit:
One page of wiſdom will be more
Thy friend, than fifty ſheets of wit.
But if reſolv'd, each week to blend
The *pert* and *vain*, dear ſtateſman, know,

Thy ſenſe too mean to gain a friend,
And malice, to provoke a foe!
Wouldſt thou the patriot's fame dilate,
— In rage and oppoſition riſe!
Too fooliſh to deſerve their hate,
Thy foes can only yet deſpiſe!

Yet, ev'n from theſe, thy heart may meet
Something that may its cares beguile:
At thy deaz, ſav'rite, weekly ſheet
They laugh—whiſt thou canſt only ſmile,
How great thy weakneſs, or thy pride!
Hopping that ſtateſman's heart to ſight;
Who can even *St. J—n's* pen deſide,
And ſhake his ſidea at *E—n—d's* ſpite.
Fair freedom's lov'd and glorious caule
Shall he deſert, and meanly quit;
Give up his country's loud applauſe!
In dread of *S—p's* frown or wit.
Shall he bribe *L—t—n's* pert pen,
With it more friendly, or leſs keen,
Or beg him not to print again,
Who laughs each day at *P—y's* spleen?
Each pigmy patriot ſhould deſiſt,
Viewing his giant-brothers ſlain;
Nor hope to conquer with a fiſt,
Where ſwords have puſh'd ſo oft in vain.
Whether it goes by land or barge,
Henceforth thy *Perſian* packet frank;
For *Britiſh* lies, to pay the charge
Each month, may break thy *Muley's* bank,
Had he th' alternative to chuſe,
To want the gift, or pay the coſt,
Thy *Muſſulman* would rather loſe
The wit, than ſatify the poſt.
The next learn'd letter that you ſend,
Ah, kindly with your *Perſian* deal!
And, writing to your *Aſian* friend,
Direſt it always free. —

T. Lu

*Epitaph on the Grave-Stone of John Sprong
Carpenter to the late Lord Chancellor King,
Baron of Ockham.*

John Sprong
Died November xvii.
M.D.CCXXXVI.
Aged LX.

Who many a *ſurdy-oak* has laid along,
Fall'd by death's ſurer hatchet, here lies *Sprong*;
Poſt' off he made, yet ne'er a place cou'd get,
And liv'd by railing, tho' he was no wit;
Old ſaws he had, altho' no antiquarian,
And *ſtiles* correſted, yet was no grammarian.
Long liv'd he *Ockham's* premier architect,
And laſting as his fame, a tomb e' ereſt,
In vain we ſeek an artiſt ſuch as he,
Whoſe *pales* and *gates* were for eternity;
So here he reſts, from all life's toils and ſollies,
Oh ſpare, kind heav'n, his fellow lab'rer *Hol-*
li's.

HORACE, Ode 10th. Book 2d.

Reſtat vivet, Licini, &c.

THE way, my friend, to live at eaſe
Is not to dare th' uncertain ſea,

Nor yet, lest mounting billows roar,
To steer too nigh the shelvy shore,
Thrice happy he, the golden mien,
Whose blest ambition strives to gain:
Modest in wish, not proudly great,
He shuns high grandeur's envy'd seat;
Nor meanly humble, is set free
From dreaded shameful poverty.
Its height does the tall pine expose
To blasting winds and chilling snows.
The loftier the proud mountains rise,
The more they feel th' inclement skies.
The man, my friend, that's truly great,
Bravely submits to either state;
Fate's smiles or frowns with calmness bears,
Nor rashly hopes, nor vainly fears.
Tho' winter now in icy chains
Confin'd th' imprison'd earth detains;
With'd spring will soon return again,
And bless us with its milder reign.
Phœbus his darts not alway plies;
Sometimes his bow neglected lies,
Whilst the gay god serenely sings,
And artful strikes his sounding strings.

Does wav'ring fortune prove unkind?
Arm with content your steady mind.
Does she now send a prosp'rous gale? [fall.
With care contract your too-much - swelling
FIDELIO.

On reading Leonidas.

WHEN great *Leonidas* the nine implor'd
With his last breath * his labours to
record,
Why did they fail those glories to rehearse
For twice ten hundred years in epick verse?
They made their hero for a *Glover* stay,
And with large int'rest paid the long delay.

D.

On reading a severe Criticism on Leonidas in
the Weekly Miscellany.

HOW has poor *Glover* wak'd the clergy's
ire?
He makes a priest † for liberty expire!
Then by his foes it sure must be confess'd,
One miracle at least his work has grac'd.

D.

THE SPIRITUAL BREWERS.

THE *Pope's* head tavern all the trade had got,
Martin and *Jack* despia'd a drawer's lot:
How must their pride and perverseness be laid?
The *Pope* would take no partners in the trade.
They swear his liquors are not worth a louse,
And join to ruin his well custom'd house;
His dear bad wine they justly both cry down,
And get away his customers in town,
But vent for good the *brewings* of their own.
Both of a trade, they quickly disagree; [he:
Each swears he sells neat port, and none but
Martin so proud, he made the motion first,
At *Jack's* good trade is ready just to burst;

* P. 279. † *Magistias*, *Low* p. 339.

Heargues the mayor, on ev'ry market day,
That his wine-licence may be took away:
And fires the mob, to have his rival kick'd
Out of the town, for selling wine so prick'd.
Jack, in *his* house, for bus'ness makes a push,
And quotes the proverb, *Good wine needs no
bush*;

Silly pretending his wine more fin'd down,
Contente with *Martin* to serve all the town:
Blames his ill way of hanging up a sign,
And making of his bar, like *Peter's*, fine:
Discord betwixt these wine-reforming men,
Makes the *Pope's* tavern bravely fill again.
Would lay-sets, for themselves, but dare to
taste;

Their frauds and Impositions could not last:
Christians, their wine, imported neat from far,
To take pure from the keys shou'd make
their care;
Peter, *Jack*, *Martin*, only coopers are.

On one of a general cursory Knowledge. To
Attilus. *Martial*, *Epig.* 8. L. 4.

PRETTY you plead, and pretty you rehearse,
You pretty *bispris* write, and pretty *verse*;
With pretty art you *pantheonius* compile,
With pretty turns your epigrams you close;
A pretty good grammarian you are known,
A pretty good *aphrologer* you're grown;
Pretty you dance, and you as pretty sing,
With pretty air you touch the fiddle-string;
You talk with pretty knowledge of the state,
With pretty knowledge tell an *op'ra's* fate;
Of things divine you prettily dispute,
And have a pretty taste to chuse a suit;
You're vers'd in *Newton* prettily enough,
And prettily are vers'd to take your *snuff*:
When you a gen'ral knowledge thus amale,
Do all things pretty, yet in nought surpass;
—Shall I say what you are?—a pretty ass.

The Happiness of a COUNTRY LIFE.

THRICE happy man! who in some lone
retreat
Far from the busy world and lordly great,
Contentedly resolves to spend his days,
Smit with the charms of unmolested ease.
Whose own possessions gratefully afford
Fit entertainment for an humble board;
Whose fertile grounds in each revolving year,
Return large tribute of unpurchas'd fare.
What tho' his house no *Attick* order shows,
No lavish cost of useless portico's?
No gay festoons, no stuted colonade,
Or carv'd pilaster in the front display'd.
No long arcades t' invite the chilling air,
And make a winter in the vernal year.
No narrow lights t' exclude the welcom sun,
As if we liv'd beneath the torrid zone.
What tho' no foreign tap'stry hide the wall,
Where frightful images confus'dly sprawl?
Or rooms with *Turky* carpets cover'd o'er,
Lest the rude shoes offend the nicer floor.

What tho' no mutilated busts are shown
Of gods or heroes cut in *Parian* stone? [by
Rodeen'd from rubbish, where they mouldering
Till prying antiqu'ry fummon'd them to day.
Yet he enjoys a pleasant rural seat
Adapted to his station and estate:
Where true contentment join'd with innocence,
Diffuse around their friendly influence;
Where easy quiet calms each ruder thought
And makes his life unconscious of a fault.
Here injur'd justice fix'd her latest stand,
Lingring awhile, before she left the land.

Heto whom heav'n designs this kind supply,
Is truly rich in humble poverty:
To him all nature opens all her store,
Nor leaves a thought to wish or ask for more.
But left the bounteous smiles of providence
Should cause supiacity or indolence;
His own affairs demand his watchful eyes
Each day's appointed labour to revise:
He takes his morning walks, the fields surveys,
And promis'd hopes of future harvest sees.
Whilst to compleat the happy scene of life,
At home a chaste, good-natur'd, prudent wife,
With chearful glee acts in her proper sphere,
And takes her burthen of domestic care:
A good oconomist, manages with ease,
And all her study is her spouse to please.
Mute when he rages, sooths when he complains,
And shares by sympathy his joys or pains.
O happy pair! whose thoughts thus will the
same,

One common object of their wishes frame;
With easy chains the willing captives bind,
An union both of body and of mind.
Each coming day their passion but improves,
And adds new blessings of connubial loves.

Let pamper'd nobles irksom pass away
A useless life in lazy sloth:
Their sole employ in each *Lothian* draught
To kill those foes to pleasure time and thought.
The rural lord esteems the goods of heav'n,
For different ends and wiser causes giv'n.
Hence by his work the poor are cloth'd and fed,
Hence helpless infants eat their daily bread.
Succaffive labours oportune supply
The circling orb with sweet variety. [year,
When first bright *Phœbus* warms the coming
The yeanning ewes and lambkins are his care;
Then yellow harvest next imbrowns the fields,
And all his treasures fruitful autumn yields.
His woods affording their alternate aid,
In winter fire, and in summer shade.
Blest man! who ev'ry hour of life can find
Some fit amusement for the thoughtful mind.

Nor only business all his time employs,
He sometimes gives a loose to other joys,
Whilst every season of the year supplies
Grateful vicissitude of exercise.
Sweet recreation! which at once combin'd,
Refresh the body and regale the mind.

When *Phœbus* turning from the wintry signs
In *Aries* and *Taurus* gaily shines:
And with more genial heat and fruitful show'rs
Raises the vernal bloom and pregnant show'rs

He rises at the early dawn of day
And to the distant fields directs his way;
Where the pure stream in wild *Mæanders* leads
Its murmur'ing waters thro' the verdant meads.
Under some friendly shade he takes his stand,
And eyes the dancing quill and trembling wand.
The ically herd with fury gorge the bank,
And in one greedy morsel meet their fate.
[To be continued.]

The humble Petition of the School-Master of
Br—con in the Parish of Pr—con, Lanca-
shire, to the Trustees.

GOOD folks! 'tis necessity makes me
complain,
And necessity has no law all men maintain.
Be pleas'd to attend, while I tell my condition,
And you'll find I've just reason to write a pe-
tition. [master been
Be it known to you then, I've your school-
From the year of our lord seven hundred fix-
teen; [ers)
And taxes (*Bill counted the nation's heart-break-*
For my sake, were never yet lay'd on your
acres. [worle is,
Nor yet for repairs, which a thing not much
Did you ever untie the stiff strings of your
purfes. [tain,
A school like a palace, shou'd grandeur main-
Where the master in state like a monarch
should reign;
His desk like a throne shou'd a terror convey,
And his rod wav'd on high like a scepter
shou'd sway.

Thy *St. George's* never shou'd fall,
When roll'd off his tongue, on a dirty clay wall,
But to rouse the lethargick young pupils to
wonder, [thunder.
Shou'd rebound from a waincoat, and rattle like
Thus the puny *republick* wou'd still be kept
meek,

For who can withstand a loud volley of *Great*?
But alas! no such furniture falls to my share,
Instead of a desk, I've a lame osken chair,
Whose crackings prognosticate dismal disaster,
That at last it will shrink with the weight of
its master. [down,

Thus the stateliest structures with age tumble
And ruins extend to a scepter and crown.
Where a waincoat shou'd shine with rich paint
cover'd o'er, [all tore;
There appears a dead wall with the plastering
Then how can there be of complaint a for-
bearance? [appearance.

When the school is reduc'd to such pye-ball'd
At *Protes* not so; (if I may be allow'd
In comparison great things with smaller to
crowd)

There sath'd in the front rises fall to the eye,
A stately proud edifice three stories high,
Where each lofty room with fine waincoat
or plaster

Proclaim a magnificent town to the master.

Here taught by fam'd *Smith* is the use of the
Bandish, [disti :
 And here the smart birch a *triumvirate* bran-
 Herè *D-is* of size liliputian struts grander
 Than e'er did the tutor of great *Alexander* ;
 For if we may credit what old sages talk,
 He so far from a *frut* had a *frut* in his walk :
 Of the *Stagyris* tho' one account that we
 have is [D—is
 He was fully as learn'd as our rev'rend *Will*.
 But such mighty favours I ne'er expect from ye,
 Nor wou'd such extravagant methods become ye.
 Consider that he is a man of the gown,
 And collegians of course are care'd by the
 town.
 If a cassock and wig but bedeck the out skin,
 Some are sure that abundance of wit lurks
 within : [spoken)
 But cassocks and wigs are (believe the word
 As of grace so of learning not always the
 token; [cloth)
 Tho' to give commendation that's due to the
 Let a *Popie* step forward, and then you see both.
 I ask no magnificent buildings, not crave
 But what an industrious teacher shou'd have ;
 That you'd please where you see a large chafin
 in the thatch,
 To place there a barley, or oaten straw patch.
 For why shou'd not *thatching* be smooth, and
 compleat as
 A rhetorical sentence, without an *biatus*.
 Thro' the window where *Phebus* pours in too
 much day [ray ;
 Let a glazier contrive to refract the strong
 For tho' I cou'd bear with his godship's bright
 lustre, [ter.
 Yet I care not so much for sharp *Boreas*' bluf-
 As with scitons 'thas been still the politick trade
 First to gain smaller boons, then to greater
 persuade ;
 So I, yet with prudent regard to what's past,
 Have forbore to reveal the great want to the last.
 The boys by continual scratchings condeole
 The want of two fav'rites, *Schrievellius*, and
Cole ; [lumn
 For here every word with the sense in the co-
 ls found in a trice in each magical volume ;
 So that shou'd not the meaning by study come
 pat in
 Of a classical author in *Greek* or in *Latin*,
 These wou'd by a glance of the eye in a mo-
 ment [ment.
 Of the knottiest sentences give them a com-
 The words rang'd in order, a tip of the thumb
 Make at once to the view the most difficult
 come ;
 As *Fausus* was said by a touch of his wand
 To make the books fly from the shelves to
 his hand.
 But depriv'd of these helps you may see e'ery lad
 Instead of a smile, wear a countenance sad ;
 And unless I resolve by my skill their hard cases
 (As I am by profession a *pick-lock* of *pb'rales*)

They still might be poring, and poring in vain,
 And as soon as their *Flaccus* the *Sybilis* explain.
 Pray, what is an artist, his tools thrown away ?
 Can a potter have power, except he has clay ?
 Can musick be struck from an uninform'd shell ?
 For want of a clapper how dull sounds the bell ?
 The parson is apt without notes to miscarry,
 Much more the poor school-boys without dic-
 tionary.

Relieve us, and quickly ; our grievance I've told,
 The books are at *Hopkins*'s shop to be sold ;
 The prices but trivial, much less than a pound,
 And we'll pray for you still, as in duty we're
 bound.

Claudian. *De Rapto Proserpine*. Book 2d.
The Description of Proserpine weaving.

O'ER all the rooms a pleasing silence reigns
 Attentive to the nymph's melodious strains:
 Whilst for her mother she in vain designs
 A curious gift, where in its lustre shines
 Her greatest skill.—first with the needle's trade,
 She mark'd each element its proper place ;
 Show'd how, when all things dark confusion
 hid,

From *Chæos* order rose, as nature bid.
 Here tow'rs their centres various atoms tend,
 The heavier sink, the lighter (swift ascend :
 The æther look'd in inflam'd with glowing heat ;
 Below, the waves in murmuring surges beat ;
 There the earth hung self-balanced in its seat.
 Nor was one colour thro the tapestry seen ;
 The stars were gold, the waters flow'd in green ;
 Gems grac'd the coast for rocks: her thread so
 well

She plac'd, the billows seem to foam and swell ;
 You'd think you heard them with an echo-
 ing roar
 Dash the sea-wood against the founding shore,
 And murm'ring o'er the sands their current
 pour. [pleat,

Five zones she adds to make the work com-
 The middle raging with the dog-star's heat :
 By too much sun, (such was her wond'rous art,)
 The loom look'd parch'd and dry'd in every part.
 On either side the temperate zones appear,
 Where milder seasons grace the circling year.
 Near the web's utmost bounds you might behold
 The regions cur'd with everlasting cold :
 There winter reign'd in all its horrors dress,
 And e'en the threads a frozen hue express.
 Next hell's grim tyrant's gloomy court she drew,
 And brought his hid dominions forth to view :
 When a foreboding prodigy enst'd ;
 For sudden tears her beauteous cheeks bedew'd.
 Now round the borders of the web began
 The waves to flow, and close the destin'd plan :
 When the three goddesses approach'd the room,
 Whom the nymph seeing rose, and left her loom ;
 Surpris'd at guests divine, a purple red,
 The sign of modesty, her cheeks bespred ;
 With such a blush no ivory can vie,
 By *Lydian* virgins stain'd with *Tyrian* dye :

Monthly Chronologer.

WEDNESDAY, May 4.



THE great Cause between the Cordwainers and Carriers came on at the Sittings of the Court of *Common Pleas* at *Westminster*, before the Lord Chief Justice *Willis*; when, after a Trial which lasted above seven Hours, the Court and Jury were of Opinion, that the Carriers had no Right to cut Leather, and sell it, and that it was an Infringement on the Trade of a Cordwainer, who obtained a Verdict accordingly.

WEDNESDAY, II.

This Day was taken up at the Stern of a Ship near *Iron-gate*, the Body of *Eustace Budgell, Esq;* who threw himself out of a Boat a Week before, and was drown'd. On searching his Pockets there was found a gold Watch and some Money; as also a Paper with these Words, *The Bearer hereof, Eustace Budgell, Esq; is my Secretary, and sign'd Orrery*. The Coroner's Inquest sat the next Day on his Body, and brought in their Verdict *Lunacy*. He appeared very much disordered for a Day or two before he drowned himself: His Servant Maid, the Night before, hid his Sword, which used to lie under his Pillow, to prevent his attempting his Life. When he went out, he said he should not come home any more, and talked very wildly. His Maid, who watch'd him, saw him take Coach in *Hastm Garden*, and took the Number of the Coach; when he came to *Holbourn*, he discharged that Coach, and took another, in which he drove to *Dorset Stairs*, where he was seen sleeping several Times, in order, as appear'd afterwards, to fill his Pockets with Stoves; and then took Water for *Greenwich*, as he said, but would needs sit in the Stern when he came near the Bridge, leaving his Sword upon the Seat. The Waterman objected to his sitting there; but he said, it was coolest, and what he chose. When the Boat was under the Bridge, he threw himself into the Water, as above mention'd, and sunk instantly. 'Twas said he expected an Execution to enter his House the next Day; and that he had a Cause to come on at *Westminster-Hall*, which gave him great Uneasiness. He left in his Secretors a short Scrap of a Will, wrote a Day or two before, importing, that he left to his natural Daughter *Anno Eustace* (a Child of about 21 Years of Age) all his Personal Estate. He was the Author of several *Specimens*; of the History of the *Boyls Earls of Orrery*; of *Cleomenes King of Sparta*; of the

Weekly Pamphlet call'd the *Box*, and several Poetical Pieces. He was Executor, &c. of the Will of the late noted Dr. *Matthew Tindall*, and had Possession of all his Papers. The above-mention'd Cause was said to be in relation to the Dr's Will.

THURSDAY, 12.

A Load of Wheat belonging to *Farmers Waters of Britford* near *Sarum*, going to *Red-Bridge* for Exportation, was stopped near *White Parish*, by about threescore People, who first knocked down the Fore-Horse, then cut the Waggon and Wheels to Pieces, cut the Sacks, and strew'd the Corn about, and declared they would serve all Persons after that Manner they should meet with, who should offer to carry any more Wheat for Exportation. The same Persons afterwards stopped several other Waggons, some of which were loaded with Malt, which, after Examination, they let pass.

FRIDAY, 13.

There were Accounts from *Ludlow, Bishop's Castle*, and several other Places in *Shropshire*, that on this Day in the Morning, while the Inhabitants were in their Beds, they felt an Earthquake, which continued some Minutes.

SATURDAY, 14.

This Day, being the Market Day, past six in the Evening, the Sessions and Market-House at *Namptwich* in *Cheshire* fell down; by which unhappy Accident nine Persons were kill'd, and several hurt and wounded. 'Tis observed the Buildings had not been erected more than 16 Years, and that six Months ago, at a Quarter-Sessions, it gave evident Signs that it would soon tumble.

TUESDAY, 17.

The Coroner's Jury, having sat several Times on the Body of *Corporal Cluff*, whose Death was said to be occasion'd by several Blows and Bruises on his Breast, given him by a Colonel in the first Regiment of Foot-Guards, with the But End of a Musket; after examining a great Number of Witnesses, brought in their Verdict, *Wilful Murder*, against the said Colonel.

At *Oxford*, Dr. *Radcliffe's* Trustees laid the Foundation-Stone of his Library, between *St. Mary's Church* and the publick Schools, attended by the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Professors, Masters, &c. of the University. The Orator made a Speech on this Occasion; and all the Trustees had the Degree of Doctor of Law conferred on them, except Lord *Noel Somerses*, who had been presented with it before.

SUNDAY, 22.

The noted Highwayman, *Turpin* the Butcher, (who lately kill'd a Man who endeavour'd to take him on *Sping Forest*) this Night robbed several Gentlemen in their Coaches and Chaises, at *Holloway*, and the back Lanes at *Islington*, and took from them several Sums of Money. One of the Gentlemen signified to him, that he had reigned a long Time; *Turpin* reply'd, 'Tis no matter for that, I am not afraid of being taken by you; therefore don't stand hesitating, but give me the Gold.

TUESDAY, 24.

A Message was sent by his Majesty to desire the Commons would settle a Jointure of 50000 *l. per Annum* on her Royal Highness the Princess of *Wales*, in case she survives the Prince; or to enable his Majesty to make the same Provision. A Bill was unanimously passed in accordingly.

WEDNESDAY, 25.

A Man was brought from *Portsmouth* under a strong Guard of Dragoons to the *Marshalsea*, for being concern'd with *Richard Coyle* in the Murder of *Capt. Benj. Hartley*, for which *Coyle* was executed the 14th of *March* last. (See p. 164.)

The Claim of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Burlington* to the Barony of *Clifford*, was heard in the House of Lords; when his Lordship proving himself descended from *Elizabeth* the Daughter of Lord *Clifford*, so created 3 *Car. I.* and afterwards Earl of *Cumberland*, the Barony was adjudg'd to his Lordship by the House of Peers.

MONDAY, 30.

The Birth-Day of their Royal Highnesses the Princesses *Amelia* and *Caroline*, was celebrated, when the former enter'd into the 27th and the latter into the 25th Year of their Age.

The Following is the Scheme of the intended Lottery, consisting of 70000 Tickets, at 10 *l.* each.

Distribution of Blanks and Prizes.

N ^o	of	l.	is	l.
1	of	10000	is	10000
2	—	5000	—	10000
3	—	3000	—	9000
6	—	2000	—	12000
18	—	1000	—	18000
30	—	500	—	15000
90	—	100	—	9000
200	—	50	—	10000
6650	—	20	—	133000
7000	Prizes, amounting to	—	—	226000
	First Drawn	—	—	500
	Last Drawn	—	—	1000
63000	Blanks at 7 <i>l.</i> 10s. each	—	—	472500
70000	Tickets at 10 <i>l.</i> each	—	—	700000

14 *l. per Cent.* is to be deducted out of the Blanks and Prizes, when drawn, for building a Bridge at *Wymington*; and a Premium of 3 *l. per Cent.* allowed to the Subscribers of 50 Tickets, and upwards.

If any Tickets remain unsubscribed, the Commissioners have Power to lock up such Tickets for Account and Risque of the Bridge.

That those Persons who have subscribed to the former Lottery, shall have the same Advantages as the new Subscribers: And if the whole Number of Tickets is not subscribed for or accepted of by the Commissioners, for Account and Risque of the Bridge, the Subscribers shall have their Money returned on Demand.

The Blanks and Prizes to be paid at the Bank forty Days after the Drawing is finished.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

RICHARD *Greenwille*, Esq; Nephew to the Lord Viscount *Cobham*, and Member of *Parl.* for *Buckingham*, to Miss *Chambers*, second Daughter of *Tho. Chambers*, late of *Haworth, Middlesex*, Esq;

Mr. *Pauncefort* of *Hanover-Square*, to Miss *Dodd*, of *Denmark-Street*.

Francis Grayne, of *Devonshire*, Esq; to Miss *Lova Pitt*.

Stephen Curtis, of *Cirencester*, Esq; to Miss *Middleton*, of *Chalfon*.

Rev. Dr. *Cresset*, Dean of *Hartford*, to Miss *Pelham* of *Lowes, Suffax*.

Edward Thompson, Esq; Member for *Tork*, to Miss *Moor*, of *Ostfirkirk, Yorkshire*.

Mr. *Glomer*, Author of *Louidas*, to Miss *Nunn*, a Lady of 12,000 *l.* Fortune.

Mr. *Yate*, an eminent Attorney near *Grant Budworth* in *Cheshire*, to Mrs. *Jones*, a rich Widow of *Cheshire*.

Harbord Harbord, Esq; late Knight of the Shire for *Norfolk*, to Mrs. *Marcon*, Relict of

Marcon, Esq; and Daughter of Sir *Benjamin Wrench*, *Knt.*

Mr. *Pultney*, Son to General *Pultney*, to Brigadier *Orway*'s Daughter.

William Riggs, Esq; of *Hants*, to Miss *Webb*, a 40000 *l.* Fortune.

The Lady of the Hon. Mr. *Fitzmaurice*, second Son to the Right Hon. the Earl of *Kerry*, safely deliver'd, at *Dublin*, of a Son.

DEATHS.

Counselor *Crofts*, of *Lincols'-Inn*.

Sir *John Sedley*, *Bart.*

Rev. Dr. *Burrell*, Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty.

Sir *Nathaniel Trimnel*, *Bart.*
George Annsley, Esq; Senior Bencher of the *Temple*, aged 104.

Capt. George Hill, several Years Commander of one of the *S. S. Company's Snows*.

Rev. Mr. *Tho. Cornish*, Rector of *Wheatfield*, and Vicar of *Great Milton* in *Oxfordshire*.

At the Bath, aged 95, the Hon. *James Jobson*, of *Tewickenham* in *Middlesex*, Esq; Son of the Lord *Wariston*, beheaded in *Scotland* in 1663. He was Envoy to the Elector of *Brandenburg* (afterwards King of *Prussia*) in the Reign of *K. William*, and also Secretary of State to that Prince, and Lord Register of *Scotland* in the Reign of *Q. Anne*.

Rev. Dr. *Hough*, Rector of *Newington*, and *St. George*, *Southwark*.

Humphry Sydenham, Esq; at *Sandwich*, *Kent*.

Rev. Mr. *Frederick Daniel Bougart*, Minister of the Dutch Church in *Austin-Fryars*.

Christopher Hopkins, Bookseller at *Lancaster*, a Person remarkable for having never drank any strong Liquors. He was well skill'd in *Greek* and *Latin*, and most of the modern Languages. His Zeal for the present Establishment appear'd in a singular Instance, of his buying up all the Gunpowder in *Lancaster*, and sinking it in a Well, to prevent its falling into the Hands of the *Scotch* Rebels.

Townsend Andrews, Esq; Deputy Pay-Master of the Forces, and Memb. of Parl. for *Bosney* in *Cornewall*.

Mrs. *Nichols*, Mother of the late Sir *Gunter Nichols*, Knight of the Bath.

Capt. *Edmund Williamson*, who was abroad in the Wars with *K. William*, and sometime Serjeant at Arms to the Hon. House of Commons.

George Venable, Esq; in *Gloucester-Street*.

Mr. *Smith*, Common-Council Man of *Al-dergate* Ward.

Sir *William Chapman*, Knt. and Bart. Son of Sir *John Chapman*, Knt. who was Lord Mayor of *London* at the Revolution. He was Governor of the Hospitals of *Christ-Church* and *St. Bartholomew's*, and succeeded the late Hon. Mr. Auditor *Harley* as Chairman of the Society of Treasurers and Trustees of all the Charity-Schools in the Bills of Mortality and Parts adjacent. He is succeeded in Dignity and Estate by his eldest Son, now Sir *John Chapman*, Bart.

At his Lodgings in the *Hay-Market*, *Alexander Cunningham*, Esq;

At *Turnham-Green*, Capt. *Jonas Hawkey*, of *York* Buildings.

At *Stains*, *Middlesex*, *Daniel Lawson*, Esq; Mr. *John Spencer*, Master of the Pay-Office to the *East-India* Company.

In *Griffover-Square*, Lady *Mary Sanderson*.

The Lady of Sir *Thomas Aston*, Bart. Member for *St. Alban's*.

Sir *George Godfrey*, Knt. who was employed in several Stations by *K. William III*.

Rev. Mr. *Fibenden*, Rector of *Newenden*, and Vicar of *Rolenden*, *Kent*.

Doctor *Bennet*, a Physician.

At *Tamworth*, the Rev. Mr. *Worthington*, *David Warburton*, Esq; a Gentleman possessor of an Estate of 4000*l.* per Annum in *Essex*.

Samuel Porten, Esq; only Son of Sir *Francis Porten*, Knt. deceased, late Alderman of *Alldgate* Ward.

In *Rupert-Street*, *Goodman's Fields*, ———, *Hill*, Esq; an eminent Brewer, in which Trade he acquired a large Fortune, and died worth 100000*l.* It was annually his Custom, every *Christmast-Day*, to give to 150 poor House-keepers of *Whitechapel*, a *Quarter* Loaf, half a Crown, and a Piece of Beef: He has left 100*l.* to the Workhouse of *Whitechapel* Parish.

David Joyce, Esq; a Gentleman of a large Estate in *Suffex*, which he has left to his two Nieces.

Philip Somersfield, Esq; a young Gentleman of a very plentiful Estate at *Eastwell* in *Kent*.

At *Paddington*, *John Heatbeet*, Esq; a young Gentleman of 4000*l.* per Ann. Estate.

Stephen Barry, Esq; possessor of an Estate of 2000*l.* per Ann. in *Wiltshire*, and in the Commission of the Peace for that County.

John Conduitt, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for *Southampton*, and Master and Worker of his Majesty's Mint in the Tower of *London*; in which Office he succeeded the great Sir *Isaac Newton*.

Hon. Miss *Jane Gower*, Sister to her Grace the Dutchess of *Bedford*.

Tho. Bird, Esq; Secretary to the *Hudson's Bay* Company.

Mr. *Denew*, an eminent *French* Merchant of this City.

ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

WILLIAM *Johnson*, M. A. to the Rectory of *Thorpe Juxta Haddescoe*, *Norfolk*. *William Key*, M. A. to the Rectory of *Nunnington*, in the Diocese of *York*. *Samuel Finton*, M. A. to the Rectory of *Thro-wley*, *Devonshire*. Mr. *Smith*, to the Vicarage of *East-Tilbury*, *Essex*. Mr. *Gibson*, presented by his Father, the Bp. of *London*, to the Rectory of the United Parishes of *St. Mat-thew*, *Friday-street*, and *St. Peter*, *Cheap*. Mr. *Edward Chamberlayne* to the Rectory of *Bodney*, *Norfolk*. Mr. *Thomas Walters* to the Rectory of *Portinion*, *Gloucestershire*. Mr. *Thomas Pockington* to the Vicarage of *St. Mary's* Church in *Leicester*. Mr. *William Murray* to the Vicarage of *Stallingborough*, in *Lincolshire*. Mr. *Robert Prowse*, Minister of *Darwlish*, *Devon*, installed a Prebendary of *Exeter*; and Mr. *Hewry*, Sub-Dean of *St Peter's*, installed a Canon of the same; both in the Room of the Rev. Mr. *Canoworth*, who died lately at Bath. Mr. *Stephenson*, one of the Fellows of *Clare-Hall*, *Cambridge*, appointed a Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

RIGHT Hon. *Augustus*, Earl of *Berkley*, appointed Lord Lieutenant of the County

ty of Gloucester, and also Constable of the Castle of St. Brival's in the Forest of Dean, in the Room of the late Earl his Father. The Right Hon. the Lord Delaware appointed Governor of Virginia, in the Room of the late Earl of Orkney. Lieutenant Denison appointed Commander of the Oxford Man of War, of 50 Guns. Colonel Filliot made Colonel of the Regiment of Foot, lately commanded by Brigadier-General Kans. John Morgan, Esq; made a Captain in the Regiment of Foot late General Tatton's: Colonel Frampton appointed first Major of the first Regiment of Foot Guards; and Colonel Merrick appointed second Major in his Room. Charles Manson, Esq; made Deputy Pay-Master of his Majesty's Forces, in the Room of Townshend Andrews, Esq; decess'd. Daniel Knowles, Esq; appointed Governor of West-Tilbury, in the Room of the late General Tatton. His Majesty granted unto Henry Adams, Esq; the Office of Serjeant at Arms in Ordinary, to attend upon his Majesty's Royal Person, in the room of Benj. Hall, Esq; decess'd. Lieut. Gen. Pearce made Governor of Londonderry and Culmora Fort, Ireland, in the room of the late Lieut. Gen. Wynns. Brig. Gen. Cops made Col. of the late Gen. Tatton's Reg. of Foot. E. of Crawford, succeeds the Brig. Gen. in the Command of his Reg. on the Irish Estab. And Capt. Ogle succeeds his Lordship as Col. of a Comp. in the second Reg. of Guards.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOHN Newton, late of Silver-Street, London, Merchant. Benjamin Bradley, of London-Street, London, Broker and Chapman. William Hill, of Bridgewater, Merchant. John Swan, of Grantham, Lincolnshire, Linen-Draper and Chapman. John Buckle, of New Market, Suffolk, Linen-Draper and Chapman. William Beasley, of Horncastle, Lincolnsh. Mercer. William Rutter, late of Workshop, Nottingham, Mercer. James Hail, of Wickham-Market, Suffolk, Mercer and Chapman. James Longstaff, of St. Paul Shadwell, Middlesex, Distiller. Robert King, of Northampton, Draper. Thomas Satchwell, of St. Leonard Shoreditch, Clothworker. John Hail, of Blaxhall, Suffolk, Merchant. William Creak, late of Henly upon Thames, Linen-draper and Chapman. Thomas Coleman, of Southwark, Surrey, Upholsterer and Chapman. Walter Lacy, late of Switbin's Alley, near the Royal-Exchange, Periwig-maker. Benjamin Young, late of Brinkworth, Wilts, Yarn-maker. Robert Thompson, late of Yarm, York, Grocer. Thomas Howabin, late of Watling-Street, London, but now of the Poultry, Carpenter and Chapman. Thomas Little, of the Parish of Stroud, Gloucester, Baker. John Duall, late of the Parish of St. Clement Danes, Middlesex, Chapman. William Palmors, of Christian-Malsford, Wilts, Horse-dealer and Chapman.

Prices of Stocks, &c. towards the End of the Month.

S T O C K S.

S. Sea 103 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$	Afric. 14
—Bonds 4 2	Royal Aff. 112 $\frac{1}{4}$
—Annu. 112 $\frac{1}{4}$	Lon. ditto 14 $\frac{3}{8}$
Bank 147 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 per C. An. 106 $\frac{1}{4}$
—Circ. 31	Eng. Copper
Mil. Bank 121	Salt Tallies 124 $\frac{1}{2}$
India 181 $\frac{1}{2}$	Emp. Loan 116 $\frac{1}{8}$
—Bonds 71 25	Equiv. 114

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Ams. 35 2	Bilboa
D. Sight 34 9	Leghorn 49 $\frac{7}{8}$
Rotter. 35 1	Genoa 52 $\frac{1}{8}$
Hamb. 34 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	Venice 50
P. Sight 32 $\frac{7}{16}$ $\frac{2}{8}$	Lisb. 55 6d
Bourdx. 32 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$	Oport. 55 5d $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$
Cadix 41 $\frac{1}{4}$ 40 $\frac{1}{4}$	Antea. 35 2
Madrid	Dublin 10 $\frac{1}{8}$

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat 31 35	Oates 12 14
Rye 13 17	Tares 22 24
Barley 12 18	Pease 20 22
H. Beans 20 23	H. Pease 15 16
P. Malt 20 21	B. Malt 16 19

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from April 26 to May 24.

Christned	{ Males 601	} 1209
	{ Females 608	
Buried	{ Males 972	} 1931
	{ Females 959	
Died under 2 Years old		724
Between 2 and 5		197
	5	10 73
	10	20 56
	20	30 162
	30	40 173
	40	50 182
	50	60 155
	60	70 99
	70	80 68
	80	90 33
	90 and upwards	9

Hay 51 to 56s. a Load.

No 1

Notwithstanding the arbitrary Government and severe Laws established in *France* and *Spain*, they are not, it seems, without their Mobs and Tumults; for in *France*, there have lately been two, one at *Montargis*, on account of a Priest who was much esteemed by the People, but, perhaps for that very Reason, was recalled by his Superiors, and a new one sent in his Room, upon which Occasion the Mob rose to a great Height, and continued several Days, but were at last dispersed by the Authority of the Intendant, assisted by the prevailing Oratory of some regular Troops; and another in *Picardy*, about *Abbeville* and *Beauvais*, on account of the Exportation of Corn, which was suppressed by the same salutary Methode. In *Spain* likewise, even in their capital City, *Madrid*, there has lately been a great Tumult, occasioned by the Society of Corn in that Country; for the Bakers in that City being, it seems, confined not to take above the Statute Price for their Bread, and the Price of Corn having lately rose so high that they could not afford their Bread at that Price, they therefore shut up their Shops and refused to sell any; upon which the Mob rose, broke open several of their Shops, and not only took their Bread but gave them nothing for it but Blows: This Tumult was suppressed likewise by the same Sort of Oratory; and upon examining into the Complaints of Bakers, they were allowed to sell their Bread a fourth Part higher than the usual Statute Price, which Regulation, if seasonably made, would have prevented the Tumult; for there is seldom or ever a Tumult happens in any Country without some Fault or Neglect in the Magistrate: It is remarkable that in neither of these Kingdoms the Soldiers took the Liberty to fire upon the Mob; they only made use of their Swords or serewed Bayonets, by which they could hurt none but those that were really guilty.

One of their little under Officers of Justice at *Paris*, who had the Care of taking up and punishing Beggars, has been lately convicted of taking Money from such poor Creatures, for letting them escape Punishment, by which 'tis said, he made near 300*l.* Sterling a Year; for which Crime he has been condemned to stand three Market Days in the Pillory, to be whipt each Day, to be marked the last Day with a hot Iron, and to be from thence conducted to the Gallies, where he is to tug at an Oar for three Years. If the Raisers of such Contributions were in all Countries as severely punished, we should neither have such a Multitude of Magistrates, nor such a Multitude of Criminals.

Count *D'Ublefeldt*, the Imperial Minister at the *Hague*, has of late strongly solicited the Swiss General, for their Permissions to borrow three Millions of Florins in that Country,

for the Service of the Emperor, at an Interest of five per Cent, upon a Mortgage of some of the Revenues of *Bohemia*, and under the Guaranty of their High Mightinesses; but they have absolutely refused either their Permission or Guaranty, and with a great deal of Reason; for as it is the Interest of every Country, to have Money at a low Interest, and all employed in Trade by their own Subjects, all publick Loans, but especially foreign Loans, are inconsistent with the Welfare of any Society, and ought therefore never to be set up or permitted in any Country, but in Cases of the extremest Necessity.

The famous *Theodore*, King of *Corsica*, having some Time since come, incognito, into *Holland*, in order to buy warlike Stores for his Subjects, was arrested at *Amsterdam* for Debts he had contracted there when a private Gentleman. Upon his being arrested, he was conducted to Prison as a common Debtor, and was there detained for about a Week; but as soon as the States General were informed of this Incident, they wisely considered it might be attended with troublesome Consequences to their Republick, and likewise, they probably considered that the *Corsicans* are now in the same Situation they themselves were in not two hundred Years ago, therefore they made proper Application to the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, who declared the Arrest void, and discharged him with a great deal of Respect; whereupon he went out of Town; but 'tis thought he returned privately, and will continue there till he has furnished his People with Materials necessary for ridding them of their old Masters the *Genoese*.

About the End of last Month his *Portuguese* Majesty declared in a full Assembly of his Ministers of State and Nobility, that the Difference he had with the King of *Spain* was adjusted, and their Reconciliation completed. It is said that the Sojourn of the *English* Fleet at *Lisbon* has cost his *Portuguese* Majesty a Million of Cruzadoes; but whether this Sum has been applied towards relieving this Nation from the Expence of maintaining that Fleet we do not know.

The Dispute about the Succession to the Dutchies of *Burgundy* and *Fuliers* seems not as yet to be in any Method of being amicably settled; and the Death of the Duke of *Courland*, who died on the 6th Instant, N.S. in the 82d Year of his Age, will probably occasion another Dispute about the Succession to that Duchy; the Diet of *Poland* having in the Reign of the late *Augustus* resolved, that the Duchy of *Courland* should, upon the Death of the Duke now deceased, be divided into Palatinates, and reunited to the Crown and Kingdom of *Poland*, of which it is a Fief; which Resolution will certainly be opposed by *Muscovy*, *Sweden*, and *Prussia*.

DIALLING and SURVEYING.

1. PRACTICAL Surveying improv'd; or, Land-Measuring, according to the most exact Method, with the several Instruments of modern Practice. By *William Gardiner*. Sold by Mess. *Balfour* and *Hitch*, 8vo, price 2s. 6d.

2. Mechanick Dialling; or, the new Art of Shadows; freed from the many Obscurities, Superfluities and Errors of former Writers upon this Subject. By *Charles Leadbetter*. Printed for *E. Wickham*, 8vo, price 4s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

3. The Equity and Reasonableness of the Divine Conduct, in pardoning Sinners upon their Repentance, exemplified: Or a Discourse on the Parable of the Prodigal Son. In which these Doctrines, viz. that Men are rendered acceptable to God, and that Sinners are recommended to his Mercy, either by the perfect Obedience, or the meritorious Sufferings, or the prevailing Intercession of Christ, or by one, or other, or all of these, are particularly considered, and refuted. Occasioned by Dr. *Burton's* late Book, entitled, *The Analogy of Religion natural and revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature*. Offered to the Consideration of the Clergy, among all Denominations of Christians. To which are added two Dissertations, viz. 1. Concerning the Sense and Meaning of St. Paul's Words, *Titus* iii. 10, 11. 2. Concerning the Time for keeping a Sabbath. Offered to the Consideration of the Sabbatarians. In a Letter to Mr. *Eversall*. To which is likewise added, the Case of pecuniary Mulcts, with Regard to Dissenters, particularly considered. In a second Letter to the Rev. Dr. *Stobbing*. By *Thomas Chubb*. Printed for *T. Cox*, pr. 1s. 6d.

4. The Duke of Newcastle's Horsemanship; with a large Number of Cuts work'd off from the original Plates. Printed for *J. Brindley*, Folio, price neatly bound 5l. 5s.

5. The First Part of the Works of Mr. *Pope* in Prose; consisting of an authentick Edition of his Letters; are deliver'd to Subscribers by Mess. *Knapton*, *Gilliver*, *Brindley* and *Doddsley*.

6. The Miscellaneous Works of Mr. *John Greaves*; Professor of Astronomy in the University of Oxford. Published by *Thomas Birch*, M. A. F. R. S. Printed for *J. Brindley* and *C. Corbet*. In 2 Vols. 8vo, price 12s.

7. A Proposal for giving Badges to the Beggars in all the Parishes of Dublin. By the Dean of St. Patrick's. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6d.

8. Gilberti Buchanani, de Medio Templo, Logica; in usum Juventutis Philosophiam Studentis. Sold by *T. Waller*, price 2s.

9. An Examination of a Book lately printed by the Quakers, entitled, A brief Account

of many of the Persecutions of the People call'd Quakers, &c. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 2s. 6d.

10. The Charge deliver'd from the Bench to the Grand Inquest, held in Philadelphia, April 13, 1736. By the Hon. *James Logan*, Esq; Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 6d.

11. An Address to the Right Worshipful the Batchelors of Great Britain. The third Edition. Printed for *J. Wilford*, pr. 1s.

12. Memoirs of the Society of Grubstreet. In 2 Vols. 12mo. Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 6s.

13. An Essay to ascertain the Value of Leases and Annuities for Years and Lives. Printed for *S. Birt*, price 5s.

14. A Narrative of Mr. *Joseph Rawson's* Case. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6d.

15. A particular Account of the two Rebellions that happen'd at Constantinople in 1730 and 1731. Translated from the French. Printed for *G. Smith*, price 1s. 6d.

16. An Answer to the Enquiry into the Meaning of *Dominiaci* in the New Testament. By *Leonard Tyalls*, M. A. Printed for *R. Gosling*, price 1s.

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T H E
LONDON MAGAZINE.

JUNE, 1737.



BEFORE we begin our *Journal* of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES of the last SESSION of PARLIAMENT, we shall give our Readers the

following Protest, *viz.*

The LORDS PROTEST

*On the Motion to Address his Majesty to settle 100,000*l.* per Ann. on the Prince of Wales.*

Die Martis 25 Februarii 1736.

THE House being moved, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to express the just Sense of this House, of his Majesty's great Goodness and tender Regard for the lasting Welfare and Happiness of his People, in the Marriage of his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*; and as this House cannot omit any Opportunity of shewing their Zeal and Regard for his Majesty's Honour, and the Prosperity of his Family, humbly to beseech his Majesty, That in Consideration of the high Rank and Dignity of their Royal Highnesses, the Prince

and Princess of *Wales*, and their many eminent Virtues and Merits, he would be graciously pleased to settle 100,000*l.* a Year on the Prince of *Wales*, out of the Revenues cheerfully granted to his Majesty (for the Expences of his Civil Government, and better supporting the Dignity of the Crown, and for enabling his Majesty to make an honourable Provision for his Family) in the same Manner his Majesty enjoy'd it before his happy Accession to the Throne: And also humbly to beseech his Majesty, to settle the like Jointure on her Royal Highness the Princess of *Wales*, as her Majesty had, when she was Princess of *Wales*; and to assure his Majesty, that this House will be ready to do every Thing on their Part, to perform the same, as nothing will more conduce to the strengthening of his Majesty's Government, than honourably supporting the Dignity of their Royal Highnesses, from whom we hope to see a numerous Issue, to deliver down the Blessings of his Majesty's Reign to the latest Posterity.

The Duke of *Newcastle*, by his Majesty's Command, made the like

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Signification to, the House of the Message sent by his Majesty in Writing to the Prince of *Wales*, and of the Report of his Royal Highness's verbal Answer, as is printed in the Votes of the House of Commons of the 22d Instant. (See the next Page.) A

And the same being read by the Lord Chancellor,

After long Debate upon the foregoing Motion,

The Question was put, Whether such an Address shall be presented to his Majesty?

It was resolv'd in the Negative.

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Dissentient.

1. Because that this House has an undoubted Right to offer, in an humble Address to his Majesty, their Sense, upon all Subjects in which this House shall conceive that the Honour and Interest of the Nation are concerned.

2. Because the Honour and Interest of the Nation, Crown, and Royal Family, can be concerned in nothing more, than in having a due and independent Provision made for the First-born Son, and Heir apparent to the Crown.

3. Because, in the late King's Reign, 100,000 *l.* a Year, clear of all Deductions whatsoever, was settled upon his present Majesty when Prince of *Wales*, out of a Civil List not exceeding 700,000 *l.* a Year.

4. Because his present Majesty had granted him by Parliament, several Funds to compose a Civil List of 800,000 *l.* a Year, which we have very good Reason to believe bring in at least 900,000 *l.* and are more likely to increase than to diminish.

5. Because out of this extraordinary and growing Civil List, we humbly conceive his Majesty may be able to make an honourable Provision for the rest of his Royal Family, without any Necessity of lessening that Revenue which, in his own

Case, when he was Prince of *Wales*, the Wisdom of Parliament adjudged to be a proper Maintenance for the First-born Son, and Heir apparent of the Crown.

6. Because it is the undoubted Right of Parliament to explain the Intention of their own Acts, and to offer their Advice in Pursuance thereof. And tho', in the inferior Courts of *Westminster-hall*, the Judges can only consider an Act of Parliament according to the Letter and express Words of the Act, the Parliament itself may proceed in a higher Way, by declaring what was their Sense in passing it, and on what Grounds, especially in a Matter recent, and within the Memory of many in the House, as well as out of it.

7. Because there were many obvious and good Reasons, why the Sum of 100,000 *l.* per Annum for the Prince, was not specified in the Act passed at that Time, particularly his being a Minor, and unmarried. But we do apprehend, that it is obvious, that the Parliament would not have granted to his Majesty so great a Revenue above that of the late King, but with an Intention that 100,000 *l.* a Year should at a proper Time be settled on the Prince, in the same Manner as it was enjoyed by his Royal Father when he was Prince of *Wales*: And his Royal Highness being now thirty Years old, and most happily married, we apprehend it can no longer be delayed, without Prejudice to the Honour of the Family, the Right of the Prince, and Intention of the Parliament. And as in many Cases the Crown is known to stand as Trustee for the Publick, upon Grants in Parliament; so we humbly conceive, that in this Case, according to the Intention of Parliament, the Crown stands as Trustee for the Prince, for the aforesaid Sum.

8. Because we do conceive, that the present Princess of *Wales* ought

to have the like Jointure that her present Majesty had when she was Princess of *Wales*, and that it would be for the Honour of the Crown, that no Distinction whatsoever should be made between Persons of equal Rank and Dignity.

9. Because we apprehend, that it has always been the Policy of this Country, and Care of Parliament, that a suitable Provision, independent of the Crown, should be made for the Heir Apparent, that by shewing him early the Ease and Dignity of Independence, he may learn by his own Experience, how a great and free People should be govern'd. And as we are convinc'd in our Consciences, that if this Question had been pass'd in the Affirmative, it would have prevented all future Uneasiness that may unhappily rise upon this Subject, by removing the Cause of such Uneasiness, and giving his Royal Highness what we apprehend to be his Right; we make use of the Privileges inherent in Members of this House, to clear ourselves to all Posterity from being concerned in laying it aside.

10. Lastly, We thought it more incumbent upon us to insist upon this Motion, for the sake of this Royal Family, under which alone we are fully convinced we can live *Free*, and under the Royal Family we are fully determined we will live *Free*.

<i>Winchelsea</i>	<i>Cardigan</i>	<i>Weymouth</i>
<i>Nottingham</i>	<i>Marlborough</i>	<i>Bathurst</i>
<i>Berkshire</i>	<i>Cartree</i>	<i>Coventry</i>
<i>Essex</i>	<i>Bridgewater</i>	<i>Ker</i>
<i>Essexfield</i>	<i>Bolton</i>	<i>Suffolk</i>

His Majesty's Message to the Prince of Wales, by the Lord Chancellor, Lord President, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, Dukes of Richmond, Argyle, Newcastle, Earls of Pembroke, Scarborough, and Lord Harrington; which being in Writing, was as follows, viz.

HIS Majesty has commanded us to acquaint your Royal High-

ness, in his Name, That, upon your Royal Highness's Marriage, he immediately took into his Royal Consideration the settling a proper Jointure upon the Princess of *Wales*; but his sudden going abroad, and his late Indisposition since his Return, had hitherto retarded the Execution of these his gracious Intentions; from which short Delay his Majesty did not apprehend any Inconveniencies could arise, especially since no Application had, in any Manner been made to him upon this Subject by your Royal Highness: And that his Majesty hath now given Orders for settling a Jointure upon the Princess of *Wales*, as far as he is enabled by Law, suitable to her high Rank and Dignity; which he will, in proper Time, lay before his Parliament, in order to be rendered certain and effectual, for the Benefit of her Royal Highness.

The King has further commanded us to acquaint your Royal Highness that, although your Royal Highness has not thought fit, by any Application to his Majesty, to desire that your Allowance of Fifty thousand Pounds *per Annum*, which is now paid you by monthly Payments, at the Choice of your Royal Highness, preferably to quarterly Payments, might, by his Majesty's further Grace and Favour, be rendered less precarious: His Majesty, to prevent the bad Consequences, which, he apprehends, may follow from the undutiful Measures, which, his Majesty is informed, your Royal Highness has been advised to pursue, will grant to your Royal Highness, for his Majesty's Life, the said Fifty thousand Pounds *per Annum*, to be issuing out of his Majesty's Civil List Revenue, over and above your Royal Highness's Revenues arising from the Duchy of *Cornwall*; which his Majesty thinks a very competent Allowance, considering his numerous Issue, and the great Expenses which do and

must necessarily attend an honourable Provision for his whole Royal Family.

And to this Message his Royal Highness the Prince returned a verbal Answer, which, according to the best Recollection and Remembrance A of the Lords, was in Substance as follows, *viz.*

That his Royal Highness desired the Lords to lay him, with all Humility; at his Majesty's Feet; and to assure his Majesty, that he had, and ever should retain the utmost Duty B for his Royal Person; that his Royal Highness was very thankful for any Instance of his Majesty's Goodness

to him, or the Princess, and particularly for his Majesty's gracious Intention of settling a Jointure upon her Royal Highness; but that, as to the Message, the Affair was now out of his Hands, and therefore he could give no Answer to it.

After which, his Royal Highness used many dutiful Expressions, towards his Majesty, and then added, 'Indeed my Lords, it is in other Hands; I am sorry for it.' Or to Effect.

His Royal Highness concluded with earnestly desiring the Lords, to represent his Answer to his Majesty in the most respectful and dutiful Manner.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES of the *last Session* of PARLIAMENT, being the *third* of the present PARLIAMENT.

IN our *Magazine* for Feb. last, (see p. 104, 105.) we gave his Majesty's Speech, as delivered by the Lord High Chancellor, C one of the Commissioners appointed for that Purpose, at the Opening of the Session, with the Address of both Houses, and his Majesty's Answer to each. As these Addresses were agreed to without any Debate or Division, the first remarkable Af- D fair that happened in either House, was on *Thursday* the 10th of *February*, in the House of L—ds, when that House, according to Order, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House for taking his Majesty's Speech into Consideration; upon which Oc- E cation there was not properly any formed Debate upon any one Point, and therefore we shall give the Heads of some of the most remarkable Speeches that were made.

The L—d D—r having taken the Chair, the Lord C—r stood F up and spoke to the following Effect, *viz.*

My Lords, his Majesty in his Speech, delivered to us by his Com-

missioners, most justly took Notice of the many Riots and Tumults that have lately happened in this Kingdom; and as his Majesty most wisely thought it an Affair of such Consequence as to deserve being mentioned by him to his Parliament, I expected that this House would have immediately resolved upon taking that Part of his Majesty's Speech into Consideration; but as a Motion for that Purpose would have come more properly from some other Lords, I delayed for some Days taking Notice of it, or making any Motion for our taking that Affair into our Consideration. This, my Lords, was my Reason E for allowing some of the first Days of the Session to pass over without taking the least Notice of what his Majesty had so wisely and so necessarily mentioned in his Speech; but upon finding no Step made towards it by any other Lord, as I thought it an Affair which ought not to be delayed, I took the Liberty to move your Lordships for the Committee you are now in; and as I moved for your going into this

Committee, I think it incumbent upon me now to explain what I meant or intended by my Motion.

Tho' none of the Riots or Tumults that have lately happened in this Kingdom seem to have been aimed directly against the Government, yet, my Lords, it must be granted that no such Thing can happen in any Country, in which the Government is not some Way concerned; for as the Peace and Quiet of the People are disturbed by such tumultuous Assemblies, and as it is the Business of every Government to preserve the Peace and Quiet of the People, therefore wherever any such Thing happens, the Government ought to look upon itself as deeply concerned; and if we consider what mighty Consequences have arisen from very small Beginnings, if we consider how often Governments have been overturned by Tumults which at first seemed insignificant, which seemed no Way intended for any such End, we must conclude, that not only our Government, but our present Establishment, and even our happy Constitution, are concerned in the Riots which have lately happened in several Parts of this Kingdom. For this Reason it is the Duty of this House, as being the King's chief Council, not to let such Riots and Tumults pass over-~~un~~observed, but to enquire narrowly into them, in order to discover their true Causes, and to provide an effectual and a legal Remedy. I say, my Lords, a legal Remedy; for if the Law should lose its Force, if it should become necessary upon all Occasions to make use of a military Force for preserving the Peace of the Kingdom, our Constitution would be at an End, we could not then be said to be under a civil but a military Government.

Of all the late Tumults the first I shall take Notice of are those which have happened in the West on Account of the Turnpikes. Why

Turnpikes should occasion Disturbances in that Part of the Country more than in any other, is what I shall not at present pretend to account for; but these Disturbances were such, it seems, that for quelling them it became necessary to employ a military Force, which I am very much surprized at, considering the severe Law your Lordships passed some Time since against those who should be concerned in any such. To me it is amazing to see that the civil Power, armed with such a severe Law, should not be able to prevent as well as to quell any such Tumult, without the Assistance of the Gentlemen of our Army; and therefore I am apt to suspect those Tumults proceeded, not from any Want of Power in the civil Magistrate; but from some other Cause, perhaps from some real Injustice or Oppression brought upon poor People by means of those Turnpikes. The People seldom or ever assemble in any riotous or tumultuous Manner unless when they are oppressed, or at least imagine they are oppressed. If the People should be mistaken, and imagine they are oppressed when they are not, it is the Duty of the next Magistrate to endeavour first to correct their Mistake by fair Means and just Reasoning. In common Humanity he is obliged to take this Method, before he has recourse to such Methods as may bring Death and Destruction upon a great Number of his fellow Countrymen, and this Method will generally prevail where they have met with any real Oppression: But when this happens to be the Case, it cannot be expected they will give ear to their Oppressor, nor can the severest Laws, nor the most rigorous Execution of those Laws, always prevent the People's becoming tumultuous; you may shoot them, you may hang them, but till the Oppression is removed or alleviated they will never be quiet, till the greatest

greatest Part of them are destroyed. This is the chief Reason and the chief End of all Parliamentary Enquiries, and this ought to be our chief View in the Enquiry we are now going upon. If we find any Injustice has been done, if we find any of those Tumults have proceeded from Oppression, the only Way to prevent such Tumults in Time to come will be to remove that Oppression, and to punish severely every one of those who have been guilty of it. This is the only humane Method of preventing Riots or Tumults; for I hope none of your Lordships are of Opinion, that any more severe or any larger Powers ought to be granted by Law: You have already, by a late Law, made it Death without Benefit of Clergy, to be concerned in riotously breaking down any Turnpike: You cannot by any Maxims of Government hitherto pursued in this Kingdom, inflict any severer Punishment; and I hope you will not, under Pretence that the civil Magistrate is not able to execute this Law, agree to the erecting a Barrack at every Turnpike, in order that the civil Magistrate may have it in his Power to shoot every Man who presumes to make his Escape from that Punishment, which is provided for him by Law.

As for those Tumults which happened in *Spittle-fields*, and that Neighbourhood, the Government was, I think my Lords, as little concerned in them, as it ever can be in any such. They proceeded entirely from an accidental Quarrel that had happened between the *English* and *Irish* Labourers; and they might have been quelled, and the Ringleaders punished, even tho' we had not had a Regiment of regular Troops in the Kingdom. Then with respect to that most ridiculous Affair that happened in *Westminster-Hall*, it was, 'tis true, a most daring Insult both upon the Government and the Courts

of Justice; but I do not think it can properly be called either a Riot or a Tumult. There was, I believe, but one Person actually concerned in it, and but very few privy to it; and as it answered no End, nor could proceed from any sudden Passion or Resentment, I must think that none but Madmen could have any Hand in it. If we consider the Place where, and the Person before whom this ridiculous Insult was committed, we must conclude that no Man in his right Senses would have been guilty of it, or would have so much as thought of any such impudent and foolish Contrivance; for the noble Lord who presided in that Court, has, I am sure, gained the Affection and Esteem of every Man of Sense in the Kingdom. He is a Magistrate of great Power; but, my Lords, great as it is, his Authority is equal to his Power; for Power and Authority we must always look on as two Things of a very different Nature: Power, the Legislature may give, but Authority it can give no Man. Authority may be acquir'd by Wisdom, by Prudence, by good Conduct and a virtuous Behaviour, but it can be granted by no King, by no Potentate upon Earth. A Man's Power depends upon the Post or the Station he is in, but his Authority can depend upon nothing but the Character he acquires among Mankind; and the more Power a Fool or a Knave is vested with, the more he will be despised, the more generally will he be loaded with Hatred and Reproach.

The Riots and Tumults which proceed from Smuggling are, my Lords, of an old standing, and of a very different Nature; but they are of late become so frequent, and the Smugglers are become so numerous and so audacious, that they deserve our closest Attention. I am afraid some extraordinary Methods must be made use of for suppressing them; but

but the only Way of contriving an effectual Method for that Purpose will be, to enquire into their Causes, and to take such Measures as may be proper for removing those Causes; for in the Body political, as in the Body natural, while the Cause remains, A it is impossible to remove the Distemper. Severe Laws against Smuggling, and the most rigorous, the most arbitrary Execution of those Laws, we know by the Example of a neighbouring Kingdom, will never prevail: By such Methods we may irritate, B we may destroy the Subject, and at last perhaps bring on a Distemper of a much more dangerous Nature; and I am afraid the Law passed last Year for preventing Smuggling will be found to be a Remedy of such a Nature. If that Law had been passed in that Form and Shape in which it was once put by this House, it would not, in my Opinion have been so extraordinary, nor so dangerous; and, I believe, it would have been much more effectual. We were told by the best Lawyers in England, that by D that Law, as it was first brought in, and afterwards passed, no Judge in England could know how to direct a Jury; and after they had told us so, I must think it was a little odd to turn it out of that Shape we had put it into by their Advice, and pass it E in that very Shape in which they told us it could have no Effect.

Upon this Occasion I must observe, my Lords, that even that wicked, that atrocious Riot and Murder committed at *Edinburgh*, proceeded originally from Smuggling; for it was the Execution of a Smuggler that occasioned all that Disorder and Wick- edness which afterwards ensued. That Tumult, and the Murder they committed, was, indeed, one of the most extraordinary that ever hap- pened in any Country, and it was, I think, one of the greatest Indignities that was ever put upon an established Government. For this Reason it

highly deserves our Attention, and we ought to look upon it as the more dangerous, and the more to be taken Notice of, because it was carried on with a Sort of Decency and Order; for, as *Germanicus* observed of a Mutiny among the *Roman* Soldiers, it was the more to be dreaded, because it seemed to be attended with no Disorder or Confusion. I am sorry to hear the Government has not yet been able to discover, or at least to apprehend any of the Persons guilty of that barbarous Murder; for where such Numbers were concerned, many of their Names may surely be discovered, and if they are fled from Justice, fly where they will, they ought to be brought back and punished: By our own Power, we may bring them back from our Plantations, and by our Interest, we may be able to bring them back from any foreign Country; for no State in *Europe* will protect such cruel Murderers: A foreign State may perhaps, for political Reasons, give Shelter to the Rebels of a neighbouring Country, but I cannot think any State will refuse to give up such Criminals, when a proper Application is made to them for that Purpose. The Names of the Murderers must be all known in the City of *Edinburgh*, at least the Names of such as have absconded or fled on that Account, and if the Citizens refuse to give an Account of their Names, there may be Methods found for compelling them: They may be threatened with removing the Courts of Justice, as was done in the late Queen's Time, when the Tumult happened there, which occasioned the Execution of Captain *Green*. Upon that Occasion her Majesty, by the Advice of her Council here, wrote a Letter to the Privy Council of *Scotland*, ordering them to signify to the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, that in case any such Tumult ever happened again, the Courts of Jus-

tice should all be removed from that City; from whence I must conclude, that the King has a Power to remove them; for if our King had no such Power, I am sure no such Thing would have been threatened by so wise an Administration as we had then the Happiness to have at the Head of our Affairs.

But, my Lords, if the Citizens of *Edinburgh* should obstinately protect or conceal those Murderers, there are Cases in which a City may forfeit her Charter, and become as 'twere *Miseritoria Regis*, with respect to her whole Liberties and Franchises. The City of *Cambridge* was declared by Parliament in the Reign of *Richard* the 2d. to have forfeited all her Liberties, on account of an Insult committed by the Citizens upon the University; in consequence of which many of their Privileges were taken from them, and granted to the University: From hence we may see that a City may forfeit her Privileges, and I do not know but the City of *Edinburgh* has already done so; for if it should appear that the Citizens had been generally concerned in that Riot and Murder, if they should protect or conceal the Murderers, or if the Magistrates of that City had, either thro' Fear or Design, connived at the Murder, they might be justly deemed to have forfeited their Charter; and in such a Case I do not know but it may be thought proper to divest them of some of their Privileges, by way of Punishment, and as an Example for other Cities in Time to come.

For this Reason I think, my Lords, we ought to make a particular Inquiry into that Affair, and into the Conduct of the Magistrates upon that Occasion; and this Inquiry is the more necessary, because it does not seem that any full Discovery has yet been made of the Authors of that Riot. This I hope may be obtained by Virtue of the Power and

Authority of Parliament, and when we have discovered the Authors, we may take such Measures as shall be thought most proper for bringing them to condign Punishment. As this Tumult at *Edinburgh* was of the most heinous Nature, and as a very high Indignity was by those Rioters put upon the Crown itself, we ought, in my Opinion, to begin with it; but let us begin where we will, it is incumbent upon us to make some Inquiry into that and the other Riots which have lately happened; for after his Majesty has in his Speech expressly mentioned and complained of those Riots and Tumults, it would look very odd in this House to take no Notice of them, nor make any Attempt for punishing the Authors of those that are passed, as well as endeavouring to prevent any such for the future. Such a Neglect would show a very great Disrespect and a Disregard for the Honour and Interest of our Sovereign, which I am sure every one of your Lordships will endeavour to avoid as much as I can. I shall not at present take upon me to make you any Motion, because I think it will come better from those who have the Honour to be employed in the Administration; and I hope some of them will stand up and move for some Sort of Enquiry into that Affair, or make some Motion tending to that Purpose.

For my own Part, my Lords, in taking Notice of the Affair in the Manner I have already done, I have done my Duty as a Lord of this House; and if nothing farther should be done, I shall from what I have said have at least this Advantage, that if I should find myself obliged to oppose any Methods that may hereafter be proposed for preventing such Riots in Time to come, which may very probably be the Case, I hope it will not be thrown in my Teeth that I am a Favourer and an Encourager of such Riots; for from

what I have now said the contrary will appear: It will appear, I believe, that I am as great an Enemy to Riots as any Man; I am sorry to see them so frequent, as they are; but I shall never be for sacrificing the Liberties of the People, in order to prevent their engaging in any riotous Proceedings; because I am sure it may be done by a much more gentle and less expensive Method. A wise and a prudent Conduct, and a constant Pursuit of upright and just Measures, will establish the Authority as well as the Power of the Government; and where Authority is joynd with Power, the People will never be tumultuous; but I must observe, and I do it without a Design of offending any Person, that ever since I came into the World, I never saw an Administration that had, in my Opinion, so much Power or so little Authority. I hope some Methods will be taken for establishing among the People in general that Respect and Esteem which they ought to have for their Governors, and which every Administration ought to endeavour, as much as possible, to acquire; I hope proper Methods will be taken for restoring to the Laws of this Kingdom their ancient Authority; for if that is not done, if the Lord Chief Justice's Warrant is not of itself of so much Authority, as that it may be executed by his Tipstaff in any County of *England*, without any other Assistance than what is provided by the Law, it cannot be said that we are governed by Law, or by the civil Magistrate: If regular Troops should once become necessary for executing the Laws upon every Occasion, it could not then be said, that we are governed by the civil Power, but by the military Sword, which is a Sort of Government I am sure none of your Lordships would desire ever to see established in this Kingdom.

The Duke of *North* spoke next,

and after him the Lord *Howards* in Substance as follows, viz.
 My Lords; I agree with the noble Lord, that it is both proper and necessary for this House to take some Notice of the many Riots and Tumults that have lately happened in this Kingdom. In duty to our Country we are obliged to inquire into their original Causes, and to contrive, if possible, some effectual Means for preventing the like in Time to come, and as his Majesty has been so good as to mention these in his Speech to his Parliament, we are from thence bound in Duty to our Sovereign to take Notice of what has been so strongly recommended by him, therefore I make no Doubt, but a Motion would have been made for that Purpose by some of those concerned in the Administration, if they had not been prevented by the noble Lord who spoke last, and as his Lordship was pleas'd to move for our going into this Committee so very early in the Session, I am sure he cannot complain that the Affair was either neglected, or too long postponed, by those whose proper Business it was to take Notice of it. That some Sort of Inquiry ought to be made into those Riots I therefore presume to be the Opinion of every Lord in this House; but as they have been of late not only very frequent, but so general that they have in some Manner spread over the whole Kingdom, I must think the Inquiry ought to be as general as the Grievance complained of is general; for surely whatever Remedy may be propos'd, whatever Method may be contriv'd for preventing such Riots in Time to come, that Remedy, or that Method must be general, and therefore the Inquiry ought to be general: A particular Inquiry into the Causes of any one Riot can never point out to us the Causes of any other, nor can it communicate to us any Knowledge of Information which can be of Use

to us in contriving a general Regulation. Besides; a particular Inquiry into every one of the Riots that has lately happened, would take up so much Time, that it would be impossible for this House to go through it in one Session, were the Session to continue from one End of the Year to the other; and as none but Persons of the lowest Rank had been concerned in any one Riot that has happened, it is below the Dignity of Parliament to enquire particularly into them. For these Reasons I think a general Inquiry is the most proper, and indeed the only one we can go through with; and if the noble Lord will be pleased to move for any such Inquiry, as I seconded his Motion for our going into this Committee, I shall likewise very readily second his Motion for that Inquiry.

As for the real Causes of the several Tumults that have happened, they will best appear when we come to examine into them; but, my Lords, I am already very apt to believe that all the Tumults that have lately happened, proceed from one and the same Cause; I believe they proceed from a Want of Power in the civil Magistrate to prevent or punish, and a too great Liberty in others to mislead the People, and to stir them up to Riot and Disorder. The People, 'tis true, seldom grow mutinous but when they are, or think they are oppressed; but as the People are always jealous of those in Power, and mighty apt to believe every Piece of Scandal or Reproach that is thrown upon them, it is very easy for those who are prompted by their Malice or Revenge, to make the People believe they are oppressed, when there is not the least Ground for any such Insinuation; and while the civil Magistrate has not a sufficient Power to put a stop to such Insinuations, or to punish the Fomenters of Sedition, it will be impossible to prevent Riots, especial-

ly, if the People should imagine or be made to believe, that he had not a Power to punish them for any such Riot. This I take to be the principal Cause of all our late Tumults, this I believe will plainly appear upon a general Inquiry, and when it does appear, it will be easy for the Legislature to supply that Defect in the Power of the civil Magistrate, and to restrain that Liberty which the Sowers of Sedition have lately made so great and so wicked a Use of.

Whatever general Pretences of Oppression have been made by those who have private Ends to serve by doing so, I have never yet heard of any particular Man who could with Justice complain of his being oppressed; nor can it be so much as alledged, I believe, that any particular Oppression gave occasion to any one of the Riots that have happened. Those Tumults in the West were occasioned by the setting up of Turnpikes at Places where all the Gentlemen in the Country, where the Legislature itself, thought they were necessary; but no Turnpike can be set up, nor any publick Regulation made, which will not be inconsistent with the private Interest of some Persons, and if such Persons think they may, they certainly will destroy that which is inconsistent with their private Interest. — The Riots in *Spittlefields* were so far from proceeding from Oppression in any Magistrate, that they proceeded from that which often occasions Oppression, I mean the unlawful and unjust Combination of Journeymen and Labourers, to keep up or enhance their Wages. — The atrocious Riot and cruel Murder in the City of *Edinburgh* proceeded from the Crown's relieving a Man, upon a Representation signed by a great Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, that the Man was unjustly condemned, or at least that the Sentence was too rigorous; and this Reprieve was only for a few Weeks,

that the Crown might have Time to inquire narrowly into the Case, and to Pardon or Punish according as the Circumstances should appear.—Then as to that Affair in *Westminster-Hall*, I am sorry, my Lords, to hear it so slightly passed over; your Lordships may call it Riot, Tumult, Insult, or what you please; but it was certainly one of the most audacious Affronts that was ever offered to an established Government; and could not, I am sure, proceed from any Oppression, unless the Acts of the whole Legislative Power of the Kingdom are to be called Oppression. The other Riots seemed to point only at private Men; but that Riot or Insult was levelled directly against the Government, not only against the Government, but against our present happy Establishment. I do not mean, my Lords, the Powder or Rockets then blown up; for I do not believe the Persons guilty, call them Madmen or what you will, had a Design to blow up the Hall, or to hurt any Person that was in it; but I mean the scandalous and seditious Libels spread about in the Hall by the Explosion, and afterwards dispersed through every Part of this great City. Those Libels not only reflected in the most scandalous Manner upon several Acts of Parliament, but by Insinuation denied his Majesty's Right to the Crown, and in some Manner asserted the Right of the Pretender. What might have been the Aim of the Authors of this Insult, or whether they had any Aim, I shall not now inquire; but it is certain, if they had not been discovered, and as severely punished as the Lenity of our Laws, and the Mercifulness of our present Government would admit of, their Insult would at least have answered this End, that it would have given People a mean Opinion of our Government, and might have given Rise to seditious Attempts, of a much more dangerous Nature.

I am surprized, my Lords, to hear it said, that, if the military Force should now and then, upon extraordinary Occasions, be called to the Assistance of the civil Magistrate, we would, upon that Account, become subject to the military Sword, or that our Government would, by such Means, become a military Government. I hope it will be allowed, our Soldiers are the King's Subjects as well as other Men; and it is well known that most of our Magistrates, especially those concerned in the Execution of the Law, have a Power to call all the King's Subjects they can see to their Assistance, for preserving the Peace, or for enabling them to execute any of the King's Writs; and in case of any such Call we likewise know that every one of the King's Subjects so called is obliged to obey; if they do not, they are guilty of a Misdemeanor for which they may be indicted, and for which they may by express Statute, be fined and imprisoned. Why then may not a civil Magistrate call the Soldiers to his Assistance as well as other Men? For my part I can see no Difference it can make with respect to our Form of Government, and I am sure, with respect to the End or Intention of calling any Man to his Assistance, it will be much better answered, and with more Safety to the Subject in general, by his calling the King's Soldiers to his Assistance, than by calling any other of the King's Subjects. Therefore while the King's Troops act under the Directions of the civil Magistrate, and as his Assistants only, we shall be as much under a civil Government as if we had no such Troops; the only Difference is, that with the few Troops we have the Laws may be put in Execution, and Smugglers, Thieves, Highwaymen, and such like Rogues apprehended and brought to condign Punishment, without risking the Lives of his Majesty's

industrious Subjects; or calling them away from their usual Employments. From what I have said, my Lords, I think it will appear that we ought not only to have regular Troops; but that they ought to be employed by, and at the Command of the Civil Magistrate; and Experience has shewn us; that they often become necessary for preserving the Peace of the Kingdoms, and the Lives of innocent Subjects. In those Tumults which happened in the West about Turnpikes, it became necessary to employ a military Force, in order to preserve the Life of a Magistrate who was threatened by the Mob, for no other Reason; but because he had been diligent in putting the Laws in execution. In another Corner of the same Country, a Fellow took it into his Head to keep Possession of another Man's Estate by Violence, and in spite of the Laws of the Kingdom; for this Purpose he provided himself with several Confederates as wicked and as foolish as himself, and with proper Arms for opposing all the Power he thought could be sent against him: The Sheriff of the County, assisted by the County, went to execute the King's Writ against him; but instead of submitting, he fired upon them, killed some of the Sheriff's Assistants, and obliged them to retire. Was it not then proper, was it not necessary to call the King's Troops to the Assistance of the Sheriff? They were called; and without the spilling of any more innocent Blood, the Laws were put in Execution, the Owner got Possession of his Estate, and the Criminal who dared to oppose the Law was hanged. Even but last Summer, it was highly probable that great Tumults would have been raised against the Law for preventing the Retail of Spirituous Liquors; for great Threatnings had been made, and some had publicly declared they would not give Obedience to it; but the prudent Measures that were

taken, and by shewing that the King's Troops would be employed against those who should dare to oppose the Law, all those Threats ended in a few Tricks to evade the Law, which I hope will be soon got the better of by the Care and Diligence of the Commissioners of Excise. These few Examples shew that a military Force becomes sometimes absolutely necessary for putting the Laws in Execution; and if it were not for the few regular Troops we have, Riots would be more frequent than they are, and much more dangerous; as will, I believe, appear by a general Inquiry into the Riots that have lately happened; therefore I shall heartily agree in any Motion tending to the bringing on of such an Enquiry.

The Lord B— spoke next to the following Effect, *viz.*

My Lords, it must be confessed that Riots and Tumults have of late been not only very frequent, but very general in this Kingdom, and therefore it may be, I think, justly concluded that there is some general Cause, some general Error, which makes our People so generally uneasy; but I am very far from thinking that general Cause proceeds from any Want of Power in the civil Magistrate, or from too great a Liberty in the People. There is no Country in the World where there are severer Laws against Riots, or where there are greater Powers given to the civil Magistrate for preventing or quelling them. The civil Magistrate has now greater Powers, and our Laws against Riots are more severe, than ever were known to our Ancestors; and therefore I am apt to suspect that most of our late Riots have proceeded from that general Cause from which almost all Tumults proceed, I mean, from the unjust and oppressive Conduct, or from the supine Negligence and Indolence, of those who are entrusted with the Execution of our Laws.

When the People are made uneasy by the Oppression of those entrusted with Power, or when wicked and evil disposed Persons are allowed to become seditious or licentious by the Neglect of the civil Magistrate, the Parliament ought to interpose. If it does not, Tumults must of course ensue, and those Tumults may at last produce most extraordinary Events. Let us examine our own History, and we shall find, most of those Tumults or Riots we have any Account of, proceeded from the Oppression of those entrusted with Power, and a Neglect to remove that Oppression, or to punish the Oppressors. The famous Insurrection under *Wat Tyler*, we are expressly told by our Historians, at first proceeded from a heavy Tax then imposed, the great Powers granted for levying that Tax, and the oppressive Use made of those Powers by the Tax-gatherers. But, as Oppression seldom appears in one Shape only, as a general Discontent always arises from several Causes, so at that Time, the People had several Reasons for being dissatisfied: They complained that their foreign Enemies were allowed to ravage and plunder them with Impunity, and that their domestick Enemies, the Lawyers, ruined them with vexatious Suits and extorsive Fees; and they were not only oppressed by the Collectors of the publick Revenue, but likewise by the Nobility, and Lords of Manors, who by the great Powers and Privileges they enjoyed, kept the People in a Sort of Slavery. This last Sort of Oppression, indeed, we now seem to be in no Danger of; for our Nobility seem to have very little Power left in their Hands; but with respect to the other Grievances, we do not know but the People may now have Reason to complain of something like them, and if they have, those Causes of Complaint ought to be enquired into by Parliament, and removed as soon as possible.

Upon such Occasions, my Lords, it is not sufficient to quell the Riot, it is not sufficient to punish the Rioters, or to make severe Laws for the Punishing of all such for the future: the Government, by good luck, got the better of that Insurrection under *Wat Tyler*, and of all the other Tumults that happened about that Time, and great Care was taken to punish the Rioters with the utmost Severity; but no proper Care was taken to remove the Causes of those Riots, or to punish the Oppressors of the People. What was the Consequence? The Discontents of the People continued, and tho' by the Severity that had been used, they were for some Time frightened from being guilty of any new Riot or Tumult, yet at last they gathered into a regular Army, and under the Conduct of the Duke of *Gloucester*, defeated the King's Forces, banished, beheaded, or hanged all his Favourites, and among the rest, Sir *Robert Tresilian* (who had been one of the most rigorous in prosecuting and punishing the Rioters, and who, 'tis said, never wanted Reasons to countenance whatever he found was agreeable to the King) was accused of High Treason, impeached and condemned by the Parliament, and soon after hanged at *Tyburn*. This appeased the Minds of the People for some Time, but as that unfortunate King soon returned to his former Courses, and disregarded the Complaints of the People, Riots and Tumults continued during his whole Reign, and at last paved the Way for *Henry IVth's* ascending the Throne.

Now, my Lords, as Riots and Tumults generally proceed from Oppression, or from Neglect in the civil Magistrate, and as both the Oppression and the Neglect of the civil Magistrate may appear in various Shapes, and may be very different in one Case from what it is in another, when several Riots have happened,

pened, at different Times and in different Parts of the Country, it is impossible to discover the true Cause of any one of them by a general Enquiry, nor will a particular Enquiry into the Cause of one discover the true Cause of another. I shall not at present tax the Magistrates at *Edinburgh*, or those in the West, or in any other Part of the Kingdom, either with Oppression or Neglect; but if any of them have been guilty of either, can that Oppression or Neglect be discovered by a general Inquiry? Or will an Enquiry into the Riot at *Edinburgh*, and the Conduct of the Magistrates there, discover to us whether any of the Magistrates in the West of *England*, or in any other Part of the Kingdom, have been guilty of Oppression or Neglect? The Thing appears at first Sight impossible, and therefore there is no Way of answering the Intention of his Majesty's Speech, or indeed our own Duty as Members of this House, but by a particular Inquiry into every one of the Riots that have happened, or at least into some of the most considerable of them; cost what it will, take up what Time it will, it must be gone about, and the sooner we begin, the greater Regard we shew both to our King and our Country. I cannot really comprehend what is meant by a general Inquiry: In my Opinion it can mean nothing but an Inquiry into our Laws relating to Riots, and the Sowers of Sedition; for if you proceed to inquire into the particular Circumstances and Facts of all or any one Riot that has happened, your Inquiry must become particular; and if you do not inquire into Circumstances and Facts, if you inquire only into our Laws, you cannot discover the original Cause of any one Riot that has happened.

If your Lordships have a Mind to go upon an Inquiry into our Laws relating to Riots and the Sowers of

Sedition, I shall be far from being against any Motion for that Purpose; because it will from thence appear that our Laws against Riots are already as severe as they can be made in a Country where no Racks or Tortures can be admitted; and it will likewise appear that our Laws against those who stir the People up to Sedition, are as severe as they can or ought to be made in a free Country. The general Method of stirring the People up to Sedition, is by spreading false and seditious Libels or Reports against their Magistrates, and every one knows how easy it is to prosecute the Authors of such, and how severely they are punished, by the Laws of this Kingdom. Indeed the Method of Tryal, which is by Jury, and the principal Part of the Punishment, which is by Pillory, make it necessary for our Magistrates of all Degrees, to court the Esteem and Affections of the People; for in case of any general Discontent against any one Magistrate, a Jury will but seldom bring in a Verdict in his Favour, and when he does recover a Verdict, the principal Part of the Punishment is evaded by the Favour of the Mob or Populace. I hope, my Lords, we have no such Magistrates at present; at least if we have, I am sure their Conduct ought to be inquired into; and if we have no such Magistrates, we cannot suppose that any of our late Riots were occasioned by the spreading of false and seditious Libels or Reports; because if they had, the Authors of such Libels or Reports would certainly have been prosecuted, and would as certainly have met with condign Punishment, by the Laws as they now stand; unless we suppose that some of our Magistrates have been deficient in their Duty, which is a Crime that ought to be punished, or at least censured, but it is a Crime that can be discovered only by a particular Inquiry into the Circumstances of

of each Riot, it can never be discovered by any general Inquiry.

We have not, 'tis true, my Lords, yet heard that a Man of any Figure was concerned in any of the Riots that have happened; I hope no such Thing will ever appear; but in such Cases we are not to regard the Rank or the Quality of the Persons concerned. A Tumult of the very lowest Rank of People may, if neglected, become very considerable, and generally produces the most fatal and the most cruel Consequences. The Tumult under *Wat Tyler* consisted of Persons of the lowest Rank only, and was at first inconsiderable, yet in a few Days he got himself at the Head of near 10000 Men, seized upon and ransacked the City of *London*, obliged the Tower to surrender, tho' it was then garrisoned with 1200 Men, burnt many Palaces and fine Houses, put to Death many Noblemen and Gentlemen, and would probably have put the King himself to Death, and entirely overturned our Government, if a very remarkable Sort of Providence had not intervened. Do not we know that many Governments have been overturned, even the Government of the great *Turkish* Empire was but lately overturned, by a Tumult, in which none but the very lowest Sort of People were at first concerned. The chief End of a Parliamentary Inquiry is not to discover or to punish the Persons concerned in any Tumult; it is the Conduct of the Magistrates where such Tumults have happened that we are principally to inquire into; and if upon such Inquiry it should appear, that the Tumult was occasioned by any oppressive or imprudent Behaviour, or by any Neglect or Cowardice in them, we ought to remove, to censure, or to punish such Magistrates, according to the Heinousness of their Crime. Such an Inquiry, and such an Issue of an Inquiry, will satisfy the People, it will

remove the Cause of Tumults, and consequently will prevent them for the future; whereas if we employ our selves solely in discovering and punishing the Rioters, we do not remove but increase the Cause of Tumults; we shall render the People more discontented than they were; the Severity of the Punishment may scar up the Wound for a Time, but, my Lords, it will not be healed, it will fester, and endanger the total Dissolution of the political Body.

My Lords, whatever the Opinion of other Lords may be, I shall always be of Opinion, that there is a very great Difference between a Magistrate's being assisted in the Execution of his Office by the Posses of the County, and his being assisted by a Body of regular Troops. In the first Case, the Magistrate is assisted by the People only, and the People, notwithstanding the Obligation they are by Law under to answer his Call, will never assist him in oppressing the People. If they refuse, they know they must be tried by their Country, and they know their Country will never condemn them for refusing to assist in oppressing their Country. But with respect to our Army, as it is now regulated by the Mutiny Bill, the Case is quite different, they are now really a Body quite distinct from the People; when they are called to the Assistance of the civil Magistrate, they are not called as the King's Subjects but as the King's Soldiers, and as they are quite distinct from the People, they may very probably assist in oppressing the People: Nay, my Lords, they must assist; if they refuse, if they disobey their Orders, they are not to be tried by their Country, they are to be tried by the martial Law, and their Punishment, instead of Fine and Imprisonment, is immediate Death; they may that Instant be tried and condemned by a Court martial, and shot to Death upon the very Spot where they

they dared to disobey their Orders; for this Reason they always will be, and always have been assisting in destroying the Liberties and oppressing the People of every Country, where their Superiors have thought fit to employ them for such wicked Purposes.

From hence your Lordships must see the Difference between a civil Magistrate's being assisted by the Possessors of the County, and his having a Body of regular Troops always at Command. In the first Case, he must in all his Measures pursue Justice and Equity, he must even study the Humours and Inclinations, and court the Affections of the People; because upon them only he can depend for the Execution of his Orders as a Magistrate; and even for his Safety and Protection as a private Man; but when a civil Magistrate knows that he has a large Body of regular well-disciplined Troops at Command, he despises both the Inclinations and Interest of the People; he considers nothing but the Inclinations and the Interest of the Soldiers, and as those Soldiers are quite distinct from the People, as they do not feel the Oppressions of the People, and are subject to such arbitrary Laws and severe Punishments, they will generally assist and protect him in the most unjust and oppressive Measures; nay as the Interests of the Soldiers are always distinct from, and sometimes opposite to the Interests of the People, a civil Magistrate, not otherwise oppressive in his Nature, is sometimes obliged to oppress the People in order to humour and please the Army.

To imagine, my Lords, that we shall always be under a Civil Government so long as our Army is under the Direction of the civil Magistrate, is to me something surprizing. In France, in Spain, and many other Countries, which have long been under an arbitrary and military Government, they have the outward

Appearance of a Civil Government; even in Turkey, they have Laws, they have Lawyers, they have civil Magistrates, and in all Cases of a domestick Nature, their Armies are under the Direction of their civil Magistrates; but, my Lords, we know that in all such Countries the Law, the Lawyers, and the civil Magistrates, speak as they are commanded by those who have the Command of the Army. Their Lawyers have often Occasion to make the same Speech one of our Judges made to Michael Pole Earl of Suffolk, in Richard the 2^d's Reign, who, upon signing it as his Opinion, that, *The King was above the Law*, said, — *If I had not done this, my Lord, I should have been killed by you, and now I have done it, I well deserve to be hanged for Treason against the Nobles of the Land.*

I am afraid, my Lords, some of our civil Magistrates, at least those of an inferior Degree, begin to put too great Confidence in their having a military Force at their Command, and therefore make a little too free with the lower Sort of People, or at least do not take proper Measures for reconciling the People, in a good-natured and peaceable Manner, to the Laws of their Country; a Man who has Power is but too seldom at the Pains to use Argument. It has been granted, the People rarely become tumultuous but when they are oppressed, or are made believe they are oppressed; if any Man has either by writing or speaking, directly or ironically, endeavoured to make them believe so, it is the Business of our Magistrates to inform them better, and to punish the Desamers of our Government; for such Criminals may be punished as the Law now stand, unless we suppose the People generally disaffected, which God forbid; and if any Magistrate has been oppressive, or deficient in his Duty, it is the Duty of this House to inquire into it, and to pu-

with the Offender; but this can be done only by a particular Inquiry. The Law mentioned by the noble Duke; I mean the Law against Gin, is a strong Argument for such an Inquiry. I believe every one of your Lordships was afraid that Law could not be carried into Execution without occasioning Riots and Tumults; I wish that pernicious Liquor may not still get the better of the Legislature; but the quiet Manner in which that Law has been hitherto carried into Execution, shews how willing the People are to submit to any reasonable Regulation, if proper Methods be taken to make them understand it, and to prevent the Designs of those who may be by Nature or Interest led to oppose it in a seditious Manner. The good Success of the Measures taken with respect to the Enforcing that Law is, in my Opinion, a strong Proof of some Crime or Neglect in the Magistrates at every one of those Places where any Tumult has happened, and therefore I shall be for inquiring in a particular Manner into the Circumstances and Causes of every one of those Tumults.

The E—l of S—g spoke next, pretty much to the same Purport with what was said by the D—ke of N—le and the L—d H—cke; and then the L—d C— stood up again, and spoke in Substance thus.

My Lords, since your Lordships have done me the Honour to take so much Notice of what I before hinted to you, and since every Lord who has spoke upon the Subject seems to be of Opinion that some Sort of Inquiry ought to be made into the Tumults or Riots that have happened, I will now take upon me to make some Motions for that Purpose, because I find no other Lord has yet attempted it.

For my Part, my Lords, I do not think it possible to obtain any Satis-

faction for ourselves, or to give any Satisfaction to the Nation, by a general Inquiry; and if we make any particular Inquiry, I think we ought to begin with that Riot which was in itself the most wicked and atrocious. That the Riot at *Edinburgh* was so, I believe every one of your Lordships will agree, and therefore the first Motion I shall make, is, That those who were the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* at the Time that Riot happened, at the Time, I mean, when *Porteous* was murdered by the Mob, may be ordered to attend this House. I do not know what Sort of Magistrates that City has, or by what Names they are called, but I hope some of the Lords of that Country will assist me in forming my Motion in proper Terms. If your Lordships agree to that Motion, I shall then make you several other Motions, which I take to be necessary Preliminaries for an Inquiry into that Affair.

I shall not take upon me at present so much as to guess or insinuate where the Whole or any Part of the Guilt lay upon that Occasion; but I am persuaded it will appear not to have lain wholly in Persons of the meanest Rank; however, lie where it will, if your Lordships agree to inquire into it, I am sure you will go through the Inquiry with that Dignity, Wisdom, and Impartiality, which have always attended, and have added Weight to all the Proceedings of this House. I am sure no guilty Person, let his Rank or Quality be what it will, can escape your Lordships Penetration, or avoid your Justice; and therefore from such an Inquiry I propose great Satisfaction to myself, and I hope a sufficient Satisfaction to the whole Nation.

After this the E—l of I— spoke to the Effect as follows, *viz.*

My Lords, as I am of Opinion that the late Tumults ought to be inquired

quired into, and some Measures taken for preventing the like in Time to come, I am so far from being against a particular Inquiry into that atrocious Riot and cruel Murder that happened at *Edinburgh*, that I shall not only second the noble Lord in all the **A** Motions proper for that Purpose, but I shall give him all the Assistance I can towards putting those Motions in the most proper Terms. With respect to the Magistrates of the City of *Edinburgh*, I shall beg leave to inform your Lordships that that City, **B** like the rest of the Cities in *Scotland*, is governed by its Magistrates and Town Council, who, together, make such Laws and Regulations as they think proper for the good Government of the City; but the executive Part of their Government consists intirely in the Magistracy, which is composed of a Provost, four Bailiffs, a Treasurer and a Dean of *Gild*. As for the Treasurer, his **C** Business consists chiefly in managing the Estate and Treasure of the City, and the Dean of *Gild's* chief Business is in looking after the Buildings, neither of whom could, by means of their Office, have any Thing to do with the Mob; and therefore the **D** only proper Persons for your Lordships to call before you, are those who were the Provost and four Baylies of that City, at the Time the late Tumult happened there.

That the late Tumult at *Edinburgh* was a most daring Insult upon Government, and that the Murder committed at that Time was one of the most flagitious, and attended with the most aggravating Circumstances, I shall, my Lords, most readily admit; yet I am surprized to hear the least **F** Insinuation made, as if the City's Charter ought to be taken from them on that Account. 'Tis true, Cities or Corporations may perhaps by the **G** Severity of Law be made to forfeit their Charter, when they have been guilty of any very heinous and very

extraordinary Misbehaviour; and in former Reigns we know that many *Quo Warranto's* have been issued for that Purpose: But the taking Advantage of such Forfeitures, and stretching the Law to its utmost Rigour upon such Occasions, has always **A** been deemed Oppressive, and has never, or but very seldom, been done but by those who were pursuing arbitrary Measures; for it is really, in some Respect, punishing the Innocent for the Sake of the **B** Guilty. For this Reason I hope no such Thing will ever be attempted in his present Majesty's Reign; but if such a Thing were to be attempted, there is not the least Foundation for attempting it with respect to the **C** City of *Edinburgh* on Account of the late Tumult there; for that Tumult was far from being the Act of the City or Citizens: On the contrary, at least so far as yet appears, there were none concerned in it, but a few of the very Scum of the People: It does not yet appear that there was **D** so much as one Freeman of the City concerned in it; and therefore it would be extremely hard to punish the whole Inhabitants of that populous City with a Loss of all their Privileges as Citizens, on account of any Irregularity in which they cannot be said to have had the least **E** Concern.

The present Case of the City of *Edinburgh* is vastly different from the Case of the City of *Cambridge* in the Reign of *Richard II.* The City of *Cambridge*, my Lords, had in a **F** Manner joined in those Insurrections which happened about the same Time with that Insurrection headed by *Wat Tyler*; the whole Citizens assembled, not in a tumultuous, but in a hostile rebellious Manner, with their Mayor and other Magistrates at their Head, went and assaulted the **G** University, broke up their Treasury, burnt their Charters and many valuable Records, and compelled the Chancellor

cellor and Members of the University, in a solemn Manner, under their Common Seal, to release to the Mayor and Burgesses of Cambridge, all Liberties and Privileges enjoyed by that University. For this hostile and rebellious Manner of Proceeding, the Parliament declared they had forfeited their Charter, and many of those Liberties and Privileges which were taken from them were granted by that King to the University; so that even this Forfeiture was but a Sort of *Lex Talionis*; but there is not the least Resemblance between this Case and the present Case of the City or Citizens of *Edinburgh*; and if there were, I hope none, or very few, of the Proceedings of that Reign will be allowed to be a good Precedent in this; for the very same King, in a few Years after, stripped the City of *London* of all her Privileges, and took away her Charter, on account of a Mob that happened in the City at that Time.

The removing of the Courts of Justice, is, I believe, my Lords, a Sort of Punishment his Majesty has in his Power to inflict; but it would be extremely inconvenient both to the Judges and the Suitors, who are often obliged to have recourse to the publick Records of the Kingdom, which are all lodged at *Edinburgh*, and which, I believe, cannot be removed without an Act of Parliament, nor, even in that Case, without a very great Expence. But suppose the Courts of Justice could be easily removed, the Punishment would be of the same Nature with the others; it would be a Punishing of the Innocent for the Sake of the Guilty, and it would be a Punishment I remember no Precedent for, but in the Reign I have mentioned, in the Reign of *Richard II.* who, upon his Quarrel with the City of *London*, removed the Courts of Justice to *York*; which was one of the Steps

to that arbitrary Power he afterwards assumed.

I shall not, my Lords, take upon me to affirm that the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* were entirely innocent; whether they were guilty or innocent will best appear from your Lordships Inquiry; but granting it should appear that they were negligent of their Duty, or even that they conspired with the Mob, and in a Manner consented to the Murder of *Perseus*, can that be a Reason for punishing the City, or for stripping the innocent Citizens of their Privileges? As that Tumult and Murder was a high Indignity put upon the Crown, it is hardly possible to suppose it was the Act of the Citizens in general. That City has always been remarkable for their Attachment to our present happy Establishment, and has upon all Occasions testified their Respect and their Affection for the present Royal Family. In the Year 1715 they shewed it in a very signal Manner; they appeared with great Unanimity in Arms, and were ready to have gone upon the most desperate Attempts, in defence of our present Establishment; and it must be admitted by every one who knows the Circumstances of Affairs in that Part of the Kingdom at that Time, that the loyal Behaviour of the City of *Edinburgh* contributed greatly to repress the unnatural Rebellion which had then broke out, and had come to a very extraordinary Height. For which Reason I should think, my Lords, that even suppose a great Number of the Citizens should appear to have been misled, and to have been concerned in the late Tumult, yet the former Behaviour of the City, its Merit upon former Occasions, ought to be admitted as a sufficient Plea against our treating the City at least, with the utmost Severity either Law or Justice will admit of.

Whatever Neglect, whatever Crime
P p 2 the

the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* may have been guilty of, I believe, when your Lordships come to inquire into the Causes of that Tumult at *Edinburgh*, you will find that the chief Cause of that and every other Tumult that has happened in the Kingdom, proceeds neither from any Neglect, nor any Oppression in the civil Magistrate, but from a restless disaffected Party, who are continually fomenting such Tumults, in order to make their own Use of them at foreign Courts, and to represent the People of this Island as generally disaffected to the present Government. This, 'tis well known, is the uninterrupted Endeavour of that Party, and their Success in this wicked Design is in a great Measure owing to the many seditious Libels and Pamphlets spread about daily, and dispersed with great Industry through every Part of the united Kingdom. In these Libels and Pamphlets, the Authors, under the specious Pretence of Liberty, and an unfeigned Regard for the Rights of the People, take occasion to persuade the People that their Liberties are in danger, that they are oppressed, and that they ought to throw off all Respect for, or Obedience to, the Laws of their Country; but, my Lords, the true Design, the secret Aim of such Writings and such Authors may be easily perceived: They know the Transition is easy, from no Government at all to the Government they wish to see established; and that the less Respect the People have for the present Government, the more easy it will be to prevail with them to submit to the other. This, I say, my Lords, is easily perceived by Men of Knowledge and Sense, but it is not so easily seen through by the Generality of Mankind, which is the Reason that so many of them are caught in the Snare; and as I am convinced

that this will upon Inquiry appear to be the chief Reason of all our Riots, and Tumults, therefore I shall most readily join with the noble Lord in any Motions for inquiring into all or any one of them.

The Lord C— then made the following Motions, which were all agreed to in the Committee, and being the same Day reported; were agreed to by the House, *viz.*

To resolve, that it is the Opinion of this Committee,

1. That the Provost and four Bailiffs of the City of *Edinburgh* in the Year 1736, be ordered to attend this House.

2. That the Person commanding the City Guard at that Time of the Riot in which Captain *Porteous* was murdered, be ordered to attend this House.

3. That the Officer commanding in chief his Majesty's Forces in that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, and residing there at the Time of the said Riot, be ordered to attend this House.

4. That an authentick Copy of the Tryal of Capt. *Porteous*, and all the Proceedings relating thereunto, be laid before this House.

5. That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give Order, that the Accounts transmitted hither of the Murder of Capt. *Porteous*, and what passed thereupon; together with the Orders and Directions sent from hence relating thereunto; as likewise a Copy of the Reprieve of the said Captain granted by her Majesty as Guardian of the Kingdom, be laid before this House.

6. That the Attendance of the several Persons aforementioned be on this Day Month.

[To be continued in our next.]

Fog's Journal, May 28. N^o 445.

Revolutions in Fog, or Fog not lost in a Mist.

IT is now more than Time (says Fog) I acquit myself of these Papers, that have been so many Years carried on under my Name and Direction; and as I took them up, so I lay them down, without any other Authority than that of a Citizen of London. I know very well that a Love for one's Country, and a Concern for its Honour and Interest are the usual Pretences in Cases of this Nature; but I shall not urge them for Reasons on my own Part, because I will not arraign the laudable Endeavours of those two common Patriots, *The Craftsman* and the *Daily Gazetteer*, there having been ever a sensible Difference between us; neither can I say that private Interest was my sole View, for then my Accounts will shew some few Mistakes in my Reckonings, having consum'd a very considerable Sum in the Warfare, without any Advantage to myself.

It is, however, some Satisfaction, that I have been singly, as it were, driven out of the Field, unsupported and unassisted, unless what I might have charitably met with from *Messengers of State, Grand Juries, Secretaries, Serjeants at Arms, Sheriffs Officers, Tipstaffs, Marshals, Keepers, Turnkeys,* and such like Gentlemen, who, I must own, have all treated me with much more Humanity and Civility than I have generally found since my Return to England; but as no Person else immediately belonging to me, or any Way concerned in carrying these Papers thro' the Press, has in the least suffer'd in their Fortune or Reputation, I am unaccountable to any, the greatest or the meanest whatsoever, taking upon my own Shoulders the Weight of the publick Indignation for what I may have done, as to

continuing or discontinuing the said Papers.

The Hon. Mr. *Vaughan*, who left this Kingdom by a Judgment at the *Old Bailey*, has been more favourably receiv'd on his Return home than I can boast of; and Messieurs *Wreatbock* and *Justice*, Gentlemen of equal Merit with the honourable Person just mentioned, having landed at the same Time from their Travels; have the Happiness already of being almost forgot; but, it seems, my Friends would fain load me with an eternal Odium for daring to live longer in so virtuous an Age, and to my great Confusion I must own I have seen nothing that has yet prevail'd with me to alter my Sentiments; I am indeed afraid that no ill Usage will engage me to pursue Measures that shall destroy the Peace of my own Mind, and I can't say but that it is with equal Contempt I look upon all those who since my Arrival have shewn such a Readiness to bear false Witness against their Neighbour. N. M.

Daily Gazetteer, May 30. N^o 603.

The Proportion of the English and French Taxes. In Answer to the Craftsman of May 7. (See p. 244.)

MR. D'Anvers roundly asserts, that the English pay almost double the Taxes that the French do; tho' we read in a Treatise written on this Subject many Years ago, by a knowing, experienced Author, as follows: *I shall put a Period to that Part of my Discourse referring to the Taxes of foreign Princes, with that of France, which is rather the Abhorrence than Example of any Christian Prince: His tyrannical Impositions being grown to an unlimited Exaction upon all Men, both sacred and civil State-Traders*, Vol. II. p. 118. Yet does 'Squire D'Anvers, as I said, roundly assert, that the English pay almost double what the French do. All the English pay according to him,

17s. 6d. a Head yearly; all the *French* pay only 11s. a Head yearly. Let us see now what a rare political Arithmetician he is.

To support this wild Calculation he makes 20 Million of People in *France*, and the Revenue to be 11 A Millions; which, indeed, comes to just 11s. a Head; but to diminish the Account of the Proportion of the *French* Taxes to the *English*, he magnifies the Number of Heads no less than 7 Millions; Sir *William Petty*, and the best Calculators, fixing the Number of Heads in *France* at 13,000,000; *Chamberlayne* makes them 13,500,000; which brings the Calculation of the Taxes there to about 17s. 6d. a Head. It will not be pretended that *France* is more populous now, since the Miss of above C a Million of Protestants, and after above 20 Years foreign and destructive Wars, than it was in its most flourishing Condition, as when Sir *Wm. Petty* wrote. As the 'Squire has magnify'd the Number of Heads in *France*, to lessen the Proportion of Taxes there; D fo he magnifies the Revenues of *England*, to increase the Proportion of Taxes on the *English* Side. For there never was a Calculator that made the Proportion of the Revenues of *England* and *France* to be as 7 to 11; or, indeed, that pretended the E *English* exceeded the Half of the *French* Revenues. — The Calculation of the Number of the People in both Kingdoms, is, according to *Chamberlayne*, as 7,055,000 *English* to 13,500,000 *French*.

Old Whig, June 2. N^o 117.

Farther Thoughts on the Edinburgh Bill. (See p. 254.)

S I R,

W H A T E V E R Offence may be taken at you, or me, for speaking too freely of the Bill for disabling *Alexander Wilson*, Esq; &c. there is one Centure which we shall

not lie under; to wit, the joining with the Disaffected, and Enemies to his Majesty's Person and Government. It is evident, that no Party, or Person noted, or even suspected, of Disaffection, has in the least meddled with the Opposition to it. The City Guard of *Edinburgh* is obnoxious to the Disaffected, as it is a Trophy of the Revolution; no equal Number of Men of their Rank having contributed more to the bringing about of that glorious Work, or to the preserving the Effects of it: And it will not be forgotten, that the Gates of the *Neiber Bow Port* were shut against *Mr. Intosh* by the Citizens of *Edinburgh*; by which Measure they contributed more to the obstructing of the Rebellion against C his late Majesty, than any other Town in the Kingdom can be said to have done.

The People of *Edinburgh* are not the only Persons that are concerned in the Safety and Honour of their City. The whole Country have an Interest in their Capital, and are affected with whatsoever concerns the Peace or Welfare of it. Their Gates and Guard are the Security of every one that resorts to it. Such a City cannot be laid open, but the whole Country must suffer with it.

We have been frequently told, indeed, that the several Princes and States of *Europe* are considerable in proportion to the Number of Soldiers that they keep up, and are able at any Time to bring into the Field. I must own myself not convinced of F the Truth of that Doctrine; and I rather think the contrary may be demonstrated. Princes are honoured in proportion to the Considerableness, the Riches, the Honour, and the good Government, of the Nations under their Dominion. The G Disgrace of any People, must reflect a Dishonour to their Prince. What has his Majesty done to deserve to lose the Honour of a Royal City? I

I gladly mention one Thing, which has happen'd since my last to you; which is, that a Bill is now depending, for bringing to Justice the Murderers of Capt. *Porteous*. After a Concern for the Acquittal of the Innocent, honest Men will receive a Satisfaction from the Condemnation of the Guilty. For this Reason, I hope, that all Objections to the passing of this latter Bill will be removed, and that none of this hundred and odd Fugitives shall have it to object, that they are Citizens or Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, and as such are already punished by the former Bill. They are, I believe, the only Citizens and Inhabitants that are proved to be Art and Part of the Riot and Murder in question; but I can by no means agree, that the Punishment appointed for them by the former Bill, is an adequate or proper Punishment for their Crime. And yet it is an allowed Maxim, *that none ought to be punished twice for the same Offence*. I hope therefore, that the former Bill, so far as it relates to the Citizens or Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, will be dropp'd.

I am sorry there is any need to mention the killing or wounding of the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, by the Soldiers quartered in the Suburbs, either by shooting in at the Ports when the Gates have been open, or by firing underneath them, when the People have shut them in their own Defence. I verily believe, that if the particular Soldiers, who may at any Time have been guilty of such Excesses, could be fixed upon, they would be prosecuted, even by their own Officers, with all due Severity. And if Riots of this Kind have not been animadverted upon with the same Strictness, as that which has lately happened; I hope it will be attributed, as it certainly ought, to the Want of Information or Accusation, and not to any imagined Partiality in the Government, to whom the

Life of an innocent Citizen must be as dear, as that of any reprieved Criminal whatsoever. The common Soldiers are not the best Expositors of an Act of Parliament; and, as in the Bill now depending, the *Nether Bow Port* is ordered to be always kept open, upon Account (as is recited in the Bill) that it is convenient that it should be so; I hope there will be sufficient Care taken to instruct the Soldiers, that the Convenience of their shooting at the People, is not the Convenience intended in the Preamble to this Clause; and that notwithstanding that the Bill secures to them a Communication with the City at all Times, as well by Night as by Day, yet the Lives of the Inhabitants will be as much under the Protection of the Laws, as they now are, before the passing of this Act.

It has been usual, in Bills of a very extraordinary Nature, to insert a Clause, that they should not be drawn into Precedent in Time to come. This carries at least a Shadow of Security against the Example of the Bill, tho' Experience has shewn it, not to be a very effectual Provision. However, if this Bill must pass, I could wish, that we had even such a Shadow of a Security to flatter ourselves with; that the Gentlemen of the Army might be told, that they must content themselves with the Tutelage of a single City; and not expect that the whole Kingdom shall be delivered into their Hands, Town by Town, as fast as Riots can be raised for that Purpose.

Whether there be such a general Disaffection in the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, as was at first urged as a Reason for the bringing in a Bill of this Nature; or whether there be no Disaffection at all, as is now argued, against the entertaining Apprehensions of any ill Consequences that may attend the Passing of such a Bill: And in case there is such a Dis-

affection, whether it ought to be removed by a Demonstration of that Tenderness, which good Governors bear to the People under their Care; or whether it is to be restrained and subdued by Measures that may be thought proper for that Purpose: And also, what Methods may be the fittest for the attaining either of these Ends, the *British* Parliament will with the greatest Wisdom and Uprightness determine. And whatever desponding Sentiments others may entertain, as that we must either be governed by a Mob, or by a military Force; for my own Part, I yet entertain better Sentiments, and better Hopes: I cannot look upon a Riot happening in a City once in 30 Years, to be a Government by a Mob; nor can I in the least apprehend, that his Majesty is unable to govern his Realms by a civil Power. The Crown sits firm upon his Head, and his Sceptre is able to exert as much Force, as it ever did in the Hands of the most glorious of his Royal Ancestors. These Matters are under the Consideration of his Parliament, who are neither wanting in Duty to his Majesty, nor in a just Concern for the Rights of his People: And it is not to be doubted but their Determinations will be such as will (as speedily as possible) remove all uneasy Apprehensions from the Minds of all good Subjects, who wish Prosperity to his Majesty's Government, and Happiness to his People.

May 27.
1737.

HENOTICUS.

Craftsman, June 4. N^o 570.

On the Bill for restraining the Liberty of the STAGE.

THE chief Reason given for such a Law (says Mr. D'Anvers) is the present *Licentiousness of the Stage*, and the *Immorality of the People*, which is imputed to it.

Now, supposing the Fact to be true, I can see no Reason for any particular Interposition of the *Legislature*, on this Account; all *dramatick Writers* and *Players* being already under the Cognizance of the *Laws*, when they transgress their Bounds, and subject to Prosecution, like other *Libellers*, or *immoral Persons*:

But the Case is directly the Reverse; for the *Immorality of the People* is so far from being owing to the *Licentiousness of the Stage*; that the *Licentiousness of the Stage* is immediately owing to the *Immorality of the People*, which flows from *Causes* too well known, and obliges *necessitous Writers* to comply with the prevailing Humour of the Times. Nay, the *Stage* hath been considerably re-form'd of late Years, notwithstanding all the *Corruption*, which hath been so wickedly encouraged amongst the *People*; for I may defy the severest Critick to point out half so many Instances of Debauchery, Prophaneness and Blasphemy, in any of our *modern Plays*; as are to be found in those of *Dryden*, *Eisberge*, *Wycherly*, *Congreve*, *Vanbrugh*, and others.

If by *Licentiousness* is only meant the Liberty of exposing *Vice in high Stations*, this too hath been more tenderly exercised of late, (excepting, perhaps, an Instance or two) than in any former Time; for it would be easy to produce a much greater Variety of sarcastical Reflections upon *Kings*, *Courts* and *Ministers*, in many *old Plays* than in any of our *modern ones*. This Privilege was allow'd, when there was no such Thing as the *Liberty of the Press*; I mean in the Reign of K. Charles II. for tho' the Power of licensing *Play-bouses* and *Players* was then lodged in the Hands of the *Master of the Revels*, his Business was only to see that nothing *treasonable*, or *immoral*, should be exhibited on the Stage; and even this Power was very rarely put in Execution.

Execution. The Reign of that King abounds with *Party-Plays*; but as *one Side* endeavour'd to ridicule the *Liberties of the People* out of Fashion, so *Popery* and *arbitrary Power* were expos'd on the *other*. This was of great Service in propagating those true Principles of our *Constitution*, which afterwards brought about our Deliverance under *K. William*.

We have been lately told, indeed, by a very *honourable Gentleman*, that the stinging Parts of some *modern Plays* have been pointed out to the Audience by Persons employ'd on Purpose to *clap* them. But is this, supposing it to be true, of *modern Date*; or are we to imagine that the general Strokes of Satire, in most of our *old Plays*, were not level'd at some particular Persons in those Times, tho' we want a Key to many of them at present? Nay, hath not every *dramatick Poet* a Right to such general Satire, and every *Auditor* to apply it as he sees Occasion? Even *Dryden* himself (who carry'd the *Power of the Crown* as far as possible) allows, that to *clap* and to *biss* are the Privileges of a free-born Subject in a *Play-house*.

Another *Hon. Gentleman* hath been lately pleas'd to take Notice of a Prosecution against a *Farce*, in the same Reign; but the very reading the Indictment occasioned so much Laughter, that it was drop'd; which is a Proof that the *Lord Chamberlain* had no absolute Power, at that Time, over the *Players*, or any Thing they acted, since he did not take upon himself to prevent its Performance.

Besides, the Bounds of *Liberty* and *Licentiousness* are so extreme nice, that it is very difficult to distinguish exactly between them; but it is certain that there can be no *Liberty*, where there is no Room left of extending it too far. A few Inconveniences of this Kind are the Taxes we pay for *Liberty*, and which cannot be had without them. We pay, at present, about 7 *Millions* a Year for our *Liberty*; and is this attended with

no *Hardship*, or *Licentiousness*? Is there no Oppression, or Possibility of Oppression, from the *Tax-gatherers* and *Soldiers*, who preserve this *Liberty* to us; or shall we part with such watchful *Guardians* of it, upon this Account? To prune *Liberty* of all *Licentiousness* is supposing a Thing to subsist, which is not capable of being abused; whereas the *best Things* are liable to *Corruption*, and nothing more than *Government* itself; which hath been prostituted to such wicked Purposes, that even the pious *Dr. Prideaux* makes a Doubt whether it hath not done more *Mischief* than *Good* in the World.

As to the Power of the *Lord Chamberlain*, or *Master of the Revels*, over *Plays*, I agree with my *late Correspondent* that it is not strictly legal, according to the *present State of the Theatres*; (See p. 264. E.) but took its Rise, no Doubt, when our Kings kept a Company of Comedians within their own *Houhold*, or the *Verge of the Court*; nor was I ever able to comprehend how their *Licence*, or even the *King's Patent*, could indemnify them, after the Act of *Q. Anne*, which declares them all *Vagabonds* without Exception, till it was decided by such *Authority* as I dare not contradict. But the *very same Authority* determin'd likewise that all *Players*, who acted without a *Patent*, came under the Act before mention'd, and might be prosecuted accordingly as *Vagabonds*:

If *Stage-Plays* are really immoral in themselves, as the *antient Parisians* contended, or have been so far prostituted as to debauch the Minds of the People, for God's Sake let them all be prohibited by *Law*; but to indulge them on *one Side*, and forbid them on the *other*, is too much *Partiality*. The *Crown*, I am sure, wants no such *additional Powers*; and yet if the sole Privilege of licensing *Plays* should be placed in an *Officer of the Crown*, we can expect nothing but Flattery to *Men in Power*, and Satire upon all, who oppose them. *Patriotism* will

be turn'd into Ridicule, instead of *Mal-Administration*, and the People will be taught to laugh at *that Corruption*, which hath an immediate Tendency to enslave and beggar them. In short, nothing will be wanting to complete *such a Scheme*, could I suppose any A Man so wicked as to entertain the Thoughts of it, but putting the *Press* under the same Restraints and that, I am afraid, is too natural a Consequence of the other.

However, if *this Bill* must pass; if the *Court* is still so short of Power, B that it cannot support itself against the People, without taking away the *Liberty of the Stage*, or lifting it intirely on *that Side*, I hope our *Italian-Opera's* will fall the first Sacrifice, as they not only carry great Sums of Money out of the Kingdom, but soften and enervate the Minds of the People. The *antient Romans* did not admit of any *effeminate Musick, Singing, or Dancing*, upon their Stage, till *Luxury* had corrupted their Morals, and the Loss of *Liberty* follow'd soon after. If therefore it should be D thought necessary to lay any farther Restraint upon the *most useful Sort of dramatical Entertainments*, the *worst* ought certainly to receive no Encouragement.

It will be expected, at least, that the *Right Rev. Fathers of our Church*, E who petition'd his *late Majesty* to put a Stop to *Masquerades*, will exert themselves once more, upon this Occasion, against *those infamous Assemblies*, which tend more effectually to corrupt the Morals of the People than all the *Plays and Interludes*, that were F ever acted.

Common-Sense being upon the same Subject, we omit it.

Fog's Journal, June 4. N° 1.

Old Fog's Dying Speech.

M Y Cousin *Fog*, who liv'd to a G good old Age, with the Character of uncommon Probity, having been long declining under the gradual

encreasing Burthen of Years, on *Saturday* last, with great Charity towards all Men, exemplary Goodness towards his Detractors, and a perfect Resignation, pay'd the irremissible Debt of Nature. (See p. 301.) As I was the nearest Relation he had, I did not leave his House from the Time he was judg'd near his Dissolution. Some few Hours before his Death, as I sat by the Bedside, he took me by the Hand and among other Things said: 'Kinsman, Reflect B ' that I have the Pleasure to leave behind me some Remains of Liberty, ' the Cause of which I have asserted ' with equal Zeal and ill Success; and ' that I close my Eyes, before Corruption has lock'd up the Press. The ' little Effect my Lucubrations had C ' on those stupid Animals, who barter'd their own and the Liberties ' of their Children for a trifling present Sum, which they were sure to ' repay with most exorbitant Usury; ' the Infirmities of old Age, and the ' Hand of Power, made me lay down D ' all Political Contests, as I thought ' it a Mark of Weakness to expose myself to Ruin; for Men, who, ' spight of Advice, wou'd rush upon their own. I know I have been ' unjustly and hardly censured for ' following what some Men call the ' first Principle of Nature, Self-Preservation: I say, some Men, for the ' true Patriot, will ever prefer the Liberty and Happiness of his Country to Life itself; but no Man of ' Sense will *de gaieté de coeur*, obstinately persist in serving an ungrateful and senseless People, who are ' obstinately resolv'd to be undone. ' The many Prosecutions I have ' suffer'd in asserting the Rights of ' my dear Country, the ignominious ' (as 'twas thought) Sentence pass'd ' upon me, and the Intrepidity I have ' shewn in pursuing the glorious Cause ' which animated me, to the impoverishing of my Fortune, are sufficient Proofs of my Attachment to ' the Interest of the Publick, and ' that

that I was too sincere a Lover of my native Soil to be either allured or intimidated to desert its Cause, while there was the least Hope of averting the impending Ruin.

You who are more sanguine, appear too firmly resolved for me to undertake the dissuading you from your Enterprize, since the Arguments I have hitherto made Use of, have proved fruitless, and you have answer'd the Remonstrances I have made you of the Danger which must necessarily attend your stemming the rapid Tide of Power, with a *dulce est pro patria mori*. Give me leave, since you are determin'd to appear on the publick Stage, to offer you my Advice. Take Care, that you do not mistake Party and Prejudice for publick Zeal; be sure that it is the Cause of your Country that stimulates you, and do not think you promote that, by opposing, without Distinction, whatever your Opponents do. In your Papers may your Satyre spare the Person, but give no Quarter to Vice, Folly, or the Blunders of assuming Mountebank Politicians, who by low and mean Arts shall have possessed themselves of Poits of Trust and Power; who by their Ignorance shall expose the Nation to Inconveniencies, and by their Timidity and Avarice subject her to Insults, and tarnish her Glory. It is not impossible but you may live to see such a Set of Men, Strangers to Honour and Probity; of rapacious Hands and voracious Appetites; of weak Heads and strong Passions. Men of the Stamp of these Pseudo Patriots, if such shou'd ever appear, are an Exception to the Rule of sparing of Persons, while you lash their Crimes. Shall the poor starving Creature, who robs on the Highway, be punish'd with Death, and shall he whose Rapine shall not only bring particular Families to the greatest Streights, but shall impoverish a whole Nation, enjoy peacea-

bly the Fruits of his Peculation, loaded with Honours and rioting in Luxury? No; since you are resolved—Here my poor Kinsman was taken with a fainting Fit, which cut short his Exhortation, and he never after had Strength to resume the Discourse.

Notwithstanding the Opinion of my decas'd Relations, I am resolved to appear in the Cause of Virtue and of my Country; and to proceed with the utmost Impartiality, as I am actuated by just Principles, and not by personal or party Piques. As on the one Hand, I am determin'd to spare none, whose Ignorance or Avarice shall plunge the Nation into Difficulties; so, on the other, I shall be as ready and as well pleased to give just Praise to those, in the A——n, whose Virtue, Vigilance, and Ability shew them zealous in, and capable of, advancing the Publick Good.

Extracts from some Gazetteers, relating to the Bill for restraining the STAGE.

GAZ. June 4. To Pasquin. There is something peculiarly absurd in your quoting *Aristophanes* in your own Justification; (see p. 262.) whose licentious Abuse of the Stage, put the *Athenians* upon the very Thing our Legislature is now passing into a Law. Every Body that has the least Acquaintance with Literature, knows what *Vetus Comœdia* was; and that the Licentiousness of it took in not only private Life, and as near as was possible, the very exact Figure of Persons; but exposed on the Scene, the principal Men of the Republick by Name. *Aristophanes* carry'd this so far, that in a Piece of his, in which he brought the Person of *Cleon* on the Stage, who was a leading Man in *Athens*, the Actor refusing to play the *Roll*, he himself went on and performed it. He afterwards brought *Lampscacus* and *Bra-*

Sidas, nay, *Alcibiades* and *Pericles* on the Scene, and treated their ministerial Characters, as well as their private ones, with the same Licentiousness. Such was the Intemperance of this, your Model, Sir, that the very *best*, as well as the *wisest*, A Man of all Greece, no less than *Socrates*, was exposed by him, and thro' his Sides, *Morality* and *Government* radically struck at. This Abuse of Comedy at length stirr'd up the Indignation of the *Athenians*, who thought the *Minister* as well as the private Man accountable to them for his Actions, and not to the Poet; and finding, as *Horace* tells us, the Grievance fit to be restrained by Law, they did restrain it by Law. I shall beg leave to quote the Passage, not for your Information, for you cannot be ignorant of it; but to shew you, that tho' a wise Government may wink at small Abuses, it never can, when they arrive to a certain Pitch.

Succesit vetus his comedia, non sine multa Laude; sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim Dignam lege regi. Lex est accepta, chorusque Turpiter obtulit, sublato jure nocendi.

HOR. AR. POET.

I do not think, that to ridicule Vice is to serve its Cause. But I say, that to represent Vice in Colours more amiable than its natural ones, is to serve its Cause. And I dare say, there is not one single Person that ever went to the *Beggars Opera*, but who thought of the Characters there represented, with much less Horror and Aversion, than the same Person would, and actually does, of the Wretches that go to *Tyburn*, or the *Plantations*, tho' there is no Difference but the Poet's Colouring between them. Is this then ridiculing Vice, to make it less shocking? Surely, the greatest Advocate for Mr. *Gay* will not pretend to clear him of this Imputation. Is this ridiculing Vice, to shew Corruption, as you have done in *Pasquin*? This is a familiarizing Corruption, just as Mr. *Gay*

familiarized *Vice*, by taking away all the *Odium* of it.

Gaz. June 8. It is surprizing, the Clamour that is raised against the *Bill for restraining the Licentiousness of the Stage*; when there is not one sober, impartial Man, but must see and acknowledge, that the personal Abuse of *Majesty* itself, as well as the encouraging and promoting all manner of Vice and Immorality, is carried to such a Length, that if some speedy and effectual Stop be not put to such daring Licentiousness, we can expect nothing less, than to fall a Sacrifice to those, who lie in wait to destroy us.

Gaz. June 11. Comedy (says *L'Abbe D'Aubignac*) in its first Institution, and when it began to have Actors, after the Example of Tragedy, was nothing, in Truth, but a *satyrick Poem*; which, by Degrees, under Pretence of lashing the Vices of the People, for their Instruction, flew out, with Impunity, into shameful Detraction, not only against the Citizens, but against the Magistrates, and the most illustrious Persons, whose Names, Actions, and Faces, were brought on the Scene: And this is what is called *The Ancient Comedy*. It does not result from hence, but that Comedy, at the very first, was less offensive; for under *Epicarmus*, and the first Comicks who followed him, Comedy smil'd, but was not abusive; it admitted *Raillery*, but not *Outrages*; it had *Salt*, but not *Gall* and *Vinegar*: But that Liberty degenerated into such unbounded Licentiousness, that the Theatre of *Aristophanes* was the Means of stirring up the People against *Socrates*, and putting him to Death. Then the Representations on the Scene took in some real *Abims*, which could not be divided from it; for what was said against the theatrical *Socrates*, was address'd to the real *Socrates* then present. One need but read the first Comedies of *Aristophanes*.

Phanes, to see how he mixes the Interests of the Actors with those of the Spectators; the Fable of his Pieces, with the History of the Times; and that the Railleries of his Theatre were built on the Lives of those he had a Mind to pull to Pieces. In a Word, they were nothing but *defamatory Libels*, containing the *Names, Qualities, Actions*, nay, the *very Faces* of those, whom the Poet, authoriz'd only by his *Caprices* and *Spleen*, took upon him to attack, and not the *Productions of Wit*, reduced to a *reasonable Species of Poetry, founded upon Rule*. Hence, finding the dangerous Effects of Comedy, the Magistrates, to put a Stop to this Licentiousness of the Poets, forbid them, henceforward, to name any Person in their Pieces.

But as *mischievous Wit* is never at a Loss to find Expedients, Poets cut out the Names of Persons, whom they had a Mind to abuse; but represented their Actions so exactly, that it was very easy to know whom they meant: And this was what was called since *middle Comedy*; of which *Aristophanes*, in his latter Works, has given Examples.

But this Kind of Raillery, tho' in Appearance softer than the first, was judged as pernicious in its Effects, and likewise forbid. This put Poets not only under a Necessity of inventing Names, but of composing a *Fable* for their Pieces: So that Comedy being now a *Work of Wit*, received Rules, in the same Manner as Tragedy, and became a *Piſtura*, and *Imitation*, of *Common Life*. Then *publick Representations* were no longer *private Actions*, and all that pass'd on the Scene, was look'd upon as a *true History*, in which neither the Republick nor the Spectators had any Part, &c. — And this was what constituted *The new Comedy*, which *Torrence* follow'd.

It appears very plain, from this

Deduction, that ever since Comedy was reduced into *Rule and Order*, and *specify'd*, it never admitted *Personalities*, in any Shape whatever, which was always deem'd *Licentiousness*.

A *Gaz.* June 13. All Players that were licens'd were always look'd upon as the King's Servants; therefore I'll put a parallel Case to these Gentlemen. It is this,

A little after the Revolution, when K. *William* began to coin Money, *Routier*, that had coined for K. *Charles* and K. *James*, being an excellent Workman, was kept still in the *Mint*. But the Fellow being a *Jacobite*, made K. *William's* Half-Pennies so, that the Back-Part of the Head represented a Satyr's Face with Horns, alluding to a secret Calumny of his Enemies. Upon this *Routier* was turn'd out, went into *France* and was taken into the *French Mint*, where his Son, when I was in *France*, still continued to coin. Now might not these Patrons of Liberty have complain'd of this Usage of *Routier*, as a Breach on publick Freedom, thus to cramp the Fancy of an ingenious Artificer, and to make, *O facinus horrendum!* His *M—y's Mint* obey an *Imprimatur*? Doubtless, it was looked upon by the *Jacobites* of those Days, as a Step towards taking away the Liberty of the Press.

But pray, Sir, Why do you let them run away with that Notion, that *the chief Business of Plays, is to expose the Vices and Follies of the Great*?—Comedy, ever since the old Comedy was put down by publick Authority, and, as *Horace* says, *turpiter*, with Shame, never pretended to go in this High Walk.

Common Sense, JUNE 11. N^o 19.

A Dissertation on KICKING.

I HAVE been inform'd, there has been for several Years, in th

publick Library at Ratisbon, a most curious Manuscript, *de Colaphis & Calcationibus Veterum*; of the Kicks and Cuffs of the Antients; written by the learned *Vanboosius*; and that a Copy of this Work was some Years ago transmitted into England, to be laid up in the Library of St. James's; that it has been carefully revised and collated by the learned Dr. B—y, who has amended an Error in the Title; for he has proved, that *Colaphis* must have been an Interpolation of the Transcriber; and that the true Reading is, *de Calcationibus Veterum*; which he translates thus: *Of the Kicks on the A— of the Antients.*

I had a Design of writing something upon this Subject myself, and have already been at no small Pains in looking over the *Cotton* and *Bodleian* Libraries. It is a Subject, well handled, that must give great Satisfaction to the Curious; nay, I could wish the World was but well inform'd of some late Truths concerning Kicking, I fancy it would contribute towards curing the Spleen of the Nation.

The Stage is the Representation of the World, and a Man may know the Inclinations of the People, by what is liked or disliked upon the Stage, and I have often observ'd a Kicking to be the most diverting Scene in a modern Comedy. Of all the Comedians who have appeared upon the Stage within my Memory, no one has taken a Kicking with so much Humour as our present most excellent Laureat, and I am inform'd, his Son does not fall much short of him in this Excellence; I am very glad of it, for as I have a Kindness for the young Man, I hope to see him as well kick'd as his Father was before him. Hitherto, indeed, these Kickings have been only the Support and Ornament of the comick Scene; I wish with all my Heart some Part of a sublime Genius would venture

to write a Kicking in a Tragedy; I am very well persuaded, if an Author was to introduce a King kicking a first Minister, it would have a very good Effect.

Some of the *Roman* Emperors, as *Nero*, *Domitian*, and *Caligula*, were given to kicking; so indeed was our *Harry VIII.* he made nothing of kicking the House of Commons. There is a Box on the Ear recorded of *Q. Elizabeth*; it was a sudden Sally of jealous Love; it was but a Kind of *aigre Douceur*; and it does not appear that it was the Fashion of her Court. The Action of Kicking might be thought a little too robust for the Delicacy of her Sex, and it might have expos'd the Royal Legs, &c. to the Sneers of the young Fellows of the Court; therefore she modestly turned it into a Box on the Ear.

As no Man can account how Fashions rise and fall, who knows but the Practice of Kicking upon every trifling Occasion may become a Fashion in this Kingdom? One of the greatest Wits of our Nation has placed the Seat of Honour in a certain Part of the Body that I don't well know how to describe. It is the Part which we must not name in well-bred Company, yet happy is the fair Maid who shall rise with that Part uppermost in a Morning, good Luck shall attend her, and all the Wishes of that Day shall be crown'd with Success; but if I must describe it still plainer, it is the Part where School-Boys are punished for false Concords, and for playing Truant. If it should, I say, become a Fashion, you would see a Fellow at Court, who had just receiv'd a most gracious Kick on that Part, return as proud as a Citizen from being Knighted; and why might not the Honour of Knighthood be conferr'd this Way, as well as by the Sword? And, indeed, why might not all Titles be conferr'd this Way?

I cannot see why it might not be turned to be of excellent Use towards carrying on the Designs of Ministers of State, in case they shou'd happen to be pursuing Measures destructive of the Liberties of their Country; for in this Case they must, for their own Safety, be obliged to bribe the Representatives, and as they would certainly bribe with the Peoples Money, not with their own, and as I should think it a very right Thing to save the publick Money, I should for that Reason humbly propose, that Kicking might be introduced into publick Business instead of Bribing; I don't doubt but it might answer all the same Purposes, for I am firmly of Opinion, that whoever will take a Bribe will take a Kicking.

It is not at all improbable but Kicking may, some Time or other, become a Method of carrying on State Affairs. If we should live to see that Day, young Princes, instead of Riding, Fencing, and Dancing, would have proper Masters provided to instruct them in Kicking; and as he that undertook to eat a Sword began by eating a Dagger, so a young Adept should begin by kicking his Hat, before he was put to kick a Man.

There is a Court of Honour in all the Countries of Europe: In France the Marshals or Generals preside in it. In England the Judge of the Court of Honour is Hereditary in the Family of the first Duke of the Kingdom. I should think that the Ceremonial of Kicking a Man into a Title, or a great Employment, might be settled by the Judges of these Courts of Honour. I should think it would be too great a Fatigue for the Prince himself to kick the whole Court, especially in Countries where the Court is numerous; I should therefore be of Opinion, that no body should have the Honour of being kick'd by the Sovereign, except the first Minister, the principal Secretaries of State, the President of his Councils, and some few other great

Officers of the Crown; but these might kick those next in Employment under them, who might kick the next to them; and so it might gradually descend, that there should not be a Man in any Employment in the Kingdom but what might be kick'd.

The Barbarity of a French Education will not suffer a Gentleman to take a Kick from any Person, be he never so great, without some terrible Consequences; but, I hope, we may live to get the better of such Prejudices, which may have this good Consequence, it may introduce an Elegance and Politeness of Manners not known in the World, except amongst the ancient Goths and modern Hottentots.

As to those splendid Exagitations of Choler, which are apt to break out into *Rogue* and *Rascal*, I am credibly inform'd some very stately Persons are so used to them, they receive them with the same Countenance, as, *Sir, I kiss your Hands*; this shews we are well disposed for a Reformation of Manners; yet I fear it will not grow into general Imitation, unless the Court should set the Example, which I am afraid will not happen; but if we should live to see that Day, the Place-Men must of Course all fall into it; and, I think, it would be pleasant enough, when a great Employment became vacant, to see a Parcel of impudent Fellows in Lace and Embroidery, pressing and elbowing to be kick'd.

If the common People, who are not fond of new Fashions at their first Rise, should discover any Dislike of coming into it, why might not a Standing Army be employ'd to kick a whole Nation?

Craftsman, JUNE II. N^o 571.

A DREAM.

Mr. D'Anvers,

I WAS, yesterday Morning, at the Opening of a Friend's Body, who

who dy'd of a Distemper that puzzled all his Physicians; and therefore he desired, upon his Death-bed, that they would satisfy themselves in this Manner, for the Benefit of those, whom he should leave behind him. As soon as I got home, I fell into several Reflections on the Usefulness of *Anatomy*. From thence I rambled into the common Comparison between the *Body natural* and the *Body politic*, and consider'd with myself of what infinite Advantage it would be to Mankind, if it were possible to dissect the *latter*, as well as the *former*. This odd Whim got such a strong Possession of my Fancy, that it produced the following Dream, as soon as I went to Bed.

I was carry'd up, methought, on a sudden into the Air, where a vast Multitude of People were sitting upon Clouds all around, in the Manner of an Amphitheatre; tho' not at such a Distance as to intercept their View of the Earth below, which was of a triangular Figure, and surrounded by the Sea. Upon casting my Eyes downwards, I beheld a *dead Carcass* stretch'd upon the Ground, of so prodigious a Size, that all the *monstrous Giants* of Antiquity, or the *Brobdignagians* of modern Times, will not give you any Idea of it; for it extended itself several hundred Miles in Length, and proportionably in Breadth. The Form of it was likewise very wonderful; for tho' it resembled an *human Creature* in the main, having but *one Head* and *one Body*, yet it was composed of such an infinite Variety of *Legs*, *Arms*, and other Limbs, that it is impossible to compute them within several Millions. It likewise seem'd to be of the *bermaphrodite Kind*, and compounded of *both Sexes*; tho' the *male Part* appear'd to be predominant.

Having taken a full View of this astonishing Spectacle, and pondering with myself what it could be, I was inform'd by a Gentleman, who sat

next to me, that the *bug Animal*, which lay before us, having dy'd suddenly, in the Prime of his Years, his Body was going to be open'd, in order to find out the Cause of his Death; for he observed very justly that it must be something of a very extraordinary Nature that could destroy a *Being*, which was made for many Ages, and was so powerfully arm'd against *outward Violence*. I was going to make some Enquiries into the Name of his Country, and the History of his Life; when the *Operator* appear'd below and took up all our Attention. Having examined the *lower Parts*, and particularly the *Extremities*, he found them all shrivel'd up; and from thence observed that the *Circulation of the Blood* must have been obstructed for some Time. He then open'd the *Bowels*, which were putrify'd to such a Degree, that we were all forced to clap our Handkerchiefs to our Noses. But what surprized us most of all was to find the *Heart* itself intirely dry'd up, and without a Drop of Blood in it; which was all settled in the *Head* and *upper Parts*, as appear'd upon further Examination. The *Head* itself was intirely stuff'd up with coagulated Blood; and the *right Hand* next to it was so bloated, that it appear'd to be larger than any 20 Hands I ever saw. A Gentleman desired the *Operator* to lance *this Hand*; which was accordingly perform'd, and there issu'd from it a large Quantity of *corrupt Matter*. The *first left Hand*, which I observed to be very black and dirty, was likewise swell'd to an enormous Size. There were several *others*, towards the *Top of the Body*, which were tumify'd in the same Manner, and discover'd strong Symptoms of *Infection*; but, upon a nice Inspection, it appear'd that *this Animal* was of a very different Structure from all *other Creatures*; and that the greatest Part of his Blood, instead of being

equally circulated from the Heart thro' every Part of his vast Body, was convey'd by secret Pipes to the Head, and some other superior Members, where it stagnated, and of Course soon put an End to his Life.

As this is a very extraordinary Case, the Anatomist gave us a learned Lecture upon it; in which he explain'd the Nature of *this strange Animal*, and proved from divers Authorities, that it was originally a Creature of God himself, which he was pleas'd to send into the World for the noblest Purposes; but that wicked Men, who are always prone to debase his Works, had mix'd the Breed, and rais'd up an *unnatural Monster*; which, tho' it may play the Tyrant for a while, and destroy all its *Inferiors*, must at last fall a Sacrifice to its own insatiable Appetites.

This imaginary Speech had such an Effect upon me, that I started out of my Sleeps and should have been at a Loss to account for so romantick a Dream, had I not recollected the Occurrence of the Day before, and my own whimsical Reflections upon it. What gave me the most Concern was, that this disagreeable Scene should be represented to my Fancy in an *Island*; which, being our own happy Situation, must needs raise some Emotions in one, who thinks himself a *true Englishman*, and may give Occasion to invidious Suggestions. But I think the present miserable State of the Island of *Corfica*, and the prosperous Condition of *England*, will be sufficient to purge me from any such Intention. Besides, the best Interpreters of *Dreams*, both ancient and modern, have always explain'd them in a *contrary Sense* and therefore whatever Meaning *this Dream* may be supposed to contain, or to whatever Nation it may be apply'd, I think it cannot possibly be expounded into a *Libel*. But we live in so critical an Age, where every

Thing is tortured into *Parallels* and *Innuendos*, that I submit it to your Judgment.

Newcastle upon Tyne,
May 16th, 1737.

S I R,

AS I have often seen Letters from anonymous Authors in your *Magazine*, I cannot help indulging a flattering Thought of one from this Place.

I doubt not but it will surprize you, if I tell you there are People in this Kingdom, who think of us *Northerns*, as but a Degree removed from the barbarous *Hottentots*, and who (whenever Occasion occurs) speak of our Country as an obscure Corner, that has nothing to induce any to live in it, who have the least Spark of Taste or Politeness to boast of. But believe me, Sir, whoever are our Slanderers, they deceive themselves much more than, I hope, they can prejudice us; for amongst the great Number of our *Northern* Nobility and Gentry, there are few, I dare say, but will allow us a tolerable Notion of what is what. For my Part, tho' I am a Native, I shall endeavour to speak in such a Manner, as to gain an easy Belief in whatever I may have Occasion to say; and if my Judgment should appear somewhat partial, let it be consider'd, that I am justifying the Manners and Customs of my Countrymen, the Produce and Situation of my Country, against the false and foolish Opinions of those People, who think and speak, without giving themselves the least Trouble to enquire into the Reality and Truth of Things.

I could not have thought there were any so ignorant as a late Journey to *London* gave me an Opportunity of meeting with. As I was transacting a little Business for myself, at a Coffee House in the City, I was surrounded with a Crowd of

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fine Gentlemen, who (by what Accident I can't tell) knew me to be of *Northumberland*. But I had not been long engaged in Conversation with them, before I reflected, how much more desirable and entertaining was the Company of some Men I knew, whose Humour and good Sense could need no such Gaiety of Dress to recommend them. One of these Coffee-House Haunters ask'd me, with a very grave Face, how the Inhabitants of this Town secured the Foundations of their Buildings, from sinking into the vast Abyss (as he term'd it) occasion'd by the perpetual digging for Coals? And also very judiciously remark'd, that none surely, that could provide for themselves elsewhere, would care to attempt the acquiring a Fortune attended with so many Dangers. Another, to shew his Skill in Geography, ask'd me several Questions about our great Towns; as, whether *Newcastle, York, or Berwick* was nearest *Scotland*? and how many more Inhabitants in all the three, than in *Drury-Lane* or *St. Giles's*? With much more such senseless Stuff, as made me pity the Ignorance of those profound Enquirers, who, I dare say, thought themselves wiser than 'all the Heads in *Northumberland* put together. One would indeed be apt to imagine, that these Gentlemen put such Interrogatories, rather to rally an awkward Countryman, and triumph in their Superiority of Wit, than out of any real Ignorance, or with any Curiosity, or Desire to be better inform'd; but the Manner of speaking is enough to shew their Intention. I could easily perceive they were in earnest, and quite serious in their Questions, I therefore took upon me to expose these mistaken Notions, so ridiculously entertain'd in prejudice of a Country and People, enjoying all Kinds of Advantages, in almost as great Perfection as the best Part of our Island can afford.

I may also add, that the *Northerns* are a polite People, and perhaps as well bred as those who think more highly of themselves than to bear with a Comparison: And why not? since we have *Beaux* and *Belles*, who in their different Provinces, can choose and judge of Fashions, censure new Plays and Poems, adjust the Tippet, or cock the Hat, write, and receive *Billets doux*, and if need require, when Honour is attack'd, return the Insult with Sword and Pistol; besides the inextirpable Custom of Gallantry and Intriguing, with many more undoubted Marks of the reigning Taste of this Age. As for our Soil and Produce, together with the good Things we import in Exchange for our Manufactures, they are of such Kinds, and abound in such Plenty, that the most voluptuous *Epicure*, if he pleases, may glut in Dainties, and the jolly *Bacchanalian*, in no less Profusion, drown the Cares of Life in the mantling Bowl.

Some have been so malicious as to report that our Women are disagreeable, tho' not so much in Nature, as by a strange ill Fancy, and Ungenteelness in their Dress. But this false Aspersions may be easily contradicted; Have we not a frequent Commerce with the Metropolis of our Land, which must doubtless bring with it, the Advantage of having communicated to us, whatever is good, and worthy Imitation; and bating some few nice Points, we come little short of our Patterns: In-fomuch, Sir, that whenever you meet with a Lady well dress'd about the Decline of any Fashion in Town (for, I take it, such sub'untary Things are but transient) only imagine that you see such a one in the very Pink of the Mode in *Newcastle*, and I will assure you that the Difference shall scarce be perceivable; for we have Ladies of such a fine Taste in Dress and the other Elegancies in Life.

that I could point you out a Taylor's Daughter, or Mantua-Maker's Apprentice, that may vie with any mock Dutchess in the Land.

But let me not forget what is more worthy our Notice; if *Newcastle*, as a Proof of its Politeness, can produce a multifarious Crowd of fashionable Fools, she may no less boast of her Men of Sense and Learning. Happy for her, her Constitution is *English*, and her Bulwarks proof against any Invader, whilst Industry and Temperance, and Regard to her Laws is the Blessing of her People. And to shew you we are not destitute of Generosity or Understanding to dispense so great a Treasure, I must not omit such an Instance of it, as when known will redound to our Glory. I mean that just Regard paid to Merit in any Shape whatever. Not long ago, there was a particular Office in this Town became vacant, which being of some Importance, occasioned a Variety of Candidates; one was recommended by his Friends as an honest and inoffensive Man, but his Capability of executing the Office not consider'd; another, without either Capacity to justify his being a Candidate, or indeed any other Merit to deserve Regard, applies to the Donors, with near the Equivalent in ready Specie; a Third was equally solicitous, but, I believe, more than equally diffident, tho' he had the most Reason to expect Success. But behold! the World has a fair Example! this latter was put in Possession of what he deserv'd, the honest Man provided for, and the pecuniary Offer contemn'd, and rejected with Scorn. What Honours! what Eulogiums! are not due to such truly renowned Actions, and how happy the People enjoying an uninterrupted Peace and Prosperity, under the steady and disinterested Government of such Magistrates!

To this I shall add the distinguishing Encouragement here given to all

ingenuous Professors of the liberal Arts. Mathematicks, both speculative and practical, and all the other Branches of Philosophy, are secur'd to our Youths by one whose Abilities are truly excellent; and the dead and living Languages taught to our Sons and Daughters by Masters of Learning and sound Principles. We have also a very good Concert of Musick, which affords us an Opportunity of improving our Taste in that delightful Science; and that the Benefit and Entertainment of it may be indiscriminately given to all Lovers of Harmony, it is carry'd on by Subscription, and at so easy an Expence as to admit a poorer Man, than one whose highest Ambition would be to hear a Play from the eighteen-penny Gallery.

These, Sir, are Conveniencies in Life, so truly valuable, that, as a North-Country Man, I cannot help reflecting on the great Worth of each of them; and heartily rejoice that we, who are so far distant from the Muses Seat, have such noble Advantages, as are abundantly sufficient to make us content with our Situation. And tho' we hear no *Oratorio's* from *Handel*, no new Entertainment from *Drury-Lane*, nor yet a favourite Song from the enchanting *Farinelli*, we are pleas'd in being good Subjects, and equally protected with all true *Englishmen*, under our present happy Establishment.

I am, Sir, Yours,

J. P.

The Tatling Traveller.

To URANIA,

THIS with the highest Pleasure, my dear *Urania*, that I look back and recount the happy Moments I spent in conversing with you; a View of every cool Retreat, the Murmurs of every little Rivulet, and even the whispering *Zephyrs* that send their

their evening Breezes thro' the verdant Plains, concur in reminding me of past Pleasures; and every Conversation I have enter'd into since I came Abroad, tends only to teach me how to value my dear *Urania's* by the Want of it.

I know you'll expect I shou'd give you some Account of what occur'd in our Travels; but as nothing more remarkable than a Lady's losing her Garter in leaving the Coach, and the Coachman's getting drunk and falling from his Box, happen'd till we came to *Birmingham*, a large Market-Town in *Warwickshire*, I shall pass by those little Incidents, and only tell you we arriv'd there after about ten Days Fatigue in this hot Season. We took up our Quarters at one of the best Inns in Town, where our Landlady, a Widow Gentlewoman, entertain'd us with a very agreeable Conversation, insomuch that we imagin'd ourselves breathing the polite Air of *St. James's*; but were soon convinc'd of our Mistake, when our good Landlady out of Complaisance introduc'd us into the Company of some Persons, who made a tolerable Appearance, and whom she was pleas'd to call some of the best of the Town. 'Twould be tedious to you, my dear *Urania*, to tell you with what Airs of Gravity they talk'd of the Prices of *Speltor, Brass, Iron*, and several other Things we were entirely unacquainted with; while *Religion, Virtue*, and all the *liberal Arts*, seem'd wholly neglected: Nay, all my Brother got by endeavouring to introduce a Discourse of a different Kind, was a general Sneer, with a — pray, Sir! How long since you left Oxford? One Thing I must remark with regard to one of the Company, (who I'm since told is a neighbouring Barber,) that notwithstanding the Current of the Discourse ran in a quite different Channel, he several Times, with a very great Air of Forwardness, attempted to

introduce a Conversation in favour of *Deism*, but in so aukward a Manner, that it seem'd to me no more than a Parcel of common-place Stuff, extract'd from *Collins* and *Tindal*, without either Reason or Argument to support it: In short, there appear'd in his Countenance, a grave Sort of Grimace, with an Air of Self-sufficiency, which is too often the genuine Characteristick of a weak Understanding.

You know, my dear *Urania*, how much I esteem the Prayers of the *Church*; this led me in the Morning to pay my Devotions in a very beautiful Pile, erected within these few Years in a fine airy Situation, and dedicated to *St. Philip*; but you'll be surpriz'd when I tell you how much I was interrupted in my Devotion by the *Curate's* Ogling a pretty Lady that sat near me; how necessary is it to have the Prayers by heart, that the Eyes may be at liberty to catch sometimes a Glance from the condescending Fair? The Pleasantness of the Walk (and perhaps a Tincture of too much Curiosity) led my Brother and me the next Day (being *Sunday*) to the same Church; the pretty Lady before mention'd I found had remov'd her Seat to a Part of the Church more remote from the Pulpit; whether out of an Apprehension of being again ogled by the gay young *Curate*, or expecting the like from a Gentleman of the same Cloth, who officiated that Day, I can't pretend to determine. The Gentleman deliver'd his Discourse (which seem'd well suited to a popular Audience) in a very graceful Way. When the Service was over, I accepted of a Pinch of Snuff from a Gentleman that sat near me, who told us, if we would wait till the Congregation was dispers'd, we might have the Pleasure of hearing some extraordinary Flourishes upon the Organ, by a very great Master of Musick lately come

(as I remember) from some Part of *Germany*. As you know I am a great Admirer of Church-Musick, you'll easily imagine I soon prevail'd with my Brother, and self, to accept his Offer. The Church Doors being shut in order to keep out the Mob, you'll hardly believe, my dear *Urania*, how agreeably I was surpriz'd, by one of the finest Hands I had ever heard in all my Travels: he play'd several Tunes with great Judgment and Dexterity; but how was I charm'd, when after a fine introductory Flourish, he dropt upon a Tune call'd the *Black-Joke*? This I found was one of his favourite Tunes, and I must own I never heard it humour'd with more soft, agreeable Turns and Quavers, in all my Life.

When the Repast was over we return'd to our Quarters, charm'd into an agreeable Sort of Disposition; when our Landlady told my Brother, if a *Clergyman's* Company wou'd be acceptable, there was a very ingenious Man in the next Room wou'd beg leave to sup with him; my Brother very readily accepted the Proposal, and when Supper was over the Conversation turn'd upon Authors, Books, Musick, and Poetry. Amongst other Things the Gentleman told my Brother, he had with a great deal of Labour and Study, and a more than ordinary Pains, in correcting the Language, lately publish'd a Piece upon *classical Learning*, in which he had pointed out the Beauties of the Authors, shewn the Exactness of their Stile, and the Justness of their Reasoning; and that it was not merely translated from Prefaces and Introductions, of various Editions of those Authors; but a Work that had really cost him a World of Pains; and that he had the Honour to dedicate it to *Arthur Onslow*, Esq; whom he remember'd to have seen at *Eaton School* when he was a Boy. He told him likewise, that he had publish'd two other Pieces, one of which

I can't remember, the Title begins with a hard Word which sticks in my Teeth when I attempt to pronounce it; its Use, *he says*, is to instruct Masters in the true Method of teaching Grammar to their Pupils; the other, *he says*, is a very curious Piece, in which he has corrected *Bp. Hare* and several other great Men, in the Musick of the *Hebrew Poetry*: 'tis his Opinion that these three Pieces are all very excellent in their Kind, and superior to every Thing that has been wrote in that Way; and he has not only great Expectations, from these Performances, but also from a Letter he has lately prevail'd with *Orator Henly* to insert in a Paper call'd the *Hyp Doctor*, in his Favour: He is in Expectation of considerable Preferment, and seems a very modest grave Divine. My Brother rather chuses to depend upon his Veracity in the Character he has given him of his Works, than take the Pains to examine them! Notwithstanding he modestly told him he hop'd he wou'd be a Subscriber to him for a Copy of each of them.

You'll not easily imagine, my dear *Urania*, how highly I was diverted, or rather shock'd at the Impertinence of a Fellow that frequents the House; and who, a Gentleman in the Company told us, affected very much to be esteem'd a *Wit*: He seems mightily to please himself with the Repetition of a Set of low Punns, that he has made himself a compleat Master of; I remember the Gentleman call'd him *Doctor*, and I think he assum'd the Air of a *Quack* to a Degree that render'd him very deterving of that Character. I can't but say he behav'd in a tolerable Manner at first, but when he grew a little more familiar, his debauch'd Discourtes, intermix'd with an uncommon Profaneness and low *Wissimisms*, render'd him, I think, one of the most detpicable Animals I ever convers'd with: But when the Gentleman whisper'd

us in the Ear, and told us how much the poor Man's Understanding was affected, at two certain Periods of Time, which he call'd the *Full* and *Change* of the Moon, our Surprise in some Measure abated.

Several other *very material* Occurrences happen'd during our Stay at *Birmingham*; as particularly, we had an Account of a *Clergyman's* Lady in the Neighbourhood deliver'd of a Droptly, with which she had been afflicted near *nine Months*, by the Assistance and Advice of an eminent *Physician*, lately come to this Place, whose Reputation, we doubt not, will soon rite in proportion to his Merit; but this, amongst other Things, may possibly be the Subject of my next to dear *Urania*,

From her faithful CAMILLA. C

Weekly Miscellany, June 17. N^o 234.

Conclusion of the Remarks on LEONIDAS. (Sec p. 258.)

S I R,

IN my last Letter I endeavoured to D shew the Propriety of the Rule laid down by *Horace*, viz. to divest Poetry of its Metre in order to find its real Value. I put the 23 first Lines of *Leonidas* to this Test, not one of which could stand it, but sunk all into common Prose. He then proceeds with the following; and afterwards says: I have now transposed (as Mr. *Bay*s calls it) the first 76 Lines of *Leonidas*, out of which there are Six that may be just able to pass for indifferent Poetry, the first 56 being entirely destitute of it.

I will now recommend a Piece of Advice to the Author, which if observed, will be an Antidote to those false and groveling Notions, which his *Common-sensical* Admirers seem willing to instil into him. I would have him more cautious of writing a G flat and unpoetical than a *bombast* and *unsensical* Line. *Nat. Lee* with all his Rant and Extravagance will be

read and admired, while a hundred modern Poems and Plays, which have not one Syllable of Nonsense thro' the whole, die away as soon as born. *One would sooner pardon Frenzy than Frigidity*, (says the best Critic as well as Poet in the Nation:) *No Author is to be envy'd for such Commendations as he may gain by that Character of Style, which his Friends must agree together to call Simplicity, and the rest of the World will call Dulness.* [Pref. to the *Iliad*.]

I now congratulate Mr. G—, my Reader, and myself upon our Escape from Darkness to Light, from Flatness to Sublimity. The Passage that follows the Speech of *Leonidas*, is upon the whole extremely beautiful. I shall only mark two Lines which I wish had been omitted. *Book I.*

Line 77.

He said; by *steams* suppress'd each clam'rous voice
Was lost in silence; till a general shout,
Proclaim'd th' approach of Agis from the fane,
' *Where taught by Phoebus on the Dolphin-hill,*
' *The Pythian maid his oracles reveal'd.*
He came, but discontent and grief o'er-cast
His anxious brow, reluctant he advanc'd,
And now prepar'd to speak. Th' impatient throng
Was gather'd round him; motions! they stood,
With expectation; not a whisper cold.
The silent fear, but all on Agis gaze;
And still as death attend the solemn tale:
As o'er the western waves, when ev'ry storm
Is hush'd within it's cavern — and a breeze,
Soft-breathing, lightly with its wings along
The slacken'd cordage glides, the sailor's ear
Perceives no sound throughout the vast expanse;
None but the murmurs of the sliding prow,
Which slowly parts the smooth and yielding main a
So through the wide and listening crowd, no sound,
No voice but thine, O Agis, brake the air,
Declaring thus the oracle divine.

Here we feel the Effects of Poetry, we no longer read a cold historical Narration, but become Spectators, nay Actors ourselves.

After taking Notice of a few more Faults and Improperities, he concludes thus. I ought in Justice to confess to those Readers, who may chance not to have read *Leonidas*, that tho' there are Faults sufficient to justify the Opposition I have made to it, yet there are Beauties more than sufficient to

repay their Trouble in reading it over. I have quoted one Passage of this Nature already, and I shall conclude with a Description of the Hero of the Poem, which will sufficiently speak its own Excellence.

— — — — — *Soon their anxious looks*
All on the great Leonidas unite,
Long known his country's refuge. He alone
Remains unshaken. Rising he displays
His godlike presence. Dignity and grace
Adorn his frame, and manly beauty join'd
With strength Herculean. On his aspect shines
Sublimest virtue, and desire of fame,
Where justice gives the laurel; in his eye,
The inextinguishable spark, which fires
The souls of patriots; while his brow supports
Undaunted valour, and contempt of death.

PHILOMUSÆUS.

Common Sense, June 18. N^o 20.

The Principles of Government, and Power founded in Riches.

HARRINGTON, that curious Inquirer into the Nature of Mankind, has, in the Beginning of his *Oceana*, told us, that the Principles of Government are two-fold; Internal, or the Goods of the Mind; and External, or the Goods of Fortune. The Goods of the Mind are natural or acquired Virtues; as Wisdom, Prudence, and Courage, &c. The Goods of Fortune are Riches. To the Goods of the Mind answers Authority; to the Goods of Fortune, Power or Empire.—

Riches, our Author says, consist in Land, or in Money and Goods; and he shews, that where-ever the Balance is, there the Government will be. If the Balance be in one Man, his Empire is absolute Monarchy: If in a few, it is an Aristocracy: If in the People in general, it is a Democracy. He likewise says, that this Balance must always consist in Land, except in such Cities which subsist mostly by Trade, and have little or no Land; in which Case, the Balance of Treasure may be equal to that of Land.

But before our Author wrote,

there was a new Sort of Riches invented, upon which all the absolute Monarchies in Europe depend: I mean, that of *Taxes, Posts, and Employments*. For in every Country of Europe, except Turkey, a Man's Property is secured to him by the *Laws* of his Country; but the *Taxes, Posts, and Employments*, which in most of the Monarchies of Europe are all at the Disposal of the King, place in him so large a Share of Riches, that it is become an *Over-balance* for that Share of Riches still left in the Possession of the Nobles and People; and tho' in most of those Countries, no Tax, or very few, can be imposed without the Consent of the Assembly of the States, or Parliament, yet by Means of the *Posts and Employments* in the sole Disposal of the King, the Majority of the Members hang so upon their Sovereign, that the Assembly never refuses any Tax or Free-gift his Majesty pleases to demand.

In this Country we are not, I believe, in any Danger of such an absolute Government as that in Turkey, where the Grand Seigneur is the sole Proprietor of all the Lands within that vast Empire. But when we consider the great Number of *Taxes*, and the many rich *Posts and Employments*, we may, perhaps, find some Reason to suspect we are in Danger of falling under such an one as that now established in France, &c. for I could shew that the Revenues of all the *Posts, Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastical* (including *Perquisites*) in the Disposal of the Crown, either mediately or immediately, amount to above ten Millions Sterling a Year; which is so great a Share of the Riches of this Kingdom, that it is to be feared it may, some Time or other, prove an *Over-balance* for that which is as yet in the Possession of the People; especially, if the Majority of our Nobility and Gentry should, by their *Luxury* be reduced to *necessitous Circumstances*; for a

Man who has accustomed himself to spend 10,000*l.* a Year, and can, from his own private Fortune, get but 9000*l.* a Year to spend, will be *as bumble* a Servant, and even *as abject* a Slave to the Man who can give him the 1000*l.* a Year he wants, as another Man who has not *Bread* to his *Teesb*; and a Man who has placed his *whole Delight* in the *beaping up* of Money, will be as humble, as obedient, and as fawning as the former, to any Man who can add to *that Delight*.

To this Revenue of *ten Millions a Year*, we are to add the *private Fortunes* of all those who are in *Possession* of any *Post* or *Employment*, at least such as depend upon *Pleasure*; and we are also to add the *private Fortunes* of all those who are in *Expectation* of any *Post* or *Employment* for themselves, or their near Friends or Relations; which two Additions will greatly contribute to cast the *Balance* in favour of the Crown. And a third Consideration of great Weight, is, that the whole of the Riches which are thus in the *Balance* on the Side of the Crown, being under the Direction of *one Man*, may always be made to operate more strongly towards attaining any End proposed, than it is possible to make those Riches operate, which are in the Possession of the People *in general*.

From these Considerations, it is to be feared, that if ever the Riches now in the Possession of the Crown, should be applied towards *managing* our *Elections*, and directing the Proceedings of our *Parliaments*, it will be in the Power of the Crown to have always such *Parliaments* as will grant whatever the King demands, and agree to *every Thing* he desires; and in such an unfortunate Case, our Government would be of the *very same* Nature, and our Monarchy *as absolute* as that now established in *France*, or in any other Kingdom of *Europe*. The Art of supporting *such*

a *Government* would consist only in bringing in all the prodigal, the luxurious, the ambitious, and the avaricious *Fools* of the Kingdom, who have *large private Fortunes* to join the *Court Party*, by Means of *Posts* and *Employments*. And if such a Case should ever happen, which God forbid, I will be bold to say, it would be *better* for us to have no Parliament at all.

During his present Majesty's Reign we are certain no Part of the Riches now in the Possession of the Crown, will ever be applied towards *corrupting* our Voters, or our Members; nor will any *Employment* ever be *conferred* or *resumed*, with any such View; but we know not what may happen hereafter; and if ever any such Thing should be attempted by the Ministers of any future King, they will proceed in such a *villainous* Attempt with the utmost *Caution* and *Privacy*. Every one of their most *abandoned* Slaves will pretend he votes and acts only from Motives of *Honour* and *publick Good*; and as the contrary cannot in its Nature admit of a *legal Proof*, he will secretly rejoice in the *impenetrable* Obscurity of his Crime, and vainly imagine himself a much *cleverer Fellow* than any of those who dare not allow *even themselves* to be conscious of a dishonourable Behaviour. However, it will, from the Nature of our Constitution, be easy to discover the Fraud; and for this Purpose I shall, from our Author's Principles of Government, lay down a Rule which Posterity may have Occasion for, tho' we in this Age are so happy as not to have the least Occasion for it.

Our Author observes, that the Legislature, who can unite, in his Government, the *Principles of Authority* with the *Principles of Power*, comes nearest to the Work of God, whose Government consists of Heaven and Earth; for while *Power* and *Authority* continue united in the Per-

sons governing any Country, that Country must be happy; and the Government, whether Monarchical, Aristocratical, or Democratical, will be just and easy; but the Difference is, that in the Monarchical the Principles of Authority and of Power are often disjointed; in the Aristocratical, they are sometimes disjointed; but in the Democratical they never can be, at least they cannot long remain disjointed, without altering the Form of Government; for those Magistrates who are not possessed of the Goods of Fortune, cannot preserve their Power, unless they be possessed of the Goods of the Mind, by which they preserve their Authority.

Now as these three Forms of Government are, in our happy Constitution, most exactly and artfully blended together, the Principles of Authority and of Power must always continue united in the Persons of our Governors, that is, of our King and his Ministers; for tho', by the Nature of our Constitution, the Person of the King be sacred, tho' he can never be supposed to do any Wrong, and consequently can never forfeit his Authority, much less his Power, yet if he should have the Misfortune to employ Ministers, who, either by their Weakness or Wickedness should forfeit their Authority, in that Case, the People assembled by their Representatives, with the Assistance of our Nobles, may, and always will, while our Constitution remains entire, remove such Ministers from the King's Councils, because of their Weakness, or hang them, because of their Wickedness.

From hence we may most certainly conclude, that if ever the Ministers of any future King should, by their Weakness or Wickedness, forfeit their Authority, and nevertheless, instead of being removed, or punished by Parliament, should get the Parliament not only to approve of every Thing they do, but to protect even their Characters from deserved Censure, I say, we may in such a Case most certainly conclude, that our Constitution is overturned; and that the Riches of the Crown are perverted towards supporting the Power of Ministers after they have lost their Authority, by Means of corrupting either our Voters, or our Members.

If ever such a Misfortune should befall this Nation, it may not, perhaps, be in the Power of a private Man to give particular Instances of any such Corruption; but by the Effect we may most certainly judge of the Cause, yet more certainly than if we saw it with our Eyes. This, I therefore say, will be a most infallible Rule for our Posterity to judge by; but, thank God! we have at present no Occasion for making Use of it.

PHILLETHERIAS.

Fog's Journal, June 18. N^o 3.

Immodest Action on the Stage censur'd, &c.

THE Bill for restraining the License of the Stage will, no doubt, be general,

and extend to immodest Actions as well as to the gauling Liberty taken, of exposing Bribery and Corruption, supposed by the Poet, to be practis'd in Elections; for, no doubt, the Mind may as effectually be debauch'd thro' the Eye, as through the Ear. I have seen such Dances on the Stage, as must have given great Offence to the Modest, and certainly must have had an ill Effect on the Young; as we may very well imagine has also, the successful Rape committed by Harlequin, which, I believe, has been the only Subject of what are called Entertainments since they were first exhibited. Nobody, of Morals; I may venture to say, but has long wish'd to see a Reformation of the Stage; but I fear, 'till we see a reformed Taste of the Town, however Satyr may be restrain'd, and — screen'd from the Apprehension of being expos'd, the Theatres will continue as immoral as ever.

I hope too the Bill will take Notice of the exorbitant Sums carry'd out of the Kingdom by the Italians, which is not the only ill Effect of Operas, for they contribute to the conserving of our Youth, as much as the Masquerades to the promoting of Vice; which Entertainment, as the Bill depending is to restrain Licentiousness, we may believe will be included. Were the Operas less expensive, or were the Sums they cost circulated among us, and did they not contribute to the rendering our young People effeminate, I should not wish the Fall of them; for as they will never deviate into Wit, so there is no Danger of their being satyrical upon any, and a M——r may blunder or plunder, or both, without any Apprehension of being expos'd on the Italian Stage in London.

To the Author of COMMON SENSE.

S I R,

WE are half a Dozen of us old Fellows, the only Patriots of our Village, who meet often at Neighbour Dobson's, where, over a Cup of good Nut-Brown, we read your Paper. As your Lucubrations tend to the Good of your Country, they always meet with our Approbation; and as you frequently administer Diversion to us, as well as Instruction, we cannot, as honest Fellows, but express our Gratitude, by giving you the Thanks of the whole Company; at the same Time that we communicate what we think may be call'd an Amendment to your Kicking Scheme, which however we submit to your Judgment. (See p. 309 G.)

We propose, as a proper Introduction to it, that all the present In's be kick'd out, 'it being the most suitable Method of rewarding their consummate Merits, as well as the most probable Means of making room for those, who, for the Good of their Country, will be contented to be kick'd In. And to prevent

Kicking's going by Favour, as Kissing is said to do, we are humbly of Opinion, that an Act should be obtain'd to oblige the Executive Power, where-ever lodg'd, to fling the Foot out to a fix'd Limit, and no farther; left by kicking some unmercifully, and others not so much as they deserve, they introduce a new Sort of Bribery.

These Preliminaries settled, we agree intirely to your Scheme, till you come to the *standing Army's* kicking the People into a Compliance with these Measures; this we can't think prudent, for fear the Commanders should draw a Precedent from it, to employ them to kick any other Scheme (tho' never so destructive) into the People. Besides, we are apprehensive the People would be apt to kick again, which we rather wish them to let alone, and, instead thereof, unite heartily to kick some of their next *Neighbours*, who have taken a great deal of Pains to deserve it. From
Your Servants,
A, B, C, D, E, F.

Grubstreet Journal, June 23. N^o 391.

A Consultation of the four and twenty Letters.

Cribs-Cribs-Row, June 3, 1737.

Gentlemen,

THE 24 Letters being lately convened at this Place, ordered me, their Secretary, to read to them a very odd Paragraph, inserted in some of the publick Papers, *viz.*

'On Thursday last, between nine and ten o' Clock, a Man that lives near *Oxford Market*, ty'd a Rope to a Cart in the Market, and thereby tuck'd himself up: Some of the Butchers seeing him hang, cut him down, and finding he was not dead, they beat him severely with the Rope, till he came to his Senses.'

On this Article of News the following Remarks were made.

A asked, if the Man was married; for his supposal was, that nothing could be more likely to make a Man hang himself than Mstrimony.

B began with interpreting the Words *between nine and ten*, to signify *between nine and ten at Night*; and then told us, that the poor Man being married, and having before his Eyes the Fear of the Devil and a certain Lecture, chose rather to hang himself than go to Bed to his Wife.

C concluded to send this unfortunate Man to the *Advertiser at Rawthmell's Coffee-house*.

D dogmatically accounted for the Strangeness of the Fact, that he *hang'd himself* in a *Market-place*, and *ty'd a Rope to a Cart*: For, says he, he did not dare, even to *hang himself*, in his own House.

E endeavoured to prove, that no married Man could safely call the House his own,

which was sometimes too hot to hold him.

F freely took on him to fall foul upon the Phrase *tuck'd himself up*; that it was a ludicrous Expression, inconsistent with the Gravity of a daily Historian.

G, being a great Geographer, let us know, that *Oxford-Market* was situate in *Tybars Road*.

A
*Which modern Virtuosi say,
Inclines to hanging every way.*

H held it very heinous, that they should cut the Man down, and bring him to his Senses, in case he was a married Man.

I instantly declared, that being *beaten with a Rope*, with which a Man had taken some Pains to *hang himself*, was exactly the same Case, as being harras'd with a Wife, which a Man had taken some Pains to marry.

K keenly replied, that the Butchers of *Oxford-Market* were the best *Mad Doctors* in the World; since they, by only *beating* the Man *with a Rope*, soon brought him to his Senses.

L learnedly observed, that the News-writer could never truly affirm, that the Man was come to his Senses, except his Wife were dead; *Nam sublatâ causâ tollitur effectus*.

M, being musically inclined, entertained us with a *Song*.

Of all the plagues beneath the sun,

To love's the greatest curse:

If one's deny'd, then he's undone;

If not, 'tis ten times worse.

Poor Adam by his wife ('tis known)

Was trick'd some years ago;

But Adam was not trick'd alone,

For all his sons are so.

Lovers the strangest fools are made,

When they their nymphs pursue;

Which they will ne'er believe 'till wed,

But then they find it true.

E
They beg, they pray, and they implore,

'Till wearied out of life:

And pray what's all this trouble for?

Why truly, for a wife.

Each maid's an angel while she's woo'd,

But when the wooing's done,

The wife instead of flesh and blood,

Proves nothing but a bone.

A wife (all men of learning know)

Was *Tantalus's* curse;

The apples, that did tempt him so,

Were nought, but a divorce.

The liver of *Prometheus*,

A gnawing vulture fed:

The moral of the tale was thus,

G
The poor old man was wed.

When first the senseless empty *Nokes*,

With wooing does begin;

Far better he might beg the stocks,

That they would let him in.

Yet for a lover we may say,

He wears no cheating phys;
Tho' others looks do oft betray,
He looks like what he is.

Each lover's such a wretched ass,
Surely he needs no curse;
He wishes he may wed his wife,
No foul can wish him worse.

N, a notorious Scribbler, was for sending the Remarks and Song to your Society.

O opened his Mouth in approbation of this Proposal.

The above said Gentlemen, were the only Speakers to the Point in question. For,

P, Q, R, S, T, U, W, X, Y, Z, being all married Men, hung down their Heads, and had nothing at all to say for themselves.

Your most humble Servant,

AND PER SE AND.

§. A Letter from a Gentleman in London to his Friend in the Country, sent the Day after the Act for laying a Duty on Spirituous Liquors took Place.

S I R,

THE most remarkable Occurrence since my last, is the Death of that incomparable Personage the Lady Genoa; she was a Lady of a very illustrious Extraction, of universal Benevolence to all such as implored her Assistance, being Food to the Hungry, Cloaths to the Naked, a constant Refuge to the Fatherless and Widows, and a never-failing Consolation to the Persecuted and Oppressed. By Constitution of a very high Spirit, she was ever mindful of Injuries received, and of all Attempts of imposing upon her Good-nature, ever turning such Offences to the Shame of the Transgressors; neither would she admit of any Reconciliation, till she had debas'd them to the lowest State human Nature is capable of. Notwithstanding these and many other personal Qualifications, she was held in the highest Esteem by those of her own Sex, even of the first Quality, being admitted into their most private Apartments, ever at hand to administer Relief under the many Disappointments and Afflictions, so unfortunately incident to that tender Part of the Creation. She was no less possessed of the Affections of the Land-holders, whose Interest she was always ambitious of being thought to have much at Heart; with some of whom, 'twas confidently affirm'd, she had for some Time past liv'd in a very criminal Conversation. Her Death ('tis thought) was owing to some very indecent and ungentlemanlike Aspersions cast on her, by a great Man in a certain great Assembly, in Revenge of some private Family-Quarrel between him and her Ladyship; or, as others say, from his Impatience of any Rival to share with him in the Affections of the Peo-

ple. This ill Usage (it was apprehended) would be greatly resent'd by her Friends and Dependants; to prevent which, it was thought proper to place a strong Guard at the said Gentleman's House. Could she have out-lived that fatal Day, it is believed she might still have long flourish'd, being (tho' much advanced in Years) of great Strength of Body; and what is yet more wonderful, still increasing in Strength as she increased in Years. In Holland she has left an only Sister, who is no less the Darling of the People there. Upon her Death-bed she declared she died without Issue, and that if any were impos'd upon them as such, the same were illegitimate. The greatest Part of her Substance she left to the Brewers-Company, whom she also made her Executors: Her Body to the Surgeons and Apothecaries jointly, who propose to make great Gains by using it in the Preparation of their Medicines. As she liv'd universally beloved, so she died universally lamented.

C Craftsman, June 25. N^o 573.

The Conduct of the ministerial Writers, in relation to the Bill for restraining the STAGE.

MY Lord Clarendon observes of Sir Edward Herbert, Attorney-General to K. Charles I. that the Knack of his Talk was the most like Reason, without being it. I cannot say even so much of the ministerial Writers; for there is nothing in any of their Papers like Reason, but the Stiffness, Pedantry and Affectation, with which they abound. They are now grown so abominably dull, that the Publick will hardly bear any Remarks upon them, and it is always necessary to make an Apology for troubling them in this Manner, even when Points of the utmost Importance are concern'd in the Debate. They have lately clubb'd all their Abilities against the Stage; tho' they are so inconsistent with each other, that it is impossible to give them a direct Answer.

Allowing the Grecian, Roman, and British Theatres to have been guilty of some Abuses, which cannot indeed be deny'd; is there no Difference between pruning off the luxuriant Branches, and cutting up the Tree by the Roots? Or if Men in Authority ought not to be satirized upon the Stage, even in general Characters, which the People may apply; is it reasonable to allow such a Privilege against those, who think it their Duty to oppose them, in a free Country? It hath been strongly urged, on the other Side, what a prodigious Effect theatrical Representations have upon the Minds of the People; and there is certainly a good deal of Truth in it. A great Statesman of Antiquity used to say,

that if he had the Management of the Stage intirely in his Hands, he would undertake to govern the World; and one of our own Country made an Observation of the same Nature, with Relation to common Ballads. If therefore the Disease is grown so desperate, that nothing but Amputation will cure it, let that desperate Remedy be apply'd, and not leave such a popular Engine in the Hands of one Party, which may make them absolute, and put it in their Power to destroy the other.

It is farther said, in Answer to us, that the Liberty of the Stage hath no Relation to the Liberty of the Press, of which they affect at present to be zealous Advocates; tho' it is well known they were not always so; and there is not one Argument for restraining the one, which will not equally extend to the other.

If any wicked Minister should hereafter think it necessary to screen his Actions from publick Notice by such a Restraint upon the Press, he would certainly cloak it under the Pretence of Zeal for his Master. It was very well observed, in a certain Place, that a Man, who had often libell'd K. Charles II. with Impunity, was at last put in the Pillory for reflecting upon one of his Ministers; upon which the King expres'd himself to this Effect. — *The Fellow is a Fool. Had he stuck to me, he had been safe enough; but if he takes the same Liberty with great Men, he must expect to be severely punish'd.*

If such a Minister, as I here suppose, should stand in Need of a plausible Handle to put his Design in Execution, he would probably instruct some of his most trusty Creatures, or Hirelings, to abuse the just Liberty of the Press in order to justify a Restraint upon it. Nay, if he should happen to be a Man of a very vindictive Nature, he might even take away the Liberties of a whole Nation, to revenge himself upon two or three particular Persons, who had given him Offence, by setting his Character and Conduct in a true Light.

But we are told that *this Act* only confirms former Laws, and gives the Chamberlain no Power but what he enjoy'd before by Custom, or Prerogative.

This is not only very far from being true, but would be fallacious, supposing it to be so; for the Claims of the Crown by Prerogative were always doubtful and disputed; but there is no contending with an express Act of Parliament. Besides, did not Mr. Osborne assert, some Time ago, that there was no such Thing as Prerogative, since the Revolution, and extol our present Happiness upon that Account? I could by no Means agree with him upon *this Head*, and gave my Reasons for it in two or three Papers; but whether he or I were in the Right, we shall certainly have no Reason to boast of our Condition,

if the old Prerogatives of the Crown should be converted into Statute Law, and added to that new Power, which our Debts and Taxes have created.

It was formerly the Custom of our Kings to keep a Jester, as well as a Company of Comedians, within their Court; but I never heard that he had an exclusive Patent, or that No-body was allow'd to crack a Joke, without a Licence from the Crown; tho' to my poor Apprehension there always seem'd to be as much Reason for one as the other, till I was lately convinced to the contrary. If it should be ever thought proper to revive that antique Office, no-body would fill it with more Dignity than my old Friend Sir A. B. C. whom I formerly recommended to the same Post under K. Thaddeus; but as the Restoration of that Monarch is still uncertain, I am willing to provide for him as soon as possible; and besides the Place will be much more honourable, as well as profitable. I shall only give him one Piece of Advice, in case he should succeed; and that is never to take any Liberties with the reigning Minister, for the Time being, but remember the Fate of his Predecessor Archy, in the Reign of K. Charles I. who was soundly whipt for exerting his Talent against Archbishop Laud. As for the King, it was always the Jester's Right to tell him the Truth, which is no small Privilege; and I make no Doubt that Part of my ingenious Friend will execute that Part of his Office with a most rigid Exactness.

I find it begins already to be Matter of Dispute amongst the Law-Criticks how far *this Act* extends; but in my Opinion it takes in all Players of Interludes, both animate and inanimate; or else it will not answer the Design; for a Puppet may be made to propagate as much Scandal and Sedition as another Actor. It is well known that Punch was always a little, dirty, meddling Fellow, as Mr. Addison long ago observed,

— *importanti adest, atque omnia turbat.*

and he may be dress'd up in such a Manner as to represent some real Personage, of great Note. For this Reason, I presume that he will not be tolerated, either upon the Stage, or even in a Raree-show Box.

I likewise take it for granted that as one of the profess'd Designs of *this Law* was to put a Stop to the Luxury, Extravagance and Corruption of the Age, that we shall bear of no more Italian Operas; and I hope effectual Care is taken to include those infamous Assemblies, call'd Masquerades, which not only tend to debauch the whole Nation, but give Tradesmen and others an Opportunity of Gaming in the Dark, whose Business and Credit would not suffer them to do it in publick.

To CELIA, at Birmingham. (See p. 266.)

MAY Celia's charms, my glowing pen
Inspire

With *Spartan* vigour, and *Athenian* fire.
Let life like hers, in all its lustr' shine;
While *Syren* graces play in every line.
Her powerful wit, and sentiments refin'd,
With modesty and manly wisdom join'd,
In all their charms appear, I must confess!

Like *Loçk*, or *Næwton*, in a female dress.
Each lovely glance, shot from her sparkling
eyes,

Warms like *Aurora's* from the eastern skies:
Whole quickning beams the little atoms move,
And nature all around's inspir'd with love.
As gentle gales rise from an evening breeze,
And spread their whispers thro' the murmur'ing
trees,

So may the little winged, *stroling* guesſ
Convey my sighs to Celia's lovely breast,
Tell her the pain, my tortur'd soul has felt,
And into love, the dear *Platanick* melt.

When *Sol's* bright rays to bless the earth dis-
tain,

And *Thetis* sports amidst the watry main,
Sleep's downy wings hover o'er nature's eyes,
And I'm the only wretch from whom it flies!
But what, alas! can I from Celia hope,
Who views my follies in a microscope?
In restless pangs I linger out the day,
And sighing weep the gloomy night away;
A trembling shudder thrills around my heart,
When'er we meet; — to think that we must
part.

May no unfriendly moments e'er controul
The dear suspicious charmer of my soul:
Each hour be peaceful, happy, and serene,
A calm of life, untouch'd by guilt or pain.

EUGENIO.

To Miss Allop. On seeing her curious Needle-
work.

WHAT wonders, *Mira*, strike our ra-
vish'd eyes,
When we behold thy new creation rise!
Trees rang'd in order by thy pleasing toil
Without the aid of pencil or of oil?
Thy fancy shines so rich in every part,
That every flow'r proclaims thy matchless art.
Not ev'n the bow which decks the azure skies,
Can boast more curious, or such lasting dyes.
All other works of art time sweeps away,
And even nature feels a sure decay.
Her trees, which now a blooming verdure boast,
Are quickly nipped by the chilling frost.
Thine boast a longer date, their bloom ne'er
dies, [eyes.
But one continued spring for ever charms our

EUGENIO.

To the Hon. Mrs. Hamilton, inviting her to
Vaux-Hall Gardens before she leaves Eng-
land.

COME, *Mira*, idol of the swains,
So green the sprays, the sky so fine,
To bowers, where charming *Flora* reigns,
And *Orpheus* warbles airs divine.

Come ev'ry sprightlier joy to taste
That rural art and nature boast:
Fly thither with the lightning's haste,
And be the universal toast.

A scene so beautiful can't be shown,
Tho' thou shoud'st ev'ry realm survey;
As all, where'er thou com'st, must own,
Thy graces claim the highest sway.

J. Lockman.

ADVICE to AMANDA.

FAIR, sweet, and young, receive this
friendly strain,
And listen, if you wish a lasting reign:
No sugar'd words you must expect to find,
They please the fancy, but mislead the mind.
The courtly lover in these lines I wave,
And whilst I counsel, I dismiss the slave.
Know thy own merit, and assert thy charms,
Expos'd to danger, and beset with harms.
Beware the treacherous whispers of the gay,
Nor let soft nonsense steal your heart away;
Lords, knights, and 'squires avoid with equal
care,

Alike pernicious to the giddy fair:
Descend to think, if faithless man draw near,
Watch his designs, and whilst you triumph,
fear.

Conduct shou'd ever be with beauty join'd;
It looks severe, but proves severely kind.
Without this guide, how few forbear to stray,
For oft the brightest eyes mistake the way;
You tumble ev'n from glory to disgrace,
And lose your conquest, yet retain your face.
But heav'n preserve you from a tott'ring
throne,

And make you wise by suff'rings not your own:
Oh, my *Amanda*, learn without expence;
Beauty's the touchstone to a woman's sense.

CALISTA to SEMPRONIA.

COULD all the charms a rural life dis-
penſe,
Again retrieves a once lost innocence;
Or could the perling streams that murmur'ing
glide,

Be to my soul like *Lethe's* grateful tide;
Or could the sacred prevalence of rhyme,
Drive from my breast the image of my crime;
Calista then a joyful face might wear,
Nor be abandon'd to a just despair.
But tyrant conscience checks each dawn of peace,
Nor gives my tortur'd soul a moment's ease.

By day, by night, a watchful guard I keep,
Fear guides my steps, and horror damps my sleep.

When waking woes are banish'd from my
Ideal pangs forbid an infant's rest:
I start confounded at the dismal sight,
And weeping pass the melancholy nights:
The rising sun to others pleasure brings,
In me still deeper strikes grief's peck'ring stings;
And tells me loudly while I trembling lay,
That guilty souls should blush to see the day.
If I survey the calmness of this fest,
Where joyful innocences appears compleat;
Some agonising thought my bosom tears;
Some dreadful image heightens all my fears.
Wretched *Calista*, thou no more shalt find
The balmy comfort of the spotless mind;
No beam of hope shall in thy bosom roll;
No halcyon day compose thy frighted soul;
No peaceful hour shall bid my woes depart;
And no kind ray shall cheer my guilty heart.
Sighs raise my sorrows, tears bring no relief,
Close to my heart still preys the canker grief.
Pray'r, that in other cases can assuage,
Increases my torment, and the wound enlarge.
Nay, death, that curer of the anxious mind,
To me ill-fated, proves alike unkind.
New scenes of terror open to my eye;
I would not live, and yet I fear to dye.
Where shall I hide me on that awful day,
When e'en the just shall tremble with dismay!
How shall I shudder betwixt fear and shame!
Or shake aside th' adulteress' hated name!
O dire reflection, cease to rack me so,
Or give me madness to relieve my woe:
By madness only can my ease be wrought,
To free my senses from this rage of thought.
O, my *Sempronius*, had I liv'd like thee,
All sorrow's quiver had been lost on me;
Peace and content had harbour'd in my soul,
And mirth and plenty wreath'd each flowing bowl.

But flint'ry's power my youthful senses led,
To wrong the honours of the nuptial bed.
Then warn'd by me, each listening maid be-
ware,
Fly from mankind, nor trust the gilded saëre.
Would you exchange your peace of mind for
cores,

Your joy for sorrow, and your mirth for tears;
Your days of pleasure, for whole nights of pain;
Then trust the soothing of perfidious man.
Learn at my cost their base address to shun,
I saw, I heard, believ'd, and was undone;
And now abandon'd to eternal shame,
Far from the world deplore my loss of fame:
My grief's a jest to every wanton tongue,
Who mock my pangs, and glory in my wrong:
Or, if some slight compassion strives for birth,
They'll cry, they pity, and renew their mirth.
Pity, that cool, and oft unmeaning word
(So slight an alms a miser can afford)
Must give them all their privilege to rail,
And dwell whole ages on the mournful tale.

Of transient pleasures such the fatal cost,
And thus we've scoff'd at when our virtues' lost.

*The first Ode of the first Book of Calimír. Writ-
ten to Pope Urban VIIIth. when the Thra-
cian Forces departed out of Pannonia.*

*Inscrib'd to William Milner, Esq. By Mrs.
Price.*

NOW war is ceas'd, and we no more
Tremble to hear the tyrant roar:
Now gentle peace, descending down,
Shall visit ev'ry mirthful town.

While plenty, justice, truth, and love;
Along the fields, united, move;
And better ages are restor'd,
That men might reap what they afford.

Now purer suns begin to burn,
And happier years once more return:
A show'r of gold the clouds bestow,
And pearls that cover all below.

Now worlds approve my faithful lays,
That give to thee deserved praise;
While pleas'd their joy they thus proclaim,
These times and *Saturn's* are the same.

The rules our fathers once pursu'd
Are now in us again renew'd:
Religion ceases to appear
In heav'n, but dwells contented here.

Streams that with milk and honey flow,
Thro' flow'ry meadows murmur'ing go:
Nectarian waves swell o'er their mound,
And spread a deluge all around.

The yellow harvests nodding stand,
And court the reaper's willing hand:
The waving fruits, uninjur'd, play,
Nor feel the sun's malignant ray.

The shepherd, wand'ring with his goats,
Provokes the little insect's notes:
The weary'd ox, returning, fills
With lowings all the neighb'ring hills.

See! how the lofty mountains spring!
Hark how the rocks attempt to sing
For joy that o'er the humble plains
Peace still uninterrupted reigns!

Fair *Ceres*, dress'd in all her pride,
And summer, glitt'ring by her side,
To crown thy temples ready stand,
Thou great protector of our land!

A shade the myrtles thee afford;
The laurel owns thee for its lord:
For thee the tow'ring oak ascends;
The pine to do thee homage bends.

May the dread ruler of the skies
Behold thy *Rome* with pitying eyes;
Give thee to sway the world in peace,
And make the strife of nations cease.

My fair *Apollo's* deathless tree
Point out a good old age to thee:
May fate permit thy thread to roll
For many a year, untouch'd, and whole.

May that bright * virgin who on high
Shines with those fires that fill the sky,
Whose radiant garments stars compose,
Take some compassion on our woes.

May she her wonted succour lend,
And to the gen'ral wish attend:
May she our chafes complaints receive,
And help our nobles when they grieve.
Poole, June 18.

The following Scene of Distract is from the celebrated ALZIRA of Mr. DE VOLTAIRE, (which, from the Impatience of the Audience, was acted twice in one Night) as translated by Mr. LOCKMAN, and intended for DRURY-LANE THEATRE, but since laid aside. That the Reader may be better enabled to judge of the Distract, it may be proper to premise, that Montese, King of a Country in Potosi, is supposed to have been dispossessed of his Dominions; and, with Alzira his Daughter, to be taken Prisoner by the Spaniards, and detain'd in the City of Lima. There Gusman (Son to Alvarez) Governor of Peru, falls distractedly in Love with that Princess, who with her Father, had embraced the Christian Religion. At last Alzira is prevailed upon, but with the utmost Reluctance, to marry Gusman. Some Hours after, Zamore an Idolater (suppos'd dead) formerly a King in another Part of Potosi, detain'd by Gusman, and contract'd to Alzira, finds Means to get himself introduced secretly to her. Their Interview on this Occasion is the Subject of the following Scene.

ACT III. SCENE IV.

ALZIRA, ZAMORE, EMIRA.

Zam. I S she, at last, restor'd to my fond wishes,

And do her beauties bless my ravish'd eyes?

Al. Heavens! such was his air, his voice,
his face.

[She faints, and is supported by Emira.
Zamore! alas! where am I? O my heart!

Z. See thy ill-fated lover.

A. How! Zamore!

Lost, dead Zamore, at sad Alzira's feet!
Illusion sure!

Z. Ah, no; 'tis thy Zamore.

For thee, alone, enchanting maid, I live.
Thus prostrate, thus, I claim thy early vows:
Dear, charming idol of my raptur'd soul!
Thou, whose fond passion spake thee ever
mine;

Where are the vows, those sacred vows,
which bound

Our hearts in sweetest union? speak, O speak!
A. Delightful moments clouded all with
horror!

Dear, fatal object, now, of joy, of grief,
Which in my aching breast bear equal sway.
Zamore, alas! in what an hour I see thee!
Thy ev'ry word strikes daggers to my heart.

Z. How! see Zamore and sigh?

A. Too late I see thee!

Z. Thro' all our ruin'd realms, a false report
Of my long-torturing death must have been
spread.

From the curst hour that these fell sons of
Tore me, with love distract'd, from thy arms,
And drove me from my throne, my gods and
thee,

I've been a vagabond.— Know'st thou that
(Detest'd wretch!) endeavour'd, but in vain,
To shake my soul by every kind of torture?—
Know'st thou that lost Zamore, whom love
design'd

For thy embraces, O! was doom'd to halters!
It shocks thee.— Yes—the anger which in-
flames

My tortur'd heart, burns fiercely in thy bo-
som,

And darts like vengeful lightning from thy
Doubtless a god, who over love presides,
Snatch'd me from death, amid surrounding
dangers,

That I might bless thee, and be doubly bless'd.
Thou can'st not have renounc'd the mighty
god,

Who hither guided my auspicious steps.

Thy spotless soul, all innocence and virtue,

Is still untainted by curst, Spanish arts.—

Gusman, 'tis said, inhabits these proud walls.
I come to tear thee from the hated monster.

Thou lov'st me.— Dear Alzira, let's revenge
Our mighty wrongs;— haste, give me up
my victim.

A. Yes, yes, thy wrongs claim great re-
Calls loud for punishment from thy dear hand:
Strike, strike!

Z. How! where! perdition! my Alzira!

A. Strike—I'm not worthy life, nor dear-
er thee.

Z. My throbbing heart, (false, barbarous
Montese) could not believe thee.

A. Strange! and cou'd he dare

To tell thee all!— O action big with horror!
Know'st thou for whom I've left thee? left,
— for ever.

Z. Ah, no! but speak—my soul, long us'd
to illa.

Can hear, unmov'd, the worst that can befall
A. View then th' abyss, in which we're
plung'd by fate:

Hear the extremes of outrage and of guilt!

Z. Alzira!

A. Gusman, oh!

Z. Ye gods!

A. The man,
Who caus'd thy woes, — who fought thy life —

Z. Speak! what!

A. Is now my husband.

Z. O — it cannot be! [vows;

A. He and my Father have betray'd my
Have drag'd me, trembling to the christian
altar.

There thy false maid (and her *Zamore* so nigh)
Gave — O, the thought is death! her hand to
Gusman.

I've left my gods, my lover, and my country.
By those dear names, tear, tear me from my-
self.

Strike here — my heart, — it flies to meet thy
pointard.

Z. *Alixira*, — say — can *Gusman* be thy
husband? [plead

A. To extenuate my guilt; I here might
The awful power of fathers o'er their chil-
dren, gle;

Thy idol-worship — my deep sighs, my strug-
The floods of tears, three long, long years I
shed

For my *Zamore*, believing he was slain:
That rack'd at the dire news, my wild dis-
traction

Gave me, a captive, to the christians God:
That my fond, bleeding heart, for ever thine,
Abhorr'd thy gods, 'cause they deserted thee.
But, O, I teck not, — will not an excuse.
Thou liv'st — 'tis all I ask, — my plighted vows
I have betray'd; prov'd false to my *Zamore*.
Since then I'm lost to thee, — to all I prize,
Take, take my wretched life, or grief will
end it. —

Ah! canst thou yet indulge an eye of softness?

Z. Yes — if I still am lov'd, thou art not
guilty.

But, dear *Alixira*, am I not forgotten?

A. When some revengeful god, — *Alvarez*,
Montose, [next,

The christians, all conspiring with my weak-
Led me (O how reluctant!) to the temple:
There, tho' perswaded of thy death; and tho' forc'd
To these detested nuptials, and tho' bound
To cruel *Gusman* with eternal chains,
Yet, prostrate at our altars, I ador'd
Thy memory, and wish'd to join thy shade.
The nations round, — our tyrants, — all have
heard [claim'd

My love for thee, — *Zamore*, which I've pro-
To earth, to heaven — even to cruel *Gusman*. —
And in this dreadful moment (O the last
Will be allow'd!) I tell thee thou art dear
To me as light, as life, as wish'd for heaven.

Z. What says *Alixira*? — never see her more!
Fate, tho' my enemy, is not yet so cruel,
To just reveal, then snatch thee from my
sight. — [heard]

Ah! could but love's soft-breathing voice be
A. O heavens! here's *Gusman*: here's his
father — oh!

The Happiness of a COUNTRY LIFE,
Continued from p. 272.

BUT when the sun's bright beams in *Can-*
cer burn,
When joyful peasants have imbar'd their corn;
His instruments of death he straight prepares,
And fit equips himself for *Sylvan* wars.
His dog, the constant partner of his toil,
With joy elate bounds o'er the parched soil;
Snuffs up the ambient air with sense refin'd,
And tries by frequent turns to meet the wind;
Till his sagacious smell at last exhales
The strong effluvia of the tainted gales:
Fir'd at the near approach he shoots away,
But sudden stops and gazes on the prey.
The tim'rous birds compell'd before him rise,
As soon loud thunder breaks the echoing skies:
Tow'ring in air they feel the leaden wound,
And in the pangs of death fall flutt'ring on the
ground.

Even when *Orion*'s pluvial star appears,
And earth a face of melancholy wears;
When winter with despotick power reigns
Over the leafless woods and barren plains,
The leafless woods and barren plains supply
His sports, nor then the pleasing toil deny.
E'er early *Phebus* mounts his fiery car,
To horse the *Gallick* clarion sounds from far.
With well-bred beagles he maintains the chase,
Whose quicker scent snuffs up the tainted grass.
Thro' woods and lawns the generous pack
purfue

The flying hare, and lick the morning dew.
She runs so fleet, the soon outkies the cry,
Rejoic'd to hear, nor dogs nor men are nigh.
But almost spent, she finds their nobler sense
Their disproportion'd speed does recompense.
The circling maze they trace out by degrees,
Till the strong scent comes warm in ev'ry
breeze.

Whilst the loud hollows rend the vaulted sky,
And distant woods and neighb'ring plains re-
ply: [bound,
From hills and dales the cheerful cries re-
And sport'ul echo frolicks with the sound.

Thus well employ'd with whatso'er can
please,

With business, pleasure, exercise, or ease:
Of life's necessities in full possess'd,
Bless'd in himself, in his retirement bless'd:
His good old hall as much delights his heart,
As lofty structures of *Vitruvian* art:
His little plot of cultivated ground
Fenc'd from the chilling blast with walls a-
round, [and taste,

With herbs, fruit, flow'rs to please the sight
Suffice his wants and furnish out a feast.
Nor envies he with partial views the great,
Their spacious gardens and their cool retreat,
Where *Sylvan* shades and verdant walks ex-
tend,

And the long vista useless buildings end;

Where in each allie images surprize,
And temples rais'd to heathen deities:
Where long canals and chrystal waters glide
And murmur at their own superfluous pride.
Let such their fond ambitious hours have,
Whilst master o'er himself, to none a slave,
He independent breaths his native air, [scap-
He noought to ask, and knows not ought to

Yet is he not without his luxury,
A lovely scene of nature greets his eye;
A prospect which no human hands bestow,
Such as not *Bridgman's* hissy taste can show;
He but attempts to copy nature's laws,
Nature's own pencil her pourtraiture draws:
Where all their great magnificence impart,
But imitated awkwardly by art.
Here porling riv'lets form, from hills convey'd,
In broken falls, a natural cascade.
There thè thick venerable grove appears,
Th' industrious labour of his ancestors,
Where * *Jove's* orac'lar trees in divers rows
The shady quincunx regular dispose.
Whilst various objects aptly intervene,
To change the prospect and adorn the scene,
Here distant woods project a gloomy shade,
There sunny mountains rear their azure head:
Here hanging fields with golden *Ceres* bend,
There on low vales irriguous meads extend.—
At one full view his ravish'd eyes decry
All nature lying in variety:
The cheerful concert of the vocal birds,
Bleating of lambs, and lowing of his herds;
Fair *Flora's* treasures in the vernal bloom
Scenting the *Æther* with a rich perfume;
Pomona's blushing gifts to tempt the taste,
And all the scene in gay confusion dress'd.

Here first young *Mars* strove to merit praise,
To woods and shades address'd his virgin lays;
His subject made the jocund nymphs and swains,
And to the court pretier'd fair *Mantua's* plains,
[To be concluded in our next.]

On the Crucifixion, or Good-Friday.

Methinks I see the heavenly choir mourn,
And all you beauteous orbs to sable
turn!
A solemn fast the penive seraphs keep
And winged cherubs in deep silence weep.
The glorious sun withdraws his blushing head }
The moon's eclips'd, the glimmering stars }
are dead,
And all the gaudy beams of light are fled. }
The frighted birds forsake the darken'd air
And howling beasts quick to their dens repair;
The earth with horror struck finds no repose,
But quakes and trembles with convulsive
throws;
Eccentric motions shake the distant poles
And the earth's centre from its axis rolls.
Muse, say the cause, relate the dire event,
That nature thus inverted shou'd lament.

* *Habitæ Graiis Oracula quercus.*
— *Magna Jovis antiquo robore quercus.*

The God of nature now in anguish lies,
Press'd with the load of human miseries;
The glorious Son of God from heav'n's come
down

To suffer death, for crimes, but not his own;
Stern vengeance from the guilty world is shed,
Add vents her fury on his guiltless head.
He sighs, he sobs, his tears in torrents flow,
His nature starts at the impending blow;
And well it might — since he must now atone,
For all the sins that all the world has done.

Methinks I see him (ah!) in sorrow lie,
With brows dejected, and condemn'd to die;
He's whipt, he's scourg'd, oh see the yawning
wound!

His blood distils in streams upon the ground,
Attend, my soul, survey this ghastly scene,
Such shocking sight the world has never seen,
The Lord of life is hung upon a tree,
Oh hark! — he groans in th' utmost agony.
Here falls the King of heav'n a sacrifice,
See how the Son of God expires and dies.
The mild relenting Judge resigns his breath
To save a guilty criminal from death.

Transcendent love, beyond the bounds of
sense!

Th' offended dies to pardon the offence.
What (Lord) for so much love can I restore?
Come, give me but thy heart, I ask no more.
Oh! take it then, and let it with thee live,
I'd give ten thousand more, if I had them to
give. TUGFORD.

EPIITAPH, by Mr. POPE.

Near this Place lie the Bodies of John Hewitt
and Mary Drew, an industrious young Man,
and virtuous Maiden of this Parish, who
being at Harrow Work (with several others)
were in one Instant both killed by Lightning,
July 31, 1718.

THINK not by rigorous judgment seiz'd,
A pair so faithful cou'd expire;
Victims so pure, heav'n's law well pleas'd,
And snatch'd them in celestial fire.
Live well, and fear no sudden fate,
When God calls virtue to the grave,
Alike 'tis justice soon or late,
Mercy alike, to kill or save.
Virtue unmov'd can hear the call,
And face the flash that melts the ball.

On the Restoration of K. CHARLES II.

THE foaming ball, from some enclosure
broke,
Bounds lawless, and forgets the easy yoke,
In some wild plain exerts a fruitless rage,
And makes himself the foe he wou'd engage,
Spurns up the dust that gathers to his eyes,
Lashes his loins, and bellows to the skies.

Virg. Georg. 2.
Georg. 3.

Britain,

Britain, revolting from her monarch's cause,
Thus scorns his pow'r and tramples on his laws,
Raging impetuous with unbridled sway,
Foments her fury, while herself's the grey.

Boast not thus, *Britain*, thy dishonest fears,
Th' inglorious triumphs of intestine wars;
You, like *Medea*, your own children slay:
To stop your parent, and obstruct his way:—
— Oh, spare thy blood, recal thy mourning
king;

That peace, and liberty again may spring;
Far from the fury of the tempest borne,
Let *Charles* no longer for thy safety mourn;
No longer the outrageous storm survey,
His kingdom sunk beneath the raging sea.

No, they relent, homeward the monarch
moves,

Peace flies before, behind the sportive loves.
Hear, what applause the gath'ring tumults raise,
E'en, gazing envy is provok'd to praise.

Lo! wond'ring faction draws the shining sword,
To grace the triumph, and proclaim her lord;
Climour, her voice rais'd louder than before,
To shout him welcome to the *British* shore.
With strengthen'd nerves the very infants fan,
And hail'd with prattling tongues the god-like
man.

Around the plains the venerable oaks,
Just doom'd the victims of rebellious strokes,
E'er long with hostile sails to plough the main,
And *Charles* distress'd at distance still retain,
Their verdant honours now afresh display,
And lend their boughs to deck the peaceful way.

Hence dawning glory shot her genial rays,
And bards ambitious reasum'd their lays:
Rebellion, anarchy, oppression cease,
Discord is hush'd, and all the world is peace.

So when *Ducalies* from the mount return'd,
Where long abolish'd nature had mourn'd,
Jove gave the nod, creation smil'd again,
And animated rocks were soften'd into men.

Upon seeing SYLVIA's Picture.

To the PAINTER.

IN vain, in vain, thy pencil strives
To paint the fairest face that lives;
Too weak thy skill confess.
Spread, spread diviner graces more;
'Tis all too laeguid, all too poor,
Her image to express.

When *Venus* for her picture sits,
A mortal hand, and paint, ill fits,
Celestial lines to trace.
The god of painting, and of verse,
Alone should draw, alone rehearse,
The beauties of that face.

To Mr. MUR—Y. Occasion'd by his late
SPEECH.

WHAT all approve, 'tis needless to
commend;
Yet you'll forgive the ardour of a friend:

A friend, whose heart applauds thy honest youth;
Warm in the love of liberty and truth.
If pleasing wit, employ'd in virtue's cause;
If fullest knowledge of the force of laws;
If clearest reasoning, strongest manly sense,
Could, well as force attention, influence:
No wrong would innocence, whose cause you
plead,

From any judge, in any place, e'er dread.
The *addor's* ear thy eloquence can charm:
O could'st thou of its sting the noxious beast
disarm!

Illustrious youth, keep virtue still in view,
Be to thyself, and to thy country, true:
Before thy eyes place virtuous *Talbot's* shade,
And scorn the arts that meaner minds pervade.
Let no false glory a wrong bias give:
Thus worth and real honour ever live;
When vulgar names, who all base methods try
To gain a fame, shall in oblivion lie;
Or worse, shall on the lasting record stand
As infamous, as once destructive to a land.

To the POETICAL LADIES. By an old
Soldier.

FAIR ones, in prudence drop the pen:
Howe'er your fancy's fir'd;
We know you level at us men,
And rhyme to be admir'd:

We'll not of double arms admit,
And let you join to beauty, wit.
You can't with our own bait allure,
With our own weapons foil;
When you such onsets make, we're sure
Most wisely to recoil:

In vain you try then our own arts,
To make a conquest o'er our hearts.

'Tis when you lie in ambushade,
That you most dang'rous are;
We're safe when you appear array'd,
And your designs declare:

Venus when naked mere alarm'd,
Than when she was like *Pallas* arm'd,
Wou'd ye your natural genius show,
Your genuine charms display;

No more the manly art avow,
Some female task essay:
No more let *Phebus's* aid be try'd,
But list *Minerva* on your side.

If your bright pointed needle draws
A stream of colours out,
Ten thousand darts, tho' wrought on gauze!

May put us to the rout:
What equal art in rhyme is shewn
To the embroid'ry of a gown?

And as ye hope imperial sway,
In th' heart of him you love;
Be wife and sling the pen away,
Left it thou'd fatal prove.
Think, e'er in rhyme you take a pride,
How *Sappho* wrote, and how she died.

To the Author of LEONIDAS, as being critic'd by a Rev. Divine in the WEEKLY MISCELLANY.

Ignominious poet! in whose easy lines [shines;
Fancy, correct with judgment, mildy
Who ne'er to *inspiration* made pretence,
Content to steer within the bounds of *sense*;
Who no *high-flown* extravagance display,
No *supernatural* hyperbole; [pride,
How shou'd you please the *mod-man* or the
Who are so little an *enthusiast*?

The MAGPYE STRIPT. A FABLE:
Inscribed to C—b D—v—n, Esq;

A Magpye part, and proud of heart,
By nature plain, resolv'd by art,
(His pride had pointed out the way)
To trim, and dress himself more gay!
The birds hard by, then held their court,
To these he chuses to resort;
And wearing only on his back,
A motley coat of white and black,
Now this, now that, with ev'ry eye,
Enrich'd with plumes of various dye;
Which fair, and glittering to the sight,
Much better than his own delight.

From the gay pheasant's neck he drew
A feather of a glossy hue.
The parrot's tail, with rapture seen,
Adorns his wing with shining green.
With beauteous plumeage to invest
His own, he robs the peacock's breast:
The finch, last plunder'd, to unfold
His head with streaks of beamy gold;
And the whole realm of birds to awe,
Fain wou'd have stole the eagle's claw.
His dress thus suited to his pride,
He scorns, or laughs at all beside:
Pleas'd to behold his feathers shine;
And thinks no bird on earth so fine:
He pides one, derides another.—
And scarce will own a pye, his brother.
His strutting air—his solemn note,
All owing to his tawdry coat.
From thence the empty creature drew
His beauty and his wisdom too:
Proud in all meetings to be shown;
Tho' scarce one feather was his own.

Now to his brother maggy he flew,
Where each the gaudy changeling knew;
All laugh'd to see the fool profess
Such fondness for a pilfer'd dress.
With shreds and scraps disguis'd, they know,
Full well, the patch'd-up mimick beau:
And all resolve, the sbp undrest,
To turn his pride into a jest:
Quite stript, before the court to bring,
The false, the foolish, flustering thing,
Before the whole assembly shown,
In colours only of his own.

The dice resolve they for a purse;
One robs the thief of all his blues;

Lets beauteous on the plunderer seen
One strips his wing of all its green:
A third, in sport picks off the red
He stole, to trim and dress his head;
Standing confest to every eye;
Now nothing, but a prattling pye;
A dapper, different creature quite,
Clad only in his black and white!
Thyself in this clear mirror see;
The story, D'Avours, points at thee!
From thy fool's cap, one wicked brother
Steals a gay plume, and one, another;
Deserted quite, and left alone
To fight with weapons of thy own.
While neither now thy finest supplies,
Or Sew-e with jokers, or Trot with him,
Heavy his weakly sib withdraws;
F—y his snar at kings and laws:
The lists, the mighty Fog declines,
Instead of treason, selling wines.
Seldom does thy blunt satyr hit,
A motley mors of spleen and wit;
Half weak, half wild—the motley stuff,
Made up of *prattle*, *pass*, and *poiff*.
No more while St. Y—s guides thy pen,
All froth and fume—poor Nick, again;
Muddy thy wit; thy humour stale,
The very magpye in the tale.

The friendly CAUTION; and modest RE-
PLY. A SONG. [To the Tune of—
When you censure the Age, &c.—in the
Beggar's Opera.]

WHEN you make, write, and print,
See, no *snare*, Sir, be in't,
Lest the *criticks* shou'd snarlingly sneer:
If, with *wit*, you lash at *vices*,
They're so *partish*, and so *nice*;
Each cries,—*O! what rhyming is here!*
Then, dear *publisher*, take heed
Of this hard bitter breed;
Or, your lines, Sir, will all go to pot:
For, who scarce *re read*, or *write*,
Yet can make a *fit* to *bite*,
And say,—*Lord! what sad stuff have we got!*
' *Bite!*—(good Sir, did you say?)—
' How can that be, I pray?
' Such old women I never shall dread:
' The most damnable shrew
' No great mischief can do,
' That has hardly a tooth in her head.'

R. D.

BROMPTON VINEYARD.

To CHARLES KING, Esq.

WHAT art, my friend, and industry
can do, [you:
We see; and, if we please, may learn from
How a few acres are a *pierrous* store;
Why twenty thousand *oaks* make men poor:
T & C

Here, the kind husband nurses his own soil;
 And that's the caterpillar Pease's spoil. [great,
 Driv'n from the faithless chambers of the
 You sought a fruitful, but a small retreat:
 To a kind soil, and salubrious air,
 You follow'd liberty, and sowed her thrave.
 At servile leaves long you search'd in vain,
 Not there the goddess, nor her little train,
 Reside; but in the rural homely cell,
 You found her followers delight to dwell.

Here, planted by thy own industrious hand,
 The regimented trees in order stand:
 Once natives all of France, or in French pay;
 But now thy orders they, with pride, obey.
 See the rich clusters load the mother vine,
 And, in the fruit, behold the future wine.
 Here, as the wanton culling tendrils stray,
 You prune with judgment the luxuriant spray;
 Or raise the falling tree, too weak at root,
 Or overburthen'd with its kindly fruit.

Nor can Burgundian's yellow glebe produce
 A nobler spirit, or more generous juice.
 See, where it rises, glorious to the sight,
 Reflecting from the chrysal, crimson light;
 And while the sparkling British nectar warms,
 Out dancing hearts receive ten thousand
 charms;

With friendship, love, and truth, our bosoms
 Such blessings, wine and virtue can bestow.

Had Cræsus, who rested in this bow's
 Crown'd, who knew the force of wealth and
 pow'r,

Improv'd, like thee, this fruitful wealthy land,
 His glorious labours had enrich'd the land:
 Had he subdu'd the Gadshill vine with toil,
 And fix'd her treasures in the British soil,
 E'er this, the whole commercial world had
 known

No other mart, the balance all our own:
 His spoils wou'd then have conquer'd, like his
 sword,

And the world own'd him her victorious lord:
 A conquest over France and haughty Spain,
 Our Henrys nor our Edwards e'er cou'd gain.

Go on, my friend, thy glorious toil enjoy,
 And every hour in publick good employ.
 Here the great vulgar with contempt behold,
 The gaudy slaves of luxury and gold:
 Lord of yourself, subject to no command,
 You fear no master's arbitrary hand:
 No guilty statesman hurries you away
 To vote — a miserable drudge for pay:
 Superior to the mercenary tribe,
 Your very guardian dogs refuse a bribe.

So Cincinnatus, as they say, of old,
 The plowman chief, refus'd the Samothæ gold.

For us, confin'd within this narrow town,
 'Midst frolic and knaves and sops we bustle on;
 The motly busy crowd together move,
 Slander and news, fraud, envy, strife and love:
 In politics and news we most abound,
 And e'ry fool in both is most profound.

Oh Charles! relieve thy friend, oppress'd
 with care,
 With Brompton Burgundy, and Brompton air:

Hide me within thy cool refreshing shade;
 Oh cover me with thy luxuriant shade;
 Amid the purple clust'rs soft reclin'd,
 I leave the busy fools of life behind.
 There *Froscanus*, *Atticus*, *Albani*, there,
 A chosen band, our mortal joys shall share,
 Our joys, with knowledge mix'd, the shining
 charms,

And open all our senses, as to warmth.
 By no wild laws confin'd, let each man fill,
 Or drink, or sip, both what and when he will.
 Nor shall our reason, or our taste, be lost
 In the mad bumper, or insipid toast: [none
 We'll talk with freedom, as we drink, yet
 Defends to the low frontal of the tower;
 Nor meanly meddles with domestic strife,
 Nor opens the clos'd wounds of private life:
 Employ'd on nobler themes, we hardly know
 What is our bustling busy world they do:
 Whether our theatres will fall or rise;
 Which, with new *Pantomimus*, will more
 surprise;

Nor whether *Roli* dances ill or well;
 Nor which of *Handel's* operas does excel.

But that which more concerns us, more
 sublime

We talk, what not to know wou'd be a crime;
 Whether mankind their happiness may boast,
 In gold or virtue? which conducts most
 To make us blest? — may best be understood,
 Is wealth or virtue then the sovereign good?
 Where is this *femina bonum*? wou'd you
 know?

'Tis in the mean kind hav'n does here bestow;
 A moderate fortune without care and strife,
 Gives ev'ry blessing in a country life.

A S O N G.

O H, how happy are we
 Who are brought up at sea;
 For by daily experience we know,
 The world's but a bubble,
 Full of changes and trouble,
 And nothing is constant below.

If we meet with to-day
 Fair gales and smooth sea,
 We expect it will change by to-morrow;
 If by tempests we'er toss'd,
 We give nothing for loss,
 Not extreme in our joy or our sorrow.

If at land we do find,
 Our landlady kind,
 'Tis well, we take all in good part;
 If she changes her tune,
 And veers ne'er so soon,
 A sailor lays nothing to heart.

Thus fortune no slave
 Of a sailor can have,
 We're the same, whether rais'd or cast down;
 We court not her smiles,
 Make a jest of her wiles,
 And care not a fig for her frown.

The Arduous Abstinence it requir'd.

T H E Monthly Chronologer.



N May 28. the Sessions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when 4 Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, viz. *John Smith*, for robbing his Master of near 200*l.* in Money; *Richard Sampson*, for robbing the

Rev. Mr. *Gough*; *John Symonds*, for sending a threatening Letter to Mr. *Robert Manning*; and *Charles Rogers*, for robbing *William Bafindine* on the Highway. Twenty-six were sentenced to be transported, and two were burnt in the Hand.

At the Assizes at *Ely*, *Mary, Wife of John Bvd.* received Sentence of Death for poisoning her Husband with Arsenick. Her supposed Gallant, who was also try'd on Suspicion, was acquitted.

WEDNESDAY, June 1.

This Day, a dreadful Fire broke out in the Salt-house going over the Bridge at *Nantwich* in *Cheshire*, whereby the said Salt-house was burnt down to the Ground, with five more Houses.

THURSDAY, 2.

Several Merchants (concerned in the *Three Brothers*, Capt. *Kiersted*, bound from *Madaira* to *London*, and stranded on an Island in the West-Part of *Scotland*.) waited upon his Grace the Duke of *Argyll* and *Greenwich*, hereditary Admiral of that Coast, and Proprietor of the said Island, to return their Thanks for his great Generosity, not only for the Care and Diligence of his Deputy in saving their Effects, but his giving up his Right of Salvage in their Favour. His Grace received them with great Civility, and assured them he would always have the same Regard to the Interest of Merchants on such unfortunate Occasions.

SATURDAY, 11.

This Night a Fire happened in a Stable opposite to *Bell Dock*, in *Wapping*, which burnt with such Fury, that in four Hours Time twenty Houses were consumed.

About this Time, a Wine-Merchant at *Wrexham* in *Denbigh-shire* cut his own Throat, with such shocking Resolution, that his Head was half off. He was a Man of Learning, of great Humanity, of an easy Fortune and was much respected; but was blameable for his Notions of Religion, which it is thought were the Occasion of his Despair: He had an elegant Taste of Poetry, and has publish'd some Pieces of Poetry that have been admired. The following Lines were found in his Pocket, which were suppos'd to have been wrote by him a short Time before his Death.

Thro' the dark vale of misery,
With lowly steps I roam;
My lab'ring mind and clouded brow
Add darkness to the gloom.

Sooth me, *Sophocles*, nature's guide,
Friend to unhappy man;
Sed *Ajax* paint, or *Pæon's* son,
Deserted and in pain.

Thy blind, old, exil'd *Theban* king,
The mark of horrors food;
Patience, and prudent age, improv'd
His matchless woes to good.

The voice of wisdom speaks in thee,
Strong as the trumpet's sound.
In vain! my weakness, Lord, forgive,
Or heal my soul's deep wound!

THURSDAY, 16.

The Hon. the Commissioners of Excise summonsed all the Persons before them who had paid in their Fines of 100*l.* for selling Spirituous Liquore contrary to the Act of Parliament; and after admonishing them for their offending against the Laws, and desiring them to take care for the future, they were pleas'd to mitigate their Fines, some to 20*l.* and others to 30*l.* according to the Nature of their Offences; and the remaining Part of their Sums were returned them. They all thanked the Commissioners, and promised to avoid giving Offence hereafter.

The same Day, about Six in the Evening, the Wife of Mr. *Long*, at *Limekiln-Hill*, *Lime-house*, was found barbarously murdered, having a Wound in her Head by a Hammer, which broke thro' the Bone, into her Brain, and her Throat cut in such a Manner, that her Head was half off. Her next Neighbour's Child, a Boy about four Years of Age, whom she was fond off, was also found by her, murdered in the same Manner. A Man was observed by the Neighbours to go into her House in the Afternoon, and staid there about two Hours, when he sent the Child out for a Penny-worth of Cherries, in which Time, it is thought, he dispatch'd Mrs. *Long*, by knocking her down with the Hammer, which lay on one Side, and afterwards cutting her Throat; and the Child returning with the Cherries he knock'd him down, and cut his Throat likewise; and taking with him several Things shut the Door, and went off towards *Greenwich*.

We have been desir'd to insert the following Article, which shews what Spirit some Persons, at least, in *Scotland* are of.

Edinburgh, May 5. Yesterday the Synod

of *Leban* heard an Appeal of the Magistrates, Town-Council, and some Ministers and Elders of this City, from a Sentence of the Presbytery, refusing their Concourse with the Call of our Magistrates, &c. to Dr. *William Withort*, Minister of a Dissenting Congregation at *London*, to be one of our Ministers, upon two several Grounds, *viz.* 1. An alleged Aversion of the vacant Seffions of the City to have him for their Minister: 2. That several Passages in two Sermons preached by him, the one before the Society for Reformation of Manners at *Salter's-Hall*, July 3, 1732; the other at the *Old Jury*, April 9, 1731, are erroneous, and contrary to the established Doctrines of this Church; particularly, That he confines the Magistrates Power to the punishing only of Crimes against our Neighbours; that he allows all Christian Subjects to act agreeably to the Light of their own Minds in religious Matters; that he is for freeing Persons from subscribing any Confessions; that he encourages Parents, &c. to a more free Education of their Children than is consistent with the Disciplines of this and other Protestant Churches; that he professedly diminishes the due Weight of Arguments taken from the Awe of future Rewards and Punishments; that he exceeds in his Charity both to Heathens to whom the Gospel-Office has been or may be made, and who reject it, and to such as were baptized, and afterwards become Deists; and, that he seems to oppose the orthodox Doctrine concerning the sinful and corrupt State of all Men from their Birth.

TUESDAY, 21.

This Day his Majesty went to the House of Peers, and put an End to the Session of Parliament (which was prorog'd to the 4th of August next) with the following most gracious Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM come to put an End to this Session of Parliament, that you may be at Liberty to retire into your several Countries, and, in your proper Stations, to promote the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom.

I return you my Thanks for the particular Proofs you have given me of your Affection and Respect to my Person and Honour; and hope, the Wisdom and Justice, which you have shewn upon some extraordinary Incidents, will prevent all Thoughts of the like Attempts for the future. The Conduct of this Parliament has been so uniform in all your Deliberations upon publick Affairs, that it would be an unjust not to acknowledge it, so it is unnecessary to enumerate the several Particulars.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

Your Care, as well in raising the Supplies necessary for the Service of the current Year,

as in doing it in the Manner least grievous and burthenome to my People, is a fresh Instance of your equal Concern for the Support of my Government, and for the true Interest of your Country.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You cannot be insensible, what just Scandal and Offence the Licentiousness of the present Times, under the Colour and Disguise of Liberty, gives to all honest and sober Men, and how absolutely necessary it is to restrain this excessive Abuse, by a due and vigorous Execution of the Laws; Defiance of all Authority, Contempt of Magistracy, and even Resistance of the Laws, are become too general, altho' equally prejudicial to the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Liberties of the People, the Support of the one being inseparable from the Protection of the other. I have made the Laws of the Land the constant Rule of my Actions; and I do, with Reason, expect in Return all that Submission to my Authority and Government, which the same Laws have made the Duty, and shall always be the Interest of my Subjects.

The following Acts at the same Time receiv'd the Royal Assent, *viz.* That for settling a Dowry (of 50,000 *l.* per *Ann.*) on the Princess of *Wales*: That for lessening the Duty on *Sweets*: For laying a Duty on Foreign *Oysters* imported: For disabling *Alexander Wilson*, Esq; from holding any Office of Magistracy at *Edinburgh*, or elsewhere in *Great Britain*, and for laying a Fine of 2000 *l.* on the City of *Edinburgh*: For bringing to Justice the Persons concerned in the Murder of Capt. *Porteus*, and punishing those who knowingly conceal them: For Relief of Insolvent Debtors: That relating to the common Players of Interludes: That for making Navigable the River *Roden*: *Westminster Bridge Bill*: That for adorning *Red Lyon Square*: For rebuilding *St. Olave's Church*: For punishing Persons going armed in Disguise: For regulating Watermen, Wherry-men, and Lightermen, rowing on the River *Thames*: For giving further Time to those who have omitted to take the Oaths: For collecting small Sums of Money at the Port of *Leghorn*, for Relief of Shipwrecked Mariners: For regulating the Nightly Watch in the City of *London*: For regulating the Nightly Watch in *St. Andrew's Hall*: Several Road Bills, and upwards of 20 private Bills.

Her Royal Highness the Princess of *Wales* was at the House of Peers, and when the Royal Assent was given to the Bill for settling a Dowry on her, she paid her Obedience to his Majesty, and afterwards to the House of Peers.

By the Bill relating to Players of Interludes, &c. all Copies of Plays, Farces, or

any Thing wrote in the Dramatick Way, are to lie before his Grace the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household for the Time being, for his Grace's Perusal and Approbation, before they shall be exhibited on the Stage.

By the additional Clause to the *Sweets Bill* Five Pounds is to be paid to the Informer by the Excise Office, for every Retailer of Spirituous Liquors about the Streets whose Poverty makes him incapable of paying so much himself; and the Sum of ten Pounds to be paid on Conviction for Retailers in Shops, and no more, to be paid likewise by the Excise-Office.

By the Act for regulating Watermen, no Tilt-Boat or Row-Barge to take at one Time more than 37 Passengers, and 3 more, if brought on board by the Way: Other Boat or Wherry to take only 8 Passengers, and 2 more only, if called in by the Way. Ferry-Boats allowed to work on Sundays, to take no more than 8 Passengers. Penalty for the first Offence 5*l.* for the Second 10*l.* one Moiety to the Informer; for the third Offence, to be disfranchis'd for 12 Months from working on the River. And in Case any Person shall be drowned, where a greater Number of Passengers is taken in than allow'd by this Act, the Watermen shall be transported as Felons.

The *Edinburgh Bill* as it stood at first was for disabling *Alexander Wilson*, and imprisoning him (for a Year;) and for abolishing the *Town Guard*, and taking away the Gates of the *North-Bow Port*. The Preambles of it (which is the same with that of the present Act) was as follows.

Whereas upon *Tuesday* the 7th. Day of *September*, in the Year of our Lord 1736, there was a most seditious and outrageous Riot in the City of *Edinburgh*, in that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, notoriously concerted and carried on by great Numbers of wicked, disorderly, and blood-thirsty Persons, who did, with open Force and Violence, seize the Arms of the City Guard, possess themselves of the City Gates, and, by setting fire to and breaking open the Door of the *Talbot* of the said City, did unlawfully and audaciously rescue and set at large several Criminals therein confined: And whereas Captain *Jobs Porteous*, then a Prisoner there under Sentence of Death, but graciously reprieved by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, as Guardian of the Realm, was by the said Rioters in a cruel Manner dragged from the said Prison, and most barbarously hanged by the Neck, and murdered, in manifest Violation of the publick Peace, in Disobedience and Subversion of legal Government, in high Contempt of our sovereign Lord the King and his Laws, and to the most presumptuous and unparallel'd Obstruction of the Royal Mercy: (See Vol. V. p. 510.) And whereas

for some Time before the committing of the said Murder and Riot, it was commonly reported in the said City of *Edinburgh*, that some such atrocious Fact would be attempted, which, by proper Care in the Magistrates, Citizens, and Inhabitants of the said City, might have been prevented; notwithstanding which, *Alexander Wilson*, Esquire, then and now Provoost of the said City, then actually resident in the said City, and fully apprized of the said wicked Design, did not take any Precautions to prevent the said Murder and Riot, nor use the proper or necessary Means to suppress the same, or to preserve the Peace of the said City; or, after the Perpetration of the said Fact, to discover, apprehend, or secure the Authors, Actors, or Abettors thereof, in manifest Violation of the Trust and Duty of his Office of chief Magistrate of the said City; nor were any Means or Endeavours used by the Citizens and Inhabitants of the said City, to prevent or suppress the said notorious Riot, or to hinder the said Inhuman and barbarous Murder, or to discover the Persons concerned therein, in order to bring them to Justice; Now, in order to express the highest Detestation and Abhorrence of the said Murder and Riot, and to the End that the said enormous Misbehaviours and Neglects of Duty, herein before-mentioned, may not go unpunished, and that other Persons may not presume, thro' Hopes of Impunity, to be guilty of the like for the future; Be it enacted, &c.

FRIDAY, 24.

Was held at *Guildhall* a Court of *Huttings*, when *Henry Benson* and *Thomas Russell*, Esqrs; were chosen Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, for the Year ensuing.

His Majesty was pleas'd to promise his most gracious Pardon to any of the Accomplices of *Richard Turpin*, who shall discover him, so that he may be apprehended and convicted of the Murder, or any of the Robberies he has committed: As likewise a Reward of 200*l.* to any Person or Persons who shall discover the said Criminal, so that he may be apprehended and convicted as aforesaid, over and above all other Rewards to which they may be entitled.

SATURDAY, 25.

The *Venetian* Reliance set out for *Dover*, on his Way to *Calais*, he having receiv'd Notice to leave the Town in 3 Days, and the Kingdom in 8, for the Insult offered to his Majesty's Crown and Dignity by the Doge and Senate of *Venice*, in the great Honour shewn the Pretender's Son.

WEDNESDAY, 29.

The seven following Malefactors, condemn'd the two last Sessions at the *Old Bailey*, were executed at *Tyburn*, viz. *Richard Harper*, for House-breaking; *Henry Bostonsway* and *James Kelly* for Murder; *Edward Sampson*,

Sampson for a Street-Robbery, *Charles Rogers* for a Robbery on the Highway, *John Symonds* for sending a threatening Letter; and *Anne Mudd* for the Murder of her Husband, who was burnt. *Ady, Merton, Smith, and Fison* were order'd for Transportation. (See p. 220, 333.)

MARRIAGES.

PETER *Delme*, Esq; Member for *Ludgershall, Wilts*, to the Daughter of *Sir John Snow* of *Eltham, Kent*.

Lady Anna Berkeley, Daughter of the Lord *Berkeley*, of *Stratton*, to *Mr. Cox* of *Burlington Gardens*.

Hon. John Talbot, Esq; Member for *Brecon*, to the second Daughter of *Sir Matthew Decker*, *Bart.*

Richard Hollings, Esq; Solicitor General to the Prince of *Wales*, to a Daughter of the Lord Chief-Justice *Willes*.

Thomas White of *Leppwich*, Esq; to the only Daughter and sole Heiress of *Peter Amisley*, Esq;

David Slingby, Esq; to the only Daughter of *Christopher Jackson*, of *Bond Street*, Esq; *Samuel Ingoldby*, Esq; to *Miss Fane* of *Middlesex*.

Capt. Elliot, of *General Churchill's* Dragoons, to the eldest Daughter of the Earl of *Grantham*.

Col. Douglas, to the Lady Dowager *Irwin*. *Mr. Tempest*, second Son of *Sir George Tempest* of *Tock, Berk*, to the *Hon. Miss Clifton*, Daughter of the Lord Viscount *Malignant*.

Simon Wilson, Esq; to *Miss Bayles*. *William Hunt*, Esq; a Governor of the Bank, to the Relict of *Deputy Cook*.

Samuel Waller of *Nottinghamshire*, Esq; to *Miss Mary Ekinson* of *Nottingham*.

DEATHS.

SOME Time last Month, at *Compton* in the *Valley of White Horse, Berks*, *Mrs. Richards*, Relict of *Edward Richards*, Esq; and Daughter of *Sir Edmund Warrford*, of *Sewinghampton* in *Wicks, Knt*. She has left an only Daughter with an Estate of about 4000*l.* per Annum.

Lady Buckworth, Mother of *Sir John Buckworth*, *Bart.*

Capt. Stuart, Commander of an independent Company.

Henry Vere Graham, Esq; at *Halfbrooke-Hall, Suffolk*.

Daniel Shaw, Esq; at *Battersea*.

George Hudson, Esq; an eminent *Lisbon* Merchant.

In *Scotland*, the Right Hon. *Thomas Earl of Dononald*.

Rev. Mr. Sandy, Fellow of *Clare-hall, Cambridge*.

At Hammer-smith, *Rev. Mr. Billing*.

Joseph Gwis of *Dorsetshire*, Esq;

At Epson, *John Pierce*, Esq;

The Right Rev. Father in God, *Dr. Charles Cecil*, Lord Bishop of *Bangor*, who

held in Compendium the rich Living of *Hatfield, Hertfordshire*.

Daniel Wilket of *Oxon*, Esq;

Sir Nathaniel Trench, *Bart.* Son of the late *Sir Fijor Trench, Bart.*

At Holyport, Berks, *Stephen Moore*, Esq;

George Shook, of *Shipton Mallet, Somersetshire*, Esq;

Hon. Mr. Verney, eldest Son of the Lord *Vic. Foremanagh*.

At her Seat at Frogmore near Windsor, in the 106th Year of her Age, her Grace, the Dutchess Dowager of *Northumberland*.

At East-Sheen, Surrey, *Daniel Simpson*, Esq;

At Chelsea, *Simon Whirwrit*, Esq;

Jonathan Edwards of *Wilts*, Esq;

Rev. Mr. Kay, Lecturer of *St. Austin* and *St. Faith*, near *St. Paul's*.

At his House in Old-Bond Street, *John Bing*, Esq;

Rev. Dr. Wilmet, Master of *King's College, Cambridge*, and Rector of *Milton*, near that Town.

At his Seat at Beckingbam, Kent, *Samuel Pugh*, Esq;

At his Seat near Barking, Essex, *Sir Orlando Humphreys*, *Bart.*

At Barb, *Sir John Jernegan*, *Bart.*

At Lincoln, the Countess of *Deloraine*.

At Reading, on his Way to the Bath, *Thomas Reed* of *Essex*, Esq;

The Countess Dowager of *Oxford*, aged 109.

John Hedges, Esq; Treasurer to his Royal Highness the Prince, and Member of Parliament, for *Fewey, Cornwall*.

Alexander Lutterell, Esq; Member of Parliament, for *Minehead*, in *Somersetshire*.

ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Motts* presented to the Living of *St. Mary* at *Newington*, void by the Death of the late *Dr. Hoagb*.

Mr. John Herring appointed Apparitor-General of the Diocese of *London*.

Dr. Aldridge, Minister of *Henley upon Thames*, appointed Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*.

Mr. Benjamin Taylor presented to the Rectory of *Tbeberton, Suffolk*.

Mr. John Griffith to the Vicarage of *East Tilbury, Essex*.

Dr. Herring promoted to the See of *Bangor*, vacant by the Death of the late Right Rev. *Dr. Cecil*.

Dr. Pearce of *St. Martin's* in the Fields, succeeds his Lordship as Dean of *Rockyford*.

Mr. Thomas Wilson, Son of the Bishop of *Sodor and Man*, made Chaplain in ordinary to the King.

Mr. Coleman presented to the Rectory of *Baufworth, Yorkshire*.

Mr. Wilkinson, Chaplain of the *Sovey*, appointed domestic Chaplain to their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of *Wales*.

Mr. James Wilbystone, presented to the Vicarage of *Staines, Middlesex*.

Mr. *John Cookly*, presented to the Rectory of *St. George, Southwark*.

Mr. *Tipping*, chosen Lecturer of the united Parishes of *St. Austin* and *St. Faith*, by *St. Paul's*, in the Room of the *Rev. Mr. Kay*, deceas'd.

Mr. *John Ryder*, presented to the Rectory of *Brischlow, Warwickshire*.

Mr. *William Cbeyne* to the Vicarage of *Wiston, Somersetshire*.

Mr. *Edward Lawrence* to the Rectory of *Gayton, Lincolnshire*.

Mr. *Cromer* to the Rectory of *Wymondham*, and also to that of *Atwell, Norfolk*.

Mr. *Hugh Parnel* to the Rectory of *Kelshall, Hertfordshire*.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

WILLIAM *Poppo*, Esq; appointed Solicitor and Clerk of the Reports to the Board of Trade.

William Duchet, Esq; made Captain and Col. of the 2d Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, in the Room of the late Brig. Gen. *Berkely*.

Capt. *Ingham* appointed Colonel-Commandant in the first Regiment of Foot Guards, instead of Col. *Merrick*, prefer'd.

Capt. Lieutenant *Swann* appointed Colonel of a Company in the said Regiment, in the Room of Major *Fuller*, who has resign'd.

Brig. Gen. *Aspbrater* appointed Governor of *Minorca*, in the Room of the late General *Kane*.

Col. *John Pitt*, Aid de Camp to his Majesty, appointed Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, lately commanded by the said General *Kane*.

Sir *William Lee* made Lord Chief-Justice of the King's Bench.

Sir *William Cbapple*, Member of Parliament for *Dorchester*, made a Puisne Judge of the same Court, in his Room.

His Grace the Duke of *Richmond* elected an elder Brother of the *Trinity-House*.

Sir *John Norris* elected Master of the same, in the Room of Sir *Charles Wager*, who desired to be excus'd.

Lord *Delaware* appointed Governor of *New York*.

Earl of *Fitzwalter* made Treasurer of the Household, in room of Lord *Delaware*. And

Lord *Manston* made first Commissioner of Trade in his Lordship's room.

Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, made Governor of *Barbadoes*, in the room of the late *Ld. Howe*.

James Oglesborpe, Esq; appointed General Chief of his Majesty's Forces in *South-Carolina* and *Georgia*.

Robert Herbert, Esq; made a Commissioner of Trade, in the room of Sir *Orl. Bridgman*.

Thomas Herbert, Esq; succeeds his said Brother, as a Commissioner of the Revenue in *Ireland*.

Lord Viscount *Boyne* made a Commissioner

of the same Revenue. As also *Wm. Glen-wille*, Esq;

Giles Earle, Esq; appointed a Commissioner of the Treasury, in the room of Sir *George Oxenden*, Bart.

Charles Freshin, Esq; is appointed Secretary to the Lunesticks, under the Lord Chancellor.

The following Gentlemen are nominated to vacant Regiments; *viz.*

Col. *Howard*, Col. *Handaside*, Col. *Bland*, Col. *Cochburn*, Col. *Irwins*, Col. *St. George*, Col. *Onslow*, and Col. *Blakeny*.

The Earl of *Berkley*, presented to a Company in the Second Regiment of Foot Guards.

Earl of *Taskerville*, made a Lord of his Majesty's Bedchamber. And

Ralph Jennison, Esq; Master of the Buck Hounds in the Earl's room.

Richard Arundell, Esq; appointed Master-Worker of his Majesty's Mints; in the room of *John Conduit*, Esq; deceas'd. And

Henry Fox, Esq; Surveyor General of the Works in Mr. *Arundell's* room.

Thomas Ripley, Esq; also succeeds Mr. *Arundell* as Keeper of his Majesty's private Roads, Gates, and Bridges, &c.

James Brudenell, Esq; appointed Gentleman of the Horse to the King, in the room of the late Brigadier General *Berkley*.

Charles Fiddling, Esq; and Colonel *Jobb Mordaunt*, made Equerries to his Majesty, in the room of the said Brigadier General *Berkley* and *Philip Loyd*, Esq; both deceas'd.

Henry Arthur Herbert, Esq; made Treasurer to his Royal Highness, in room of the late Mr. *Hodges*.

Martin Bladen, *John Drummond*, and *Samuel Tuffnel*, Esqrs. nominated Commissioners to settle a new Tariff at *Antwerp*. And

James Cope, Esq; made their Secretary.

Duncan Forbes, Esq; succeeds the late Sir *Hugh Dalrymple*, as Resident of the Sessions in *Scotland*. And

James Erskine, Esq; succeeds Mr. *Forbes* as Lord Advocate of *Scotland*.

Robert Dundas, Esq; Member for *Edinburgh* made a Lord of the Sessions in *Scotland*.

His Grace the Duke of *Montague* made Colonel of the first Troop of Horse Guards, on the Resignation of the Earl of *Winton*.

The Earl of *Effingham* succeeds the late Brigadier *Berkley*, as Colonel of a Troop of the Horse Grenadier Guards.

Lord Chief Justice *Lee*, and Lord Chief Justice *Willes*, chosen Governors of the *Charter-House*, in the Room of Lord Chancellor *Talbot*, and Lord Chief Justice *Rose*, deceas'd.

Countess of *Taskerville* made one of the Ladies of her Majesty's Bedchamber, in the room of the Dutchess of *Dorset*, who had resign'd.

New Members chosen.

Peregrine Poulet, Esq; for *Bossiny*, Cornwall, in the room of *Townsend Andrews, Esq;* decess'd.

Lee Dummer, Esq; for the Town of *Southampton*, in the room of *John Conduit, Esq;* decess'd.

Bainton Role, Esq; for *Chippenham*, in the room of *Rogers Holland, Esq;* made one of the *Welch Judges*.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOH N Berry, of *King's-Lynn*, Norfolk, Vintner and Chapman.

Wm. Couley, of *Grace-Church-street*, Distiller.

Thomas Lowat, of *Newcastle*, *Staff-rdshire*, Grocer.

Robert Bell, late of *Great Broughton* in the County of *York*, Weaver.

Jonathan Bridge, of *Stock port*, *Cheeshire*, Mercer.

John Duke, of *Bloomsbury*, *Middlesex*, Carpenter.

William Russel, of *Newbury*, *Berks*, Baker.

William Compton, of *Clare-street*, *Westminster*, Victualler.

William Sposter, of *Durham-yard* in the *Strand*, Ligherman and Chapman.

John Earle, of *Liverpool*, *Lancash.* Merchant, *Daniel Cooper the Younger*, of *Leaden-ball street*, *London*, Upholder.

John Clayton, of *London*, Goldsmith.

Rich. Browns, of *Norwich*, *Worsted*-Weaver.

Henry Mason, late of *Drury-lane*, Distiller.

Thomas Wraight, of *Brookland*, Grocer and Chapman.

William Carter, late of *New-Bond-street*, *Middlesex*, Linen-draper.

Bronnick Vanderbock, late of *London*, Diamond-cutter and Chapman.

John Rankin, of *Epping*, *Essex*, Tanner.

William Winchefer, of the Parish of *St. Ann*, *Westminster*, Glasser and Chapman.

Richard Young, of *Tetsford*, *Norfolk*, Grocer and Tallow-Chandler.

Mary Johnson, of *Southwark*, Widow, Millner, and Chspwoman.

Rice Griffith, of the Parish of *St. Clement Dancs*, *Middlesex*, Mercer and Chapman.

Henry Oland, of *Old Babbem*, *Woolcombe* and *Victualler*.

Alexander Graves, of *Little Swan-Alley*, in *St. John-street*, Butcher.

William Crosley, of *Lyme*, in the County of *Dorset*, Mercer and Chapman.

William Gilbert of *Andover* in the County of *Southampton*, Maltster.

Prices of Stocks, &c. towards the End of the Month.

S T O C K S.

S. Sea 103 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Afric.</i> 14
—Bonds 4 5 a 5	<i>Royal Aff.</i> 112 $\frac{1}{4}$
—Annu. 111 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{3}{4}$	<i>Lon. ditto</i> 14 $\frac{3}{8}$
Bank 147 $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$	3 per C. An. 106 $\frac{1}{4}$ a 7
—Circ. 3 2 6 a 5	<i>Eng. Copper</i>
Mil. Bank 121	<i>Salt Talties</i> 1 a 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>India</i> 181 $\frac{1}{2}$ a 2 a $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>Emp. Loan</i> 117 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$
—Bonds 7 1 6 19 7	<i>Equiv.</i> 114

The Course of E X C H A N G E.

<i>Amsf.</i> 34 10	<i>Bilboa</i>
<i>D. Sights</i> 34 8	<i>Legborn</i> 49 $\frac{7}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$
<i>Rotter.</i> 35	<i>Genoa</i> 52 $\frac{7}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$
<i>Hamb.</i> 33 10	<i>Venice</i> 49 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{8}$
<i>P. Sights</i> 32 16 a $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>Lisb.</i> 55 6d a $\frac{1}{8}$
<i>Bourdx.</i> 32 $\frac{1}{8}$	<i>Oport.</i> 55 5d $\frac{1}{8}$
<i>Cadiz</i> 39 $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>Antw.</i> 35
<i>Madrid</i> 39 $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>Dublin</i> 10 $\frac{1}{8}$

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

<i>Wheat</i> 31 35	<i>Oates</i> 11 14
<i>Rye</i> 13 18	<i>Tares</i> 22 24
<i>Barley</i> 14 17	<i>Pease</i> 20 24
<i>H. Beans</i> 20 22	<i>H. Pease</i> 16 17
<i>P. Malt</i> 20 22	<i>B. Malt</i> 16 19

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from May 24 to June 21.

Christned	{	Males	614	}	1210
		Females	596		
Buried	{	Males	902	}	1882
		Females	980		
Died under 2 Years old					700
Between 2 and 5		2	5		209
		5	10		63
		10	20		67
		20	30		153
		30	40		172
		40	50		176
		50	60		126
		60	70		105
		70	80		67
		80	90		35
	90 and upwards				9

1882

Hay 46 to 50s. a Load.

THE *Chevalier's* eldest Son has lately made a Progress through *Italy*, incognito, under the Name of the Count of *Albany*, accompanied by his Governor, and several other Attendants. In this Progress he passed thro' *Parma*, *Bologna*, *Ancona*, *Genoa*, *Milan*, and *Venice*; at all which Places he met with a courteous Reception, but all in a private Manner; and at the last mentioned Place, he met with the Duke and Dutchess of *Bavaria*, who are likewise travelling incog. under the Pretence of going to pay their Devotions at the famous Church of *Lorato*; tho' 'tis probable his electoral Highness's spiritual Views may have some Mixture of the Temporal; for we may remember the famous Alliance between the *Emperor*, *Bavaria*, and *Savoy*, in the Year 1689, was concluded at *Venice*, when the late Duke of *Bavaria*, and the late Duke of *Savoy* met there, both under pretence of seeing the Diversions of the Carnival.

The *Queen of Spain* has not yet laid aside her Views of getting *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, for her second Son *Don Philip*, but what those Views are, we are at a Loss to determine; for some little Time since, we were told she was in a Treaty for making a Sort of Purchase of them from the *Emperor* and the Duke of *Lorain*; but if our late Advices be true, her Views are not of such a peaceable Nature; for we are now told that a great Armament is fitting out at *Barcelona*, designed for *Tuscany*; and what is most extraordinary, that it is to be joined by a strong Squadron, with Troops on board from *Great Britain*; so that before the End of next *August* we shall see a great Change in the present System of the Affairs of *Europe*. To this if we add our last Advices from *Italy*, That a Body of 600 *French* are arrived at *Fenestrelles*, on the Frontiers of *Savoy*, which is to be followed by another Body much more considerable: That the King of *Sardinia* is assembling his Troops; and that the *Emperor* has countermanded the March of some Regiments from *Italy* to *Hungary*, we must conclude that the Affairs of *Europe* seem at present to be in a very mysterious Sort of Situation.

On the 2d of this Month, *M. Chauvelin*, late Keeper of the Seals in *France*, received his most *Christian Majesty's* Letter de Cachet, by which his Majesty banished him to *Bourges* in *Berry*, and ordered him to set out for that Place in four Days at furthest. The Cause of this Banishment is said to be thus. That fallen Minister, 'tis said, had set the House of *Conde* to work, to prevail upon the King to go a Hunting and dine at *St. Maur*, when it was designed that *M. Chauvelin* should meet his Majesty upon the Road, and throw himself upon his Knees, to beg Pardon

for all the Offences he had committed; and then to take an Opportunity to present a private Memorial, which he had ready drawn up, and by which he hoped to reconcile himself so to his Majesty, as to procure his being replaced in his former Post: But this Intrigue was discovered by the Vigilance of the Duke de *Villars*; upon which the Cardinal went presently to the King and got him to sign the Order for his Banishment to *Bourges*, not without Difficulty; for it is said that when the Cardinal first presented it, his Majesty said, *Chauvelin* was well enough where he was; but upon being pressed, he could not refuse his Eminence's Demand: Nay, 'tis even said that when *Chauvelin* arrives at *Bourges*, he will there meet with another Order for confining him to the Castle of *Pierre Encise* near *Lyons*; from whence we may see how unlucky it is to be the Servant or Subject of a King who observes not the ancient Maxim, *Audi alteram Partem*.

On the 12th of this Month, N. S. the States of *Courland* unanimously elected for their Duke the Count de *Biron*, Great Chamberlain to the *Cæsarina of Muscovy*; from whence we may judge who had the greatest Influence in this Election; and the Unanimity of the States upon this Occasion was certainly very much owing to a Body of 4000 *Muscovite* Troops, who had a little before entered that *Dutchy*, purely to support the Freedom of that Election; for there is no one Thing can be thought so effectual against Faction and Division at Elections of all Kinds as a good Body of regular Troops, under the Command of any one of the Candidates.

The *Emperor* having appointed the Duke of *Lorain* Generalissimo of his Army in *Hungary*, that Prince, accompanied by his Brother Prince *Charles*, set out on the 10th Instant, N. S. for *Hungary*; but no Declaration of War has as yet been made by the *Emperor* against the *Turks*, nor has the *Muscovite* Army as yet entered upon Action; from whence it may be presumed that the Affairs of *Europe* are not in such a settled Condition as were to be wished; for it is not to be supposed that either the Imperialists or *Muscovites* would trifle away so great a Part of the Campaign, in Expectation of a Treaty of Peace, if they were assured of having no Enemy to deal with but the *Ottoman*.

The Dean and Chapter of *Delmont* having chosen Baron *Johu Baptist de Reynach* Bishop of *Basle*; that Gentleman desired a few Days to consider if he should accept of the Dignity offered, and has since absolutely refused to accept; an Instance of Self-Denial the like of which has not been for some Time past heard of in *Europe*.

The

ARCHITECTURE.

1. A New Method of Delineating all the Parts of the different Orders of Architecture By *Thomas Malie*, Gent. Printed for *F. Gyles*, folio, price 12s.

2. The Gentleman and Builder's Repository; or Architecture display'd. By *E. Hopcutt*. Printed for *J. Hodges*, 4to, price 10s.

ANATOMY, NATURAL HISTORY,
PHILOSOPHY and PHYSICK.

3. Anatomy epitomiz'd and illustrated, in seventeen large Folio Copper Plates Printed for *J. Noon*, 8vo, price 6s.

4. A Natural History of English Song-Birds, &c. With Figures by *Mr. Albin*, neatly engraven on Copper. Printed for Mess. *Betsworth*, *Hitch* and *Birt*, price 2s. 6d.

5. A New Treatise of Fluxions. By *J. Smith*, A. M. Sold by *G. Straban*, price 2s.

6. Medical Essays and Observations, Vol. IV. Printed for Mess. *Inys* and *Manby*, 8vo, price 5s. 6d.

7. A Mechanical Account of the Non-naturals. By *J. Wainwright*, M. D. The 5th Edit. Printed for *J. Clarke*, 8vo, pr. 6s.

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8. A general Abridgment of the Common Law. By *Knightsley D'Anvers*, Esq; Vol. 3. Sold by *T. Waller*, folio, price 17s.

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A LETTER to the PUBLICK, containing
Remarks on the Blunders and Inaccuracies of
Mr. Cave's Translation of the HISTORY of
CHINA.

I N December last I troubled you with a Letter in Vindication of the Translation I publish'd of P. DU HALDE's History of *Cbina*, against the virulent and false Aspersions which had been thrown on it by Mr. *Cave* and his Agents.

In that Letter I declar'd I would make no farther Reply to any of his Cavils or Calumnies, but would wait to see Part of his own accurate Translation appear, which he had so long promis'd, and that then I might possibly take a little Pains to point out the Beauties of it, and convince the World how well it deserv'd Three Times the Price of Mine. Accordingly, tho' Mr. *Cave* has ever since, weekly and monthly, in scurrilous Letters and Advertisements in the Papers, nay on the very Covers of his *Magazines* and Pamphlets, continued to propagate the same false and malicious Insinuations in order to injure me in my Property of that Work as far as he could, I have never once interrupted him with a Reply. But since after Twenty ridiculous Proposals, viz. Lotteries, Premiums, Mathematical Wheels, Dividends, Prizes, &c. &c. put out by him at different times, for near two Years together, and after Twenty different Days fix'd for the Publication, at length three or four Numbers of this Marvellous Performance have appear'd, I shall beg leave to make my final Appeal to you, desiring to stand acquitted or condemn'd as you shall decide.

As Blunders and Inaccuracies occur in almost every Page, and that in Articles of the greatest Consequence, to enumerate 'em all would be endless, therefore I shall only give a single Instance, amongst many, in the several following Particulars, which accidentally occur'd upon a cursory Inspection of the Numbers publish'd.

IGNORANCE of the FRENCH TONGUE.

In the very first Page of the Preface, speaking of an *Italian Traveller* at *Peking*, he tells us that he was follow'd by a *Chinese* who serv'd both as his *Footman* and *Valet*.

The Passage in the *French* is thus: *Suivi d'un Chinois à Pied qui lui servoit de Valet*, viz. He was follow'd by a *Chinese on foot*, who serv'd him in the Capacity of a *Valet*.

Here this great Master of the *French* Tongue, whoever the sagacious Translator is, mistakes à *Pied*, which signifies on foot, for a *Footman*, and so saddles the poor *Chinese* with the double Office both of *Footman* and *Valet*. This wretched Blunder, in so easy a Passage, is as high a Proof of the Skill of this incomparable Translator in the *French* Tongue, as his translating *Femmes illustres*, *Strong Women*, is of his Genius and Taste.

COSMO.

COSMOGRAPHY.

In Page 65 is the following Passage: "The Air of this Province is temperate; notwithstanding tho' it does not extend beyond the 42d Parallel, the Rivers are frozen during four Months of the Year, &c." The Original is, *L'air y est tempéré; cependant quoique l'elevation du Pole ne passe pas le 42 Degré, les Rivieres sont glacées durant quatre mois de l'Année, &c.*

Here this learned Translator has discovered his Skill in Cosmography with a Witness, having chang'd a known Term for one that was never made use of in that Sense; nay, had he even said *Parallel of Latitude* the Blunder would have been monstrous in one that sets up for a *Corrector* of *D'auville*, since the Numbers of such *Parallels* are indefinite; we may therefore justly apply to him that celebrated Line,
None but Thyself can be thy Parallel.

NATURAL HISTORY.

In Page 109 he tells us, that the Valleys furnish us with *Red Lead*. The Original is, *On y trouve du Cinabre.*

Our Philosophical Translator lets us here into a very great Secret, for hitherto I believe most People look'd on *Red Lead* not as a Production of *Nature*, but of *Art*. The Original signifies *Native Cinnabar*, from whence the purest kind of *Mercury* may be procur'd; but what signifies the Original? that is not in the least to be regarded; the sagacious Translators are to improve it, as they have often told us; and here is indeed a very extraordinary Improvement. The same egregious Blunder is repeated in other Places.

BOTANY.

In Page 13, speaking of *Rhubarb*, (a Plant, if we may believe that excellent Botanist *Mr. Millar*, hitherto very imperfectly known in *Europe*) this curious Translator contents himself with telling us that the Flower is in the Shape of a Bell, and omits a very material Part of the Description; doubtless because he did not know what to make of it.

BOASTED IMPROVEMENTS.

I have given one Specimen of these already, *viz.* his turning *Native Cinnabar* to *Red Lead*. In the next Place he has plaid such Legerdemain Work with the Names of Towns, Places, Rivers, &c. that 'twill be next to impossible to find 'em in other Authors; for instance, *Hoang* they call *Whang*, *Ju choui* *post* they write *Zbu chwi pu*, &c. &c. Now this is one of the chief of the boasted Improvements, and a very extraordinary one it is.

INACCURACY OF STYLE.

The *Whole*, unless what is stolen from my Edition: But I must first give one Instance. In Page 66 he tells us, that both Sorts of *Voiture* are easy to be met with in many Places. What *English* Reader can understand this Passage, or would possibly conceive that the

the Word *Voiture* meant *Horses and Chaises to be let?* The Original is, *On trouve facilement & en beaucoup d'endroits des Chevaux à louer, ou de Chaises avec leur Porteurs.* Instances of this Sort are innumerable, as, instead of saying, *Their Marriages are agreeable enough*, he tells us, *Their Marriages have nothing barbarous in them;* (a very barbarous Stile I'm sure.) *A fine Dust which penetrates every thing*, instead of *penetrates every where; qui penetre par tout;* a very fine Dust indeed that could penetrate every thing! I doubt it could scarce penetrate this Translator's Skull.

And now is not this a very proper Person to translate a Work which treats of almost *all Arts and Sciences*, who has not the least Skill or Knowledge in *one?*

In a Word, I will venture to affirm, and I willingly appeal to your Judgments for the Truth of it, that the whole of what is publish'd of Mr. *Cave's* Translation is the most incorrect, flat, jejune Stuff that ever tortur'd a Press; and there is not a tolerable Phrase or Expression throughout, but what is palpably taken from my Translation: So that my being before-hand with Mr. *Cave* in the Publication of this Work is so far from being any Injury to him, as he pretends, that, on the contrary, he could never have publish'd at all if his Workmen had not enjoy'd the Benefit of having my Translation before 'em by way of Assistance.

As to those Parts of the Work which I omitted in my Translation, and which Mr. *Cave* has made so hideous a Clamour about, I now submit it to your Determination whether I acted properly in it or not. Mr. *Cave's* Second Number contains one of the principal of those Omissions, *viz.* The Travels of *Pere Fontaney* and *Pere Bonvet*, which are a dry tedious Narrative of travelling so many *Lis* one Day, and so many another, without affording the least Information or Amusement; and I may venture to assure the Publick, that this is a just Specimen of what else we left out. Indeed the Readers of that History are so well convinc'd of its being loaded with a great deal of Matter quite foreign to the Design, that I have been blam'd by several Men of Judgment who purchas'd my Translation, for not having thrown out a great deal more.

Mr. *Cave* was in perilous Wrath likewise about some of the Plans of Towns we had pass'd over, especially when in my Reply I observ'd that they could be of no more Use or Entertainment to us than the Plans of all the Brick-kilns about this Town would be to the *Chinese*. Pray, Reader, have recourse to those publish'd by Mr. *Cave*, and judge if the Comparison was just or not.

Thus much for the Translation and Conduct of the Work, which I am joyful I have the Opportunity of submitting to you. As to what regards the Printing Part; I can from my own Knowledge affirm, that there never was a thing more void of all good Workmanship ever came from a Press. But I suppose he is quite careless how slovenly or wretchedly he palms any thing upon the Publick, for I have been certainly inform'd his Agents give out that Mr. *Cave* can command the Sale of an Edition of any thing he publishes. be it ever so paltry, by the Privileges he has of dispersing it thro' the Country.

And

And now let us take a Review of the worthy Mr. *Cave's* Behaviour thro' the whole of this Affair. He has been proposing for two Years together Twenty different Schemes for the Publication of a Work which he was not capable of executing upon any one of 'em till mine came out: Ever since mine has been out, he has been perpetually breathing malicious and false Accusations against it, endeavouring, by that means, to injure me in my Property, and abuse the Publick by preventing 'em, thro' false Suggestions, buying a Book which would have afforded 'em a great deal of Entertainment and Satisfaction; and yet at the same time that he's doing this, most palpably stealing from my Translation to help patch up a Wretched One of his own, which is to amount to THREE TIMES the PRICE that MINE is SOLD at. Won't People be apt to call this most flagrant Impudence, as well as Injustice?

But Mr. *Cave* is proof against any thing that can be said of him, or else the many Rebukes he has lately receiv'd in the publick Papers from several Authors upon various Parts of his Behaviour, would have had a better Effect on him: But the Man, it seems, is grown quite callous, and the more he is lash'd for his Offences the more insensible he grows to it.

Having therefore discharg'd my Duty by pointing out, in conjunction with others, some of the Male-Practices of this Butcher of Books, this Mangler of other Mens Works, I shall, out of despair of working any Cure upon him, give him over for the future.

I am

Your humble Servant,

Printing-Office, Wild-Court,
near Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

JOHN WATTS.



T H E

LONDON MAGAZINE.

JULY, 1737.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *last Session* of PARLIAMENT, *continued from Page 300.*

MOTION for a Settlement on the Prince of WALES.

ARGUMENT for the MOTION.



S the Affair relating to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was the most considerable of any that happened during last Session, and as

it has no Connexion with any of the other Proceedings, we shall give an Abstract of the Debate upon that Subject, before we begin to give a regular Account of the other Proceedings of last Session. This Affair was moved in the House of Commons by *Wm P—y*, Esq; and seconded by Sir *J—n B—d*, on Tuesday the 22d of February last; and on Friday the 25th, the same Motion was made in the House of Lords by the Lord *C—t*. (See p. 281.) As the Arguments made use of in both Houses were necessarily pretty much the same, we shall give an Abstract of the Debate in both Houses by way of Argument, Answer, and Reply. The Argument for the Motion was to the Effect as follows, *viz.*

Sir, I have a Matter of the highest Importance to lay before you, a Matter which chiefly concerns one of the greatest and most illustrious Persons in the Kingdom; but as the Well-being of the Nation depends upon his Welfare and Happiness, therefore I may justly say, the whole Nation is deeply concerned in the Affair I am now to take the Liberty of laying before you; and as our Parliament is his Majesty's first and chief Council, there can be no Question of a Nature too high for our Consideration, for which Reason every Gentleman who has the Honour to be a Member of either House of Parliament, has not only a Right, but is in Duty bound to lay before the House whatever he thinks may affect the Happiness or the Honour of his Country. The Affair I am now going to propose for your Consideration, is, indeed, an Affair of so high a Nature, that I should not of my own Head have taken upon me to have mentioned it to you; but I have communicated my Sentiments to several Persons of the greatest Rank and best Families in the Kingdom,

dom, Persons with whom I should chuse to live, with whom I should chuse to die, and all of them, I find, are of the same Sentiments with me: They are all of Opinion, it is an Affair which ought to be laid before Parliament, therefore I shall take up-
 A on me to mention it to you, and to make you a Motion which I hope will be unanimously agreed to.

The Commons of *Great Britain* in Parliament assembled, have not only an undoubted Right to make such Grants as they think are neces-
 B sary for the Honour and Welfare of the Nation, and to appropriate those Grants to the Uses for which they intend them, but likewise, Sir, they have a Right to follow those Grants, to examine into the Application of them, and to punish those who shall
 C be found to have misapplied them. Nay farther, they may annex to their Grants such Conditions as they think proper, and if those Conditions should not be performed, or if the Occa-
 D sions for which the Grants were made should cease, they may resume them, or may direct their being applied to Uses of a quite different Nature. This, I say, is the undoubted Right of the Commons of *Great Britain*; and therefore, if any Money former-
 E ly granted by Parliament has not been applied, or has not been properly applied, to the Use for which it was intended by Parliament, we have not only a Right, but it is our Duty to examine into it, and to di-
 F rect that for the future, it may duly, and in the most proper Manner, be applied to that Use for which it was granted.

After having thus mentioned to you, Sir, one of the most undoubted Rights of Parliament, I shall next take Notice that by an antient and a most reasonable Maxim in our Constitution, the Prince of *Wales*, the eldest Son of the King and Heir apparent to the Crown, ought to be made as Free and Independent as

any other Subject whatever; and for that Purpose he ought not only to have a Provision sufficient for supporting the Dignity and Grandeur of his high Birth, but that Provision ought to be settled upon him in such
 A a Manner as to put it out of the Power of any Person to disappoint him of it: Not only his Title to it ought to be made as firm and irrevocable, as any other private Title in the Kingdom can be, but he ought,
 B at least as soon as he comes to be of the Age of *Fourteen*, to be put into the actual and immediate Possession: This has always been held as an estab-
 C lished Maxim in this Kingdom, and we find our Parliaments have often interposed, and have taken upon them to enforce the Observance of this Maxim. Upon his late Majesty's
 D happy Accession to the Throne, the Parliament was then so sensible of the Utility and Reasonableness of this Maxim, that they granted a very
 E large Addition to the *Civil List Revenue*, in order that an honourable and a sufficient Provision might be settled upon his present Majesty who then
 F was Prince of *Wales*; and it having been found during his late Majesty's Reign, that the *Civil List Revenue* particularly appropriated for main-
 G taining the Honour and Dignity of the Crown was too small, therefore a very large new Addition was granted by the first Parliament of his present Majesty's Reign, in order that he might be enabled to continue the same Provision for the present Prince of *Wales*, which he himself had enjoyed in the Life-Time of his Father; from all which I must conclude, that the Motion I am to make, for having a sufficient Provision settled upon his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, is a Motion founded upon Law, upon Equity, upon Wisdom and good Policy, and upon Precedent.

But before I make my Motion, give me leave, Sir, to inquire particularly into these several Founda-

tions; and to begin with the last, I shall shew from many undoubted Authorities, that the Prince of *Wales* has always had, and ought to have a sufficient Provision settled upon him, in such a Manner as to render him as independent of the Crown as any other Subject can be. To recount all the Precedents that occur in our Histories and Records, would take up too much of your Time, and therefore I shall take Notice only of some of the most remarkable. King *Henry III.* granted to his eldest Son *Edward*, afterwards King *Edward I.* the Dutchy of *Guienne*, before he was *fourteen* Years of Age, and the Moment the *Prince* was married, he not only confirmed his former Grant by a new Patent, but likewise granted him, and put him in Possession of the Earldom of *Chester*, the Cities and Towns of *Bristol*, *Stamford*, and *Grantbam*, with several other Castles and Manors, created him *Prince of Wales*, to which he annexed all the conquered Lands in that Principality, and appointed him Lieutenant Governor of *Ireland*, tho' he was then but just turned of *fourteen*; all which was done, as the Historians express it, *ut maturius ad res graviore gerendas expertus redderetur*. By this Generosity and Benevolence of the King towards his eldest Son, that *Prince* was early in his Youth established in a State of Independency and Grandeur, and those paternal Favours were afterwards fully repaid by that illustrious and most heroic *Prince*; for he afterwards proved his Father's chief and only Support. Every one knows how by his Courage and Conduct at the Battle of *Evesham* he relieved his Father out of the Hands of his Enemies, and restored his Affairs after they were brought into a most desperate State. Nay, not only the King himself, but the whole Nation reaped signal Benefit from the free and independent Circumstances in

which that King had so early placed his eldest Son. A State of Independency naturally ennobles and exalts the Mind of Man; and the Effects of it were most conspicuous in this wise and brave *Prince*, for he afterwards became the Glory of *England* and the Terror of *Europe*.

The next Precedent I shall take notice of is, That of *Edward the black Prince*, upon whom *Edward III.* his Father, settled at different Times the Earldom of *Chester*, the Dutchy of *Cornwall*, the Principality of *Wales*, the Dutchy of *Guienne*, and the Principality of *Aquitain*. That wise and great King, Sir, was so sensible of the Reasonableness of the antient Maxim of *England*, with regard to the King's eldest Son, that he took care every future *Prince of Wales* should have something to depend on, independent of his Father, from the very Moment of his Birth; for which Purpose he settled by Act of Parliament the Dutchy of *Cornwall* in such a Manner, that the King's eldest Son, and Heir apparent of the Crown, has ever since been Duke of *Cornwall* as soon as born, and without any new Grant from the King, from whence has risen the common Proverb, *Natus est, non datus dux Cornubiæ*. Some of the later Grants of that King might, indeed, proceed from the great personal Merit of the Son; but the first Grants could not proceed from any such Consideration; they could proceed only from his own Wisdom, and from the general Maxim I have mentioned; for the *Prince* was not *three* Years old when his Father settled upon him by Patent the Earldom of *Chester*, he was but *seven* Years old when *Cornwall* was erected into a Dutchy and settled upon him by Act of Parliament as before mentioned, and he was but *thirteen* when the Principality of *Wales* was settled upon him. Soon after that Time indeed, his personal Merit began to appear; but

how came it to appear? Its early Appearance did proceed, and could only proceed from his Father's having put him so early into an independent Situation, and from his having employed him in, and inured him to the Study of weighty Affairs, at an **A** Age when most *Princes* are industriously taught to think of nothing but Baubles and Toys.

The same Conduct, Sir, that wise King observed during that brave *Prince's* Life: He was continually heaping Favours upon the *Prince* his **B** Son, and the *Prince* was continually repaying them with glorious Acts of Gratitude and filial Duty. When he was but *seventeen*, he fully repaid all former Favours by having the chief Share in the Victory obtained over the *French* at the famous Battle of *Cressy*. In the 24th or 25th Year of this *Prince's* Age, the King invested him with the Dutchy of *Guienne*, which new Favour he soon after repaid by sending the *King of France* home Prisoner to his Father, after having defeated and taken him at the memorable Battle of *Poitiers*. **C** And in the *two and thirtieth* Year of that *Prince's* Age, a great Part of *France* having been conquered and subdued by his Valour, the King his Father erected *Guienne*, *Gascony*, and several other Provinces of *France*, into a Principality under the Name of the Principality of *Aquitain*, with which he invested the *Prince* his Son: This new Favour likewise the *Prince* soon repaid by carrying the Glory of the *English* Arms into *Spain*, and replacing *Peter* upon the Throne of *Castile*, after having defeated the **D** Usurper *Henry* at the Battle of *Najara* in that Kingdom; for all which glorious Victories, and many other great Services done to his native Country, the Nation was so grateful to his Memory, that immediately after his Death, or at least so soon as their Grief for the Loss of so brave a *Prince* would give them leave, the **E**

House of Commons addressed the King to create his Son *Prince of Wales* and Duke of *Cornwall*, which that wise King immediately agreed to; for his Grandson being then Heir apparent to the Crown, he became intitled by the Maxim I have mentioned to an independent Settlement; but as he was not the King's eldest Son, he had no Pretence from any former Precedent to the Principality of *Wales*, and his Right by the late Act to the Dutchy of *Cornwall* was thought to be doubtful by the Lawyers of that **F** Age, the Lawyers being then, it seems, as dextrous at starting Doubts and Scruples as the Lawyers of the Age we now live in.

Give me leave, Sir, to mention one other Precedent, That of *Prince Henry*, afterwards the glorious King *Henry V.* whom his Father *Henry IV.* in the very first Year of his Reign, created *Prince of Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*, tho' the *Prince* was then but twelve Years of Age; all which Grants were recorded upon the Parliament's Request, in order to prevent any Possibility of a Revocation; and tho' that King was naturally of a jealous and suspicious Temper, yet, we find, during his whole Reign, he was every now and then making new Grants to the *Prince* his Son, even tho' he was sometimes maliciously made believe, the *Prince* was conspiring against him. This *Prince*, 'tis true, fell into some Excesses incident to Youth and Idleness, but from the first Part of his Life, and from his Conduct after he became King, we may judge that those Excesses were rather owing to his Father's Jealousy than to his own natural Temper, for when he was but about sixteen, he by his Valour contributed greatly to his Father's Victory over the Rebels at *Shrewsbury*, and the very next Year, having been entrusted with the Command of his Father's Army against the Rebels in *Wales*, **G**

Wales, by his Conduct and Courage, he gave them two signal Defeats, by which he gained so much Esteem that the King his Father, from his own natural and unhappy Temper, and not from any undutiful Behaviour in his Son, began to grow jealous of him, and therefore never afterwards employed him in any publick Affairs; so that the Excesses he fell into probably proceeded from the Idleness of his Life, and the Activity of his Genius, or perhaps rather from a Design of removing from his Father all future Occasions of Jealousy. This, indeed, seems to be confirmed, or at least rendered the most probable Conjecture, by his Conduct after he became King; for immediately upon his Accession, he banished from his Presence all the Companions and sycophant Upholders of his former Debauches, and became one of the greatest, and one of the most glorious Kings, that ever sat upon the *English* Throne.

But, Sir, 'tis quite unnecessary to mention particularly all the Examples that could be brought of the great and irrevocable Provisions that have been made for the eldest Sons of our Kings. We have not, 'tis true, had many Princes that have come to Man's Estate in the Life-time of their Fathers; but every one of them that has done so, has had an independent Settlement made upon him long before he was of Age. Nay even the presumptive Heirs of the Crown have always had an independent Settlement made upon them, generally as soon as they began to be the presumptive Heirs of the Crown: For proof of this I need bring no other Example but that of the late King *James II.* when Duke of *York*, and that of the late Queen *Anne*, when Princess of *Denmark*; for the Duke of *York* had a great Settlement made upon him by Parliament, soon after the Restoration, tho' he was but presumptive Heir of the Crown; his

Brother King *Charles* being then in a Capacity of having Children, who would have given him a more effectual Exclusion than could ever be attained by Parliament, till his own ridiculous Measures put it in their Power; and the late Queen *Anne*, when Princess of *Denmark*, had likewise a great Settlement made upon her by Authority of Parliament, tho' King *William* and Queen *Mary* were both then alive, and in a Capacity of having Children; so that the Princess *Anne*, when that Settlement was made, was but the presumptive Heir of the Crown:

From these Precedents it appears, Sir, that the Maxim of having an independent Provision settled upon the apparent or presumptive Heir of the Crown, is a Maxim which has always been observed in this Nation; and that the Parliament may interpose for that purpose, I shall likewise shew from several Precedents. I have already mentioned to you the Address of the Houle of Commons in favour of *Edward* the black Prince's eldest Son, therefore I shall proceed to mention some others of a later Date. In the first Year of King *Henry IV.* the Lords and Commons, upon proper Motions for that purpose, desired of the King that his eldest Son, Prince *Henry*, might be created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Chester*, and in the same Parliament the Commons petitioned the King that the Charter of the said Principality and Earldom, and an Act of the said Creation, might be enrolled and entered upon Record, as an Article agreed upon by Parliament; both which that King immediately complied with; for as he had been called in by the People, and raised to the Throne by the Parliament, he had so just a Sense of the Obligations he lay under both to his People and Parliament, as not to refuse any just Request they could make. In the

Reign of *Henry VI.* the Parliament not only took care to have the Principality of *Wales* settled upon Prince *Edward*, eldest Son of the King; but likewise declared and ascertained the particular Sums that were to be allowed for his Table, till he came to be of the Age of Fourteen, when he was to be put in Possession of the whole Revenues of the Principality of *Wales*, Dutchy of *Cornwall*, and County *Palatine* of *Chester*. And but lately, in the Beginning of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, the House of Commons resolved to address their Majesties to make a Settlement on the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, who was then but presumptive Heir of the Crown; which Resolution does not, 'tis true, seem to have been very agreeable to the Court, with regard to the Sum at first proposed, but the Right the Parliament had to present such an Address was so far from being controverted, that after the Dispute about the Sum was settled, even the Courtiers themselves joined, the next Session, in the Resolution for that Purpose, which plainly evinces the Power and the Duty of Parliament, with respect to their addressing for having a sufficient Provision settled independently upon the Heir Apparent or Presumptive of the Crown, and consequently will from Precedent justify the Motion I am to make.

Now, Sir, with respect to Wisdom and good Policy, That of having the Heir Apparent to the Crown bred up in a State of Grandeur and Independency, is certainly a Maxim of great Use in all Countries, but in a free Country it is absolutely necessary. A free and generous Education tends greatly to open the Mind, to endow it with noble and right Sentiments, and to shut out all mean, narrow, and selfish Views, therefore it is the only proper Education for one who is by his Birth to have the chief Rule over any

People; but for one who is to have the chief Rule over a free People, such an Education becomes absolutely necessary; for, besides the Advantages already mentioned, a Prince who has lived in a State of Freedom and Independency before he begins his Reign, thereby learns how to be a dutiful and obedient Subject without being an abject Slave, and by tasting in his Youth the Sweets of such a delicious State, he comes to know the true Value of it, from whence he must necessarily conclude his Subjects will not easily part with it, and therefore, when he comes to mount the Throne, he not only knows how to exact a dutiful Obedience without expecting a slavish Submission, but he will in common Prudence content himself with the former, because he knows he cannot without great Danger aim at the latter. Such a Prince will always be sure of being well served, because he can with Patience receive an honest and a free Advice from his Ministers and Favourites, he will not take it ill to be even controlled by his Council or his Parliament; whereas a Prince educated in Slavery and advanced to Power, being unacquainted with any Sort of Submission but that he has himself been bred to, is apt to look upon every honest Freedom as a Mark of Disrespect or Disobedience, and as he cannot bear Sincerity, he may expect never to meet with it from any of his pretended Friends or Favourites. Thus it appears to be requisite both for the Honour and Prosperity of the *Prince* who is to reign, and for the Ease and Happiness of the People over whom he is to reign, that he should be bred up in a State of Freedom and Independency.

But farther, Sir, even with Regard to the King upon the Throne, especially in this Nation, the Grandeur and Independency of his Heir Apparent must be of great Service to him.

The Affection and Esteem which the Heir Apparent acquires among the People, is so far from being a Disadvantage to the King, that it must always be, and has always been reckoned one of the most solid Supports of the Crown. The great and the wise King *Edward III.* was so far from being jealous of any Glory or Esteem the *Prince* his Son might acquire, that at the famous Battle of *Cressy*, he gave his Son the chief Command of that Part of his Army which was to attack the Enemy, in order that he might have the sole Glory of the Victory, reserving to himself only the Command of a great Body of Reserve in Case of Accidents; and when Word was brought him that his Son was in great Danger and hardly pressed by the Enemy, his Answer was, *I know my Boy has Courage, let him but push the Enemy, he will certainly Conquer: I am loth to rob him of any Share of that Glory I see he is in a fair Way of obtaining.* Such were that King's great Sentiments; and in the Charter of *Henry VI.* to his Son *Edward*, it is expressly declared, that by giving due Honours to the Prince, the Throne was established, and the Royal Scepter exalted; and that therefore, by granting the Principality of *Wales* and County Palatine of *Chester* to his Son, he consulted his own Honour, the Security of the Royal Family, and the Good of his People, rather than the *Prince's* Honour. From the Behaviour of all our Kings towards their eldest Sons, we may judge their Sentiments have been the same: They have all been of Opinion, that their eldest Sons ought to live in Grandeur, and that the more Honour and Esteem they acquired, the more they added to the Security of the Throne; but how can a *Prince* live in Grandeur who has nothing of his own, or not a Sufficiency, to subsist on? How can a *Prince* who is in a continual State of Dependency,

a continual State of Slavery, acquire Esteem from those who are themselves free and independent? The very submitting tamely to live in such a State, must derogate from his Honour, and render him despicable in the Eyes of a brave and a free People, which the People of this Nation will, I hope, for ever continue to be.

Suppose then, Sir, there were no Precedent for having a sufficient and an independent Provision settled upon the *Prince of Wales*, suppose there were no Example of the Parliament's having ever interposed for that Purpose, yet if true Wisdom and good Policy require that it should be done, if the making of such a Settlement can contribute to the Honour of the King, to the Security of the Royal Family, and to the Happiness of the People, it is a Thing that ought to be done, and if it should be unnecessarily delayed, has not the Parliament a Right, are we not in Honour, in Duty, bound to interpose, and to advise or petition our Sovereign that it may be done as soon as possible? But when we consider the constant Course of Proceeding in this particular, when we see how often the Parliament has interposed, even when this Provision was not to be made but of any Grants from the People, but out of the King's own Estate, out of the Lands and Revenues properly belonging to the Crown, can we balance a Moment about our Right, can we in Duty to our King, or to that most illustrious and most deserving *Prince* his eldest Son, delay requesting that to be done which ought to have been done long before this Time? especially now, Sir, that no Part of that Provision is to come out of the Lands or Revenues properly belonging to the Crown, but is wholly to be taken from a very liberal Grant long since made by the People to the Crown, and which has been of late greatly increased with this very View, that an honourable

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rable and a sufficient Settlement might be made upon his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales* as soon as the same should become necessary.

This, Sir, of course leads me to consider the Nature of that Parliamentary Grant, now called the Civil List Revenue, from which 'twill appear that what I am now going to propose, is founded both upon Law and Equity. In antient Times the Estates and Revenues properly belonging to the Crown, were sufficient for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown and Royal Family, the People were charged with no Taxes for that Purpose, except a small Custom upon the Importation and Exportation of Goods and Merchandize: No Grant, no Aid was ever desired from them, but when some extraordinary Expence became necessary, for defending the Nation against Pyrates or threatned Invasions, or for vindicating and supporting its Honour in some Affair of great Consequence and of an extraordinary Nature; but by the profuse Liberalities of some of our former Kings, and by other Accidents, the proper Estate and Revenue of the Crown came at last to be so much diminished, that it was not near sufficient for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown and Royal Family, and therefore at the Restoration of King *Charles II.* the dangerous Tax called *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, and the more dangerous Tax called *Excise*, were established, and granted to that King for his Life; and at the same Time an additional *Excise* was established, in lieu of the *Wards* and *Liveries* which were then abolished, and settled upon that King and his Heirs and Successors forever; which Taxes were designed partly for what is now called the Civil List, and the Residue for what we now call the Current Service. Several other Taxes were established in that and the following

Reign, and intended for the same Purposes, without distinguishing or specifying any particular Uses; but it having been found that the Money granted by Parliament was often applied to Purposes very different from those intended by Parliament, therefore, after the happy Revolution, which put us in a Condition of rectifying some former Errors, and removing some of our former Grievances, the Custom of appropriating each respective Grant to its proper Use, was introduced and established; and from that Time the Revenues granted to the Crown by Parliament came to be distinguished into the Civil List Revenue, and the Current Service Revenue; the former being that which was granted and appropriated by Parliament for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and providing for the Royal Family; and the latter, that which was granted and appropriated by Parliament for maintaining our Fleets and Armies, or providing for any other extraordinary publick Services.

In order therefore to determine what Branches of the publick Charge were designed by Parliament, and ought in Law and Equity, to be defrayed out of those Grants appropriated to the Civil List, we must examine, Sir, what Uses that Revenue was applied to, immediately after its being first distinctly established, which was in the Reign of the late King *William*; and we find that, during his whole Reign, the Provision appointed for the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark* was always charged upon, and paid out of his Civil List Revenue. Then again upon his late Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, the Parliament granted and appropriated to the Civil List, the same Taxes and Revenues, which had been granted and appropriated to the Civil List, during the Reign of his Predecessor Queen *Anne*; but his late Majesty, in his first Speech to his

Parliament, took notice, *That the Branches of the Revenue formerly granted for the Support of the civil Government, were so far incumbered and alienated, that the Produce of the Funds which remained, and had been granted to him would fall much short of what was at first designed for maintaining the Honour and Dignity of the Crown..* To which he added, *That since it was his Happiness to see a Prince of Wales, who might in due Time succeed him on the Throne, and to see that Prince blessed with many Children, the best and most valuable Pledges for his Care and Concern for our Posterity; That must occasion an Expence to which the Nation had not of many Years been accustomed, but such as surely no Man would grudge.* Do not these Words shew that his late Majesty was of Opinion, the Civil List Revenue was unquestionably to be charged with making an honourable Provision for the *Prince of Wales?* And is it not as apparent that the Addition granted to the Civil List by Parliament, in consequence of that Speech, was granted with an Intention, that such a Settlement should be granted out of that Revenue to the *Prince of Wales* as should be sufficient for supporting the Dignity of his high Birth, and the Honour of the Crown of *Great Britain*, to which he was Heir apparent? 'Tis plain his late Majesty meant so, and took the Intention of Parliament to be so; for within *ten Days* after that Law passed, he notified to his Parliament, that he had ordered Letters patent for 100,000 *l.* a Year to his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales* out of the Civil List Revenue; and the same Session an Act passed for freeing the 100,000 *l.* so granted by his Majesty to the *Prince of Wales* from Payment of any Fees or Taxes, and for empowering the Commissioners of Excise and Customs to pay directly to the *Prince*, or his Treasurer, the Produce of such

Branches of the Civil List Revenue, as his Majesty should appoint for answering that Settlement; by which his Royal Highness was rendered so absolutely independent of the Crown, with respect to his own proper Revenue, that he was not so much as obliged to apply to his Majesty's Exchequer for the Payment of it: His Revenue could not run in Arrear, even his Majesty's Chancellor of the Exchequer could not put him off with that common Excuse for not answering a just Demand, that there was no Money in the Exchequer: And I cannot omit taking Notice, that at the very same Time, in the very same Session, there was also another Act passed, for enabling his Majesty to grant to him the Principality of *Wales*, and County Palatine of *Chester*, which were immediately after granted to him accordingly.

But now, Sir, to come to his present Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, and that Parliament which established the large Civil List now settled upon the Crown. During his late Majesty's Reign, by reason of some very extraordinary and uncommon Disbursements, it had been found, that a Civil List Revenue even of 700,000 *l.* a Year, as it had been managed, was not sufficient to support the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and to pay 100,000 *l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*; for which Reason several additional Sums had been granted in that Reign to the Civil List, amounting in the whole to 1,300,000 *l.* which made the Civil List during that Reign amount, at an Average, to 800,000 *l.* a Year; therefore his present Majesty, in his first Speech from the Throne, told his Parliament, *he was persuaded that the Experience of past Times would prevail upon them to shew a due Regard to the Honour and Dignity of the Crown;* which the Parliament, without examining into the

Reasons of that past Experience, immediately complied with, and settled upon his present Majesty for his Life, what the *Experience of past Times* had shewn to be necessary, and what had actually been given to, tho' not settled upon his Father, with this remarkable Improvement, that, if the Taxes appropriated for that Purpose produced more, the Surplus should belong to his Majesty, but if they produced less than 800,000*l.* a Year, the Deficiency should be made good by Parliament; which new Improvement seems to have had great Influence upon some of our Measures since that Time; for it seems to have made us endeavour, as much as possible, to increase the Produce of those Taxes, in which the Civil List has the greatest Share. Now I would gladly know, what his present Majesty meant, or what the Parliament meant by the *Experience of past Times*, which was the only Ground for the Resolution they came to with respect to the Civil List: Surely they both meant that an honourable and a sufficient Provision for the *Prince of Wales* should be chargeable upon the Civil List Revenue, and upon that only; for the *Experience of past Times* had shewn that 700,000*l.* a Year was not sufficient for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and for allowing 100,000*l.* a Year for the *Prince of Wales*; but the same Experience had shewn that 800,000*l.* per Annum was sufficient both for the one, and for the other; and therefore by proceeding upon the *Experience of past Times*, and upon that only, and from thence settling 800,000*l.* a Year for his present Majesty's Civil List, both his Majesty and his Parliament must then certainly have meant, that out of that Revenue a sufficient Provision should be settled upon his *Royal Highness*, as soon as his future Circumstances should require such a Settlement to be made: From all which I must

conclude, that the Motion I am to make for this Purpose is a Motion founded both upon Law and Equity.

I think, Sir, I have now shewn that according to Law, according to Equity and Conscience, according to Wisdom and good Policy, and according to Precedent, his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales* ought to have a Provision settled upon him, sufficient for supporting the Dignity and Grandeur of his high Birth; and that the Parliament not only has a Right, but ought to interpose, and advise his Majesty to do that which in Law, in Equity, in Wisdom, and according to Precedent, ought to be done. The next two Questions that will naturally occur in this Affair, are, when that Settlement ought to be made? And what may be thought a sufficient Settlement? As to the Time when it ought to be made: It ought certainly to have been made long before now. The Mind of every Man is formed early in his Youth. Those Notions and Sentiments which are early imbibed, take deep Root, and are seldom or never shaken off. If then an independent State can any Way contribute to the Improvement of a Prince's Mind, the more early he is put into such a State, the better. According to this has the constant Practice in this Kingdom always been: *King Henry III.* made a Settlement upon his eldest Son *Edward*, afterwards *King Edward I.* before he was *Fourteen.* *Edward III.* made a Settlement upon his eldest Son, *Edward the black Prince*, before he was *three Years* of Age; and within a few Months after the Death of that Prince, the Commons addressed the King to make a Settlement upon that Prince's eldest Son, who by his Father's Death was become Heir Apparent to the Crown. The *Post Office* and *Wine Licence* Revenues were settled by Parliament upon the *Duke of York*, who was but Presumptive Heir of

the Crown, within *three* Years after his Brother *King Charles II's* Restoration. A Settlement was made upon the *Princess Anne of Denmark*, who was likewise but *Presumptive Heir* of the Crown, in pursuance of an Address for that Purpose from the House of Commons, the very *first* Year, or the Beginning of the 2^d Year of the Reign of *King William and Queen Mary*. And his late Majesty ordered Letters patent for making a Settlement upon the *present King*, then *Prince of Wales*, within *ten Days* after the Parliament had granted him a Fund for that Purpose. In short, Sir, look over all our Histories, examine all former Precedents, I believe no Example can be found, where the Making of such a Settlement has been so long delayed, as in the present Reign: What may be the Reason I shall not pretend to determine; but I am sure there never was a *Prince of Wales* who better deserved it, nor a Crown Revenue that could better spare it. It ought, in my Opinion, to have been done as soon as his *Royal Highness* arrived in *England*, especially as he was then of full Age, and, as every one that has the Honour and Happiness to know him must grant, extremely capable to govern his own Affairs; and since it is not yet done, it is high Time for us to use the same Liberty former Parliaments have often taken, it is high Time for us to desire that it may be done.

Now, Sir, with regard to what may be deemed a sufficient Settlement for his *Royal Highness*, I think there cannot properly be any Question about it, because it seems to have been determined by that Parliament which established the Civil List in the late King's Reign, and also by that Parliament which established, and from the *Experience of past Times* increased the present Civil List Revenue. Both were certainly of Opinion, and the latter have, I think,

very expressly determined, that his *Royal Highness* the present *Prince of Wales* was, and ought to have, at least 100,000*l.* a Year settled upon him, out of the large Civil List they then granted; for what else could they mean by settling a Civil List Revenue of 800,000*l.* a Year. The *Experience of past Times*, which, as I have said, was then the only Ground for increasing that Revenue, had shewn that 700,000*l.* a Year was sufficient for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, without including what was to be allowed the *Prince of Wales*; and therefore by their adding to that yearly Sum, 100,000*l.* a Year more, and granting a Civil List Revenue of 800,000*l.* a Year at least, it must be supposed they meant and intended that the 100,000*l.* they had so added to the Civil List Revenue, more than what the *Experience of past Times* had shewn to be sufficient for maintaining the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, should be settled upon the present *Prince of Wales*, besides the Principality of *Wales*, *Dutchy of Cornwall*, and *County Palatine of Chester*, in the same Manner as it had been settled upon the present King, while he was *Prince of Wales*: And indeed from the very Nature of the Thing we are to judge so; for what Reason could they then think of, or what Reason can now be assigned, why the *present Prince of Wales* should live in less Grandeur than his Father did whilst he was *Prince of Wales*, or why the same Grandeur might be supported at a less Expence than had been before necessary? I can think of no Reason but one, which is, That the Nation is not now so rich as it was formerly: This, indeed, may at last come to be a good Reason for diminishing the Allowance or Settlement for the *Prince of Wales*, and it is a Reason for which, I am sorry to say it, I think there is too good a Foundation; but then

it is a Reason for diminishing every other Article of the publick Expence, especially that belonging to the Civil List; and I am far from thinking the Provision for the *Prince of Wales* is the First we ought to begin with; for if any Judgment can be formed from the *Experience of past Times*, 100,000*l.* a Year, besides the now exhausted Revenues of *Wales, Cornwall, and Chester*, is the least Provision we can as yet think of allowing for supporting the Dignity and Grandeur of the Heir Apparent to our Crown. I shall therefore take it for granted, till I hear it contradicted, that it is now high Time the Provision for the *Prince of Wales* should be settled in the usual Way, and that 100,000*l.* a Year out of the Civil List is the least Provision we can suppose necessary, and the least the Parliament that established the present Civil List designed he should have; These two Points I shall now, I say, take for granted, but if both, or either, be controverted, I shall beg Leave to explain myself more fully upon this Head, unless some other Gentleman who is of the same Opinion with me, and more capable of giving the Reasons for his Opinion, rises up and saves me that Trouble. For this Reason I shall not now take up your Time with enlarging further upon these two Questions, but shall take the Liberty to make you this Motion.

That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty to express the just Sense this House has of his Majesty's great Goodness and tender Regard for the lasting Welfare and Happiness of his People, in the Marriage of his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales*; and as this House cannot omit any Opportunity of shewing their Zeal and Regard for his Majesty's Honour, and the Prosperity of his Family, humbly to beseech his Majesty, that, in consideration of the high Rank and Dignity

of their Royal Highnesses the *Prince and Princess of Wales*, and their many eminent Virtues and Merits, he would be graciously pleased to settle 100,000*l.* a Year on the *Prince of Wales*, out of the Revenues cheerfully granted to his Majesty, for the Expences of his Civil Government, and better supporting the Dignity of the Crown, and for enabling his Majesty to make an honourable Provision for his Royal Family, in the same manner his Majesty enjoyed it before his happy Accession to the Throne; and also humbly to beseech his Majesty to settle the like Joynure on her Royal Highness the *Princess of Wales* as her Majesty had, when she was *Princess of Wales*; and to assure his Majesty, that this House will enable him effectually to perform the same, as nothing will more conduce to the Strengthening his Majesty's Government, than honourably supporting the Dignity of their *Royal Highnesses*, from whom we hope to see a numerous Issue, to deliver down the Blessings of his Majesty's Reign to latest Posterity.

I know, Sir, that several Arguments may be made use of against this Motion, Arguments which may seem to be of Dignity and Weight, because they can come from none but such as are in high Stations, who for that Reason ought never to oppose what is just and Honourable, and much less ought they upon any Occasion to make use of weak or trifling Objections. By such Persons it may be said, that the presenting of such an Address will be a Sort of Intermeddling in the domestick Affairs between Father and Son, which the Parliament has no Title, nor ever ought to intermeddle with upon any Occasion: But, Sir, I must beg Leave to insist upon it, that our presenting such an Address cannot be called Intermeddling in any Affairs either publick or private; it is only offering Advice to our Sovereign

reign in an Affair of great Consequence to the Nation in general, and that we have not only a Right, but are in Duty bound to do, as often as we find it necessary. It is an Advice which I am sure his Majesty's Ministers ought to have given him; if they have not, they have been deficient in their Duty, and the Parliament ought to make up that Deficiency: If they have been so faithful as to offer the same Advice, and have not succeeded, which, for what I know, may be the Case, the Address proposed becomes absolutely necessary, it is what the Ministers ought to be fond of, because the Address of Parliament will add Weight to the good, tho' unsuccessful, Advice they have given. Then, Sir, with respect even to the domestick Affairs of the Royal Family, they ought to be considered in a twofold Respect: If they are such as may contribute to the Honour and Happiness of the Nation in general, or such as may tend to the Dishonour of the Kingdom, or to the bringing of any Misfortune upon the People, they then come to be of a publick Nature, and if any false Step be made or any necessary Step neglected or too long delayed, it is the Duty of Parliament to interpose; and of this Sort surely is that Affair to which the Address now proposed relates.

It may likewise be said, that the King is the only Judge of the Time when it is proper to make a Settlement upon his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales*, and of the Amount of the Revenue that may be proper or necessary for that Purpose. To this, Sir, the Answer is very plain and easy. There are many Things in which the King has by his Prerogative the sole Power of Judging or Ading, and yet in such Cases, if any wrong Measure happens to be pursued, or any proper Measure neglected, the Parliament is in Duty bound to act the Part of a faithful

Counsellor to their Sovereign, and advertise him of what they imagine to be wrong. The two Houses of Parliament, or either of them, may not only offer their Advice, but they may go much further; they may examine into the Affair, and may punish those who by their Weakness or Wickedness have given his Majesty bad Counsel. The King has the sole Power of making Treaties of Peace or Alliance, and of declaring War, and yet I hope it will not be said that the Parliament ought never to interfere, no not so much as by an Address, in any Case of that Nature: I hope it will not be said but that the Parliament may not only address upon such Occasions, but may punish those Ministers who shall advise his Majesty to engage the Nation in dangerous and destructive Treaties, or who shall advise him to avoid a War, when both the Honour and the Interest of the Nation make it necessary. Therefore, tho' his Majesty be the only Judge, when a Settlement ought to be made upon the *Prince of Wales*, and what that Settlement ought to be, yet the Parliament may certainly interpose by an Address, when the making of that Settlement is too long delayed; and now that his *Royal Highness* is not only of Age, but is married, and as it were emancipated out of his Father's Family, it is certainly high Time for the Parliament to interpose: Surely it is not fit his *Royal Highness* should now depend upon his Father, or rather upon his Father's Ministers, for every Shilling he may have occasion for: The very Thought raises in my Mind such ridiculous Ideas, that it is with the utmost Difficulty I can refrain from expressing myself in a Manner far below the Dignity of the Subject: Nothing, indeed, could prevent it but the great Esteem, the high Regard I have for the illustrious Persons who seem to be concerned.

In the next Place, Sir, it may be said

said that his Majesty has a legal Right to the Civil List Revenue as now established, and that the Address proposed would be a Sort of Inroad upon that Right. I shall readily grant that his Majesty has a legal Right to the Civil List Revenue, so he likewise has a legal Right to the Revenue provided for the current Service of the Year, and, I think, we but lately passed a Law for hanging or transporting those who go armed with a Design to rob or disappoint him either of the one or the other, which is more than any Subject in the Kingdom has for the Protection of any sort of Property; but both these Revenues are granted by Parliament for certain and particular Uses, both ought to be applied to those Uses for which they were granted, and the Parliament has a Right to insist upon their being so applied. The Civil List Revenue was granted for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and making a sufficient Provision for the whole Royal Family; and if any Part of that Revenue should be purloined, hoarded, or misapplied by the King's Ministers, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown neglected, or any Branch of the Royal Family not sufficiently provided for, the Parliament has as good Right to address, and even to inquire into that Misapplication, as they would have to inquire into the Misapplication of the Revenue provided for the current Service, in case any Part of that Revenue should be applied to other Purposes, and those Services neglected for which it was intended by Parliament.

Lastly, Sir, it may be said, that such an Address would look something like a Parliamentary Resumption, that it would look as if the Parliament were going to resume and take back from his Majesty what was long since granted by Parliament, and settled upon him during his Life. I confess, Sir, I do not like Resump-

tions of any Kind, I am always sorry when I find there is Occasion for them; but nevertheless a Resumption may sometimes become reasonable: When the Cause of granting any Revenue ceases, the Grant itself ought to cease, and therefore ought to be resumed, or applied to some other Purpose. For this, even with respect to the Civil List Revenue, we have a late Precedent in Point: In 1699 the Parliament granted to *King William* a Civil List Revenue of 700,000*l. per Annum, for the Service of his Household and Family, and other his necessary Expences and Occasions.* This Grant was by Law settled upon that King during his Life, yet in 1701, we find the Parliament resumed 100,000*l.* a Year, Part of this 700,000*l.* Civil List Revenue, and applied it toward the Payment of the publick Debts, for this express Reason, *because the Occasions for which the said 100,000*l.* was given, were then ceased.* This, I say, is a Precedent in Point, for a Resumption after the Cause of Granting has ceased; and from a Parity of Reason, if it should be afterwards found that the Cause of Granting did not require near so large a Grant as was at first imagined, and therefore actually granted, ought not some Part of that Grant to be resumed, or applied to some other Purpose? So that if it could be supposed that a less Revenue than what was intended by Parliament would be sufficient for the *Prince of Wales*, there would be some Reason for a Resumption; but I am far from supposing any such Thing, the Address I have proposed shews the contrary, and therefore it cannot be presumed that my Motion has the least Tendency towards a designed Resumption: It is only for having a Part of the Civil List Revenue applied to that Use for which it was granted by Parliament, and to which it ought in Law, in Equity, and in Wisdom and good Policy,

to be applied; therefore I hope my Motion for that Purpose will be unanimously agreed to.

To this it was answered in Substance as follows, *viz.*

Sir, I rise up to offer you my Sentiments upon the Motion which the Honourable Gentleman has now been pleased to make to you, but I must begin with declaring, that I never rose up to speak upon any Affair in this House with a deeper Concern, a greater Reluctancy, than I do upon the Affair now before you. I shall most readily agree with the Hon. Gentleman that it is a Matter of the highest Importance, it is indeed of the utmost Importance, but it is of so sad, of so melancholy a Concern, that I am sorry it ever should have been mentioned, or that any such Motion should have been made in this House. I am sure the Hon. Gentleman does not view it in the same Light I do; if he did, I am convinced he would have been the last to have mentioned it, or to have advised its being mentioned in either House of Parliament; and therefore, when he considers it seriously, I hope he will withdraw the Motion he has made; for if he should insist upon it, he must necessarily bring every Gentleman of this House under one of the greatest Difficulties any Man ever was or ever can be in. It is an Affair of Property, it is a Question by which the legal Property of the Crown itself is to be determined; and in such a Case, must not every Gentleman be under the greatest Difficulty how to give his Vote or his Opinion: By declaring in favour of the Motion, he may seem to injure the Royal Father, his Sovereign; by declaring against it, he may seem to injure the Royal Son, and Apparent Heir to the Crown. As I have the Honour to know particularly the Wisdom and the Virtue of both the Royal Persons concerned, I can give my Opinion with the more Freedom;

because I am sure neither of them will think himself injured by a Gentleman's giving his Opinion or his Vote freely in Parliament; and I am sure his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has so much Wisdom, and so true a Sense of filial Duty, that he will never look upon any Thing as a Favour done to him, if it has the least Tendency towards offering an Indignity to his Royal Father.

That there is no Affair of an Importance too high for the Consideration of Parliament I shall admit; but, Sir, there are many Affairs of a Nature so delicate, that neither Wisdom nor good Policy will allow of the Parliament's taking them into their Consideration; and if ever there was an Affair in which the Parliament ought to avoid giving Judgment, the Affair now before you is one. From our passing Judgment in such an Affair, every Man without Doors will imagine there is a private Mistake or Dispute between his Majesty and his Royal Highness, and such an Opinion, if it should generally prevail, may be of the most dangerous Consequence to both: We should therefore if possible avoid giving any Judgment in this Affair; but as for complying with the Motion, if it were in our Inclination, I do not think it is in our Power: It would be a Violation of Property, a taking from the King a Part of that Property which is already established in him by Act of Parliament, and to which he has as good a Right as any private Man in the Kingdom has to any private Property he does or can possess; for tho' the Parliament has a Power to appropriate Money to particular Uses at the Time it is granted, yet afterwards they have no such Power; and it has always been a Rule of this House, not to enter into any Consideration about Money once granted to the Crown, without first having the Consent of the Crown. The Civil List Revenue has already been granted to his Majesty; when we

made that Grant, we might have ordered the Application of it to particular Uses, and might have gone so far as to have appropriated a particular Sum to each respective Use; such a particular Appropriation might perhaps, and I think with Reason too, have been thought derogatory to the Honour of the Crown; but I shall not now controvert that Point; no such particular Appropriation was then made, and as it was not made at the Time that Revenue was granted; we have now no Power to make any such particular Appropriation, with respect to any Part of it, or with respect to any Use to which any Part of it ought to be applied; and much less have we now a Right or a Power to prescribe to his Majesty, what Part of the Civil List Revenue ought to be applied towards maintaining the Honour and Dignity of his eldest Son, or in what Manner that Application ought to be made: However, this will best appear from considering the several Arguments made use of in favour of the Motion, which I shall take upon me to do in as brief a Manner as I can.

As for the Maxim so much insisted on, That the *Prince of Wales* ought always to have a separate and distinct Provision, and settled upon him in such a Manner as to be quite independent of the King his Father, I never heard we had such a Maxim in our Constitution, nor can I see how it is possible to make a Son altogether independent of his Father, and much less to make a Subject altogether independent of his Sovereign. The latter would, I am sure, be a very great Solecism in Politicks, and the former, whatever may be the Case with respect to Royal Families, has, I am certain, often produced great Misfortunes in private. 'Tis true the Custom has generally been for our Kings to settle some Estate by Patent or Charter upon their eldest Sons, and those Charters have often been confirmed by Act of Parlia-

ment; but I cannot see a good Reason for saying, that the making of such a Settlement is absolutely necessary, or that the Heir Apparent of the Crown cannot be educated, or cannot live in a proper Manner without it; for that Dependency which the Son of a great Family naturally has upon his Father, can no way tend towards the Debasing of his Mind; and the Dignity and Grandeur even of a *Prince of Wales* may be as well supported by a yearly Allowance as by a perpetual and independent Settlement. For this Reason there never was any Regulation expressly established in this Kingdom for providing an independent Settlement for the *Prince of Wales*, but on the contrary, the Making of such a Provision, and the Manner of settling that Provision, has always been left intirely to the King upon the Throne, nor has the Parliament ever, or but very seldom, intermeddled in that Affair, unless when applied to by the King, or by some Persons under his Direction, and that Application has generally proceeded from some other Reason besides that of making a Settlement upon the *Prince of Wales*.

It is not so much as pretended, Sir, that any of those Grants made by *King Henry III.* to his Son *Edward* proceeded from the Interposition of Parliament: On the contrary, 'tis evident, they proceeded entirely from the Politicks of the Court at that Time, and those Politicks were not founded upon the Maxim of making the *Prince* independent, but upon a Design of gaining the Affections of the People in those Countries which had been but lately subdued, it having been thought more honourable for them to be governed by the King's eldest Son, than by any other Subject. In like Manner we know that none of the Grants made by *Edward III.* to his Son, *Edward the black Prince*, proceeded from any Address or Application

from Parliament; for tho' they were, most of them, confirmed by Parliament, yet it appears that all those Confirmations were obtained and passed at the Desire of the King himself; and here likewise it may be said, and I believe with Justice too, that the erecting of *Cornwall* into a Dutchy, and settling it upon the eldest Son of every future King, as also the erecting of *Guinne* and *Gascony* into a Principality, and granting it to the *Prince of Wales*, proceeded rather from a Design of doing Honour to those Countries, than from any Design of making the *Prince* absolutely independent of his Father; for we find it was a common Practice in former Days, to erect a County or Province into a Dutchy or Principality, by way of doing Honour to the Country, and in Recompence for some good Services performed by the Inhabitants: Thus we find the County of *Chester* was erected into a Principality by *Richard II.* because the Militia of that County had countenanced and enforced his most arbitrary Measures during his famous Parliament at *Sbrewsbury*; and every one knows that it has always been reckoned an Honour to any City or Province to adopt it as a Title for any of the Princes of the Royal Family; therefore we are not to conclude that the Grants made to former *Princes of Wales* are a sufficient Authority for establishing it as a Maxim, that every *Prince of Wales* ought to have a separate and independent Provision settled upon him.

Now, Sir, with regard to those Cases mentioned where the Parliament have actually interposed. In the Case of *Prince Richard*, eldest Son of *Edward the black Prince*, it is very probable that Application from Parliament was procured by the King himself, in order to disappoint any Hopes the *Duke of Lancaster*, his second Son, might have of succeeding to the Throne; but suppose it was not procured by the King him-

self, as there was then some Jealousy in the Nation that the *Duke of Lancaster* would endeavour to usurp the Crown after his Father's Decease, who was then very old, the Parliament had great Reason to address for having the eldest Son of the deceased *Prince of Wales*, created *Prince of Wales* in the Room of his Father, in order to avoid all Disputes about the Succession to the Crown; which is a Reason cannot be said now to subsist, and is a Reason very different from that of having an independent Provision settled upon the *Prince of Wales*. As for the Application from Parliament for having *Prince Henry*, eldest Son of *Henry IV.* created *Prince of Wales*, *Duke of Cornwall*, and *Earl of Chester*, it plainly appears to have proceeded from the King's particular Favourites in Parliament, therefore we must suppose it was with the Approbation, or rather Procurement, of the King himself; and his Reason for procuring such an Application was very far from being founded upon any Maxim or Design of settling an independent Provision upon the *Prince* his eldest Son; but as his own Title to the Crown was a little doubtful, 'tis evident he procured that Application from Parliament, with a Design to have his Son declared his lawful Successor, and only rightful Heir to the Crown. Then as to what was done in the Reign of *Henry VI.* I hope none of the Transactions of that unfortunate Reign will be insisted on as good Precedents for any Thing that ought to be done in this; for that whole Reign was a continued Series of weak and destructive Measures on the Part of the Court, and very unjustifiable Incroachments on the Part of the Parliament.

Thus, Sir, none of the Precedents mentioned relating to the Heir Apparent of the Crown, can be any Way taken as a good Precedent for our agreeing to the Motion now before us; and of the two Precedents mentioned relating to the presumptive Heirs of

the Crown, that relating to the late *King James*, when *Duke of York*, can have nothing to do in the present Question; for the making of a Settlement upon him was so far from proceeding from any Address or other Application from the Parliament to the King, that it proceeded rather from the King's applying to his Parliament for that Purpose; and the Parliament's having any Thing at all to do in that Affair proceeded from Necessity not Choice; because the Revenue of the Post Office and Wine Licence Office could not be settled upon the *Duke of York* but by Authority of Parliament. And as for that relating to the late *Queen Anne*, when *Princess of Denmark*, it appears probable, indeed, that that Affair was first brought into Parliament, not only without the Approbation, but contrary to the Inclination of the Court at that Time; but what was the Consequence? It occasioned an unseasonable Prorogation of that Session, by which the Affairs of the Nation were very much embarrassed; and if such were to be the Consequence of our agreeing to this Motion, I am convinced the honourable Gentleman that made it, would not so much as desire any Gentleman to agree to it. Nay even that very Parliament could never come to any fix'd Resolution in that Affair, till they had obtained the King's Approbation of what they were about to do, and then they unanimously agreed to address his Majesty to make a Provision for the *Prince and Princess of Denmark* of 50,000*l.* a Year; so that even that Affair can be no Precedent for our agreeing to this Motion, till it be some Way or other signified to us, that his Majesty approves of what we are about to do.

From these Observations, I think, Sir, it will appear, that the Precedents which have been mentioned are either such as ought not to be followed, or such as are no way applicable to the Case now before us

therefore it cannot be said that the Motion is founded upon any proper Precedent; and whatever the Wisdom and Policy of our Kings may have been with respect to the Settling of an independent Provision upon the Heir Apparent to the Crown, it seems it has always been the Wisdom and Policy of the Nation, to leave that Affair entirely to the Option of the King upon the Throne, and never to intermeddle but when it has appeared, or has even been signified to the Parliament, that their intermeddling would be agreeable to both the Parties concerned. This, Sir, is true Wisdom, this is right Policy. Even in private Life, it is generally held to be officious and imprudent for a Stranger to intermeddle in the Family Affairs of his Neighbour, without any Call from the Parties concerned; if there was no Breach before, it generally occasions one, and if there was a Breach, it makes the Breach wider much more often than it occasions a Reconcilement. The Parliament has a Right, the Parliament is often in Duty bound to offer Advice to their Sovereign; but in determining when, or upon what Occasions, we may or can offer our Advice, we ought to consider our Sovereign in a twofold Respect: We ought to consider him in his political and royal Capacity, and in his natural and paternal Capacity. In all Cases which regard his political and royal Capacity we have certainly a Right to judge of the Measures that are taken, and may recommend what we think most expedient; but in Affairs which regard only his natural and paternal Capacity, we have no Right to judge, it would be officious in us to recommend, without some Sort of Application from him for that Purpose; and as the Providing for every Branch of the Royal Family is an Affair which regards only his natural and paternal Capacity, it would be officious in us, it is inconsistent with true Wisdom or

good Policy for us, to pretend to judge, or to prescribe what ought to be done, or in what Manner it ought to be done.

That the *Prince of Wales* ought to be supported, that he ought to be honourably supported, I shall most readily grant; and I shall likewise grant that the Support of the *Prince of Wales* is and ought to be a Charge upon the Civil List Revenue; but, Sir, that he has either a legal or an equitable Right to any particular Share of that Revenue, or to any Share but such as the King his Father pleases to allow him, is what I cannot so easily admit. I have perused all the Acts of Parliament that were ever made, relating to that Revenue, I have particularly considered that Act by which the Civil List Revenue was settled upon his present Majesty, and neither in that Act, nor in any of the other, can I find any Words for giving the *Prince of Wales* a legal Right to any other Share than what his Majesty shall please to allow him, nor can I find any Words from which a Right to any other Share can be equitably inferred. To me it seems his Majesty has as absolute a Right to the whole Civil List Revenue, during his Life, as any Gentleman in *England* can have to his own Estate. The eldest Son of every landed Gentleman in *England* ought to be supported out of his Father's Estate, and that Support ought to be according to the Character and Circumstances of the Family; yet I hope it will not be said that the eldest Son has any legal or equitable Right to any particular Share of his Father's Estate, or to any Share but such as his Father pleases to allow him, unless that Right be established by some Conveyance made to the Father, or by some Settlement before made and agreed to by the Father.

In all Cases of Equity, to be sure, Sir, the Intention of an Act of Parliament is to be chiefly regarded; but that Intention must some way or

other appear from the Words. We are not to take the Intention of a Law from the Intention this or that Gentleman really had, or may say he had, when he agreed to the Passing of that Law. When a Law is to be passed, and under the Consideration of Parliament, every Gentleman may have his own Intention, his own Reasons for agreeing to it, and some may have Reasons quite contrary to those of others. One Gentleman may have an Intention that it should be interpreted in one Way, another may intend that it should be interpreted in a quite different; but when that Law is passed, and comes afterwards to be applied to any particular Case, neither the Reasons nor the Intentions of those that passed it, are to be regarded: There is nothing to be regarded but the Context and the Words of the Law, in order to put upon them the most equitable Construction they will bear; and to put such a Construction upon any of those general Words in the Act for establishing the Civil List Revenue, by which that Revenue is appropriated to the Support of his Majesty's Household, as would take from his Majesty the Power of judging what was fit to be done in his own Family, would, I am sure, be a very unnatural Construction, and consequently, I must think, a very unequitable one. It is a Construction the Words themselves will no way admit of, it is an Intention I am convinced no Gentleman could have when he agreed to them.

I hope, Sir, from what I have said it will appear, that there is no absolute Necessity, either from the Nature of the Thing, or from any Maxim in our Constitution, that a certain, perpetual and independent Provision should be settled upon the *Prince of Wales*; that if there were, it would be very improper for the Parliament to intermeddle in the Affair; and that his Majesty is the sole and only Judge, whether such a Settlement

tlement ought to be made or not. Therefore we must conclude, that his Majesty is the sole and only Judge, when that Settlement ought to be made. But to take away all further Dispute upon either of these Heads, I must acquaint you, That I am com-
 A commanded by his Majesty to acquaint this House, that his Majesty Yesterday sent a Message to his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales* by the *Lord Chancellor*, *Lord President*, *Lord Steward*, *Lord Chamberlain*, *Duke of Richmond*, *Duke of Argyle*, *Duke of Newcastle*, *Earl of Pembroke*, *Earl of Scarborough*, and *Lord Harrington*; which Message, so sent by those Lords, being in Writing, I shall now, Sir, deliver to you.

This Message was as follows, *viz.*

His Majesty has commanded us to acquaint your *Royal Highness*, in his Name, That, upon your *Royal Highness's* Marriage, he immediately took into his Royal Consideration the settling a proper Jointure upon the *Princess of Wales*; but his sudden
 D going abroad, and his late Indisposition since his Return, had hitherto retarded the Execution of these his gracious Intentions; from which short Delay his Majesty did not apprehend any Inconveniencies could arise, especially since no Application had, in
 E any Manner, been made to him upon this Subject by your *Royal Highness*; and that his Majesty hath now given Orders for settling a Jointure upon the *Princess of Wales*, as far as he is enabled by Law, suitable to her high Rank and Dignity; which
 F he will, in proper Time, lay before his Parliament, in order to be rendered certain and effectual, for the Benefit of *her Royal Highness*.

The King has further commanded us to acquaint your *Royal Highness* that, altho' your *Royal Highness* has
 G not thought fit, by any Application to his Majesty, to desire, that your Allowance of 50000*l.* *per Annum*,

which is now paid by Monthly Payments, at the Choice of your *Royal Highness*, preferably to Quarterly Payments, might, by his Majesty's further Grace and Favour, be rendered less precarious, his Majesty, to prevent the bad Consequences, which, he apprehends, may follow from the undutiful Measures, which, his Majesty is informed, your *Royal Highness* has been advised to pursue, will grant to your *Royal Highness*, for his Majesty's Life, the said 50000*l.* *per Annum*, to be issuing out of his Majesty's Civil List Revenues, over and above your *Royal Highness's* Revenues arising from the *Duchy of Cornwall*; which his Majesty thinks a very competent Allowance, considering his numerous Issue, and the great Expences, which do and must necessarily attend an honourable Provision for his whole Royal Family.

And that to this Message his *Royal Highness the Prince* returned a verbal Answer, which, according to the best Recollection and Remembrance of the Lords, was in Substance as follows, *viz.*

That his *Royal Highness* desired the Lords to lay him, with all Humility, at his Majesty's Feet; and to assure his Majesty, that he had, and ever should retain, the utmost Duty for his Royal Person; that his *Royal Highness* was very thankful for any Instance of his Majesty's Goodness to him, or the *Princess*, and particularly for his Majesty's gracious Intention of settling a Jointure upon
 F *her Royal Highness*; but that, as to the Message, the Affair was now out of his Hands, and therefore he could give no Answer to it.

After which, his *Royal Highness* used many dutiful Expressions towards his Majesty, and then added,
 G *Indeed, my Lords, it is in other Hands; I am sorry for it. Or to that Effect.*

His *Royal Highness* concluded with
 earnestly

earnestly desiring the Lords, to represent his Answer to his Majesty in the most respectful and dutiful Manner.

From this most gracious Message it appears, Sir, that his Majesty has for some Time given a yearly Allowance to his *Royal Highness*, and such an Allowance as his Majesty thought a very competent Allowance considering his numerous Issue, and the great Expences, which do and must necessarily attend an honourable Provision for his whole Royal Family; and it appears further, that this Allowance has been regularly paid in that Manner which his *Royal Highness* himself chose as the most proper and convenient for him; therefore it cannot be said that the making of such an Allowance has been in the least delayed; and if the Converting of that Allowance into a perpetual and independent Settlement had been absolutely necessary, or were now absolutely necessary, it cannot be said that there has been any such Delay as can give Occasion for the Interposition of Parliament; because, if his *Royal Highness* had not before his Marriage been satisfied with the Manner in which his Allowance was made to him, or had but signified that he thought it was established upon too precarious a Foundation, his Majesty would have established it in any Manner he desired; and considering how soon his Majesty went abroad after the happy Marriage of his *Royal Highness*, it cannot be pretended that the least unnecessary Delay has since that Time been made, with respect to the making of a Settlement upon his *Royal Highness*, even in that Manner which is said to be absolutely necessary by the Maxims and Custom of the Kingdom. But supposing that the making of that Settlement had been unnecessarily delayed, whatever Delay or Neglect may have happened in that Respect

is now made up by his Majesty's Message to his *Royal Highness*; and the Communicating of that Message to this House, which I have now done by his Majesty's Command, must be a full Answer to every Thing that can be said, with respect to Time at least, in Favour of the Motion now before us. Nay, from his *Royal Highness*'s Answer to his Majesty's Message, it seems reasonable to believe that his *Royal Highness* is himself satisfied with what his Majesty offers, and that he would be sorry to hear of our having agreed to the Motion now made to us; for what other Meaning can be put upon his *Royal Highness*'s saying, that *he was sorry for the Affairs being then in other Hands?*

For this Reason, Sir, I must think the Debate will now be brought within a very narrow Compass; for if the Motion should now be insisted on, it can proceed from nothing but Gentlemens taking upon them to differ in Opinion from his Majesty, and to think that 50,000 *l.* a Year out of the Civil List, besides his *Royal Highness*'s Revenues arising from the Dutchy of Cornwall, is not a competent Allowance, considering his Majesty's numerous Issue, and the great Expences, which do and must necessarily attend an honourable Provision for his whole Royal Family. As this has been already insisted on, as it has been said that 100,000 *l.* a Year is the least his *Royal Highness* ought to have out of the Civil List, besides the Revenues of the Principality of Wales and Dutchy of Cornwall, and that it was the least the Parliament that established the present Civil List intended he should have, I must beg Leave to answer in as few Words as possible to what has been said upon that Head, and to give my Reasons for being of the same Opinion with his Majesty.

By what I have said, or am to say upon this Head, I would not have it

understood, Sir, as if I believed his *Royal Highness the Prince of Wales* ought not to have more than 50000 *l.* a Year: On the contrary, I think he ought to have a great deal more than double that Sum, if it were possible for his Majesty to spare so much from the Civil List Revenue, or if the Nation were so happy as to be in a Condition to increase the Civil List, so as to enable his Majesty to make such an Allowance to his *Royal Highness* as he deserves, and as his Majesty would incline to give him. Were we to measure his Allowance by his Merit, as we know no Bounds to the latter, we could prescribe no Bounds to the former: The only Course we could take would be, to offer whatever he pleased to demand; and even in that Case we would have Reason to fear lest his Modesty might do an Injury to his Generosity, by making him confine his Demand within the strictest Bounds of Necessity. I am not therefore to examine what his *Royal Highness* ought to have, I am only to endeavour to shew that we have no Right to prescribe to his Majesty, what he ought to give; that it could not be the Intention of that Parliament which established the present Civil List, to grant 100,000 *l.* a Year, or any other certain yearly Sum out of the Civil List Revenue to his *Royal Highness*; and that his Majesty cannot at present conveniently spare more than 50,000 *l.* a Year out of that Revenue.

To say, Sir, that the Parliament has a Right to prescribe to his Majesty, what Provision he shall make out of his own Estate for any one of his Children, has something in it at first View so very extraordinary, that I am surprized, to hear it insisted on. Such a Right would put the King in a much worse State than any one of his Subjects; and I must desire Gentlemen would consider, what a Foreigner would think of

this Nation, if he should be told, we entrust the King with the Government of the whole Kingdom, but we will not entrust him with the Government of his own Family. I do not know that there is in all our Histories or Records any one Precedent or Foundation for such a Parliamentary Claim, but that single one in the Reign of *Henry VI.* and that was, we know, so weak a Reign that it became necessary for the Parliament to assume several Rights and Privileges which they were not properly, and by the Nature of our Constitution, intitled to. As for what the Parliament did in Relation to the *Princess Anne of Denmark*, it can no Way be made use of in the present Case; that Affair was first brought into Parliament when they were considering how much it would be necessary to allow for the Support of our Civil Government, and then it became very proper to take into their Consideration what particular Sum was to be allowed for the Support of the *Prince and Princess of Denmark*; for tho' they were of the Royal Family, they were not of the King's own Family; and therefore the Appropriating of a certain particular Sum for their Support, or the Addressing to have a certain Sum appropriated for that Purpose, could not be called an Intermeddling in the King's domestick Affairs.

Besides, Sir, it is not so natural for any Man to provide honourably for his presumptive Heir, as for any one of his own Children: The presumptive Heir is sometimes look'd on even with Jealousy and Envy; and therefore, there is a very strong Reason for the Parliament's interfering more particularly in one Case, than common Decency can admit of in the other.

But suppose, Sir, the Parliament had a Right to prescribe to his Majesty, what Provision he shall make out of his own Estate for any, or

for every one of his Children, how is it possible for us to exercise that Right in our present Situation? Before we can with any Countenance pretend to exercise such a Right, we ought to examine narrowly into the Produce of the Civil List Revenue, and the several Uses to which it must necessarily be applied, in order to see how much his Majesty can conveniently spare out of that Revenue: We ought likewise to examine particularly into the Establishment of his *Royal Highness's* Household, and all the Expences he may necessarily be put to for supporting the Dignity and Grandeur in which the Heir Apparent to the Crown of *Great Britain* ought to live; in order that we may determine what particular Sum his Majesty shall allow him annually out of the Civil List Revenue. Is it possible for us in our present Situation to examine into either of these Particulars? We have at present no Account relating to the Civil List, nor any Account relating to his *Royal Highness's* Household before us, and without a Multitude of such Accounts it is not possible for us to go thro' with any such Examination.

Now, Sir, with regard to the Intention of that Parliament by whom the present Civil List was established; if we consider the Circumstances of the Royal Family at that Time, and the Circumstances of the Royal Family when the Civil List was established in the former Reign, we shall very easily find a Meaning for the *Experience of past Times* very different from what is now put upon these Words. When the Civil List Revenue was established upon his late Majesty, a very narrow Scrutiny was made into the whole Articles of the Expence of our civil Government, and particularly into the Expence necessary for supporting the Dignity and Grandeur of the *Prince of Wales*; from which Scrutiny it was computed

that 600,000*l.* a Year at least would be necessary for supporting the King's Household and civil Government; but let us consider that the King had then no Queen, nor any Children to provide for: From the same Scrutiny it was computed that 100,000*l.* a Year out of the Civil List Revenue was the least Sum that would be necessary for supporting the Dignity and Grandeur of the *Prince of Wales*; but let us remember that the *Prince of Wales* had then a *Princess of Wales*, and, to our Happiness, several Children to provide for. During that Reign it had been found that 100,000*l.* a Year, was sufficient for supporting the *Prince and Princess of Wales* and all their Children; but it had likewise been found that it required 700,000*l.* a Year to support the King's Household and civil Government, tho' he had no Queen nor any Children to provide for.

This, Sir, was the *Experience of past Times* which gave Occasion to the Increasing of his present Majesty's Civil List Revenue to 800,000*l.* a Year; but if we consider the Circumstances of the Royal Family at the Time of his Majesty's Accession, we must see that the Parliament from *this very Experience* could not but conclude, that it would require more than 700,000*l.* a Year to support his present Majesty's Household and civil Government; because he had a Queen and several younger Children to provide for, which the late King had not; and from the *same Experience* they must likewise have concluded, that it would not require 100,000*l.* a Year to support the *Prince of Wales*, because he had then neither a *Princess*, nor any Children to provide for; for if they had concluded that 100,000*l.* a Year would be necessary for supporting the *Prince of Wales* singly, they must from the *Experience of past Times* have granted more than 700,000*l.* a Year for supporting the

present King's Household and civil Government, considering that he had a Queen and several younger Children to provide for, which the late King had not; and since they granted for the Support of the present King's Household and civil Government, but exactly the same Sum that had been found from the *Experience of past Times* to be necessary, and had been actually given for the Support of the late King's Household and civil Government, it is apparent to me they concluded his Majesty might save and deduct as much from the Allowance to be made to the *Prince of Wales*, as would be sufficient for providing for her present Majesty the Queen, and all their other Children. From all which it is to me evident that the Parliament that established the present Civil List did not intend his *Royal Highness* should have out of it a full 100,000*l.* a Year. They intended only what was right they should intend, and what only in due Deference to their Sovereign they could intend, which was, that his Majesty should allow the *Prince of Wales* what he, in his great Wisdom, might think a competent Allowance for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Heir Apparent to the Crown, considering his Majesty's numerous Issue, and the great Expences, which would necessarily attend an honourable Provision for his whole Royal Family.

I think, Sir, I have now clearly shewn what his Majesty meant by, and what the Parliament could only intend from the *Experience of past Times*; and, if we now proceed upon the same Foundation, we must conclude, that 50,000*l.* a Year is the most his Majesty can spare out of the Civil List for the Support of his *Royal Highness*. His Majesty allows 8000*l.* a Year for the Support of his *Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland*, 5000*l.* a Year to her *Royal Highness the Princess of Orange*,

5,300*l.* a Year for the *two eldest Princesses*, and 2000*l.* a Year for the *two youngest*; all which are extraordinary Expences unknown in the late Reign: To these if we add the 50000*l.* a Year for the Support of her Majesty, which was likewise unknown in the late Reign, and a proportionable additional Allowance for Bed and Board, and other extraordinary Expences in the several Palaces, we must conclude that his Majesty must necessarily be at 100,000*l.* a Year Expence more than was found, or could be necessary in the late Reign, which will make the whole Expence of his Majesty's Household, and civil Government, without including the Allowance to the *Prince of Wales*, amount, according to the *Experience of past Times*, to at least 800,000*l.* a Year; so that every Shilling his Majesty allows for the Support of the *Prince of Wales*, must arise from Frugality and good Management, and from contracting, and saving a Part of that Expence which was found necessary in the late Reign. Therefore, so far from concluding or imagining that his Majesty may spare more than 50000*l.* a Year for his *Royal Highness*, we have reason to be surprized how he can spare so much.

But this, Sir, will appear still more evident by an Example in private Life. Suppose two Country Gentlemen, each of 8000*l.* a Year Estate in Land: Suppose their Rents equally good, and equally well paid, and that their Lands are equally taxed; and suppose that one of these Gentlemen has but one only Son, but that the other has five or six Children. Can we suppose the latter able to settle upon his eldest Son as large a Part of his Estate as the former may spare to settle upon his only Son? Surely, Sir, no Man in Reason can suppose any such Thing; the latter has his younger Children not only to maintain but to provide

for, and therefore neither he nor his eldest Son can live in such Grandeur, as the former and his only Son may do. This is the very Case before us: His present Majesty has but 800000*l.* a Year Estate, the late King had the same, if we add to his late Majesty's settled Revenue, the several additional Grants that were occasionally made to the Civil List in his Reign. His late Majesty had but one only Son, his present Majesty, to our Comfort and Happiness, has several Children; and therefore it is not to be supposed that the present King, or the present *Prince of Wales*, can live in such Grandeur, as the late King, and the present, whilst *Prince of Wales*, were able to do, unless the Parliament should think fit to increase the Estate of the Crown by a new additional Grant to the Civil List Revenue.

I shall take no Notice, Sir, of the Insinuations that were made against the Management of the Civil List Revenue in the late Reign, or the Method of settling it in this. I do not think they any Way relate to the present Debate. The Management in the late Reign, might, if necessary, be easily accounted for; and the Method of settling the Civil List Revenue in this Reign, hardly deserves the Name of an Improvement. But now, after having shewn that we have not properly any Right to present such an Address as is proposed; that we ought not either in Wisdom, or Policy, or even common Decency to present such an Address, I must beg, I must intreat of Gentlemen to consider what they are about, Gentlemen may call it, if they please, offering our Advice to our Sovereign; but it is really bringing his Majesty and his eldest Son, as Plaintiff and Defendant before us. In this Light it will be look'd on by every Man without Doors. It is, stating ourselves as the higher Power, and bringing his *Royal High-*

ness to sue for Justice before us: Our agreeing to the Question, would be a Determining that his Majesty had done Injustice to his eldest Son: It would be giving a Victory to the Son over the Father, which might prove, the Lord have Mercy on us, the Destruction of both. No Man can patiently bear an Inquiry into his Family Affairs; no Father can easily forgive a Son for appealing to a higher Power: For God-sake, let us stop in Time this breaching Gap, which may make Way for an Inundation to drown us all. Our agreeing to such a Question might occasion a perpetual Breach, an *Im-medicabile Vulnus*, tho' not, I hope, *Ense recidendum*. I hope the Wisdom of this House will timeously prevent any Amputation.

The Question now before us, Sir, is of a most dangerous Nature, it may be the Occasion of such fatal Consequences to the Royal Family and to the whole Kingdom, that I must think, the original Authors and Contrivers of it can be no Friends to either. I am far from suspecting any Gentleman of this House, or any Member of either House of Parliament. It is not possible for me to suppose that either of them could have been the original Author or Contriver of such a Question; and I am sure no Gentleman of either House would have attempted to have brought such a Question into Parliament, if he had viewed it in the same Light as I do. We may remember, Sir, the fatal Division that happened between his late Majesty, and his present Majesty when *Prince of Wales*: We may remember to what a Height that fatal Division was carried. The *Prince of Wales*, the eldest, the only Son of the King, and Heir Apparent to the Crown, was turned out of the Royal Palace, was excluded from every one of the Royal Palaces, and was obliged to live like a private Nobleman, in a private

private House, and without any Guards, or other Ensigns of Royalty. Nay, his very Servants were tempted and hired to forsake him, and were even threatned and bullied if they refused; yet it cannot be said that the Son was ever guilty of any undutiful Behaviour, or that the Father was deficient in natural Affection. To what then could this terrible Division be owing? It could be owing to nothing but little malicious Slanderers and Tale-Bearers, who, for their own private Ends, stirred up a Division in the Royal Family: But it is well known they were all Foreigners who were the original Authors of it: We know there was not a *British* Subject had the least Hand in it. However, be they who they will, it is certain they could be no real Friends either to the Father or the Son, or to any of the Royal Family.

I am surprized, Sir, to hear it now so much insisted on, that the Heir Apparent or Presumptive of the Crown has a Right to have a distinct and independent Provision settled upon him. I remember a Time when this Doctrine was far from being admitted as one of the Maxims of our Constitution. I remember a Time when the present Royal Family, who were then the presumptive Heirs of the Crown by Act of Parliament, were so far from being allowed a distinct and independent Settlement, that they had no Allowance at all: Nay even when the Question was moved, the Parliament would not so much as give any of them Leave to come and reside in the Kingdom. The Maxim now insisted on was therefore very far from being thought a Maxim at that Time, and I should think it very strange, if those who were then so regardless of the Presumptive Heir of the Crown, should now shew themselves so careful of the Apparent Heir, as to do an In-

jury to the King upon the Throne, for the Sake of providing a very large independent Settlement for the Apparent Heir.

I am likewise surprized, Sir, to hear the Term, Emancipation, made use of in this Debate. In this Kingdom to talk of the Son's being emancipated by Marriage out of the Family of his Father, is certainly not a proper and just Way of Speaking. In those Countries where the Term Emancipation was first made use of, the Son was in some Manner the Slave of his Father. In those Countries Fathers had at first even a Power of Life and Death over their Children, and a Right to every Thing the Son could acquire either by his own Industry, or by Gift, or otherwise; nor was the Son freed from this paternal Power by Marriage: The only Way of freeing him was by a solemn Act of the Father, an Edict of the Prince, or a Decree of the Magistrate; and the Freeing of the Son from the paternal Power by either of these Ways was called Emancipation. But in this Kingdom we can have no such Term because the Father has not properly any Power over his Children; a Son after he comes of Age has no further Dependence upon his Father, than what proceeds from filial Affection and Duty, and this continues after his Marriage the same it was before; it is a Dependence, which never can, nor ever ought to be taken away: It is a Dependence which, I am sure, no Member of this House would endeavour to diminish; for whoever endeavours to diminish it can have no true Regard either for the Son or the Father.

But, Sir, I must confess, I am no way surprized to find that those who were some Time ago for incroaching upon the King's Prerogative with respect to the Officers of his Army, should now be for incroaching upon his paternal Power with respect to

the providing in whatever Manner he may think most proper for his own Children. I am persuaded neither of these Attempts proceeded from any real Disaffection to his Majesty, or his illustrious Family: I believe both proceeded from mistaken Notions of Liberty, or from an erroneous Idea of our Constitution; but I hope those Gentlemen will consider, that what they now propose is really in some Manner, as I have said, accusing his Majesty of Injustice towards his eldest Son. It will be so look'd on by the whole Nation. This will of course very much lessen the Esteem the People have, and ought to have for his Majesty; and will certainly make many of them suppose he is no longer fit to rule over us. The Consequences of such an Opinion may be extremely fatal. For my own Part, if I were of a different Nation, and should hear that such a Question as this had been brought into the Parliament of *Great Britain*, and carried against the Father, I should expect to hear, by the next Post, that the same Parliament had deposed the Father, and had set the Crown upon the Head of the Son. This is a Consequence which, I am sure, the Son would be far from desiring to see, it is a Consequence which I am convinced no Gentleman in this House designs; but as it is a Consequence which I think sooner or later might be justly apprehended from this Question's being carried in the Affirmative, therefore I thought myself obliged to rise up, and give my Reasons for being against it; and now that I have done so, whatever may happen to be the Fate of the Question, I am sure I shall sleep this Night much sounder in my Bed, and with a safer Conscience, than I could have done, if I had given only a bare Negative to a Question in which, I think the Happiness of my King, the Happiness of the Royal Family, and the Happiness of my Country so deeply concerned.

To conclude, Sir, if the Hon. Gentleman who moved you this Question, has told us that several Arguments of great Dignity and Weight might be made use of against it, I have and shall always have so great a Deference for that Hon. Gentleman's Opinion, that I shall, upon all Occasions, be extremely cautious of giving my Assent to any Question against which he thinks any Argument of Dignity and Weight may be made use of. 'Tis true, he endeavoured to evade those Arguments by making some sort of Answer to each; but those Answers will, from what I have already said, appear, I think, to be very insufficient, so that the Arguments he made use of against his own Motion must now stand in their full Force. In all Questions, even where the Prerogative is concerned, which relate to Affairs of a publick Nature, the Parliament may interpose, but in those which relate only to the Royal Family, the Parliament can have no Concern: Even his Majesty's Ministers cannot properly or prudently intermeddle, unless specially called upon. As for the Parliament's refusing any Grant, when the Cause of granting ceases, it can have nothing to do in the present Debate; for there is no Pretence for saying that any one of the Causes for granting the present Civil List Revenue has ceased. And as to the Amount of the Civil List Revenue, and the Manner in which it is established, or the Uses for which it ought to be applied, I am surprized to hear any Objections made to the former, or any Attempt made for directing the latter, since at the Time of granting, as I am told, it was unanimously agreed to in one House, and with but one contradictory Vote in the other; and I do not hear that in either House there was the least Mention made of the Uses to which the Whole, or any Part, ought to be applied. In short, Sir, there was

never any Thing happened in Parliament, gave me so great a Concern as the hearing of this Motion made. The very making of such a Motion may be attended with cruel Consequences; but if it should be agreed to, after having used my utmost Endeavours to prevent it, I shall pray to God to avert those Judgments which may be brought upon the

whole Nation by our agreeing to such a Motion. This I take to be my next indispensible Duty; but I hope the Success of my Endeavours will prevent such a melancholy Occasion for my Prayers.

A N. B. *This Journal to be continued in any next, in which will be the Arguments made use of by Way of Reply in this remarkable Debate.*

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS and DISPUTES in this Month.

Weekly Miscellany, July 1. N^o 236.

Mirth and Cheerfulness consistent with Religion.

THERE are in every Thing, *Extremis*; and we are very apt to run into one or other of them. Religion has suffered very much by this Proneness to carry any Notion too far. The *Gloomy* and *Morose* dress up Religion in the Habit of their own melancholy or sour Temper, which has given Rise to *superstitious* and *rigid* Doctrines and Practices; the *Gay* and *Sprightly*, are as forward to mould Religion to their own Genius, and to fancy they are acting agreeably to the Intention of their Maker, whenever they are indulging their Inclinations towards Mirth and Pleasantry. The former think it a Sin to take any Pleasure, and the latter seem to imagine that we come into the World for nothing else.

A Person indeed, who is conscious to himself of *notorious* Offences against God, or of an *irreligious* Habit of Life, has no Opportunity for Cheerfulness, while he ought to be confessing his own Wickedness and Folly, and labouring to reform his Nature, by getting rid of old, stubborn Habits, and introducing new ones. A State of *Repentance* must, in the Nature of Things, be a State of *Sorrow* and *Uneasiness*; and the

Business of *Amendment* being a continual Opposition to our Inclinations and Dispositions, it is impossible we can reasonably be in a Humour to be very cheerful till the Difficulties are over, and we have more Reason to be satisfied with our own Conduct, and to think ourselves in the Favour of God. But I would now speak of those who have the Testimony of their Conscience, that, in the *general* Tenour of their Lives, they honestly endeavour to know and do their Duty. And who can have so much Reason to be merry, as one who has Reason to think that God is his Friend, and that he is intitled to eternal Happiness? Is not an uniform Habit of Religion the most pleasant Thing in Nature? And while we are naturally and rationally pleased with our Conduct, and full of joyful Expectations, is not this a proper Fund of perpetual Cheerfulness?

Besides, the very *Inclination* to Mirth, is a plain Indication that Providence intended that we *should* be merry, as Hunger and Thirst shew that it is lawful, because natural, to eat and drink. Our animal Spirits, our Sprightliness of Constitution, our Aptness for Wit and Pleasantry, were not given us by a good and bountiful God, only that we should be at the Trouble and Uneasiness of denying ourselves all Indulgence of them, but for our

Comfort in Life, to sweeten and enliven it, and render ourselves more agreeable to one another. But then our Mirth and Cheerfulness like our Passions, are liable to Excess, and must be under the watchful Restraint of Reason. They are apt to degenerate into Levity, and by being too often, or too long indulged at any one Time, to beget an Inaptness for the Duties of Religion and common Life, to throw the Mind off its Guard, and to betray us frequently into Indiscretions, often into Vices. Our Mirth, like all other Diversions, was designed by way of Refreshment, or Relaxation of the Mind; by unbending it and giving it Time to recover and recruit itself, after it had been a sufficient Time employed in a serious Way.

The Whole in short is this: Without Mirth and Cheerfulness we should sink into Superstition and Dejection; if not into Despair; but our Mirth must not be too frequent, nor too long at one Time, for then it will destroy the true Frame of Mind, and interrupt the proper Business of a religious and rational Creature in this Life. The old Proverb is a very significant one, *Be merry and wise.*

London Journal, July 2. N^o 937.

Of the Mixture of Good and Evil.

IT is the Nature of rich Soils, that they not only multiply Grain, but Weeds; and Experience teaches us, that where Things the most excellent are found, there also we may find Things the most noxious. Those who have visited the *Indies*, know that where they collect Gargoes of the richest Drugs, and most noble Medicines, there the Natives are most skilled in poisoning, and are so perfectly well versed in the various Efficacies of their detestable Ingredients, that they assign Death a Time, and tho' they are sure to destroy, do it leisurely, and

with Variety of Torments. But these Things are Accidents, and the Places where they are found, will not appear less excellent on this Account in the Eye of a wise Man; he will make it his Business to profit by their good Things, and to provide against the bad; he will impute the Mixture to the Laws of Nature, and be thankful to Providence for Reason, which enables him to distinguish and make a right Use of both.

It is the same Thing with respect to the Moral World; where ever the greatest and most sublime Virtues are required, there the blackest and most detestable Vices will also be found, tho' in the old Masquerade of Wolves in Sheep's Cloathing: There are Pettifoggers in Law, Quacks in Physick, and Hereticks among Divines, who all appear to be Sages, and are in high Esteem with every Body, except him who can penetrate their bad Qualities. In these, and in all other Professions, it is the Desire of excelling in a laudable Science, and Ambition of exalting the Talents received from Nature as far as they can be carried, and a glorious Inclination to contribute as far as their Faculties will give them leave, to the Good of Mankind, which induces wise and honest Men to push for Eminence, and to seek to render themselves conspicuous by their Labours.

To repine at this Situation of Things, is either silly or impious; silly, if we comprehend not its Reason; and impious, if we imagine that the Laws of Nature want our Help. He who best knew this World, and those who inhabit it, confirmed the Notions I have been laying down, by the Parable of the *Tares* and the *Wheat*, which were sowed to grow together till the Harvest, and then were separated, in order to their being properly dealt with. In the Economy of Nature, all Things have their Uses, and particular Evils

are by the Hand of Providence made to promote general Good.

But it is clear, from a strict Contemplation of Causes and Effects, That *Virtue is invulnerable*, and that *Vice destroys itself*; that the Man of Honour is *always safe*, and his Opposite *never so*; that to *love Virtue*, and *follow Truth*, is the best Policy in the World; or, in the Words of an inspired Writer, *What Man is he that desireth Life, and loveth many Days, that he may see Good? Keep thy Tongue from Evil, and thy Lips from speaking Guile.*

Grubstreet Journal, N^o 392.

Horn-Book-Lane, June 25, 1737.

Gentlemen;

TH^O And per se And be a near Relation of mine, yet I shall not scruple to give you his true Character. He is then, you must know, a *fussy old Bachelor*, prejudiced against Matrimony, only because he don't know how to begin a Courtship; and he has been guilty of Partiality in the highest Degree, in his unfair Representation of our Proceedings at the Convention of the Members of the Alphabet. (See p. 322.) He has falsely affirm'd, that *we married Men* (tho' he chose indeed not to mention *my Name*) hung down our Heads, and had nothing to say for our selves: But the Case was so far from being so, that we really had the best Side of the Dispute, and each deliver'd his Opinion in our Turns to the following Purpose.

P was very positive, that the Bachelors were all Fools.

Q questioned, whether the matter of Fact about the Man's hanging himself were true:

R resolv'd to enquire further into it.

S smil'd and said, that he supposed the Man suspected some old Bachelor to have been too great with his Wife.

T talked a great while in Vindication of the Phrase *suck'd himself up*.

U undertook to prove, that a married Man liv'd, generally speaking, happier than a Bachelor.

W wish'd that the Accident had never happen'd; and said, it would be worse for some of the Butchers if the Man should die.

X excus'd himself from talking much, being somewhat out of order.

Y yielded so far, that the Man ought not to have hang'd himself.

Z was very zealous in defence of Matrimony.

You will easily guess by my Name, what I said, when I tell you that I am,

Your humble Servant,

ET CASTERA.

Common Sense, July 2. N^o 22.

A Letter from an Officer of the Army.

S I R,

TH^O I am by Profession a Soldier, I am not ashamed to own that I can both Read and Write. I have made it a Rule to live always in Quarters, for I look upon it as my Duty to accompany those brave Fellows I have the Honour to command; tho' we have several Officers who think me an old-fashion'd Fellow, for haying such vulgar Notions of Duty; they are of Opinion, that an Officer has nothing to do but to receive his Pay punctually, and spend it where he can divert himself most agreeably, or where he can best make his Count for farther Preferment. These are a Kind of Officers that are thrust in upon us, by what is call'd a P—m—y Interest: a military Term invented since the last War.

But to come to my present Purpose, As I have liv'd several Years remote from London, and can know nothing of what passes with you, except by common Fame, which is much given to Lying; or by the

common News-Papers, which I ye more than Fame with both her Trumpets; I shou'd be glad to be inform'd of the Truth of a very odd Report lately come down to us, viz. that several military Officers, of a considerable Rank in the Army, have been lately treated in such a Manner, as a Footman, of any Spirit, would scarce take from a Man who paid him his Wages.

In short, it is reported here, that a certain Person, puff'd up with Pride to the Size of a *Colossus*, shou'd B tell several of them to their Faces, that they were no better than a Parcel of Scavengers kept to do his dirty Work; and that if the best of them should refuse any Drudgery he should think fit to lay upon them, he would send them *faire f—*, or C Words that signified the same Thing.

If it should prove to be true, you would oblige a great many old Soldiers, in letting us know what was the Consequence of it; what Number of Cudgels was broke cross his Shoulders, and what particular Correction every one of the Persons, so D insulted, thought fit to give him.

As to me, who began my Trade under the Victorious Duke of *Marlborough*, it is so amazing to hear that Officers should be talk'd to in such a Style, that I think it would be a E proper Question to ask, whether the Man's Head was not turned, and whether he has not been sent to *Bedlam*?

When I first went into the Army, I carried a Pair of Colours. In two Campaigns I was made a Lieutenant, and in two more commanded a Company of Foot. In this Time I was present in three Battles and six Sieges, and rose by having the good Fortune to survive many a braver Man, who fell by my Side.

As soon as the Peace was concluded, the whole Army was disbanded, and I was put upon Half-Pay. I was content to be so, since it was for

the Publick Good; for when I engag'd in that Way of Life, my Notion was, that I was to serve my Country, not to be an useless Burthen upon it.

In my several Advances, the only A Enquiry was, how I had behav'd, and whether the Post I pretended to was my Right? But I should have as much expected to have been ask'd if I was Circumcised, as what P—l—m—y Interest I had.

I remember the Time when the Profession of a Soldier was the most honour'd of any in the Nation. But Things are strangely alter'd since the Days of *Blenheim* and *Ramellies*: The People are chang'd in Town, but much more in the Country, with Respect to us. I am told, that among the People of Fashion indeed, a general Officer is still admitted; that is to say, when the Company is not engaged with some great Man, such as an *Italian* Fidler or Singer; but with us in the Country it is much worse, for the better Sort will not converse with us at all, and the inferior People look upon us as their Enemies.

I have been examining into the Causes of this Change. I believe it is one of the unavoidable Consequences of a long Peace, that the Soldiers (if they do not take Care) must fall into Contempt. In other Parts of Life it is natural to despise those who do not understand the Trade they profess. We must expect the same Fate: It is the Fatigues and Dangers of the Profession that adorn the F Soldier with the Honour; it is being accustom'd frequently to expose his Life, that makes him despise those sordid Ways by which other Men rise in the World; but a long State of Inactivity, is apt to make the Soldier and his Arms both grow rusty; nay, which is worse, he often contracts little Meannesses of Mind; he has no more that frank generous Heart, and that open easy Behaviour

he had. If this be the Case of the Man who only lies by for a while, I am afraid it is much worse with him who never was acquainted with any Thing of Service beyond receiving the Pay.

I believe I may say, that not One in Twenty of our Officers ever knew any Service, except that at *Reviews*. If you were to talk of a Siege, and to mention Counterscarps, and Glacis, and cover'd Ways, some of them are so delicate, the very Terms wou'd choke them. You will say, it is not their Faults that they have not been put upon Service; but what I can't help observing, is, that the Notion that they are never to be employ'd against an Enemy, has given them other Views, and other Sentiments; nay, has given their Minds, and their very Persons, a different Turn. You find it out immediately in their Conversation; instead of entertaining each other with military Actions, you hear who will get a Company, or be made a Lieutenant-Colonel, if his Kinsman carries such an Election. I am deaf with hearing of Bribery, and the Management of Elections; I can't deny, but it is most natural for Men to talk of those Actions by which they expect to rise.

I am sorry to say it, there are some Officers who never desire to make a Campaign, except against the Smugglers; some who wou'd be much better pleas'd to watch all Night for a Seizure, of Tea or Brandy, than to march into Trenches, where there is nothing to be got but Honour and broken Bones; and I do assure you, they had much rather be commanded by a Custom-House Officer, than Prince *Eugene* or the Duke of *Marlborough*; but I wou'd not have you think that we are all such; no, Sir, there are some amongst us who retain a little of the ancient Spirit, and are stung to the Quick to be put upon any ignominious Service.

But, Sir, I must return to the *Insult* I mention'd before; I hope you will let us know (in Case there be any Thing in it) whether those who received it, have had the Assurance to shew their Faces since. If they come into a Coffee, or Chocolate House, does any Body speak to them? — If they are met in the Streets, or the Park, does any Gentleman take off his Hat to one of them? — Will a Lady give her Hand to be led out of the Opera, or Play, or receive a Compliment, from such pitiful Fellows? I remember the Time, that no Gentleman in the Army would have rolled upon Duty with such pitiful Officers.

If we are kept standing to defend our Country from Invasions, and I hope, Sir, we are not kept for any other Use, I ask you, What Security a Nation can depend upon, in an Army commanded by Officers who have lost all Sense of Honour? I must tell you farther, Sir, that nothing great has ever been done in Armies, but where the private Men have had a good Opinion of those who commanded them; but I leave you to judge what Opinion the Soldiers must conceive of Officers, whom, they hear, have been treated like Scoundrels.

What is become of all those brave Officers that carried the Reputation of this Nation so high under our glorious *Q. Anne*? Are they all dead, and is their Spirit dead with them? The first Regiment in which I serv'd, was commanded by a Colonel, who was as elegant in his Manners, as if he had been bred up in the politest Court in *Europe*, with the Bravery of an old *Roman*. I have often seen him at the Mouth of the Enemies Cannon, at the very Time that some, who now give themselves great Airs, were stealing the publick Money by little fraudulent Contracts at Home. This great Man, I am

told, has quitted the Service. Is he ashamed to be seen amongst us? I am sure he'll do no dirty Work; but if Officers will take such Treatment, I suppose no Man will serve amongst us, that has the Courage to snuff a Candle.

But there is one Thing I hear with Pleasure, and that is, that there was one Officer who took a proper Occasion, in a publick Place, to shew this insolent Fellow his Case; this was right, for no Man of Honour wou'd lay his Hand to his Sword, much less draw his Sword upon a noted Poltroon. I wish I knew who this Officer was, I am persuaded he must have good Blood in him: I desire, Sir, you will let us know his Name, or his Title, if he be noble; and I promise you, that from henceforth, his Health shall be drank every Day

By your humble Servant,

FRANK FIRELOCK.

The Craftsman of this Day contains several Passages of Plays, which in a sneering Way he says ought to be left out in all future Representations of them. For this Paper the Printer, &c. of the Craftsman were taken into Custody: So that we can give no farther Account of it.

Grubstreet Journal, July 7. N^o 393.

Of the Growth of Popery.

Gentlemen,

THE Writer of this is a Protestant Member of the Church of England, as by Law established; and to say no more in the third Person, I am exceedingly glad to see Popery boldly attacked in any Shape. That great Industry is used to gain Profelytes to it here, and with equal Success, is too notorious. For Atheism, a scandalous Corruption of Manners, and an utter Deprivation of common Faith and Humanity, are a sure Foundation on which to build that Superstructure. But you do not go to the Bottom, when you point out our Errors and Misconduct in those Circumstances only. Popery is a Religion derived neither from God nor Nature; and a national Disbelief of the one, or deserting the Dictates of the other, will hardly (without the Help of temporal Motives) carry us all those Lengths which we are required to go, in order to arrive at the Heights of it.

Therefore give me leave, Gentlemen, to ask you a few sober Questions, Why are Beads, Crucifixes, *Agnus Dei* (tis a Parliamentary Expression) sacring Bells, and Popish Manuals, sold as openly and publickly as the Bible and Common-prayer Book? Why are so many private Popish Chapels (equal in Number to the several Priests) in *Soho, Bloomsbury, Hanover, Red Lyon, and Golden-*

Squares, and in numberless other Places in and about this and other great Cities, suffered to remain? Who is it, that encourages, protects, and cherishes *Scotch* (I give them the upper Hand now) *Irish*, and *English Roman* Missionaries, daring to own their Religion and Want of publick Countenance, tho' presenting themselves under feigned and fictitious Names? If you answer these Questions, you will give the Publick a very needful Satisfaction: if not, you leave it under the melancholy Apprehensions, that the Body of the People are leagued against themselves and their Country; which (however bad they may be) is not the Case yet.

As I join in Opinion with you, about the Quakers, I shall give you a small Specimen of a notable Step, which the People of that Profession have taken towards the Propagation of Popery abroad; and as I have it from a Gentleman who has lived many Years in *Pennsylvania*, I confide in the Truth of it; let the Quakers deny it if they can. In the Town of *Philadelphie*, in that Colony, is a publick Popish Chapel, where that Religion has free and open Exercise, and in it all the superstitious Rites of that Church are as avowedly performed, as those of the Church of *England* are in the royal Chapel at *St. James's*. And this Chapel is not only open upon Fasts and Festivals, but is so all Day, and every Day in the Week, and exceedingly frequented at all Hours, either for publick or private Devotion; tho' it is fullest (as my Friend observes) at those Times when the Meeting-Hou'e of the Men of *St. Omer's* is thinnest, and so *vice versa*. This Chapel, slightly built, and for a very good Reason, is but small at present, tho' there is much more Land purchased round it, for the same pious Purposes, than would contain *Westminster-Abbey*, and the Apartments, Offices, &c. thereunto belonging. That these are Truths (whatever Use you are pleased to make of them) you may, at any Time, be satisfied by any Trader or Gentleman who has been there within a few Years, (except he be a Quaker) at the *Carolina* and *Pennsylvania* Coffee-House, near the *Royal Exchange*.

Old *Wbig*, July, 7. N^o 122.

Causes of Superstition: Extracted from a late Author.

THE Causes of Superstition are as various as the Weaknesses and Fancies of Men; for they are indeed those very Weaknesses and Fancies. Whatever we perceive in our selves, and esteem a Perfection, that we naturally ascribe to any one, whom we would mightily extol and honour. Hence it follows, that according to the good or ill Qualities of Men, their Apprehensions of

a Deity will differ. The wise and good Man will naturally be led to attribute infinite Wisdom and perfect Goodness to his God. The ill-natured Man will be apt to make him a peevish cross-grain'd Being, that takes Pleasure in the Unhappiness and Uneasiness of his Dependents, and places his Glory in doing what he wills, and not in willing what is Good and Right; requiring the most unreasonable Service, and disdainful to let his Subjects enquire why he demands it: In short, a Being, who is a Master of Slaves, rather than a Governor of Subjects. The foolish vain Man will be apt to fancy that his Deity takes Pleasure in what he finds himself to be most delighted with. He is ravished with Flattery and fawning Addresses; and therefore he reckons the surest Way to please his God is by ceremonious Compliments and Cringes. As his own Vanity makes him delight in costly Apparel, with a glaring Equipage, and love to see himself surrounded with Pomp and Pageantry; so he thinks to gain his Deity's Favour by the like Trifles.

But then, in order to make these ill Qualities a sufficient Cause to produce all the Idolatries of Superstition, they must be accompanied with an uncommon Stupidity and Inattention of the Mind; which soon prevailed in the World, and depraved the Minds of Men to such a Degree, that they forgot not only all the true Notions of Divinity, but even of every Thing that was good and excellent; by which Means they became obnoxious to any Absurdities that came in their Way. When they had lost all the natural Notions of an infinite, immense Being, they devised innumerable Crowds of Deities, confined like themselves, and moving from Place to Place. These Gods they supposed to be in all Things like Men; lustful and quarrelsome; false and deceitful; full of Revenge, and inexorable to their Enemies.

The cunning and artful Part of Mankind, taking advantage of this Corruption, which the Stupidity and Inadvertency of the Multitude had introduced, improved mightily upon it, and imposed upon the World all the wildest Inconsistencies, which the Brain of Man could invent; and by that means moulded the Understandings of the Generality as they pleased; making them believe, that the Gods approved of every Thing they thought fit to dictate. Wherever the *Magus*, the *Augur*, or the *Druid* pleas'd to point, there they fell prostrate, and paid divine Honours.

Mankind is remarkably subject to two prevalent Frailties, which give an advantageous Handle to those, who govern them in their religious Concerns, to hold them fast under the Power of Superstition. The first is a vehement Desire to be indulged in their Vices and Irregularities. This blinds them to such a Degree, that they are ready to believe and do any Thing, which they think will stand

them in the Stead of Virtue, and save them the Expence of a good Life. By this Weakness they are powerfully governed: Their Masters indulge them in every Kind of Vice; and oblige them so vastly by these endearing Favours, that they may impose upon them any painful or ridiculous Duties and Incumbrances.

The other Frailty is a strong Propensity of Mind towards every Thing that is Mysterious, Dark, and Incomprehensible, as well as to what is Marvellous and full of Surprize. This makes so many Men despise plain good Sense, and run after every Thing which they do not understand. A Religion that is intelligible, is to them no Religion at all; neither can they admire any Thing they can comprehend.

Wherever Superstition has prevailed, the Managers have always taken Care to give the very Outside of it a dark and mysterious Appearance, to answer to the inward Gloominess which it casts over the Understanding. Their Oracles are delivered from horrid and obscure recesses: Their Gods lie hid in the thick Shades of Groves, or in Temples where the Cheerfulness of the Light is not permitted to enter. Some Persons have fancied, that without these gloomy Structures Religion would soon decay; the Truth of the Matter is, that without them Superstition would speedily decline: For the Minds of Men would not be long awed by such an empty Phantom, without some visible Images of it to strike upon their Senses and terrify their Souls.

I shall only add this one Remark, That as the Christian Religion is the best of all Religions; so Christian Superstition, which is the Corruption of it, is the worst of all Superstitions.

Weekly Miscellany, July 8. N^o 237.

THIS Paper is on the Frequency of *Self-Murders*, which the Writer imputes chiefly to the Increase of Infidelity; and concludes thus:

Cannot therefore Reason of itself strike out right Principles as well as draw right Conclusions from them, for the Conduct of human Life? I answer in Fact that it has not done it, as appears from the Mistakes it has made in every Age, in relation to Life and Death. For, alas! after all, what is Reason, considered independent of Revelation? The Reason of every Man is to him Reason: And this admits of almost as great Variety as the Faces of Men. The Reason of *Socrates* told him, God could not be the Author of natural Evil: A just Conclusion from hence might be, that he was not pleased with them and consequently did not desire Men to suffer them, consequently they might resolve to suffer them, and if no other Way offered, they might go out of Life to avoid them. The Reason of *Cato* told him, that a great Man should

should die a thousand Deaths, rather than submit to Slavery; the Conclusion was, he must kill himself rather than yield to *Cæsar*. The *Indian Philosophers* thought Life no longer a Trust, than while it was serviceable to the Owner and others, and then infer'd, that in Sickness and old Age it was Wisdom and Virtue to quit it; in this Case they ascended a wooden Pile and were burn'd to Ashes; as one was before *Alexander*, and another in the Presence of *Augustus Cæsar*. Others have gone a Step further, directed by the same Premises, and concluded, what was a Benefit to themselves, must be so to others, and in consequence of this believed it their Duty to murder their Parents and nearest Relations, when in the Circumstances of Infamy and Pain. A late Gentleman, who chose to drown himself, seemed to jump with these Men in the Conclusion, whatever were his Principles; for he used much Persuasion with his Mistress and natural Daughter to make the last Voyage with him, not to be Spectators, but Sharen of his Fate, as was justly apprehended. (See p. 274.) A considerable Sect among the Wise-ones avow'd a perfect Indifference in Nature, and gave no Preference to Truth above Falshood in Words, nor distinguish'd Right from Wrong in Actions: They might therefore refuse their Life to their Country's Safety, and the next Hour sacrifice it to their own Humour. O Reason, false, delusive, specious Name! What art thou, but Ignorance, Pride, Fancy, Whim and Chance? Since thou can't draw out and confirm contradictory Rules of Action, and art what every Man happens or pleases to make thee!

Craftsman, July 9. N^o 575.

Of the ARMY.

THE most plausible Argument for keeping up the present Number of Forces, in Times of Peace, hath always been, that it is not properly a *standing Army*, nor a *royal Army*, tho' the King hath the sole Command and Direction of it; but a *national or popular Army*, because it comes annually under the Consideration of Parliament, and is granted only from Year to Year. What Weight there is in this Argument, hath been formerly examined. But if it is the *People's Army*, in any Sense, it ought certainly to be employ'd for their Service who are at the whole Expence of maintaining it, and made as little burthenfome to them as possible. For this Reason, both Officers and Soldiers ought not only to be kept under a strict Discipline in their Quarters, as well as in the Field, but all unnecessary Charges should be avoided.

I have often heard it observed, by Officers of Experience, that a very considerable Saving

might be made by a Reduction of our *Cavalry*, which is of the least Service abroad, and of much less at home; tho' vastly more burthenfome to the People, upon whom they are quarter'd, as well as expensive to the Publick. This is more particularly true of what are commonly call'd *Horse*, in Contradistinction to *Dragoons*; tho' the latter, according to their present Establishment, are full as useful in every Respect as the former, notwithstanding the great Difference in their Pay. I shall say nothing of the *King's Body-Guard*, either *Horse* or *Foot*; because the extraordinary Charge of living in Town, and more costly Cloathing, may be thought a just Reason for making some Distinction between them (especially the *Subalterns*) and the marching Regiments.

As the chief Expence of our Army consists in the great Number of *Commission* and *Non-Commission Officers*, the most effectual Method of relieving us, would be to break whole Corps, or Regiments, if it should be ever thought proper to make any Reduction; but having very little Hopes of such Relief at present, it is in the Power of our Superiors to give us some Ease another Way; I mean by regularly applying to the publick Use the Profits of all vacant *Commissions* and *military Governments*, which it may be thought proper, not to be fill'd up, for any considerable Time. This, I am sure, is highly reasonable; for since the People are at the whole Expence of the Army, without having any Share in the Command, or Disposition of it, all Deductions from the general Charge ought to be refunded and apply'd to their Use. An Account of the Savings, upon this Head, was call'd for some Years ago in Parliament; and tho' it was not granted, at that Time, we can make no Doubt that the Publick will have a particular Account, next Session, of the Profits accruing from the great *Commissions* and other *military Employments*, which have been so long kept vacant.

In former Reigns, when *Prerogative* and *arbitrary Power* prevail'd, it was a common Practice for our Princes to keep the richest *Bishopricks* vacant for several Years, and sink the Revenues of them in their own Coffers. This was the Subject of frequent Complaints, both in Parliament and out of it, which at last put a Stop to that iniquitous Practice; and the same Reasons will hold as strongly in the other Case; for a *Diocese*, without a *Bishop*, is not a more absurd Thing than a *Regiment* without a *Colonel*, or a *Garrison* without a *Governor*; and if it should be said that an inferior Officer is able to supply their Places, especially in Times of Peace, what Occasion is there for such expensive Commands; or, at least, why should not the Publick have the Benefit of all Savings to be made, whilst they continue vacant?

B b b a

I could mention several *other Savings*, which might be made by a proper Regulation of the *Army*, even without any *Reduction*; but I shall proceed at present to another Consideration, which affects the *Officers* themselves, as well as the *People*.

It hath been formerly urged, that we have nothing to apprehend from the *present Army*, because there are so many *Noblemen and Gentlemen of Fortune* in it, who will never sacrifice the *Liberties of their Country*, in which *their own Estates* are so nearly concern'd, for the Sake of a *temporary Commission*. Time, indeed, hath verifi'd the Truth of this Observation, in some Measure, by the glorious Conduct of several *great Officers*, who have given us the most convincing Testimony that they prefer the *publick Good* to their *own private Interests*. But if the *Maxim* lately advanced, *That he must be a pitiful Fellow of a Minister, who will suffer any Person to continue in Employment, if he presumes to oppose or censure any of his Measures*; if this *Maxim*, I say, should be once establish'd, the whole Force of the Argument before mention'd, whatever there is in it, will fall to the Ground; for this is a publick Declaration that all *military Officers*, as well as *others*, are only *Creatures of the Minister*, for the Time being.

There is a Passage in *Rapin's History of England*, concerning the Emperor *Commodus*, that, I believe, the Reader will be pleas'd with a Citation of. *Commodus* was not only a very bad Prince, but affected the Character of a *Gladiator*, dress'd himself up in the *Skins of wild Beasts* to make himself look terrible, and was properly what we call, in modern Language, a *Martinet*. The Passage I am now going to quote from *Rapin* relates to the Government of *Britain*, in his Reign.

In the Reign of *Commodus*, the *Caledonians* taking up Arms, cut in Pieces the *Roman Army*, commanded by an *unexperienced General*, and ravaged the Country in a terrible Manner. The whole Province was in Danger of being over-run, had not the Emperor sent over with all Speed *Ulpian Marcellus*, who in a very little Time put an End to this dangerous War. He observed that these Commotions and Inroads of the *Caledonians* were owing to Want of Discipline in the *Roman Army*, and therefore he set about to bring it to its antient Strictness, which he happily accomplish'd. But notwithstanding these and all his *other Services*, the Emperor ungratefully deprived him of his Government, and had like to have put him to Death. *Marcellus* was no sooner gone, but the *Army* began to mutiny; upon which *Perennius*, the Emperor's Favourite, broke or call'd home all the *old Officers*,

putting in their Places such as were devoted to himself. The *Army*, exasperated the more at this, sent a Detachment of 1500 Men to accuse him before the Emperor, of treasenable Practices. *Commodus*, having been jealous of him for some Time, deliver'd him up to the *Soldiers*, who executed him upon the Spot.

If the *Maxim* abovemention'd should prevail, those *Officers*, who shall be Members of either House of Parliament, will be in a worse Condition than the rest; unless they should be resolv'd to sacrifice every Thing to their Interest and Preferment; for voting against an arbitrary Minister, in any single Point, or only absenting from their Duty, will be resent'd in a much stronger Manner than any *other Act of Disobedience*, which they can be guilty of without Doors. They will be regularly summon'd, upon all great Points, by the Minister's Aid de Camps, and no Excuses of Illness, or Business, will be able to save them from the Effects of his Revenge.

I have taken Notice more than once, for the Honour of *K. William*, that when his Ministers press'd him to discharge Sir *George Roake*, for voting against some of their Measures in Parliament, the King wisely ask'd them, whether they had any Thing to object against him as an *Admiral*; and being dumb-founded upon this Head, he told them that he would never turn out a *brave old Officer*, for his Conduct in Parliament, which was a quite different Duty, and ought to be executed, according to every Man's Confession, without the Imputation of being *disaffected*.

Towards the latter End of *Q. Anne's* Reign, when she had intirely changed her Ministry, and displac'd her *wise and virtuous General*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, it cannot be forgot that three great Officers were turn'd out of their Commissions, for expressing their Affection for their *old General*, in a Manner, which gave great Offence to the Court; but, if I am not misinform'd, they had all *Sums of Money* granted them, in Lieu of their Commissions.

Upon the Queen's Death, several *other Officers*, who were suppos'd to be in a different Interest from the Government, were likewise cashier'd; but I am told that even they were order'd to sell, or had Money given them for their Commissions.

I shall not here enter into the Dispute, whether any Employments, *civil or military*, (to say nothing of *ecclesiastical ones*) ought to be bought, or sold; but if any Man is allow'd to lay out a great Sum of Money in buying, he ought certainly to be allow'd to sell, unless he hath forfeited all Pretensions to it by his *ill Behaviour* in the Post, which he enjoy'd.

How this Maxim may affect the lower Officers is very obvious; for if Persons, who were either born, created, or have succeeded to the highest Titles, and of the most eminent Affection to the Government, should be discharged, for only offending such an arbitrary Minister; how can those, of inferior Degrees, expect to escape; much less to be promoted, according to their Rank, unless they have some other Qualification to recommend them, besides their Services in the Army?—But the Wickedness, Absurdity, and Folly of what is call'd a *P—m—y* Interest, upon this Account, is so well expos'd in *Common Sense* of last Saturday, (p. 370.) that I shall only add an Observation or two upon it.

If the Practice of turning out military Officers, without any other Reason than doing their Duty in Parliament, should be establish'd; they ought either to be restrain'd from sitting there, or to have such an Independency as becomes Members of Parliament. This is not only agreeable to the Nature of our Constitution, but would be of great Advantage to the old Officers, whose Services ought to be their only Recommendation, in their military Capacity; for if any Thing else is to be consider'd, they must either forfeit their Honour as Soldiers, and cast off all Regard for their Country as Englishmen, or lose the Reward of their past Services, and the Hopes of all future Preference.

In short, if this Doctrine should ever be put compleatly in Execution, I am ready to agree with the ministerial Writers that our present Army is, in the strictest Sense, a *P—m—y* Army, tho' not a National one.

Common Sense, July 9. N^o 23.

OF FRIENDSHIP.

Whoever shall confound Friendship with that Correspondence which Business, or common Civility have established, will fall into a great Error; these are no more than an Exchange of Compliments and Visits, a Kind of Commerce of Sound and Grinace.

Friendship is a Union of Hearts by the Means of Virtue and Merit, confirm'd by a certain Resemblance and Conformity of Manners. A brilliant Wit, solid and agreeable Talents, may gain upon our Esteem, but they have no Right to our Friendship, unless they are accompanied with Virtue. We ought to distinguish that which pleases now and then, from that which will please for ever.

We must behave with Gentleness and Politeness to those with whom we are to live, because, we cannot have too many. People to wish us well; but we are not to take the Measures of a lasting Friendship with any

Men, except with one who has a generous noble Mind, as well as a sound Judgment.

Caution and Management are necessary in the Choice of our Friends; and we must not deliver ourselves up, upon a slight Acquaintance. Friendships suddenly form'd, commonly end as soon as they are begun.

A One of the chief Obligations of Friendship, is, to communicate some secret Charm to every Thing that happens in the Life of a Friend, whether good or bad; something that may lessen the Sense of the bad, and raise the Sense of the Good; so that no Misfortune may be insupportable, nor any Pleasure may be lost to him.

B The Duties of Friendship are not confined to this alone; it consists also in setting us right in our Notions, in correcting our false Steps, in favouring our Enterprizes, in making us moderate in our Successes, and in supporting us in Adversity.

C We must excuse the Faults of our Friends; for to expect that our Friends shall have no Faults, is as much as to resolve to love Nobody.

If the Reputation of our Friends is attack'd in their Absence, we must engage in their Defence. If they are present, we must second them with Prudence; and, in private, we ought to have the Courage to reprehend them for their Faults.

D Politicians have laid it down as a Rule, that we should love in such a Manner, as if we were one Day to hate; and hate, as if we were one Day to love. I think this Maxim is very good with Respect to Hatred, but that it cannot be applied to true Friendship: It is a Conduct that can be follow'd only in that Kind of Friendship, which Chance, some trifling Pleasures, common Interest, or some accidental Liking happen to form.

E Amongst true Friends there must be no such Thing as Distrust; there must be no Secrets, except those which have been confided to you by a third Person; which is a sacred Trust you are not to make use of upon any Occasion whatsoever.

F Let the Ties of Friendship be never so strict, yet they have their Bounds, and they must be subservient to three principal Duties. We are all born subject to certain Obligations; we owe a Duty to God, to our Country, and last of all to our Family.

G These several Duties have their different Degrees; those of Friendship are in the last Rank. As Creatures, we belong to our great Creator; as Subjects, to the State; and as Men, to our Family. We are born Creatures, Subjects, and Kinsmen; but we become Friends. We come into the World, charg'd with these first Debts, which we are obliged to pay; preferable to those which we contract by our own Choice.

There are Accidents not to be foreseen, which

which often break Friendship. In this Case, we must take Care of being too easy in listening to bad Suggestions, too ready to believe, and too rigorous to condemn. Reason and Justice forbid us to condemn any Person without hearing; by a much stronger Reason, Common Sense and Humanity exact it of us, in the Case of a Friend. We should, on the contrary, with great Calmness examine into the Truth, and, above all, avoid making use of any severe Terms in coming to an *Eclaircissement*; there are some who, for want of this Discretion alone, have given Wounds to the Heart of a Friend, which are never to be cured.

If, after all, one should be under an indispensable Necessity of breaking off intirely, there are Measures to be kept even in Case of a Rupture. There is a Respect to be paid to past Friendship, at the Time that it is no more. All Noise and *Eclat* must particularly be avoided, and we ought to take special Care that this Rupture is neither to be begun nor followed by Passion. Above all, we are not to discover former Secrets. The Mysteries of ancient Friendship must never be profaned. We owe this Regard to ourselves.

To conclude, Happy is he who can find a true Friend, and happy is he who has the Qualities necessary to make a Friend!

Fog's Journal, N^o 5.

The SPEECH of a noble Lord in the DEBATE on the Bill for restraining the Licentiousness of the STAGE.

My Lords,

THE Bill now before your Lordships having pass'd the House of Commons with so much Precipitancy, as even to get the Start of one that deserved all the Respect which could be paid it, has set me on considering why so much Regard has been paid to this; why it has been pushed into the House at the Close of a Session, and press'd in so singular a Manner; but I confess, I am yet at a Loss to find out the great Occasion. My Lords, I apprehend it to be a Bill of a very extraordinary, a very dangerous Nature, and altho' it seems design'd only as a Restraint on the Licentiousness of the Stage, I fear, it looks farther and tends to a Restraint on the Liberty of the Press, a Restraint even on Liberty itself. — I have gather'd from common Talk, while this Bill was moving in the House of Commons, that a Play was offer'd the Players, which if my Account was right, is truly of a most scandalous, a most flagitious Nature. What was the Effect? Why they not only refused to act it, but carried it to a certain Person in the Administration, as a sure Method to have it suppress'd. Could this be the Occasion of the Bill? Surely

no, the Caution of the Players could never occasion a Law to restrain them, it is an Argument in their Favour, and a material one, in my Opinion, against the Bill, and is to me a Proof that the Laws are not only sufficient to deter them from acting what they know would offend; but also to punish 'em in case they should venture to do it. — My

A Lords, I must own I have observed of late a remarkable Licentiousness in the Stage. There were two Plays acted last Winter that, one would have thought, should have given the greatest Offence, and yet were suffer'd without any Censure whatever; in one of these Plays the Author thought fit to represent Religion, Physick, and the Law, as inconsistent with Common Sense; the other was

B founded on a Story very unfit for a Theatrical Entertainment at this Time of Day, a Story so recent in the Minds of Englishmen, and of so solemn a Nature, that unless it be from the Pulpit, we ought not to be reminded of it. The Stage may want Regulation, the Stage may have it, and yet be kept within Bounds without a new Law for the Purpose. I am

C against this Bill, as an unnecessary, and as a dangerous one, and shall give your Lordships my Reasons for this Opinion. — My Lords, I observe a Power is to be lodged in the Hands of one Person only, to judge and determine the Offences made punishable by this Bill, a Power too great to be in the Hands of any one. — When I say this, I am sure I

D do not mean to give the least, the most distant Offence, to that noble Person who fills the Post of L — C —, and whose natural Candour and Love of Justice, I know would not permit him to exercise that Power but with the greatest Justice and Humanity, and was it consistent with the Nature of Property, or were we sure that the Successors in that Office would always be Persons of such distinguished

E Qualities, I think such a Power could not be trusted in a safer Hand. — My Lords, one of the greatest Goods we can enjoy is Liberty; the best Things have Allays; Liberty has its Allay, Licentiousness is the Allay of Liberty, it is the Excrecence and the Ebullition of it. When I touch the one, it is with a fearful, with a trembling Hand, lest I should unwarily

F do a Violence to the other. Is a Play a Libel upon any One? The Law is sufficient to punish the Offender, and the Person in this Case has a singular Advantage, he can be at no Difficulty to prove who is the Publisher of it, the Player himself is the Publisher, and there can be no want of Evidence to convict him. — When we complain of the

G Licentiousness of the Stage, I fear we have more Reason to complain of bad Measures in our Policy, and a general Decay of Virtue and good Morals among us. Let the Censured mend their Actions, and Censure will retort upon the Censurer, the Ridiculous make only

himself ridiculous, and Odium will fall to the Ground. In the Roman Story there is an Instance applicable to the present Occasion: During the Triumvirate of Pompey, Crassus, and Sylla, one Diphilus a Poet had wrote a Play wherein Pompey was particularly mark'd out, (Pompey at that Time was as well known by the Name of Magnus (as Pompey) and in a Speech of the Play where he had Measures of the Time were exploy'd, it concluded with these Words, *Et miseria nostra ex Magnis*, upon which the Audience gave a universal Clap of Applause and were so struck with the Wit and Force of the Expression, that Cicero says, they made the Actor repeat it a hundred Times.—What did Pompey? (who was present on this Occasion) Did he resent the Satyr or the People's Applause? No, his Conduct was wise and prudent, he reflected justly within himself that some Actions he had been guilty of had made him unpopular; from that Hour he began to alter his Measures, he regain'd by Degrees the People's Esteem, grew Popular again, and then neither feared their Wit, nor felt their Satyr.—My Lords, the Stage, preserved and kept up to its true Purpose, should, no doubt, only represent those Incidents in the Actions and Characters of Men as may tend to the Disengagement of Vice, and the promoting of Virtus, and good Life; nor does it vary from its Institution when it helps us to judge of the Vices and Follies of the Times; and tho' the Romans, at the Time I have mentioned, were declining in their Liberty, yet it is plain they had not then, lost the Use of it; but when the Stage is under Power and Control, such Instances are not to be met with. In the Life of that wonderful and excellent Genius Moliere, the Author tells us, that when his *Tartuffe* was acted, the Archbishop of Paris thought the Play reflected upon him, and fancied that Moliere had taken his Measures for one of the principal Characters. Upon this, the Archbishop goes to the King and makes heavy Complaints against Moliere, and tho' the Play was justly admired, as an excellent Piece, yet to please the Archbishop the King silenced the Actors, and forbid the Play. Moliere some Time after, in the Presence of the Prince de Conde, took Notice to him how hard his Fate was to be under the King's Displeasure for a Play that was founded upon the strictest Rules of Morality, Virtue, and Religion, when at the same Time Harlequin and his Italian Troop were suffered to act the most indecent Pieces imaginable, notoriously encouraging Vice and Immorality, and offensive to all Religion in the World; the Prince answer'd him very slyly, *I am not at all surpris'd at it*, says he, for Harlequin only ridicules Religion in general, whereas you have ventured to ridicule the Prime Minister of it. I must say freely, I am for no Power that

may exert itself in an arbitrary Manner, the Court is always for favouring its own Schemes, and is fond of making every Thing in its Power subservient to them; our Stage has been formerly made very useful in this Particular; in King Charles the Second's Time there was a Licenfer at Court, which was the Practice then. Why, when we were out of Humour with Holland, Dryden the Laureat wrote his Play of the Cruelty of the Dutch at Amboyna. When the Affair of the Exclusion Bill was depending, he wrote his *Duke of Guise*.—When the Court took Offence at the City, (where there was some Property to preserve as well as to defend) the Plays represented the Citizens as a Parcel of griping Usurers and designing Knaves, and, to make their Characters compleat, Cuckolds. The Cavaliers at that Time who were to be flattered, tho' the worst of Characters, were always very worthy honest Gentlemen; and the Dissenters, who were to be abused, were always Scoundrels and quaint mischievous Fellows.—Teague a (notorious Rogue that lived by Rapine and Plunder) was the fine Gentleman; and he that could not follow Teague in his Politicks was a sad Fellow, and capable of no Trust whatsoever.—In this Manner was the Stage managed under a Licenfer.—And though I have the greatest Esteem for that noble Lord in whose Hands this Power at present is designed to fall, and whose Impartiality and Judgment I have the greatest Confidence in, yet sometimes a Leaning towards the Fashions of a Court is hard to be avoided, and as to Virtue and good Morals, that is not always the Place where they are to be found. My Lords, if it were necessary a Bill of this Kind should pass, I am of Opinion, the Method propos'd in this, to restrain the Licentiousness complain'd of will not answer the Purpose; for if it does not extend to the Restraint of Printing; (which I hope it never will) it cannot produce that desired Effect. When my L—C— has mark'd a Play with his Refusal, may it not be printed? Will it not be printed with double the Advantage, when it shall be insinuated, that it was refused for having some Character or Strokes of Wit or Satyr in it, that were not suffered to come on the Stage? And will not the Printer set the Refusal in his Title-Page as a Mark of Value? Is it not natural to be fond of every Thing that is forbid, and will it not be more likely to have its Effect among the People, by this means, when the printed Play may cost but a Shilling, and the seeing it acted will cost 3 or 4?—Does not the Satyr remain in Print to be read and considered, when the Offence in acting is over and forgot?—I don't doubt but there are People who will set down to write a Play on purpose to have it refused, and that will be the only Merit belonging to it; for I must observe to your Lordships that, altho' it is very difficult

cult to write one that is fit to be *accepted*, yet it is easy enough to write one that is fit to be *refused*. The Players, I believe, are pretty sensible there are fewer guilty of the former than the latter. *Wit* is the *Property* of those who have it, and very often the *only Property* they have. — Thank God, we, my Lords, are better provided than to depend upon so precarious a Support. I must own, I am not for laying any particular Restraint upon *Wit*; but by this Bill, *Wit* is to be delivered out to the Publick by *Retail*, it is to be *Excised*, my Lords, and the *L—C* — is to have the Honour of being the *Gager*, the *Exciseman*, the *Judge*, and *Jury*; and the poor Author, who has not so much as a *worthy Commissioner* to appeal to, must patiently undergo the *Rummaging* of his Goods for fourteen Days together, before he can have them returned, and return'd how? Why, perhaps, with a *Prohibition* against the *Use* of them. — No Play was ever wrote but *some* of the Characters, Speeches, and Expressions, might be interpreted to point out *some Person* or another; it is *impossible* to write any Thing for the Stage that is not liable to the most *unthought of* Constructions, it is not to be *avoided*, and tho' it may have the *lawful* Passport to it, yet when it comes to be acted the People will make their *Applications*: And here I cannot help observing, what an *unthankful Office* it must prove to that noble Lord, who is to make the *Piece current*, when Reflections shall be fixed upon particular Persons, and be *authoriz'd* at the same Time under *his own Hand*. Such Accidents will be no little *Unesiness* to that noble Person, whose great *Conduſt* in Life is well known, *always* to avoid giving the *least Offence* to any one — My Lords, from *Laws* of this Nature I suspect *very ill* Consequences, nor can I frame to myself any one good Argument or Reason for this Bill. It is an *Arrow* that does but glance upon the Stage; it gives its *Wound* at a Distance. — No Country ever lost its *Liberty* at once, 'tis by *Degrees* that Work is to be done, by *such Degrees* as creep insensibly upon you till 'tis too late to stop the *Mischief*; like the *shadowing* of a Colour, we may trace it from its *first Light* into its *deepest Dye*, but are not able to *distinguish* the several *Gradations* of it. — It is necessary that the *Briars* and *Thorns* should be removed, before *Power* can clear itself for *Action*; but then we see it taking *long Strides over a Land* — The *Romans* lost their *Liberty* by *restraining Licentiousness*; I hope we shall never do it at *so dear a Rate*, and yet I fear we are *clearing* the Way for those who may thank us hereafter for doing so much of the Work ready to their Hands. — Our *Laws*, I am well convinced, are already *sufficient* to punish *Licentiousness* in any Shape, and I can see no Reason for a new

one, that may be *dangerous* and, *impartially*; must be allowed to be *unnecessary*.

N. B. Tho' the foregoing Copy or Abstract of a Speech made by a noble Lord last Session, be very imperfect and erroneous, we have thought fit to give it a Place in this Month's Collection, because it has met with some Applause among those who had not the good Fortune to hear the Original. We were before furnished with a more regular and exact Abstract of that excellent Speech, which we intended to have communicated to our Readers in its proper Place in our Journal of the Proceedings and Debates of last Session; but as the Publishing of this imperfect and blundering Abstract has given occasion to some pitiful Writers to insult the noble Author, as if he had been guilty of the Blunders, which they knew to be the Blunders of the Publisher only, therefore we shall give our Abstract of that Speech in the Magazine for next Month; for tho' we cannot pretend to equal the beautiful Original, yet we may presume to say it will be found more methodical, and more perfect, or at least not so erroneous as that already published.

Daily Gazetteer, July 18. N^o 645.

Upon the noble Lord's Speech in Fog's Journal (as above.)

HE tells us, ' That during the Triumvirate of Pompey, Crassus, and Sylla, — I suppose by a Mistake of the Printer's, Sylla is written for Caesar. — Well then, during this Triumvirate, which is called the first, ' One ' Diphilus, a Poet, had wrote a Play, where ' in Pompey was particularly mark'd out, &c. (See p. 379.) Who would not be surprized now, if a Fact so circumstantiated as this should happen not to be true? and yet a Man need look no further than Tully's Letters to Atticus, to disapprove the greatest Part of it. One Diphilus a Poet, says my noble Lord: In what German Dissertation did he find that? Or is it hid somewhere in the King's Library? There was, indeed, one Diphilus a Greek Poet, from whom Plautus and Terence borrowed, the one his *Commoventes*, a lost Play, and the other his *Adelphi*. But this is not the Play from whence this Speech is taken. His Lordship saw Diphilus Tragedies, in Tully, and he took him to be a tragick Writer; just as if he had mistaken honest Booth for Shakespear. Diphilus, then, was only a poor strutting Player, and the Play he acted was not made against Pompey, but many, many Years before. It is thought to have been a Play of Cæcilius or Accius; the Criticks are not agreed which. And it must have been a very

extraordinary Degree of Veneration, that should make either of them writs against *Pompey the Great*.

Another Piece of Learning of his own free Gift is, that *Pompey* was present; but the best Critics assure us he was not, but was then at *Capua*, and *Cæsar* writ him Word of it. But did *Pompey* resent the Satyr, says he, or the People's Applause? I answer, no truly: The Satyr lay only in the Application, it was not invented on Purpose; and the People of *Rome*, I humbly apprehend to have been his Lords and Masters; and the kicking Scheme was not then in fashion from Subjects to their Superiors. (See p. 309 G.) One Way, indeed, *Pompey* might have resented it, by sending Troops in amongst them, and *Tully* frequently expresses his Fears of it, that this very Usage of him, which our Author recommends as so salutary, would make him *rulers*; that is, come to Violence: But that would have dissolved the Government at once, and brought in again the Times of *Marcius* and *Sylla*.

His Lordship says, that from that Time, *Pompey* alter'd his Measures, and became popular. But pray let us know, what the Word Popular meant at that Time. *Pompey*, *Craffus*, and *Cæsar*, were then called the popular Party, and their Agent for managing the Rabble was the famous *Clodius*. *Clodius* was at the Head of a furious, hair-brain'd Mob, made up of false Patriots, great Assaulters of Liberty, and great Infringers of it. The worthy Gentlemen that composed this political Band, these vagabond Statesmen, that went about with Brick-Bats and Quarter-Staffs, were the Drops and Scum of the People; lawless, noisy, riotous Disturbers of the publick Peace; to moderate it a little, Incendiaries, Gin-drinkers, and Custom-stealers; whom these Triumvirs flatter'd with a Resumption of Grants, and Languish out of the publick Treasury. Now just about the Time that *Tully* is speaking of in this very Letter, from whence the noble Peer has fetch'd this Inundation of Learning, the Pretences of the popular Party begin to be found out, and that they really aimed at Tyranny. So *Tully* says, nothing was grown so unpopular, as the popular Party; and *Balbus* who was *Cæsar's* Collegue, and constant Opponent, was cry'd up to the Skies. Thus therefore *Pompey* was grown unpopular, because his false Popularity was detected. But did he mend upon this, as the noble Lord says? No. Very soon after, to gatisfy this licentious popular Party, he did the most unpopular, and basest Thing that could be: He betray'd to this rascally Mob, even *Cicero* himself, his best and fastest Friend, the most eloquent Minister, and wisest Statesman, that *Rome* ever bred, to whom his Country ow'd not only her Safety, but the very Buildings,

and the Stoops of her Streets. And how long did he continue to be thus wonderfully popular? Why till the popular Party design'd to take away his own Life. Then, indeed, not at the Instigations of Post *Diphilus*, but in a just Concern for his own Safety, he turn'd about, and became truly popular; he gratify'd all good and honest Men, and *Tully* was borne back again from Banishment upon the Shoulders of all *Italy*.

And thus, I think, I have made out my Point; that this noble Lord is a little unfortunate in his Learning; and the very Stroke he concludes with is as little founded in History, as the rest. He says, the restraining Licentiousness, was the Ruin of the *Roman* Liberties: He must know the contrary, and that it was *Julius Cæsar's* encouraging all Sorts of Licentiousness, that was the Destruction of the Republick. All the indebted, the bankrupt, the vicious Part of the Nobility and Gentry flock'd to his Standard. His Party was composed of old *Catilinarian*, of *Clodius's* Rabble, and such of the Spendthrift Patriots, as he by his Profusions had attach'd to him; whose Estates, as he told them himself frankly, could never be clear'd but by a Spange, or a civil War. These, with the Help of two necessitous Tribunes, a veteran Army, and unexpected Success, put an End to all true Patriots among them, and virtuous Patriotism; and gave the popular Party an Opportunity, they long had wanted, of raising themselves as well as others, thereby to establish a perfect and lasting Tyranny:

Common Sense, July 16. N^o 24.

Of Party-Divisions.

IT is the Complaint of most Men who have lived any Time in the World, that the present Age is much degenerated in its Morals within the Memory of Man. That there has been a gradual Decay of publick Spirit for some Years, cannot be denied; which owes its Original, if I am not very much mistaken, to our Party-Divisions.

There is a particular Maxim among Parties, which alone is sufficient to corrupt a whole Nation; which is, to countenance, and protect the most infamous-Fellows who happen to herd amongst them. It is something sticking to Common Sense, to see the Man of Honour and the Knave, the Man of Parts and the Blockhead put upon an equal Foot; which is often the Case amongst Parties. The Reason is, he that has not Sense enough to distinguish Right from Wrong, can make a Noise; nay, the less Sense the more Obstinacy, especially in a bad Cause; and the greater Knave, the more obedient to his Leaders, especially when they are playing the

Rogus. These are the best Tools, and such are the Qualities necessary for putting in Execution the bad Measures which the corrupt Leaders of Parties intend to carry on if they are uppermost.

Party Zeal changes the Name of Things; Black is White, Vice is Virtue, a Bribe in an Office is call'd a Perquisite, and the most studied and concerted Fraud that can enter into the Head of the most thorough-paced Knave, shall be voted a little Negligence. He that deserves to be hang'd, by all Law, Human and Divine, for his Conduct in private Life, may, at the same Time, be an Angel with his Party.

Mendax, while he held an Office in the State, is detected in a little mean Fraud; however, *Mendax* has been always true to the Troop; the Chiefs of the Party having met to consider how to behave with respect to *Mendax*, in this critical Juncture, all the Men of Honour amongst them were for giving him up, and even joining in any Punishment that might be laid upon him; but a *Vetran*, who was grown old in all the Iniquitous Practices of Party, and who had acquired Authority by his Experience, was quite of another Opinion; *Mendax*, says he, has always been an active Member of the Cause, and what have we to do with his Morals or his Honour? adding, the Man that is true to the Troop must always be screen'd, let him be guilty of what he will. Thus, by the detestable Politics of Party, *Mendax* was countenanc'd and cherish'd under the Infamy of a most scandalous Fraud, and lived to do his Country more Mischief, by the Corruption which he afterwards spread thro' it, than a Plague, or a War could have done.

If we look back into the History of a few Years past, we shall find, that the immense Estates that have been made by the numerous fraudulent Projects with which this virtuous Age has abounded, have been by Persons who pretended to be zealous Party-Men, and have gone great Lengths in Party; nay, some have been so cunning as to shift Sides, and go over to the strongest, just before they have resolv'd to strike some bold Stroke; so that I have often thought, that a strong Party is the same Thing to a Cheat, that a strong Island in the *West-Indies* is to a Pirate, a Place of Safety to lay up all he has stole.

As I have intic'd my Paper *Common Sense*, the Publick may depend upon it, that I shall not write the Sense of a Party, because *Common Sense* must be free from all Prejudice, and Party Sense is observ'd to be rarely so. I will farther add, that I take *Common Sense* and *Common Honesty* to be so near a-kin, that whenever I see a Man turn Knave, I shall not sick to pronounce him a Fool. I never knew a Man that set out with good

Principles, and afterwards became a Profitable to Men in Power, but some Creature of a little, narrow, mean Understanding. A Piece of Ribbon, or a Word added to a Name, shall reconcile a Fool to the most destructive Measures.

But I am farther of Opinion, that if a Writer should at this Time expect to become popular, by running violently into all the Prejudices of a Party, he would meet with a Reception from the Publick very different from what he expected. Party-Prejudice is not the same Thing it was. The Malignity of the Distemper is worn out; and it must be a singular Pleasure to a Man who loves his Country, to find those two odious Divisions of *Whig* and *Tory*, with which we used formerly to reproach one another, used no more. All Men unplaced, and unopinioned, talk and think alike.

I will not say, that it is Prosperity that has wrought this great Change; but be it as it will, it is certain that the Cure of my Grievances that may fall upon us, can come from nothing else but this Union. This is not only my Opinion, it is certainly the Opinion of those whose Safety, next to the Corruption of the Times, depends upon our Divisions.

When a Nation is divided against itself, how great must be the Providence that must save it from sinking! When the People are broke into Parties and Factions, worrying and reviling one another, what a fine Harvest it yields to the common Enemy! If I should be ask'd, who is that common Enemy? I shall only answer, that there is a *Benediti* in Time of Peace as well as in Time of War; there are *Free-booters* who are not regularly list'd on either Side, and who, while both Sides are engag'd against each other, will certainly plunder the Nation.

I will only say, beware of those who are labouring to keep alive the Animosities of Party; it is true, they have laboured in vain; but they have not yet given up the Game for lost; they are continually throwing out Bombs of Contention, they are raking up the dying Embers of Party, in hopes of kindling a new Flame.

There is a Set of Men who are govern'd by no Principles, and have no Friends or Followers but such as are attach'd to them for mercenary Ends; these assume to themselves the Name of a Party; it is they who are for fomenting Divisions, in Hopes, that when the Madness of Party shall again seize the People, both Sides will by Turns fall in with them, in order to be reveng'd and undo each other, which will save a great deal in Bribes. But it happens, that they have been so awkward in concealing their foul Play, that all the World has seen thro' it.

But tho' there may be no dangerous De-

signs at present, and the whole Body of the People may entertain the same Opinion of the good Intentions, and of the great Abilities of our present Ministers, as they really merit, yet it is not amiss to have our Eyes about us. Political Jealousy is inseparable from the Minds of good Patriots; it is their Duty to be watchful for the Publick, and suspicious of the Designs of Men in Power. This Jealousy is our great Security; and it cannot decay till publick Spirit decays.

The Individuals of that great Body call'd the People, are so taken up with their several Avocations, that they are not always at Leisure to examine well the Designs of Men in Power; therefore it is the Duty of every private Man to give the Alarm, whenever he perceives any Thing doing which must have a Tendency to alter and impair that Plan of Government under which we, and our Ancestors, have lived free. And this, we propose, shall be partly the Business of this Paper.

The Adversaries that in all Probability will oppose us, are not much to be feared. That Paper which is look'd upon as the Work of the greatest Wit, and most profound Politician of the Faction we hinted at above, for they are not to be call'd a Party, might be excell'd by the lowest Productions of *Grubstreet*; yet here you see all the good Sense that is among them, and it would be Reason enough for making the People uneasy, if they should have a Notion that the publick Affairs were to be managed by such Hands.

I cannot help thinking, that they have taken up a Notion, that the only Qualification of a political Writer, is a hardy and intrepid Manner of asserting what is not, and of denying what is. As to their profligate Manner of endeavouring to turn publick Spirit into Ridicule, they have done it with so little Wit, they have not been able to gain the very Laughters on their Side. He that laughs with them, must laugh without a Jest; and therefore as often as I saw my Predecessors employ their Wit against those who never us'd that Weapon against them, I own I did not look upon it as very generous in them; methinks, if I were Master of that Weapon call'd Wit, I should be as much sham'd of drawing against an *Osborn*, or a *Walsingham*, as I should be of drawing a Sword against a naked Man.

Upon the Whole, tho' I have promised never to be dull with Design, yet I would not have the Publick expect much from me at such Times as I shall be drawn into Dispute with that Paper which has but a Mob of *Swiss* Writers to support it; it is a *Briars* with an hundred Hands, but not one Head; and as there is neither Conduct, nor Order, nor Discipline, nor Honour amongst them, they will be as easily defeated as any other Rabble.

There was no Craftsman on this Day, viz. the 16th, on the Account mention'd, page 373. The suppos'd Author, Printer, and Publishers of Fog's Journal were also taken into Custody, for the Journal of this Day.

A *Grubstreet Journal*, July 21. N^o 395.

Answer to the Letter of July 7. (See p. 373.)

Gentlemen,

MR. A. Z. seems 'tis fiery Zealot as any Popish Inquisitor. With his Leave, I cannot forget that any Religion is better than Atheism and its Consequences; I cannot forget, that our Ancestors were Papists; lastly, I cannot forget, that *England* is a Christian Nation; that Liberty and Property is, or ought to be, the inherent Privilege of an *Englishman*.

Our good Friends the *Dutch* are so well apprized of the Advantage of Liberty of Conscience, that the Refugees from all Countries, are welcome to reside amongst them, and to write, publish, and maintain their several Opinions.

The oldest *English* Lawyer *Bracton* says very judiciously, that Allegiance is due wherever Protection is: Those two Duties are correlative, from whence it follows, that where Allegiance is expected, Protection ought to be granted.

This being premis'd, A. Z.'s sober Questions are easily answer'd. The illustrious Family, which so gloriously sits the *English* Throne, expects the *Papists* to behave like dutiful Subjects: And I hope will protect them, and all others who behave as such. What private Understanding may be betwixt *Papists* and *Quakers*, I know not, nor believe there is any: But it is plain, that *Beads*, *Agnus Dei*, *Bells*, or even *Mah*, are no Ways detrimental to Society; and that the ye-and-nay Folks in *Pennsylvania* find the *Papists* as useful in their Trade, and of as peaceable Behaviour, as any other Sort of Christians. To conclude, every true *British* ought to rejoyce, that the present Government is so indulgent to Dissenters of all Denominations. I do not envy the Church by Law established its Preferments civil, military, or Bishopricks, and other ecclesiastical Livings: But I dare put it to the Vote of any sensible Man, whether the Oath of Allegiance alone should not entitle every *Englishman* to be protected in his Life, quiet Exercise of his Religion, Property, and Birth-rights. Dignities in Church and State are no particular Man's Birth-right; so let the Ambitious conform to Laws, or be content without them: As for Tythes, let the *Quakers* get off if they can; 'tis all one to, Gentlemen,

Your humble Servant, C. V.

Craftsman, July 23. N^o. 576.

Of the British Colonies.

S I R,

I have both read, and been assured by those, who have been in our Colonies and Plantations, that by Care and Encouragement, they may be made an inexhaustible Mine of Treasure to Great Britain, as well as a Mean to multiply its Seamen, increase its Navigation, enlarge its Trade, and advance the Revenue of the Crown. The Treasure, which hath flow'd in from them, or by their Means, since their respective Settlements hath been immensely great and highly advantageous to this Nation.

This makes it highly incumbent both upon the Legislature and ministerial Powers to exert themselves at all Times, to preserve and encourage the British Colonies and Plantations in America; for as they have, for a great Number of Years, given Employment to many Thousand of our Artificers of all Kinds, by the great Quantities of Manufactures (especially of our inferior Sorts) which they have taken from us, and by sending us in Return for them, in our own Shipping, Sugar, Tobacco, Indigo, Ginger, Cotton, sundry dying Woods, Rice, Pitch, Tar, Oil, &c. great Part of which is re-exported to Holland, Hamburg, Flanders, the East Country, Straights, &c. so, if we take Care to preserve them from foreign Injuria, and intestine Commotions, and give them Encouragement to proceed in those Products and Manufactures, and such Branches of Trade, as do not interfere with their Mother Country, they will necessarily, as they increase in People, consume much more of our Manufactures, and bring a greater Profit, by their Product and Traffic, than they have hitherto done, to this Kingdom. But our primary Regard should be to the British Southern Plantations; since so great a Part of the Northern Colonies make their chief Returns for the Goods they take from this Kingdom, by Means of the Sugar Islands.

But the Northern Colonies might be made more advantageous to this Kingdom than they have hitherto been, provided all necessary Encouragement were given by the Legislature, for their supplying it with all Kinds of naval Stores, which they may be made capable of doing in very great Quantities, and, in Process of Time, to as great a Degree, and upon as good Terms to this Kingdom, as they now supply it with Pitch and Tar. I believe it will be admitted by all, who have given any Attention to these Matters, that the Bounties, given by any Acts of Parliament upon any other the Product and Manufactures of our Northern Colonies, are not sufficient Encouragements to the Inhabitants for answering the Ends proposed by them; and that

there is likewise Encouragement wanting to be given for the Importation, from our Plantations into this Kingdom, of several other new Materials to be manufactured in it, particularly Iron and Flax; for which, as well as for Hemp and Timber, we annually pay such great Sums of Money to foreign Countries.

But, besides these Advantages, the Increase of the Consumption of our own Manufactures, of the Seamen and Ships of Great Britain, and its bringing a general Security and Profit to its Dominions, it will be the most, and only, certain and effectual Means of preventing the Inhabitants of any of the Northern Colonies from setting up any new Manufactures, or pursuing any Manufactures, which they may have set up already; either of which, were they to proceed in them, would cloath, as well as feed, their Neighbours, and probably, in Time, by their Neighbours, as well as low Prices, come to have such Advantages from them as might prove of very pernicious Consequence to Great Britain.

No Trade deserves so much our Care to procure and preserve, and give Encouragement to, as those, which employ the most Shipping, altho' the Commodities carried be of small Value themselves, as a great Part of the Commodities from our Plantations are, and which every Commodity that Encouragement can possibly be given to bring from the Northern Colonies will be. Besides, the Gain accruing by any of the Commodities themselves, and the Freight of such as are re-exported, whether in Kind or Manufactured, is all Profit to the Nation; and as such Commodities will likewise bring with them a great Access of Power by the Increase of Ships and Seamen, the proper Strength and Security of the Kingdom, to the British Colonies and Plantations will be both Strength and Riches to their Mother Country. It is therefore incumbent upon those, who are intrusted with the Administration of the Affairs of this Kingdom, that the Persons, who shall at all Times represent the Crown in every of the respective Colonies and Plantations, be Men not indigent but of some Fortune, as well as of known Abilities, Experience, Courage, Temper, and Virtue.

In this Craftsman was the following Advertisement.

N. B. To the Readers of the Craftsman, Whereas the Craftsman was suppress'd last Saturday, in a very extraordinary Manner; This is to assure our Readers, that it will be carry'd on with the same Spirit, for the future, unless we are prevented by such an Authority as we cannot resist. I am, Gentlemen,

Your oblig'd and devoted Servant,

CALEB D'ANVERS.

The

The following Piece, published in the St. James's Evening-Post of June 7. is by the best Painter in England, perhaps in the World, in his Way.

EVERY good-natur'd Man, and Well-wisher to Arts in England, must feel a Kind of Repentment, at a very indecent Paragraph in the *Daily Post* of Thursday last; relating to the Death of *Monf. le Moine*, first Painter to the *French King*; in which, very unjust, as well as cruel Reflections are cast on the noblest Performance (in its Way) that England has to boast of; I mean the Work of the late Sir *James Thornhill* in *Greenwich-Hall*. It has ever been the Business of narrow, little Geniuses, who by a tedious Application to minute Parts, have, (as they fancy) attain'd to a great Insight into the correct Drawing of a Figure, and have acquir'd just Knowledge enough in the Art to tell accurately when a Toe is too short, or a Finger too thick, to endeavour, by detracting from the Merits of Great Men, to build themselves a Kind of Reputation. These peddling Demi-Criticks, on the painful Discovery of some little Inaccuracy, (which proceeds mostly from the Freedom of the Pencil) without any Regard to the more noble Parts of a Performance, (which they are totally ignorant of,) with great Satisfaction condemn the Whole, as a bad and incorrect Piece.

*The meanest artist in th' Emelian square
Can imitate in brags the nails and hair,
Expert at trifles, and a cunning fool,
Able to express the parts, but not the whole.*

There is another Set of Gentry more noxious to the Art than these, and these are your *Picture-Jobbers from abroad*, who are always ready to raise a great Cry in the Prints, whenever they think their Craft is in Danger; and indeed it is their Interest to depreciate every *English* Work, as hurtful to their Trade, of continually importing Ship Loads of dead *Christs*, *Holy Families*, *Madonas*, and other dismal dark Subjects, neither entertaining nor ornamental; on which they scrawl the terrible cramp Names of some *Italian* Masters, and fix on us poor *Englishmen*, the Character of *Universal Dupes*. If a Man, naturally a Judge of Painting, not bigotted to these *Empyricks*, should cast his Eye on one of their sham *Virtuoso-Pieces*, he would be very apt to say, 'Mr. *Bubbleman*, that *Grand Venus* (as you are pleas'd to call it) has not Beauty enough for the Character of an *English Cook-Maid*.' — Upon which the Quack answers with a confident Air, 'O I—, Sir, I find you are no *Connoisseur* — That Picture, I assure you, is in *Alfio Baldovinetto's* second and best Manner, & boldly painted, and truly sublime; the Ces-

'sur gracious; the Air of the Head in the high *Greek Taste*, and a most divine Idea it is.' — Then sitting on an obscure Place, and rubbing it with a dirty Handkerchief, takes a Skip to t'other End of the Room, and screams out in Raptures, — 'There's an amazing Touch! A Man should have this Picture a Twelve-month in his Collection, before he can discover half its Beauties.'

The Gentleman, (tho' naturally a Judge of what is beautiful, yet skam'd to be out of the Fashion in judging for himself) with this Quack is struck-stumb, gives a vast Sum for the Picture, very modestly confesses he is indeed quite ignorant of Painting, and bestows a Frame worth fifty Pounds on a frightful Thing, without the hard Name on it not worth as many Farthings. Such Impudence, as is now continually practis'd in the Picture-Trade, must meet with its proper Treatment, would Gentlemen but venture to see with their own Eyes. Let but the Comparison of Pictures with Nature be their only Guide, and let them judge as freely of Painting, as they do of Poetry; they would then take it for granted, that when a Piece gives Pleasure to none but these *Connoisseurs*, or their Adherents, if the Purchase be a thousand Pounds, 'tis nine hundred and ninety-nine too dear. And were all our grand Collections stripp'd of such Sort of Trumpery, then, and not 'till then, it would be worth an *Englishman's* While to try the Strength of his Genius to supply their Places; which now it were next to Madness to attempt, since there is nothing that has not travell'd a thousand Miles, or has not been done a hundred Years, but is looked upon as mean and ungentle Furniture. What Mr. *Pope* in his last Work says of Poems, may with much more Propriety be apply'd to Pictures.

*Authors like coins, grow dear as they grow old;
It is the rust we value, not the gold.*

Sir *James Thornhill*, in a too modest Complaisance with the *Connoisseurs* of his Time, call'd in the Assistance of Mr. *Andrea*, a Foreigner, famous for the Justness of his Out-Line, to paint the Royal Family at the Upper-End of *Greenwich-Hall*; to the Beauties or Faults of which I have nothing to say: But, with Regard to the Ceiling, which is entirely of his own Hand, I am certain all unprejudic'd Persons, with (or without) much Insight, into the Mechanick Parts of Painting, are at the first View struck with the most agreeable Harmony and Play of Colours, that ever delighted the Eye of a Spectator. The Composition is altogether extremely grand, the Groups finely dispos'd, the Light and Shade so contriv'd, as to throw the Eye with Pleasure on the principal Figures, which are drawn with great Fire and Judgment: The Colouring of the Flesh deli-

licious, the Drapery great, and well-folded, and upon Examination the Allegory is found clear, well invented, and full of Learning: In short, all that is necessary to constitute a complete Cieling-Piece, is apparent in that magnificent Work. Thus much, is in Justice due to that great *English Artist* from an *Englishman*,

BRITOPHIL.

N. B. If the Reputation of this Work were destroy'd, it would put a Stop to the Receipt of daily Sums of Money from Spectators, which is applied to the Use of sick Charity-Children.

Common Sense, July 23. N^o 25.

Terrible Consequences of a young Woman's losing her Virtue.

HE that robs a young Woman of her Virtue, robs her of her greatest Charm, and robs her Parents and Friends of their Peace of Mind. Who can describe the Sorrow of that Parent, who has plac'd all his Happiness in the Hopes of a virtuous Child, and sees her defiled, and number'd among those Prostitutes who are the Shame of their Family?

To this Purpose he tells a Story, out of Chevalier D'Arviens's Travels, of one Abah Rabiah at Aleppo, whose only Daughter having stain'd the Honour of his Family, by a criminal Amour, he kill'd her with his own Hands, and having invited all his Relations to dine with him, in the Midst of the Entertainment, caus'd her Head to be set before them in a Dish, swimming in its Blood.

The whole Company was seiz'd with Horror at so dreadful a Sight, — some fainted, some quitted the Table, and all were in Confusion.

After the first Astonishment was a little over, *Abah Rabiah* begg'd they would hear him; he related to them the paternal Affection he had for his Daughter, the Care he had taken of her, and then her Crime; adding, that since he had by this Action, which wounded him to the very Soul, restored to them, his Kindred, as well as to his Nation, that Honour which this unhappy Girl had lost, he hoped they would be so kind to perform the last Rites to a poor Victim which he had sacrificed for their Sakes; with that a Flood of Tears burst from his Eyes, and he threw himself upon the Earth, unable to utter another Word.

The Relations put the Body and the Head together into a Coffin, and accompanied it to the usual Burying-Place, with the same Lamentations, and some Ceremonies, as if the unhappy young Creature had died a natural Death. As for *Abah Rabiah*, he retired next Day into the Desert of Arabia, and never was heard of at Aleppo more.

Fog's Journal, July 23. N^o 8.

A Proposal for the better preventing of Robberies, and other Crimes.

WHOEVER has often look'd over the Sessions Papers, may, doubtless, have observ'd, that Idleness, the Mother of all Vices, is the Source of those poor Creatures Misfortunes, who bring themselves to an untimely End, by the Hand of publick Justice, and a Proof, that they had rather be hang'd than work; whence 'tis an evident and natural Conclusion, that they dread Labour more than Death.

This being so, I am humbly of Opinion, that it would strike a greater Terror in this Class of idle Villains, to condemn them to perpetual hard Labour, for Capital Crimes; and for such as are punish'd with Branding, Whipping, or Transportation, to sentence them to work for a certain Number of Months, or Years; than has yet been impress'd on them by Monthly Examples at Tyburn: Besides, the Publick might, by their Labour, receive some Satisfaction for the Depredations of their former Lives. For Example, if every Parish had a Number of these Criminals allotted to be under the Care of the Scavenger, and destin'd to cleaning the Streets, distinguish'd by a Chain about the Middle and one Leg, follow'd by a smart Driver, who would allow them no idle Minutes; kept upon Bread and Water, suffer'd to converse with none but who were in the same miserable Situation; lock'd up every Night in a dark Dungeon, to lie upon the Pavement; to renew their Labour with the Return of the Light, and condemn'd to this for Life; I believe in a very little Time, by the Death of Rogues, the Parishes would again be oblig'd to hire Men to clean the Streets. Murderers I except from this Punishment, and think that, now destin'd by the Laws, too mild.

I have always thought Death a Punishment that was no Way adequate to the Crimes of some publick Villains who have been punish'd with it; and I am certain, the most cowardly among Men, would prefer it to the Punishment I propose. We are condemn'd to Death by Nature; the Sentence of the Law and the Hand of the Hangman only anticipate a few Years, or perhaps a few Months or Days; but to be daily wishing for Death, as a Friend, to relieve us, and to be debarr'd of all Means of meeting with him, is such a Quintessence of Wretchedness as would, I believe, make all Mankind keep a strict Guard upon their Actions, that they may avoid falling into it.

The Papers of next Week must be deferr'd to our next; in which will be insert'd the Remainder of the Tatling Traveller's Letter, and the Criticism on the Word Woman.

ON HAVOD near SWANSEA.

Delightful *Havod*, most serene abode!
Thou sweet retreat, fit mansion for a
god!

Dame nature, lavish of her gifts we see,
And paradise again reflect'd in thee.
Unrival'd thou beneath the radiant sun;
* *Slattery* and *Forsyth* own themselves out-done.
Thy verdant fields, which wide extended lie,
For ever please, for ever charm the eye:
Thy shady groves afford a safe retreat [heat
From falling snow're, and summer's scorching
Thy stately oaks to heav'n aspiring rise,
And with their utmost tops salute the skies;
While lowlier shrubs amidst thy lawns are
seen,

All clad in liv'ries of the loveliest green:
From ev'ry bush the feather'd tribe we hear,
Who ravish with their warbling notes the ear.
But what compleats the beauty of the
whole,

And has with raptures often fill'd my soul;
Here *Swansea's* virgins ev'ry morn repair,
To range the fields and breathe in purer air;
And soon as *Phœbus* ushers in the day,
Regale themselves with salutary whey.
Here lovely *M——*'s charming nymph is seen,
Fair as an angel, graceful as a queen:
Here *H——*'s too the flow'ry pasture treads,
Whom none in beauty, none in wit exceeds;
Here *R——*'s comes, for ever brisk and gay,
Who steals insensibly our hearts away;
Her killing eyes a frozen priest would move,
The youth who sees her, cannot chuse but
love.

Here *Rosalinda* does uncessur'd go, [know;
To meet her swain, and cares not who shall
For what ill-natur'd tongue will dare to say
She came to meet him, when she came for
why?

S——, *W——*, *W——* hither all resort,
Nymphs that would grace the greatest mo-
narch's court;

So sweet, so charming, so divinely fair,
You'd swear a train of goddesses were there.
Here oft they pass their blissful hours away
In pleasant chat, or else in sportive play;
Or sometimes in harmonious concert sing,
While neighbouring groves with sweetest e-
choera ring:

The birds are hush'd, and all amaz'd appear,
Sounds more melodious than their own to hear:
Herd by old *Tawny* † gently glides along,
And stays his streams to listen to their song;
While t'other side a distant brook we hear,
Run morm'ring, 'cause he can't approach the
fair.

O happy place! the world I'd freely give,
That I might always at my *Havod* live:

My *Havod* should in deathless pages shine,
Were I, like *Pope*, a favourite of the nine:
Or on † *Kilway*, or *Kroombis* they dwell,
Or in † *Crombora's* unfrequented vale:
Would they propitious but inspire my lays,
The world should ring with charming *Havod's*
praise.

But oh! the muses deign not to inspire,
My bosom burns not with poetick fire;
I then must cease and lay aside my quill,
Lest I eclipse thy fame, by praising ill.

To SYLVIA looking kindly.

YEAR after year have I my *Sylvia* lov'd;
By proofs on proofs have I my passion
prov'd;

All arts attempted, all persuasions try'd,
At once have pray'd and scolded, storm'd and
sigh'd:

Essay'd each stratagem, and each surprize;—
Studied her very motions and her eyes.
In vain—her cold neglect, or proud disdain
Still shon'd my sorrows, or despis'd my pain.

At length the views me with a pitying
eye:—

Tell me, mysterious *Sylvia*, tell me why?
For never time, nor pray'rs, nor heav'n's decree
Shall e'er incline thy cruel heart to me!
Was it because the sun serenely shin'd?
Or had you won at cards, or had you din'd?

In this soft moment, pitying nature, take
My erring soul, wrapt up in its mistake:
Let me no more confront her frowning eye—
But in the present fond illusion die!
Foolishly constant, obstinately true;
Sick of amusements, and of pleasures too;
By *Flavia's*, *Delia's* uselessly approv'd;
Sincerely hated by the nymph I lov'd!

FLORIO.

The Happiness of a COUNTRY LIFE, con-
tinued from p. 329.

HERE *Pope* the muses favourites retir'd,
First felt his breast with heav'nly rap-
tures fir'd.

' Thy forests *Windsor*! and thy green retreats
' At once the monarch's and the muses seats
' Invite his numbers: whilst the *Sylvan* maids
' Unlock their springs, and open all their
shades.

Envy itself delighted with the piece,
Tho' forc'd against her will, shall yet confess
The raptur'd bard a monument hath rais'd.
As lying as those groves he sweetly prais'd.
Again to heav'nly themes he tunes the strings,
The nymphs of *Sion* listen while he sings,
And o'er the World extends *Messiah's* throne:
Peruse his verses, and impartial own

* Two pleasant Places near Swansea.
not far from Swansea.

† A River running by Havod.

‡ Two Mountains

near Swansea.

That the same God by secret influence wrought
The prophet's vision and the poet's thought.

By these inspir'd I attempt to sing, [wing]
They guide my flights and prun my tangles
Their perfect standard forms the weak design,
There are the beauties but the failings mine.

Oh! would kind heaven give me to possess
These groves of *Eden*, this adam'd recess;
Wouldst thou, *Urania*! my soul inspire [first]
With warmth like thine and raise an equal
Or gently breath into my inmost sense
A *Newton's* genius, or a *Naso's* flame;

Then of my great Creator would I sing,
And trace all nature upward to her Spring;
All of the various changes of the moon,
Of worlds illumin'd by another sun;
Explain what pow'r the raging ocean guide,
What cause confines or swells th' alternate tide,
From whence the seasons of the year arise,
Whence winds and hurricanes infect the skies:
Or sing why from the earth's disrupted womb
Convulsive shocks and dire *Vulcano's* come;
Whence rumbling thunder roars and rapid light
Breaks from the cloud and makes a hideous
night:

How *Phebus's* beams reflected thro' the rain
Paint beautiful *Iris's* variegated train:
Or search the surface of congenial earth,
And show each vegetable's latent worth,
Each plant, each reptile nature does produce,
Born to some end, and destin'd to some use:
See wisdom infinite in each express'd,
And all the godhead in his works confess'd.

Thus would I lull away my latter years,
And in a sweet oblivion drown my cares;
Sequester'd from the world, from business' cares,
No fears intruding on my privacy,
At leisure to pursue what most shall please,
And studies blend with exercise and ease,
Converse with authors of an antient date,
Who many ages since resign'd to fate;
Yet by their happy art are still alive,
And in their *Seas* remain themselves survive.
The transmigrated soul infused here
As when imbody'd charms the ravish'd ear.
O joy profuse! a rale of life express'd, [dress'd]
And soundest truths in strongest language
Th' inspir'd poet speaks the prophet's thought,
And *Horace* sings what *Salmow* had taught.
Or wandering pensive in the gloomy shade,
Think of the future state of good and bad;
Endev'ring constantly my life to mend,
And daily looking forward to my end.

This was the life of the *Sarawian* age,
Which shines so splendid in the poet's page;
When goddesses descended from above
To teach the infant world to live and love:
When uncorrupted reason only reign'd
With truth and virtue o'er the happy land.
Then the kind earth bedeck'd with nature's
pride,
The wants of men spontaneously supply'd;

Like *Paradise* of old, untill'd the plain
Pour'd forth her fruits, and swell'd the
springing grain.

The cluster'd vine adorn'd the fertile field,
And liquid honey from the oak distill'd:
The swain around him looking with surprise
Saw without toil a plentiful harvest rise.
Such was this *U-life* o'er foreign seas the knew,
E'er *Rome's* victorious eagles hither flew.
Then falling seems made man's daily bread,
And milk and roots the brawny mortals fed,
Mankind partook in common nature's fruits,
And dauntless liv'd in lonely caves and huts.
No thefts they dreaded, no injustices fear'd,
For nought but love and honesty appear'd.
As yet no crooked plough had cut the ground,
As yet the race of evil was not found:
For Providence forewore its fatal worth,
And the dire mischief buried deep in earth;
But when the mind of man too curious grown,
Pry'd into nature's secrets then unknown,
No longer was the womb of earth conceal'd,
And the gilt ear lay splendidly reveal'd.
Then houses were erected to defend

The riches which the timorous owner gain'd.
Men of each other soon distrustful grown,
With fences limited to each their own.
Then courts of equity were form'd, and laws
Provided to defend the injured's cause:
All grievances intended to redress,
But hapless made them more instead of less.
Things take a different turn tho' meant for
good,

When misapp'ly'd, or wrongfully pursu'd.
So that's the cause why discord as'er shall
cease, [peace]
Which was design'd to keep the world in
'Twas then the *Iron* age commenc'd its
date,

From this sad era we may trace our fate.
Truth and plain-dealing were discarded hence,
And fraud esteem'd the mark of men of sense.
Faith was more folly, conscience but a jest,
When they ran counter to their interest.
God's altars, like their votaries, grew to be
No more than mere outside of piety.
Till griev'd to see the dire contagion spread,
Offended justice to her heavens fled,
And a'rice in her room usurp'd the ball,
And reigns with pow'r despotick over all.

On the Report of his Majesty's going to Han-
over. *At ODE* to Augustus.

O THOU! to whom three kingdoms bend,
O'er whom all honest hearts attend,
Our sov'reign, guardian, captain, friend,
No more thy flock expose;
Nor government's suspicious beams,
Eclipse'd by envy's pole'nous streams,
Excite the all-confounding schemes
Of thine, and *Britann's* foes.

When *Neptune's* trident heaves the ground,
When roaring torrents burst their bound,
And desolation pours around

Each heart resigns to fear;
So, in thy absence, storms arise,
Stern faction glares with ghastly eyes,
Pale loyalty recedes and flies,

And dreads to harbour here.
When *Peleus'* son forsook the host
Of *Greece*, encamp'd on *Ilium's* coast,
Where then was all their valiant host
Of *Troy* in ashes laid?

Back to their ships the chiefs retreat,
While hostile rage, and stern defeat
In thunder, form'd their camp and fleet,
And horrid pomp display'd.

In *Britain's* law-protected isle,
Where *Phœbus* designs his gentler smile,
Where liberty rewards our toil,

And bount'ous harvests rise;
If great *Augustus* leaves the shores,
Our laws restrain our feuds no more,
But meek obedience triumph'd o'er,
Subsiding, fainting, dies.

The god of day, envelop'd, shrouds
His rays, obscur'd by dusky clouds,
A horrid gloom imbrowns the woods,

All nature sighs, oppress'd;
Again the radiant orb appears,
The fogs disperse, the prospect clears:
Thus loyalty contemns her fears,

In *Cæsar's* presence blest.

O, let that hand our scepter sway,
See four sedition stalks away;
Unfading glories round him play,
From whom such blessings flow.

May heav'n protract, to longest date,
The fixt, irrevocable fate,
And then to endless joys translate
His regent here below.

An Epistle from a late Purser of a Man of
War at Jamaica, to his Friend in London.

WHILE the long silence of your friend
you blame,
And think he scarce deserves the sacred name;
While you, dear *Will*, the hidden cause explore,

I'll own the charge, and silent be no more.
Since, then, to reconcile your just disdain,
And bring fray'd friendship to its home again;
Since, to becalm the break to doubts inclin'd,
To change belief once fixt upon the mind,
Requires the strong attractions that abound

In magic numbers and persuasive sound;
Much aid I need implore to tune my tongue,
To grace my notes, and elevate my song.

But you, who know the dictates of my heart,
Know I despise dissembled use of art: [clear,
Truth, honest truth, can best the cause de-
In articles numbers, such as truth may hear.

Tho' long your letters have unanswer'd
lain,

Yet oft in solitude they entertain:
Sweet solitude (in which our minds improve)
Oft glads remembrance with the man I love.

Business on business multiplies my care;
Full oft I labour in the fatal snare,
And labour on: 'till ev'ry other end
Becomes a while forgotten with my friend;
The snare which caught far wiser men of
old,

Who God forsook for impious thirst of gold,
Such is the fate of mortals doom'd to roam;
For painful sustenance, from friends and home.

How blest is he! whose lands enough pro-
duce

(Void of all luxury) for nature's use;
Contented who enjoys a slender store, [more:
That well employs, nor asks the gods for
By no adversity reduced to try

His fate beneath a more inclement sky:
Nor forc'd, by sad necessity, to yield
To gripping usury his paternal field:
But blest at home, unenvy'd to reside,

And live in peace, as his forefathers dy'd:
His new year comes, and passes, as the old;
Void of ambition and the thirst of gold:
His ev'ry moment brings a new delight,

In summer's morning, and in winter's night.
Not such the wretch, whose less indulging
fates

Compel him to pursue the life he hates,
In storms and earthquakes, various scenes of
death!

Perhaps, this now, he thinks, his last of breath!
His health and strength the different climes
impair;

And, oh! too oft, he breaths in tainted air.
Who, thus to rove, from sea to sea, is born,
Nor winter's eve delights, nor summer's morn.
Nor such the man, distinguish'd from the
rest,

By thirst of glory lab'ring in his breast;
Prompted by hopes of riches, and of fame;
With all the titles that can swell a name;
E'en he, at last, by some corruptive strains,
May want the peace, that in a cottage reigns.

Yst have we seen the happy man of late,
Who sate, secluded from the leading great,
Calm and serene amidst the spurns of state: }

In ev'ry storm preserv'd his honour clear,
And felt the peace of mind the just reverer;
From business and an angry court retir'd,
Implor'd no favour, nor no minion hir'd;

Till rous'd, at length, by the rapacious *Gaul*,
Chearful obeys his King's and country's call:
Fam'd *Athens* thus her *Aristides* scorn'd;
But soon the injur'd hero's absence mourn'd;

Soon she recall'd him, who all good and great;
Shew'd the firm patriot, and preserv'd the state:
But these are such, (not read in ev'ry page.)
As prove immortal wonders of the age.

When late I heard of *Gallia's* loud alarms,
 And saw all *Europe* rising up to arms;
 When I beheld the Chief conduct again
Britannia's bulwark, o'er the wæ'ry main;
 My wonder fought my muse; the muse confess'd,
 No chief more glorious, and few men so blest.
 What tides of joy must in his bosom flow,
 When fresh he saw his faded laurels blow;
 To think (unask'd for by himself or friend)
 He fought for glory, when most others end!
 While some are, thus, in honour's cause
 employ'd;

Midst smiling pleasures some at home reside;
 Me my hard fortune leads, from clime to clime,
 Condemn'd to banishment for half my time;
 Condemn'd, for bread, to hold a place of
 shame, [same]

In which, tho' honest, damn'd must be my
 And bear, by custom, an opprobrious name.)
 To hear the fool in office, oft compell'd,
 A wretch with empty pride and power swell'd:
 Honour, their frequent boast, we see profan'd
 By knaves in trust, or infants in command.
 Thus ill-bred insolence shall lord it o'er
 Superior virtue, subject to its pow'r. [own];

Tho' pleasures flow in distant climes, I
 Yet none to me, beneath the torrid-zone:
 Here gay variety hath scarce a name;
 To-morrow, and to-morrow, fill the same:
 If joy, by chance, appears, 'tis often seen
 Disturb'd by head-ach, fevers, or the spleen:
 Few pleasures here we banish'd wretches find;
 No kind diversions, to unbend the mind:
 No social love, nor solitude can please, [breeze.
 While death stalks forth in almost ev'ry
 Who dies this morn, e'er night is in the grave;
 His friends too late implore the pow'r to save;
 His virtues with his crimes they reckon o'er,
 Till the fourth day, then think of him no more.

Yet here, sometimes, the mountains give
 delight,

The shady valleys, and the groves invite:
 To these, sometimes, I seek a fond retreat,
 My passions to indulge, and joy compleat:
 Where breezes fan, and shades with shades
 conspire

To hide th' offending sun, I oft retire:
 There gentle physic to the soul infuse,
 Instructed by my books, and faithful muse:
 There bless my friends, whose absence I be-
 moan,

Till all the sweets of solitude are gone;
 For, wanting those, whom I am us'd to love,
 Breezes, nor shades delight, nor citron grove.

Guide me, my better stars! to *Britain's* isle,
 Where peace and plenty, love and pleasure smile;
 Give me once more *Maria* to behold,
 I'll bid farewell to future thirst of gold.

But oh! that name, so us'd my soul to cheer,
 Now gives a melancholy too severe. [light,
 She whose whole days were scenes of fresh de-
 Must now, I fear, be join'd to gloomy night.
 Forbid it heaven! suspend the last adieu!
 And spare, oh! spare the tender and the true!

But if, ordain'd by fate, no art can save
 The much-lov'd partner longer from the graves
 If doom'd alone to wear my future years,
 Joyless must be my days, and full of tears;
 (For never did to death's abodes descend
 A more endearing, or more faithful friend)
 Ne'er from my soul shall eating time divide
 That form, while memory and reason guide:
 While heaven shall please my being to prolong,
 Still shall *Maria* dignify my song.
 When death shall me, as others he controul;
 Our clay be mingled, as have been our souls!

Dame JANE; or, The PENITENT NUN.
 By Mr. Lockman.

A Nun there was, as prithrose gay,
 And form'd of very yielding clay,
 Who long had resolutely strove
 To guard against the shafts of love,
 Till *Cupid* whisp'ring soft the fair,
 Her pious vow dissolves in air.—
 The stolen sweets she now would smother,
 In vain—poor *Jenny's* made a mother.

These youthful pranks quite giv'n o'er,
 Sighing, she cries, 'I'll sin no more;
 ' No more become man's sensual prey,
 ' But spend in prayer each fleeting day.'—
 Lo! in her call the weeping lies,
 Nor from the cross once moves her eyes;
 Whilst sobs, tittering at the grate,
 Pass all their hours in wanton prate.

The abbess everjoy'd to find
 This blissful change in *Jenny's* mind,
 With face demure, the girl addressing,
 ' Ah daughter! if you hope — a blessing,
 ' From righteous *Jane's* example take;
 ' The world, its pomps, and joys forsake.'—
 ' Ay—so we will,'—cries ev'ry nun—
 ' When we, as righteous *Jane's*, have done.'

To the Memory of my dear Friend, Mrs. —

THIS true, indeed, the mournful news we
 hear
 Pierces each heart, strikes every tender ear.
Cordelia's death runs swiftly thro' the throng,
 Accents of grief depress each fault'ring tongue:
 A heavy gloom on every face appears,
 And all her *penitent* friends dissolve in tears.
 As fragrant flowers, cropt in their early bloom,
 Diffuse their balmy odours round the room;
 So when *Cordelia* yields her latest breath,
 Tho' lov'd in life, she's more esteem'd at death.
 Gently she steals out of my folding arms,
 And every grace appears in dying charms;
 I press her hand, and softly raise her head,
 But oh! the generous, nobler part is fled:
 Her lips grow pale, and the sweet rosy breath
 Pass'd in a sigh, she falls a prey to death.
 Incessant grief my wand'ring thoughts confuse,
 And floods of tears o'erflow my fainting muse:
 In vain I grieve, I sigh, I weep, and mourn;
 My lov'd *Cordelia* will no more return.

Nor can I yet withdraw my eager eyes,
Which in idea trace her thro' the skies;
View her attendants, all seraphick bright,
Wafting her safely to the realms of light:
Each seraph sings, and none to aid disdains
While angels hail her thro' th' ætherial plains,
Where each obtains th' omnipotent regard,
And all her virtues meet their due reward.
Behold them shine amidst the rising throng,
Brighten the passage as the glides along,
And bless the morn^e her glorious race begun;
As chanting larks, who meet the rising sun,
Create a spring between the earth and sky,
To cheer the heavenly soul, when passing by.
What pen can thy united virtues trace,
Thou bright example of the female race?
Or to thy memory a trophy raise,
So far above my elegiack praise?
Live thy own monument, and scorn a stone;
Marbles have flaws - *Cordelia's* name has none.
If friends from sighs and tears cannot refrain,
Oh what must be the husband-lover's pain!
While thus disconsolate thy *Strepson* mourns,
And every tender passion wounds by turns.
Adieu, dear friend, I long to be with thee,
From all the vain fatigues of life set free, [he. }
Where friendship shall in death consummate }

To the present Bishop of Peterborough.

WHEN *Bion*, gentlest bard! resign'd his
breath,
And with th' accursed poison drank his death,
Moschus no more would charm the rural grove
With wanton tales of *Venus* or of *Jove*;
But smit with grief, and studious to relate
His honour'd master's much-lamented fate,
Thy gen'rous youth commenc'd a nobler song,
And *Bion's* name dwelt ever on his tongue:
His melancholy numbers fill'd the plains,
And neighb'ring valleys echo'd with his strains:
The list'ning shepherds, while he sang the praise
Of heav'nly *Bion*, gladly heard his lays.

Disdain not then, my lord, if I inspir'd
With equal love, with equal ardor fir'd, [tend,
Presume to mourn, where trees their shades ex-
Th' untimely loss of your departed friend;
But gracious deign to take the gift I bring.
Assist my verse, and teach me how to sing.

To sing—alas! I need not tell my theme:
See! show'rs of tears from ev'ry *Briton* stream:
See! the whole nation wrapt in deep distress:
See! conscious grief each lab'ring mind oppress:
Smalbridge is dead! for him *Britannia's* bows
To earth, and binds the cypress on her brows.

With what a lustre did she still appear,
While safe she saw the rev'rend father here!
Around her front what beaming splendors shone!
How strengthen'd by his presence was her throne!

But now all dark and dreadful to her eyes
Far diff'rent scenes in sad succession rise:
Stretch'd on his couch the patriot yields his
breath,

And sudden sleeps in the cold arms of death.
Relentless death! with whom entreaties fail,
With whom nor cries nor offerings can prevail.
Could not thy hand the flying jav'lin stay
And stop, retarded, till another day
Its vengeful fury? or, if it was decreed [ceed,
That some great man should to thy stroke suc-
Why wouldst thou, tyrant! aggravate our woe,
And mark the greatest to sustain the blow?
Who labour'd more by worthy deeds to raise
His country's glory, and advance her praise?
To mount her domes and sacred temples high,
And lift 'em nearer to the starry sky?
Who with more zeal th' eternal King ador'd?
Or with more rev'rence preach'd his holy word?
Soon as the cheerful morn's returning light
Dispers'd the darksome shades of gloomy night,
In joyful raptures join'd with sacred songs
He prais'd the God to whom all praise belongs.

Nor did he cease when hast'ning from our
view

The setting sun's departing rays withdrew,
But still to heav'n the pious saint would pray,
And own his Maker, and confess his sway.

That glorious queen, whose potent arm of late
From ev'ry foe preserv'd the *British* state,
Immortal *Ann!* of all the virtuous train
That flourish'd under her illustrious reign,
Thought him the †worthiest to direct her store,
And deal her bounteous blessings to the poor:
But ah! the poor no longer now shall stand
Their food expecting from his op'ning hand:
No longer shall they melt him with their cries;
For lo! among the dead entomb'd he lies.

What then remains, but that (for 'tis but just)
We give ourselves to † *Boulter's* care and trust?
'Tis you, my lord, to whom our *Oxford* bends,
To whom her sinking fortune she commends:
'Tis you must succour her declining state,
Assuage her grief, and meliorate her fate:
And sure you shall if to the muse 'tis giv'n
To trace the secret purposes of heav'n,
In those glad omens which it sent before
Your distant vessel reach'd our happy shore.
When purer breezes rose, and gentler gales
Smooth'd the rough waves, and stretch'd the
swelling sails;

When silver-footed *Thetis* push'd with ease
The swimming timber thro' the parting seas,
That you might make us smile once more, and
bless

Our learned seats with plenty and with peace,
While mighty *Marlbro's* dreadful squadrons
shine

In arms, and thunder on the banks of *Rhine*.

* She dy'd at her House in Birmingham, June the 22d, about 4 o'Clock in the Morning. † Ed-
ward Atmore to her Majesty. ‡ The present Archbishop of Armagh, who succeeded Dr. Smal-
bridge in the Bishoprick of Bristol, and Deanry of Christ-Church, 1719; about which Time the
Verses for the next Part were written.

'Tis you shall fill the sacred church attend,
Assert her customs, and her laws defend:
'Tis you shall feed the needy with your store,
And be a constant father to the poor;
Shall make the piteous orphan cease his moan,
And help forsaken widows to their own:
So shall the grateful world record your name,
And late posterity your praise proclaim.

Poole, July 16.

H. PRICE:

A RIDDLE for the LADIES.

TO you, fair maidens, I address;
Seat to adorn your life:
And she who first my name can guess,
Shall first be made a wife.
From the dark womb of mother earth,
To mortal aid I come,
But e'er I can receive my birth,
I many shapes assume.
Passive my nature, yet I'm made
As active as the roe;
And oftentimes, with equal speed,
Thro' flow'ry lawns I go.
When wicked men their wealth consume,
And leave their children poor,
To me their daughters often come,
And I increase their store.
The women of the wiser kind
Did never yet refuse me;
And yet I never once could find,
That maids of honour use me.
The lily hand, the brilliant eye,
Can charm without my aid;
Beauty may prompt the lover's sighs,
And celebrate the maid:
But let th' enchanting nymph be told,
Unless I grace her life,
She must have wondrous store of gold;
Or make a wretched wife.
Altho' I never hope for rest,
With christians I go forth,
And while they worship towards the east,
I prostrate to the north.
If you suspect hypocrisy,
Or think me insincere,
Produces the zealot, who like me,
Can trample and adhere.

The INTESTINE WAR.

ONE night I startled in my bed,
A noise, methought, was o'er my head;
Or else the watchman seem'd to roar;
Or else was thumping at the door;
Perhaps a rat might be the cause;
Or puss had got her game in paws;
I fancy'd all the drear'd of night,
As folks are us'd to do in fright:
At length being thoroughly awake,
I quickly found out my mistake;
And that, as now I am to tell you,
The rambing was within my belly.

I straightway call'd for men of art;
Who told me, he would do his part,
And send *Catbarick* to my aid,
This bold intruder to invade,
Down went the *berro* to his foe,
And found him well intrench'd below.
How now, quoth he, what's doing here?
Who's this, that's got into my *spere*?
Within this province all I find,
Flee out before, or else behind;
And tho' secure thou think'st thyself,
I'll drive thee out, thou *silly* elf.
A mighty struggle straight there rose,
Hot the disputes, and fierce the blows;
Yet what will be most wood'rous thought,
Chiefly by *pinch* and *gripe* they fought.
But whilst they kept this mighty *potter*,
And seem'd such foes to one another;
Both *pinch'd* me so, I could not know,
Which was my friend, and which my foe;
I therefore sent pacifick *gruel*,
To end this sad intestine *duel*;
Who shewing no respect to either,
Took 'em and jumbld 'em together?
And finding both so *loosely* bent,
The quickest way to *work* he went;
His motion was to quit the place,
And he'd join *issue* in the case;
So out they went with clam'rous roar,
And with a *bang* shut the back door.

An EPITAPH on Passive Obedience. *Wrote*
by the Rev. Mr. Johnson, sometime School-
Master at Nottingham.

IN hopes of resurrection
Sure and certain under this stone,
Passive obedience lies interr'd,
By church of England men rever'd,
So long as for't they were prefer'd.
'Twas not long since in as great favour,
As any doctrine of our Saviour,
With *Burnet*, *Tillotson*, and *Patrick*,
Tho' some will tell you 'twas but a trick,
To carry favour with the crown,
And make preferments all their own;
For when she brought 'em into danger,
With one consent they all cry'd hang her;
For which she was arraign'd and try'd,
Condemn'd and sentenc'd, and so dy'd,
In 1688.

Beware, ye christian doctrines all,
And let before your eyes her fall;
Beware, I say, you don't contest
With the supreme Grace INTEREST;
For her great crime upon her trial,
Was antichristian self-denial.

A LETTER from a Lady to her Husband,
when given over by her Physicians.

OH you, who all my worldly thoughts
employ,
Thou pleasing source of ev'ry earthly joy;

Thou tenderest husband, and thou dearest friend,
To thee this fond, this last adieu I send.
At length the conqueror death asserts his right,
And will for ever tear me from thy sight;
He woos me to him with a cheerful grace,
And not one terror clouds his awful face:
He promises a lasting rest from pain,
And shews that all life's fleeting joys are vain;
Th' eternal joys of heav'n he sets in view,
And tells me that no other joys are true.
But love, fond love wou'd yet resist his pow'r,
Wou'd yet a while defer the parting hour.
Love brings thy mourning image to my eyes,
And wou'd obstruct my journey to the skies.
But say, thou dearest, thou unwearied friend,
Say, shalt thou grieve to see my sorrows end?
Thou know'st a painful pilgrimage I've past,
Oh! weep not then, that death is come at last:
Rather rejoice to see me shake off life,
And die, as I have liv'd, thy faithful wife.

The following is the Copy of a Will just brought into the Commons.

THE 5th day of May,
Being airy and gay,
To hip not inclin'd,
But of vigorous mind,
And my body in health,
I'll dispose of my wealth,
And all I'm to leave,
On this side the grave,
To some one or other,
And I think to my brother.
But because I foresaw,
That my brethren-in-law,
If I did not take care,
Wou'd come in for their share;
Which I no ways intended,
Till their manners are mended:
(And of that God knows there's no sign)
I do therefore enjoin,
And do strictly command,
(Of which witness my hand)
That nought I have got,
Be brought into hotchpot;
But I give and devise,
As much as in me lies,
To the Son of my mother,
My now dear brother,
To have and to hold
All my silver and gold,
As the affectionate pledges
Of his brother, JOHN HERDES.

Written in a Gentleman's COKE upon LITTLETON.

THOU precious voluntee, be my guide
Thro' labyrinth of law:
Direct my steps thro' paths untry'd,
From error free and straw.

* Goddess of Beg-bouset.

Affix to keep unturn'd my head,
While I the maze explore:
Teach me thro' doubt's dark sea to wade,
And touch the golden shore.

Then, lovely book, in future times,
When I in fur grow old;
When I shall scorn to scribble rhimes,
But fill my purse with gold:

Then putting off thy humble case,
In Party shalt thou shine;
The letter'd back, and gilded leaf,
Shall join to make thee fine.

An ample study I'll prepare,
Large shelves on ev'ry side;
There free from moth, dust, ink, and care,
In peace shalt thou abide.

No more shall frudents thumb, or pen,
Molest, or soil thy page:
No more shall any puzzled brain
On thee discharge its rage.

That sleep, which none who read that taste,
In quiet shalt thou take;
And undisturb'd enjoy that rest,
You once were us'd to break.

Then you and I on better terms
To sleep shall both agree,
Till age and fate shall to the worms
Consign both thee and me.

The Seat of the MUSES: Or, the COLLEGE-CELLAR. Humbly address'd to the Gentlemen of Trinity-College, Dublin,

*Dicam insignis, vocem adibus
Indictum ore alio.*

Hoz. Lib. III. Od. 25.

THAT we've *Muses*, and *Pheebus*, *freshmen* can tell, [dwelt]
But the point is to hit on the place where they
That spot down from *Homer* very few *bards*
could fix

To the present seventeen hundred thirty and six
Hence errors have risen, and *bards*, 'tis no news,
Have invok'd *Cloacina* * instead of a *muse*;
Then have stunk so in verse—if you think it
a fiction, [fiction].

Hye away to the *beg-house*, and there find con-
Some say 'tis a *garret*, and some say *Parnassus*,
But the thoughts are erroneous, and so they
shall pass us; [hill]

For, mark me, Sirs, get me a spark from that
That swears he can *Helicon* drink when he will,
Produce me his *verse*: if there's one good in ten
I'll ne'er touch a plate in the *collar* again:

The *gaywater* soars to the nethermost † sky.
And his *verse* is as low, as his lodging is high.
Know ye all by these presents, good men of
the College, [knowledge],
That by study I've found out that long-wanted

† Vid. *Rhapsody*.

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Which out of my love to you and special grace
I disclose; now attend, and I'll tell you the
place. [aspire]

Hippocrene is a fountain, whose liquors in-
Its drinkers with wit, and poetical fire,
And therefore wherever these liquors are found,
To the *Muses* we'll consecrate that spot of
ground; [by]

Underneath where the prelate of *Casbol* * hard
Rais'd his good works, and charity three story
high, [their throne,

Great *Sadler*, and *Collins* † look down from
Convey life by a smile, or death by a frown :

'Tis literally true, and no figure, or lie,
For by feeding we live, and by starving we die :
There of life, and of death they possess by
commission; [permission]

For none eats or drinks there without their
Here the good *Irish* Dean's wit began first
to dawn,

(I wou'd to the Lord I cou'd see him in lawn)
Mrs Congreve first maudlin in tragedy sigh'd
And cou'd the heroes of his *Mourning Bride*;
Here honest *George Faquhar* we know was a
soaker —

Well, peace to thy ashes, thou dear defunct jester,
Here *Parnal* devis'd his divine hermit's tale,
Took his strength from the *Bibarch*, and his
smoothness from *ek*.

To this place we owe all the works of *Delany*,
A poet, and speaker scarce second to any.
Here *I—m—s*, yet *freshman* besprinkl'd his
brains

Hence *Mandico-Hymn* in *Virgilian* strains,
But the *caitiff* sorlook it along with his *garret*
And grew pert, and dull by revolting to *clares*,
As witness poor *Job*, the most patient of men
Whom the *bars* tramp'd down to his dunghill
again: [sipp'd,

Here *Duakin*, young *Flaccus*, first *Hippocrene*
Here first try'd his wings in a *Ballarime* †
dipp'd, [translation,

Hence tose *Paddy Murphey*, and hence the
Here *I—* but I've given my *mus* long vacation,
A long one indeed, for the scarce knows my
looks,

No wonder, I've been so long out of the books &
And faith, tho' 'tis odd, I have often cast
That I know that I am:—but a scribbler at best.
Here—no, I mistake, for in *Phebus* his court
Ne'er was the grave *Ca—r—y* or gay *D—c—r—t* ||
For *Ca—r—y* o'er *num*, writ his first deep essay,
And *D—c—r—t* scribbl'd o'er *milk* and *bobea* ;
Hence his numbers have got such a smooth
way of flowing

Si plura vis, lector, *vide* the art of beaving.
These premises granted, 'twill naturally follow
That the *cellar's* *Parnassus*, and *Collins* *Apollo*,

* The Building over the Cellar erected by Archbishop Palliser. † The Cellar Enlarged.

‡ A large Tin Vessel to serve Liquor to the Scholars, perhaps so called from an eminent Cardinal,
of that Name. § A College Pbrase for a Man's leaving the University. || Two il-

lustrious Writers, one sam'd for the *Wright*, and the other for the *Levity* of his Writings.
** A worthy Retainer of the Cellar, tho' in an inferior Station; he is pass'd every Day at the
Back Hatch, at Twelve and Six, to give out Small Beer for Dinner and Supper.

†† Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

By whom all the *bards*, and the *berlings* an-
fir'd, [spir'd,

For if he stops his hand they no more are in-
Alpa mater, or rather dear burser permit

Power of fixing *ad libitum* to men of wit ;
Little *George* is inclin'd well enough, if you'd
let him, [you threat him ;

He's a wit, and loves wits, and wou'd give, but
So is *Sadler*, good soul, if you cut him a joke,
But then his discretionary power you revoke.

Give them power, and the first man that stops,
or refuses,

Is an outlaw declar'd, and a foe to the *Muses* ;
And be he depos'd with a kick and a thump.

To *Co's* ** hatch to draw *small beer* for
Ca—r—y and comp.

On the late News from England, of the Death
of the Lord Chancellor Talbot, and the Ap-
pointment of Lord Chief Justice Hardwicke
in his Room.

WHEN first the seals the good lord *King*
resign'd,

None judg'd it hard a successor to find,
Yet equal merit so distinguish'd two,

Scarce which to take the royal wisdom knew ;
While every subject, with united voice,

Pronounc'd a *Talbot*, or a *Yerks* the choice ;
No other competition at the bars,

Than who shou'd stand to those bright stars.
But †† *Raymond's* exit fix'd the just decree,

That both, at once, we then advanc'd shou'd see ;
Each to preside in different courts, supreme,

And each alike the sutor's darling theme.
Such wond'rous talents did in *one* combine,

On either bench he must resplendent shine.
Thus they acquir'd, and still increas'd in fame,

As justice triumph'd in their spheres the same.
But when, alas! the Chancellor was gone,

Unrival'd stood great *Hardwicke*, and alone ;
New no suffere cou'd hold the sovereign's breath,

And the first genius the first place possess ;
This if he keep till one more fit arise,

His years no long may yield the world surprize.
Barbadoes, April 23, 1737.

A Direction of a Letter put into the Post-
House some Time ago.

TO *William Callway* now at *Lyme*,

Let this be sent in proper time,

You at the *George* in *Lyme* may leave it,

Where he in person may receive it :

To make the case more plain and clear,
Take notice, *Lyme's* in *Derbyshire*.

We are always willing to oblige our Correspond-
ents, and desire the Continuation of their
Favours ; but must beg to be excus'd if we
omit the Arduous Abolition.

THE Monthly Chronologer.

FRIDAY, July 1.



ART Bird was burnt to Ashes at *Ely*, for poisoning her Husband, *John Bird*, late of *Marypale* in the Isle of *Ely*. She made the Attempt once before, but without Effect; so she went a second Time to the Doctor, and told him, He did not give her Poison enough to kill the Rats, desiring a larger Quantity, for she would destroy all the Rats about her House: So having got what she desired, she took the first Opportunity to give it her Husband in his Victuals, which put an End to his Life in a short Time. She confessed she had liv'd wickedly most Part of her Life, acknowledg'd the Fact and Justice of her Sentence.

TUESDAY, 5.

Was try'd at the King's Bench before the Lord Chief Justice Lee, the Cause wherein *Thomas Sheppard* was Plaintiff, and *Jacob Orsem* a German, Defendant; for that the Defendant had occupied the Trade of a Cooper, not having served 7 Years to the said Trade in this Realm. The Jury brought in a Verdict for the Plaintiff or 20*l.* Penalty, he having occupied the said Trade for ten Months. The Defendant occupied the small Branch of the said Trade, and that Part of it which makes small Hoops for the Sugar-Bakers, as well as, hooping the new Moulds at the Pottery before they can be removed from thence. What is remarkable, the Coopers have proved their Right to heap Earthen-Ware.

SATURDAY, 9.

The Sessions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when 8 Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, viz. *John Bullock* for stealing a Mare Colt; *John Gosnell* and *Robert Barrow* for a Street-Robbery; *Martin Wright* for stealing 3 Guineas; *John Perdue* for robbing *Samuel Slater* in *Marybone Fields*; *John Richardson* for robbing *John Cutting* of his Hat on the Highway; *Catharine Lange* for Forgery; and *John Bailey* a Serjeant, for the Murder of *William Burton*, a Serjeant, in the *Tower*.

Extract of a Letter about the Tryal of a Witch.

Oakely, three Miles from Bedford.

S I R,

THE People here are so prejudiced in the Belief of *Witches*, that you would think yourself in *Lapland*, was you to hear their ridiculous Stories. There is not a Village in

the Neighbourhood but has two or three. About a Week ago I was present at the Ceremony of Ducking a Witch; a particular Account of which may not perhaps be disagreeable to you.

An old Woman of about 60 Years of Age, had long lain under an Imputation of Witchcraft; who, being willing (for her own Sake and her Childrens) to clear herself, consented to be duck'd; and the Parish-Officers promised her a Guinea, if she should sink: The Place appointed for the Operation was in the River *Ouse* by a Mill; there were I believe 500 Spectators: About eleven o' Clock in the Forenoon, the Woman came, and was tied up in a wet Sheet, all but her Face and Hands; her Toes were tied close together, as were also her Thumbs, and her Hands tied to the Small of her Legs: They fasten'd a Rope about her Middle, and then pulled off her Cap to search for Pins, (for this Notion is, if they have but one Pin about 'em, they won't sink.)

When all Preliminaries were settled, she was thrown in: But, unhappily for the poor Creature, she floated; tho' her Head was all the while under Water: Upon this there was a confused Cry, *A Witch! A Witch! Drown her! Hang her!* She was in the Water about 1 Minute and a Half; and was then taken out half drowned; when she had recovered Breath, the Experiment was repeated twice more, but with the same Success; for she floated each Time; which was a plain Demonstration of Guilt to the ignorant Multitude! For notwithstanding the poor Creature was laid down upon the Grass, speechless, and almost dead, they were so far from shewing any Pity or Compassion, that they strove who should be the most forward in loading her with Reproaches. Such is the dire Effect of popular Prejudice! As for my Part, I stood against the Torrent, and when I had cut the Strings which tied her, had her carried back to the Mill, and endeavoured to convince the People of the Uncertainty of the Experiment, and offered to lay five to one, that any Woman of her Age, so tied up in a loose Sheet, would float; but all to no Purpose, for I was very near being mob'd. Some Time after, the Woman came out; and one of the Company heppen'd to mention another Experiment to try a Witch, which was, to weigh her against the *Church Bible*; for a Witch, it seems, could not outweigh it. I immediately seconded that Motion (as thinking it might be of Service to the poor Woman) and made use of an Ar-

gument which (tho' as weak as * K. James's for their not sinking) had some Weight with the People; for I told them, if, she was a Witch, she certainly dealt with the Devil; and as the Bible was undoubtedly the *Word of God*, it must weigh more than all the *Works of the Devil*. This seem'd reasonable to several; and these that did not think it so, could not answer it: At last, the Question was carried, and she was weigh'd against the Bible; which weighing about twelve Pound, she outweigh'd it. This convinced some, and stagger'd others; but the P——, who believed through thick and thin, went away fully assured, that she was a Witch, and endeavour'd to inculcate that Belief into all others. I am,

July 12. S I R,
1737. Your very Humble Servant.

THURSDAY, 14.

Was try'd by a Special Jury, at the *King's-Bench* Sitzings in *Guildhall*, a great Cause between the Mayor of *Bristol*, Plaintiff, and the Captain of the Ship *Yeanna*, Defendant, on an Action brought against him for refusing to pay the customary Sum of 40*s.* to the said Mayor or his Officer, for the Privilege of mooring or stationing his Ship, being above 60 Tons Burthen, at the Key of *Bristol*. After a long Trial of several Hours, in the Course whereof Chances from several Acts of Parliament, and half the Archives relating to the City of *Bristol*, were read by Order of Counsel on one Side or the other, the Jury gave a Verdict of 40*s.* Damages for the Plaintiff, and confirm'd the Custom, which brings in upwards of 1000*l.* per Annum.

About the Middle of last Month, a Horse, aged 17 Years, belonging to Sir *Henry Hicks* of *Deptford*, died of convulsive Pains in his Bowels, which he was often subject to lately: And as he was cutting up for the Dogs, one sticking a Pitchfork in his Guts, struck against something very hard; upon which, opening the Maw or Stomach, there was found a Stone of an incredible Size, (not truly spherical, but somewhat flattened, in form of an oblate Spheroid) its greatest Circumference being 28 Inches, and its least 25, weighing full 19 Pounds Averdupois, besides a Crust or Shell which almost surrounded it, being in some Parts 3 Tenths of an Inch, tho' in others scarce one Tenth thick; compos'd of two Substances, the inner thick, brown and shining, resembling black Resin; the outer, thin, hard, white and smooth, like the external Tabula of a human Skull; to which adhere, in some Places, Bits of Scraw, Hay and the like, mixt with some conglutinous Matter, and altogether so dried and harden'd, that it may be justly said to be ossified, if not petrified;

and from some Appearances, I do imagine the whole, or at least the best Part of this Stone or Ball, to be compos'd of several of those Shells closely adhering one to another, like the Coats or Peels of an Onion; but what may be the Origin and Center of this vast Stone I am not certain, except it should be Hair, which is a Matter not easily, if at all, to be digested, but is roll'd about in the Time of the Concoction of the Aliments, entangling and mixing with the Mucus of the Stomach, still gathering fresh Matter, like a Snow-Ball, till it becomes too large to be thrust out at the Pylorus into the Duodenum or first Gut, whence it must of Course remain in the Ventricle of the Stomach during Life, and consequently at Times occasion many convulsive Pains to the Animal so distemper'd.

N. B. The Stone itself is preserv'd by Sir *Henry Hicks*, at his House in *Deptford*, and Part of its Crust or Shell may be seen by any Person desirous of the same, at my House near *Deptford-Bridge, Kent*.

RALPH COX, jun.

TUESDAY, 19.

Came on the Election of a Sheriff for *London* and *Middlesex*, in the room of Mr. *Henry Benyon*, who had sworn off; when Mr. *John Marlow*, an eminent Wholesale Grocer, was chosen; but he soon after paid the usual Fine into the Chamber of *London*, in order to be excus'd serving that Office. (See p. 336.)

The Assizes ended on the Crown Side at *Hartford*, when *John Wills* and *Richard Mortimer* receiv'd Sentence of Death for several Robberies on the Highway; two were cast for Transportation, and three acquitted.

A few Days since died at her Lodgings in *Salisbury-Court, Fleet-street*, Mary *Hammond*, Widow of Mr. *Charles Hammond*, sometime Master of the *Green Dragon* Tavern on *Snow-hill*. She had been Bed-ridden several Years, and pleaded Poverty to the Hour of her Death. After her Interrment there were found in several Pair of her Stays, Money and Notes to the Value of 1300*l.* besides a large Quantity of broad Gold and Silver Coin; in her Lifetime she desired, that at her Death her Stays and Shoes should be thrown into *Fleet-Ditch* the Day after she was buried. *Jos. Tilly*, of *Lamb's-Buildings* in the *Middle-Temple*, Esq; who is Heir at Law to the Deceased, demanded an Inspection into all the Deceased's Wearing-Apparel, in Presence of several People of Note. The said Mr. *Tilly* ripp'd several Hundred Guineas out of one Pair of her Stays with his Penknife. He has been heard to declare, that he does not desire any Part of his Family should partake of Wrong or Robbery, but that, with Consent of all Parties, the whole Sum be given to charitable Uses, or di-

* K. James's Argument why Witches could not sink, was this; they had renounced their Baptisms by Water, and therefore the Water would not receive them.

vided amongst the Creditors of *Charles Hammond*, the Husband of the Deceased, who, about 30 Years ago, had a Commission of Bankruptcy against him. The Money is paid into the Hands of *Sir Francis Child*.

THURSDAY, 21.

His Majesty in Council was this Day pleas'd to order, that the Parliament, which stands prorogued to *Thursday* the 4th of *August* next, should be further prorogued to *Thursday* the 20th of *October*.

FRIDAY, 22.

At the Assizes for the County of *Essex*, 5 Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz.* *John Unkle* and *Christopher Graydon*, for a Robbery on the Highway; *Sarah Hill*, for stealing about 40 Shillings out of a Dwelling-House; *John Sewall*, for breaking and entering a Dwelling-House, and stealing about 5 Shillings; and *Thomas Rowden*, who was try'd for Burglary, and found guilty of Felony only.

THURSDAY, 28.

Came on again the Election of a Sheriff for *London* and *Middlesex*, in the room of *Mr. John Marlow*, who paid his Fine; when *Sir George Champion*, Knt. Alderman of *Bridge Ward* within, was chosen.

One *Mary Patten*, who is in the Work-house belonging to the Parish of *St. Margaret's, Westminster*, late, by Order of the chief Officers of the said Parish, for her Picture to be drawn, in order to be put up in the said Work-house; she is now 136 Years of Age, and very hearty, walks about, and her only Food is Milk.

The Persons taken into Custody of Messengers, on Account of the *Craftsmen* of July 2, are order'd to be admitted to Bail; as are *Mr. Kelly*, the supposed Author of *Fog's Journal* of the 16th, and the others taken up for that Paper.

SUNDAY, 31.

The Court went into Mourning on Account of the Death of the Great Duke of *Tuscany*.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

SIR *William Parsons*, of *Nottingham*, Bart. to *Mrs. Dutton* of *Hollis-street*. *Mr. Richard Hoare*, Banker in *Fleet-street*, to *Miss Ruffe*. *Alexander Pitfield*, Esq; to *Miss Ashley*, Daughter of *Solomon Ashley*, Esq; Member for *Bridport, Dorsetshire*. His Grace the Duke of *Hamilton* and *Brandon*, to *Miss Spencer*, of *Grosvener-Square*. Right Hon. the Lord *Delwain*, to *Miss Scrope*, of *Lincoln*. Lord Chief Baron *Reynolds*, to *Mrs. Rainbird*. *George Speke*, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for *Wells*, to the Lady *Drake*, Relict of *Sir Wm. Drake*, Bart. Daughter of the late *William Peers Williams*, Esq; Hon. *Alexander Hume Campbell*, to *Miss Parris*, of *Saville-Row*. Hon. *Nicholas Herbert*, to *Miss North*, of *Grosvener-Square*. *Jocelyn Pickard*, of *Lincoln's-Inn*, Esq; to *Miss Abney*, Daughter of the late *Sir*

Thomas Abney, Lord Mayor of *London*, Anno 1701. *Wm. Morris*, of *Bettefanger, Kent*, Esq; to *Miss Mary Chadwick*, of *Northfleet*, in the same County. *Sir Henry Hoghton*, Bart. Memb. of Parl. for *Preston* in *Lancashire*, to *Miss Butterfield*, of *Manchester*. Rev. Dr. *Galley*, Rector of *St. Giles's in the Fields*, to *Miss Knight*, of *Brook-street* near *Grosvener-Square*. *Joseph Hedges*, of *Hollyport, Esq;* to *Miss Hammond*, second Daughter of *George Hammond*, of *Berks*, Esq; *Samuel Tuffon*, of *Penhurst, Kent*, Esq; to *Miss Mary Legg*, a Fortune of 14,000*l.* The Lady of *Paulre St. John*, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for *Winchester*, brought to Bed of a Son. Lady *Stratmore*, safely deliver'd of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

THOMAS *Spence*, Esq; Serjeant at Arms attending the Hon. House of Commons. His Death was occasioned by an Accident. As he was riding in a four Horie Chaise in *Windfor Forest*, the Horses on a sudden run so fast that the Coachman could not stop them; and *Mr. Spence* fearing he should be overturn'd, jumped out of the Chaise, and had the Misfortune to break both his Legs; one of which was cut off, to prevent a Mortification; and the next Day he died. Rev. Dr. *Bishop*, Minister of *St. Mary le Tower* in *Ipswich*. At *Wanstead, Essex*, the Rev. *Mr. Nathaniel Hoole*, Master of the Boarding School there. *Nathaniel Pigo*, of the *Middle-Temple*, Esq; *Thomas Jackson*, Esq; Town-Clerk of *London*. *George Carew*, Esq; an eminent Counsellor. *Mr. Francis Carter*, Common-Council Man for *Aldgate-Ward*. Rev. *Mr. Johnson*, one of the Chaplains belonging to *Whitehall*. *Hugh Raymond*, Esq; formerly a Capt. in the *East-India Service*. Rev. Dr. *Michael Stanhope*, one of the Canons of *Windfor*. At *Newcastle*, *Sir Wilfrid Lawson*, Bart. Memb. of Parl. for *Cochermonth*. At his House near *Colchester*, *Daniel Crew*, Esq; Capt. *John Mordaunt*, formerly a Commander in the Royal Navy. Lady *Aune Scott*, second Daughter to the Duke of *Burleigh*. *Mr. John Stevens*, of *Jermyn-street*, Surgeon to the Prince. *Mr. Anthony Webster*, an eminent Mercer on *Ludgate Hill*, elder Brother to the Rev. Dr. *Webster*. *Sir Gerard Conyers*, Knt. Alderman of *Bridge Ward* without, Senior Alderman and Father of the City, and one of the Directors of the Bank. Lady *Caroline Hyde*, Sister to the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Rochester*. At his Seat in *Lancashire*, *Thomas Townley*, Esq; Lieut. General *Sutton*, Governour of *Guernsey*, Col. of a Reg. of Foot, Memb. of Parliament for *Newark*, and Deputy Ranger of *Sherwood Forest*. *Stephen Beverard*, Esq; formerly Lieut. General of *New-Edward-Land*, Esq; one of the Directors of the *East-India Company*.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Jordan*, Chancellor of *Chichester*, to the Rectory of *Burwash*, *Suffol.* Mr. *Twells*, to the Rectory of the united Parishes of *St. Matthew, Friday-street*, and *St. Peter, Cheap*. Mr. *Badger* to the Vicarage of *Mansfield*, *Nottinghamshire*. Mr. *Thomas Roboton* to the Rectory of *Bycham All-Saints*, *Norfolk*. Dr. *Reuben Clarke*, made Archdeacon of *Essex*, in the room of the Bp. of *Bristol*. Mr. *John Willes* presented to the Living of *Isning*, *Suffolk*. Mr. *Garbert*, Fellow of *Merton College, Oxford*, appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty. Mr. *Henry Taylor* presented to the Living of *Whitfield*, *Oxfordshire*. Mr. *Wade* chosen a Minor Canon of *Rocheſter*. Mr. *George Watts*, Preacher of *Lincolin's-Inn*, presented to the Rectory of *St. Mary's in Marlborough*, in the room of Mr. *Twells*. Lord *James Beauclerc*, Brother to the Duke of *St. Albans*, made one of the Minor Canons of *Windſor*.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

BRIG. Gen. *Churchill* made Col. of a Comp. of Grenadiers; Col. *Needham*, Col. of a Comp. of Hatmen; Lieut. *Scutbby*, Capt. of the Earl of *Scarborough's* Comp. and Ensign *Townsend*, a Lieut. in his room. Mr. *Royland Rogers* chosen Cashier of the S. S.

Comp. Mr. *Miles Mann*, Town Clerk of the City of *London*. Sir *John Eyke* accepted of *Bridges Ward* without, as Sen. Ald. and Father of the City, in the room of Mr. *George Conyers*; and Sir *Wm. Ross*, one of the Sheriffs, chosen Alderm. of *Vintry Ward*, in the room of Sir *John*. It is remarkable, that when he kept a great Druggist's Shop in the *Strand*, about 16 Years ago, and was drinking with some Gentlemen, who drank to him by the Title of Alderman; Alderman, says he; I never design to be a Citizen, therefore can never be an Alderman: If any one will give me a Guinea now, I'll give him a hundred, if ever that Time comes. Upon which Mr. *Lippiston*, an eminent Dry-Salter, and Mr. *Coffins*, who lately sh'd for Sheriff, merrily deposited half a Guinea each. Articles were immediately drawn by Mr. Deputy *Trumb*, in which it was agreed, that if Mr. *Ross* should ever be elected an Alderman, Mr. *Lippiston* and Mr. *Coffins* should each of them spend 5 Guineas in a Venison Feast at *Pancks's*. Mr. *Coffins* call'd on Mr. *Lippiston* to give him Joy of his 50 Guineas, and in a few Days the Entertainment is to be given, Sir *William*, with much Mirth and Jocularity, agreeing to pay his 100 Guineas.

The rest of the Promotions, and Bankrupts must be deferr'd to our next.

Prices of Stocks, &c. towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

§. Sea 103	Afric. 14
—Bonds 4 10	Royal Ass. 108 ½
—Annu. 110 ¼ a 10	Lon. ditto 14 ¾ a 7 ½
Bank 143 ½ a 44	3 per C. As. 103 ½ a ½
—Circ. 37 6 a 10	Eng. Copper
Mil. Bank 122 ¾	Salt Tullies 125
India 174 ½	Emp. Loan 112 ¼
—Bonds 6 19	Equiv. 112

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst. 34 10	Bilboa ½ a ½
D. Sigt 34 8	Legborn 49 ½ a ½
Rotter. 34 11	Genoa 52 ½ a ½
Hamb. 33 10	Venice 49 ¾ a 50
P. Sigt 32 ½	Lisb. 55 5d ¾ a 6
Bourdx. 32 ¼ a ¼	Oport. 55 5d ¼
Cadiz 39 ¾	Antw. 34 11
Madrid 39 ¾ a ¼	Dublin 10 ¾

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat 28 34	Oates 11 14
Rye 13 18	Tares 22 24
Barley 11 14	Pease 20 30
H. Beans 20 22	H. Pease 16 17
P. Malt 20 22	B. Malt 16 19

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from June 21 to July 26.

Christned	{ Males 807 } 1502	{ Females 695 }
Buried	{ Males 1164 } 2409	{ Females 1245 }
Died under 2 Years old	933	
Between 2 and 5	260	
5	10	114
10	20	90
20	30	160
30	40	223
40	50	203
50	60	170
60	70	120
70	80	77
80	90	49
90 and upwards	10	

2409

Hay 46 to 50s. a Load

THE War between the *Christians* and *Turks* seems now to be begun in good Earnest; for on the 29th of last Month, N. S. the great Army of the *Germans* encamped near *Bulgrade* began their March from thence towards the *Turkish* Frontiers, under the Command of the *Duke of Lorraine*, and when the last Letters came from thence, were advancing, by short Marches, because of the excessive Heats, towards *Nissa*, one of the best fortified Towns belonging to the *Turks* on that Frontier; from which it was conjectured, the Campaign would be opened with the Siege of that important Place. At the same Time another *German Army*, under the Command of the Prince of *Saxe-Hildbourghausen*, began to march into the *Turkish Croatia*, with a Design, as 'tis said, to seize *Bagnaluck*, and then proceed to form the Siege of *Zwornick*; and a third *German Army* under the Command of *Count Wallis*, began to march towards *Wallachia*, where, 'tis thought, they will be joined by the Inhabitants, who seem all weary of the *Turkish* Yoke. The Emperor's Manifesto, or Declaration of War, was publish'd at the Head of each of those Armies so soon as they entered the *Turkish* Territories, and on the 13th Instant, N. S. the same was published at *Vienna*.

On the other Side, the grand *Muscovite Army*, under the Command of *Count Munich*, pass'd the River *Beg*, and entered the *Turkish* Territory of *Ocnakow*, with a Design, as said, to besiege the City of *Ocnakow*, a well fortified City on the *Euxin-Sea*, in which the *Turks* have a Garrison of 15000 Men; and another *Muscovite Army*, commanded by *General Leski*, was marching towards *Pracopz*, with a Design to penetrate into, and make an absolute Conquest of the *Crim Taryary*. The last Letters from *Warsaw* say, the *Muscovite Army* under *Count Munich* had actually invested *Ocnakow*, and that the grand *Turkish Army*, under the Command of the *Prime Visier* had pass'd the *Nizser*, and was marching to the Relief of that Place; so that we may expect to hear soon of a bloody Battle between those two great Armies.

On the 15th Instant, N. S. the Queen of *France* was safely delivered of a Princess, which was some Sort of Disappointment to that Nation; for they were all wishing and praying for a Prince; but that Disappointment was atoned for by the News of the Death of the *Duke of Tuscany*, who died at *Florence* the 9th in the 67th Year of his Age; by whose Death the *Duke of Lorraine* comes to the actual Possession of the *Dukedom of Tuscany*, and by that means the *French* get free of an Annuity of 4,500000 *Livres* a Year, which, by the late Treaty, they were oblig'd to pay to the *Duke of Lorraine* till

he came to the actual Possession of *Tuscany*; so that they may be said to have got one of the finest *Dutchies* of *Europe*, viz. that of *Lorain*, for less than half a Year's Purchase. A *Dutchy*, which, by its Situation, is worth ten Times its real Value to the Kingdom of *France*; for it will add greatly to the Strength of their Frontiers upon that Side where they are most exposed, and it will enable them to enter *Germany* with a great Army by Surprise, whenever they have a Mind; which they could not formerly so easily do, because their assembling a great Army in *Alsace* always gave the Alarm, and they could not enter *Germany* by any other Route, without first seizing upon and traversing the whole *Dutchy of Lorraine*.

The Cardinal Prime Minister of *France* has a Mind, it seems, to provide in Time for continuing the Government of *France* in the Hands of the Church; for he has already brought the Arch Bishop of *Toulouse* into the Administration, and has, 'tis said, a Mind to resign into the Hands of that Prelate a great Part of the Management of publick Affairs. In the mean Time, the famous *M. Choiseul*, formerly his Coadjutor, but now under Disgrace, passes his Time very agreeably at *Bourges*, where he keeps an open Table, appears Gay and Easy, and is visited by the principal Families of that Country, notwithstanding his being a discarded Minister, which is a Fate few such can boast much of in that or any other Country.

As they are every Day concerting new Schemes in *France* for the Encouragement of their Trade, especially such Branches of it as may interfere with, or diminish the Trade of this Kingdom; so the Government has of late applied itself particularly to the Encouragement of Agriculture, for which Purpose they sometime since removed one of the great Impediments it formerly laboured under, which was this: The Exportation of Corn out of the Kingdom, or even from one Province to another, was formerly in some Meanes prohibited, which prevented the Farmers from turning so much of their Grounds to the Producing of that Sort of Commodity as they might otherways have done. But the Law has been lately altered in this Particular; and by a late Incident we may see how careful the Government is to prevent any Thing that may discourage the Production of Corn; for some malicious and selfish Persons having last Winter spread a Report at *Paris* that the Barley of last Year's Growth in that Country had a poisonous Quality in it, in order to deter People from drinking Beer, the Magistrates of that City, as soon as they heard of the Report, published an Ordinance declaring the Falshood of the Report, and forbidding the Propagating of any such,

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T H E

LONDON MAGAZINE.

AUGUST, 1737.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *last Session* of PARLIAMENT, *continued from Page 368.*



ACCORDING to our Promise in our last, (see p. 380.) we shall now (for the Reason then mentioned) give our Readers the Speech made last Ses-

sion in the House of Lords, against the Bill for explaining and amending so much of the Vagabond Act, as relates to common Players of Interludes. We cannot pretend that it is exactly in the Words made use of by the noble Speaker; and therefore, if we have in the Copy committed any Mistakes either with respect to the Argument or the Expression, we must forewarn the pert Political Critics of the present, and of every future Age, not to impute them to the original Author, whose Arguments are generally so strong, and his Expressions always so elegant, that no Fault can ever be found with the latter, and it is but seldom that any Answer can be made to the former.

The E—l of Ch—ld's Speech against the Bill, intituled, An Act to explain and amend so much of an Act made in the 12th Year of the Reign of Queen Anne, intituled, An Act for

reducing the Laws, relating to Rogues, &c. as relates to common Players of Interludes.

My Lords,

THE Bill now before you I apprehend to be of a very extraordinary, a very dangerous Nature. It seems designed not only as a Restraint on the Licentiousness of the Stage, but it will prove a most arbitrary Restraint on the Liberty of the Stage; and, I fear, it looks yet farther, I fear, it tends towards a Restraint on the Liberty of the Press, which will be a long Stride towards the Destruction of Liberty itself. It is not only a Bill, my Lords, of a very extraordinary Nature, but it has been brought in at a very extraordinary Season, and pushed with most extraordinary Dispatch. When I considered how near it was to the End of the Session, and how long this Session had been protracted beyond the usual Time of the Year; when I considered that this Bill passed through the other House with so much Precipitancy, as even to get the Start of a Bill which deserved all the Respect, and all the Dispatch, the Forms of either House

of Parliament could admit of, it set me upon Enquiring, what could be the Reason for introducing this Bill at so unseasonable a Time, and pressing it forward in a Manner so very singular and uncommon. I have made all possible Enquiry, and as yet, I must confess, I am at a Loss to find out the great Occasion. I have, 'tis true; learned from common Report without Doors, that a most seditious, a most heinous Farce had been offered to one of the Theaters, a Farce for which the Authors ought to be punished in the most exemplary Manner: But what was the Consequence? The Master of that Theater behaved as he was in Duty bound, and as common Prudence directed: He not only refused to bring it upon the Stage, but carried it to a certain honourable Gentleman in the Administration, as the surest Method of having it absolutely suppressed. Could this be the Occasion of introducing such an extraordinary Bill, at such an extraordinary Season, and pushing it in so extraordinary a Manner? Surely no: — The dutiful Behaviour of the Players, the prudent Caution they shewed upon that Occasion, can never be a Reason for subjecting them to such an arbitrary Restraint: It is an Argument in their Favour, and a material one, in my Opinion, against the Bill. Nay farther, if we consider all Circumstances, it is to me a full Proof that the Laws now in being are sufficient for punishing those Players who shall venture to bring any seditious Libel upon the Stage, and consequently sufficient for deterring all Players from acting any Thing that may have the least Tendency towards giving a reasonable Offence.

I do not, my Lords, pretend to be a Lawyer, I do not pretend to know perfectly the Power and Extent of our Laws, but I have conversed with those that do, and by

them I have been told; that our Laws are sufficient for punishing any Person that shall dare to represent upon the Stage, what may appear, either by the Words or the Representation, to be Blasphemous, Seditious, or Immoral. I must own, indeed, I have observed of late a remarkable Licentiousness in the Stage. There have but very lately been two Plays acted, which, one would have thought, should have given the greatest Offence, and yet both were suffered to be often represented without Disturbance, without Censure. In one, the Author thought fit to represent the three great Professions, Religion, Physick, and the Law, as inconsistent with Common Sense: In the other, a most tragical Story was brought upon the Stage, a Catastrophe too recent, too melancholy, and of too solemn a Nature, to be heard of any where but from the Pulpit. How these Pieces came to pass unpunished, I do not know: If I am rightly informed, it was not for Want of Law, but for Want of Prosecution, without which no Law can be made effectual: But if there was any Neglect in this Case, I am convinced it was not with a Design to prepare the Minds of the People, and to make them think a new Law necessary.

Our Stage ought certainly, my Lords, to be kept within due Bounds, but for this, our Laws, as they stand at present, are sufficient: If our Stage-Players at any Time exceed those Bounds, they ought to be prosecuted, they may be punished: We have Precedents, we have Examples of Persons having been punished for Things less criminal, than either of the two Pieces I have mentioned. A new Law must therefore be unnecessary, and in the present Case it cannot be unnecessary without being dangerous: Every unnecessary Restraint on Licentiousness is a Fetter upon the Legs, is a Shackle upon

on the Hands of Liberty. One of the greatest Blessings we enjoy, one of the greatest Blessings a People, my Lords, can enjoy, is Liberty;—but every good in this Life has its Allay of Evil:—Licentiousness is the Allay of Liberty: It is an Ebul-
 lition, an Excessence,—It is a Speck upon the Eye of the Political Body, which I can never touch but with a gentle,—with a trembling Hand, lest I destroy the Body, lest I injure the Eye upon which it is apt to appear. If the Stage becomes at any Time li-
 centious, if a Play appears to be a Libel upon the Government, or upon any particular Man, the King's Courts are open, the Law is sufficient for punishing the Offender; and in this Case the Person injured has a singular Advantage; he can be under no Difficulty to prove who is the Pub-
 lisher; the Players themselves are the Publishers, and there can be no Want of Evidence to convict them.

But, my Lords, suppose it true, that the Laws now in being are not sufficient for putting a Check to, or preventing the Licentiousness of the Stage; suppose it absolutely necessary some new Law should be made for that Purpose; yet it must be granted that such a Law ought to be maturely considered, and every Clause, every Sentence, nay every Word of it well weighed and examined, lest under some of those Methods presumed or pretended to be necessary for restraining Licentiousness, a Power should lie concealed, which might be afterwards made use of for giving a dangerous Wound to Liberty. Such a Law ought not to be introduced at the Close of a Session, nor ought we, in the Passing of such a Law, to depart from any of the Forms prescribed by our Ancestors for preventing Deceit and Surprize. There is such a Connection between Licentiousness and Liberty, that it is not easy to correct the one, without dangerously wounding the other: It is extremely hard

to distinguish the true Limit between them: Like a changeable Silk, we can easily see there are two different Colours, but we cannot easily discover where the one ends, or where the other begins.—There can be no great and immediate Danger from the Licentiousness of the Stage; I hope it will not be pretended that our Government may, before next Winter, be overturned by such Licentiousness, even tho' our Stage were at present under no Sort of legal Control. Why then may we not delay till next Session passing any Law against the Licentiousness of the Stage? Neither our Government can be altered, nor our Constitution overturned, by such a Delay; but by passing a Law rashly and unadvisedly, our Constitution may at once be destroyed, and our Government rendered arbitrary. Can we then put a small, a short-lived Inconvenience in the Balance with perpetual Slavery? Can it be supposed that a Parliament of *Great Britain* will so much as risk the latter, for the Sake of avoiding the former?

Surely, my Lords, this is not to be expected, were the Licentiousness of the Stage much greater than it is, were the Insufficiency of our Laws more obvious than can be pretended; but when we complain of the Licentiousness of the Stage, and of the Insufficiency of our Laws, I fear we have more Reason to complain of bad Measures in our Polity, and a general Decay of Virtue and Morality among the People. In publick as well as private Life, the only Way to prevent being ridiculed or censured, is to avoid all ridiculous or wicked Measures, and to pursue such only as are virtuous and worthy. The People never endeavour to ridicule those they love and esteem, nor will they suffer them to be ridiculed: If any one attempts it, the Ridicule returns upon the Author; he makes himself only the Object

of publick Hatred and Contempt. The Actions or Behaviour of a private Man may pass unobserved, and consequently unapplauded, uncondemned; but the Actions of those in high Stations, can neither pass without Notice, nor without Censure or Applause; and therefore an Administration without Esteem, without Authority among the People, let their Power be never so great, let their Power be never so arbitrary, they will be ridiculed: The severest Edicts, the most terrible Punishments, cannot entirely prevent it. If any Man therefore thinks he has been censured, if any Man thinks he has been ridiculed, upon any of our publick Theaters, let him examine his Actions he will find the Cause, let him alter his Conduct he will find a Remedy. As no Man is perfect, as no Man is infallible, the greatest may err, the most circumspect may be guilty of some Piece of ridiculous Behaviour. It is not Licentiousness, it is an useful Liberty always indulged the Stage in a free Country, that some great Men may there meet with a just Reproof, which none of their Friends will be free enough, or rather faithful enough, to give them. Of this we have a famous Instance in the Roman History. The great Pompey, after the many Victories he had obtained, and the great Conquests he had made, had certainly a good Title to the Esteem of the People of Rome; yet that great Man, by some Error in his Conduct, became an Object of general Dislike; and, therefore, in the Representation of an old Play, when *Diphilus*, the Actor, came to repeat these Words, *Nostri Misericordia tu es Magnus*, the Audience immediately applied them to Pompey, who at that Time was as well known by the Name, *Magnus*, as by the Name, *Pompey*, and were so highly pleased with the Satyr, that, as *Cicero* says, they made the Actor repeat the Words a hundred Times over,

An Account of this was immediately sent to Pompey, who, instead of representing it as an Injury, was so wise as to take it for a just Reproof: He examined his Conduct, he altered his Measures, he regained by Degrees the Esteem of the People, and then he neither feared the Wit nor felt the Satyr of the Stage. This is an Example which ought to be followed by great Men in all Countries. Such Accidents will often happen in every free Country, and many such would probably have afterwards happened at Rome, if they had continued to enjoy their Liberty; but this Sort of Liberty in the Stage came soon after, I suppose, to be called Licentiousness; for we are told that *Augustus*, after having established his Empire, restored Order in Rome by restraining Licentiousness. God forbid! we should in this Country have Order restored, or Licentiousness restrained, at so dear a Rate as the People of Rome paid for it to *Augustus*.

In the Case I have mentioned, my Lords, it was not the Poet that wrote, for it was an old Play, nor the Players that acted, for they only repeated the Words of the Play, it was the People who pointed the Satyr; and the Case will always be the same: When a Man has the Misfortune to incur the Hatred or Contempt of the People, when publick Measures are despised, the Audience will apply what never was, what could not be designed as a Satyr on the present Times. Nay, even, tho' the People should not apply, those who are conscious of Guilt, those who are conscious of the Wickedness or Weakness of their own Conduct, will take to themselves what the Author never designed. A publick Thief is as apt to take the Satyr, as he is apt to take the Money, which was never designed for him. We have an Instance of this in the Case of a famous Comedian of the last Ages

a Comedian who was not only a good Poet, but an honest Man, and a quiet and good Subject: The famous *Molière*, when he wrote his *Tartuffe*, which is certainly an excellent and a good moral Comedy, did not design to satirize any great Man of that Age; yet a great Man in *France* at that Time, took it to himself, and fancied the Author had taken him as a Model for one of the principal and one of the worst Characters in that Comedy: By good Luck he was not the Licenser, otherwise the Kingdom of *France* had never had the Pleasure, the Happiness I may say, of seeing that Play acted; but when the Players first proposed to act it at *Paris*, he had Interest enough to get it forbid. *Molière*, who knew himself innocent of what was laid to his Charge, complained to his Patron the *Prince of Conti*, that as his Play was designed only to expose Hypocrisy, and a false Pretence to Religion, 'twas very hard it should be forbid being acted, when at the same Time they were suffered to expose Religion itself every Night publicly upon the *Italian Stage*: To which the *Prince* wittily answered, *'Tis true, Molière, Harlequin ridicules Heaven, and exposes Religion; but you have done much worse,—you have ridiculed the first Minister of Religion.*

I am as much for restraining the Licentiousness of the Stage, and every other Sort of Licentiousness, as any of your Lordships can be; but, my Lords, I am, I shall always be, extremely cautious and fearful of making the least Inroad upon Liberty; and therefore, when a new Law is proposed against Licentiousness, I shall always be for considering it deliberately and maturely, before I venture to give my Consent to its being passed. This is a sufficient Reason for my being against passing this Bill at so unseasonable a Time, and in so extraordina-

ry a Manner; but I have many Reasons for being against passing the Bill itself, some of which I shall beg Leave to explain to your Lordships. The Bill, my Lords, at first View, may seem to be designed only against the Stage, but to me it plainly appears to point somewhere else. It is an Arrow that does but glance upon the Stage, the mortal Wound seems designed against the Liberty of the Press. By this Bill you prevent a Play's being acted, but you do not prevent its being printed, therefore, if a Licence should be refused for its being acted, we may depend on it, the Play will be printed. It will be printed and published, my Lords, with the Refusal in capital Letters on the Title Page. People are always fond of what's forbidden. *Libri Prohibiti* are in all Countries diligently and generally sought after. It will be much easier to procure a Refusal than it ever was to procure a good House, or a good Sale; therefore we may expect, that Plays will be wrote on Purpose to have a Refusal: This will certainly procure a good Sale: Thus will Satyrs be spread and dispersed through the whole Nation, and thus every Man in the Kingdom may, and probably will, read for Six-pence, what a few only could have seen acted, and that not under the Expence of Half a Crown. We shall then be told, What! will you allow an infamous Libel to be printed and dispersed, which you would not allow to be acted? You have agreed to a Law for preventing its being acted, can you refuse your Assent to a Law for preventing its being printed and published? I should really, my Lords, be glad to hear what Excuse, what Reason one could give for being against the latter, after having agreed to the former; for, I protest, I cannot suggest to myself the least Shadow of an Excuse. If we agree to the Bill now before us, we must

perhaps next Session, agree to a Bill for preventing any Play's being printed without a Licence. Then Satyrs will be wrote by Way of Novels, secret Histories, Dialogues, or under some such Title; and thereupon we shall be told, What! will you allow an infamous Libel to be printed and dispersed, only because it does not bear the Title of a Play? Thus, my Lords, from the Precedent now before us, we shall be induced, nay we can find no Reason for refusing, to lay the Press under a general Licence, and then we may bid adieu to the Liberties of *Great Britain*.

But suppose, my Lords, it were necessary to make a new Law for restraining the Licentiousness of the Stage, which I am very far from granting, yet I shall never be for establishing such a Power as is proposed by this Bill. If Poets and Players are to be restrained, let them be restrained as other Subjects are, by the known Laws of their Country: If they offend, let them be tried, as every *Englishman* ought to be, by God and their Country. Do not let us subject them to the arbitrary Will and Pleasure of any one Man. A Power lodged in the Hands of one single Man, to judge and determine, without any Limitation, without any Controul or Appeal, is a Sort of Power unknown to our Laws, inconsistent with our Constitution. It is a higher, a more absolute Power than we trust even to the King himself; and, therefore, I must think, we ought not to vest any such Power in his Majesty's Lord Chancellor. When I say this, I am sure, I do not mean to give the least, the most distant Offence to the noble Duke who now fills the Post of Lord Chancellor: His natural Candour and Love of Justice, would not, I know, permit him to exercise any Power but with the strictest Regard to the Rules of Justice and Humanity. Were we sure his Successors in

that high Office would always be Persons of such distinguished Merit, even the Power to be established by this Bill could give me no further Alarm, than lest it should be made a Precedent for introducing other new Powers of the same Nature. This, indeed, is an Alarm which cannot be avoided, which cannot be prevented by any Hope, by any Consideration: It is an Alarm which, I think, every Man must take, who has a due Regard to the Constitution and Liberties of his Country.

I shall admit, my Lords, that the Stage ought not upon any Occasion to meddle with Politicks, and for this very Reason, among the rest, I am against the Bill now before us: This Bill will be so far from preventing the Stage's meddling with Politicks, that, I fear, it will be the Occasion of its meddling with nothing else; but then it will be a political Stage *Ex parte*. It will be made subservient to the Politicks and the Schemes of the Court only. The Licentiousness of the Stage will be encouraged instead of being restrained; but, like Court Journalists, it will be licentious only against the Patrons of Liberty, and the Protectors of the People. Whatever Man, whatever Party, opposes the Court in any of their most destructive Schemes, will, upon the Stage, be represented in the most ridiculous Light the Hirelings of a Court can contrive. True Patriotism and Love of publick Good will be represented as Madness, or as a Cloke for Envy, Disappointment, and Malice, whilst the most flagitious Crimes, the most extravagant Vices and Follies, if they are fashionable at Court, will be disguised and dressed up in the Habit of the most amiable Virtues. This has formerly been the Case: — In King *Charles II's* Days, the Play-house was under a Licence. What was the consequence? — The Play-house retailed

nothing but the Politicks, the Vices, and the Follies of the Court: Not to expose them; no—but to recommend them; tho' it must be granted their Politicks were often as bad as their Vices, and much more pernicious than their other Follies. A
 'Tis true, the Court had, at that Time, a great deal of Wit, it was then, indeed, full of Men of true Wit and great Humour; but it was the more dangerous; for the Courtiers did then, as thorough-paced Courtiers always will do, they sacrificed their Honour, by making their Wit and their Humour subservient to the Court only; and what made it still more dangerous, no Man could appear upon the Stage against them. We know that *Dryden*, the *Poet Laureat* of that Reign, always represents the *Cavaliers* as honest, brave, merry Fellows, and fine Gentlemen: Indeed his fine Gentleman, as he generally draws him, is an atheistical, lewd, abandoned Fellow, which was at that Time, it seems, the fashionable Character at Court. On the other Hand, he always represents the *Dissenters* as hypocritical, dissembling Rogues, or stupid, senseless Boobies.—When the Court had a Mind to fall out with the *Dutch*, he wrote his *Amboyna*, in which he represents the *Dutch* as a Pack of avaricious, cruel, ungrateful Rascals:—And when the Exclusion Bill was moved in Parliament, he wrote his *Duke of Guise*, in which those who were for preserving and securing the Religion of their Country, were exposed under the Character of the *Duke of Guise* and his Party, who leagued together, for excluding *Henry IV.* of *France* from the Throne, on account of his Religion.—The City of *London* too, was made to feel the partial and mercenary Licentiousness of the Stage at that Time; for the Citizens having at that Time, as well as now, a great Deal of Property, they had a Mind

to preserve that Property, and therefore they opposed some of the arbitrary Measures which were then begun, but pursued more openly in the following Reign; for which Reason they were then always represented upon the Stage, as a Parcel of designing Knaves, dissembling Hypocrites, griping Usurers, and—Cuckolds, into the Bargain.

My Lords, the proper Business of the Stage, and that for which only it is useful, is to expose those Vices and Follies, which the Laws cannot lay hold of, and to recommend those Beauties and Virtues, which Ministers and Courtiers seldom either imitate or reward; but by laying it under a Licence, and under an arbitrary Court Licence too, you will, in my Opinion, entirely pervert its Use; for tho' I have the greatest Esteem for that noble Duke in whose Hands this Power is at present designed to fall, tho' I have an entire Confidence in his Judgment and Impartiality; yet I may suppose that a Leaning towards the Fashions of a Court is sometimes hard to be avoided.—It may be very difficult to make one who is every Day at Court believe that to be a Vice or Folly, which he sees daily practised by those he loves and esteems.—By Custom even Deformity itself becomes familiar, and at last agreeable.—To such a Person, let his natural Impartiality be never so great, that may appear to be a Libel against the Court, which is only a most just and a most necessary Satyr upon the fashionable Vices and Follies, of the Court.—Courtiers, my Lords, are too polite to reprove one another; the only Place where they can meet with any just Reproof, is a free, tho' not a licentious Stage; and as every Sort of Vice and Folly, generally in all Countries, begins at Court, and from thence spreads thro' the Country, by laying the Stage under an arbitrary Court Licence, instead

instead of leaving it what it is, and always ought to be, a gentle Scourge for the Vices of great Men and Courtiers, you will make it a Canal for propagating and conveying their Vices and Follies thro' the whole Kingdom.

From hence, my Lords, I think, it must appear, that the Bill now before us cannot so properly be called a Bill for restraining the Licentiousness, as it may be called a Bill for restraining the Liberty of the Stage, and for restraining it too in that Branch which in all Countries has been the most useful; therefore I must look upon the Bill as a most dangerous Incroachment upon Liberty in general. Nay farther, my Lords, it is not only an Incroachment upon Liberty, but it is likewise an Incroachment on Property. Wit, my Lords, is a Sort of Property: It is the Property of those that have it, and too often the only Property they have to depend on. It is, indeed, but a precarious Dependence. Thank God! We—my Lords, have a Dependence of another Kind; we have a much less precarious Support, and therefore cannot feel the Inconveniencies of the Bill now before us; but it is our Duty to encourage and protect Wit, whosoever's Property it may be. Those Gentlemen who have any such Property, are all, I hope, our Friends: Do not let us subject them to any unnecessary or arbitrary Restraint. I must own, I cannot easily agree to the Laying of any Tax upon Wit; but by this Bill it is to be heavily taxed,—it is to be excised;—for if this Bill passes, it cannot be retailed in a proper Way without a Permit; and the Lord Chancellor is to have the Honour of being Chief-Gauger, Supervisor, Commissioner, Judge and Jury: But what is still more hard, tho' the poor Author, the Proprietor I should say, cannot perhaps dine till he has found

out and agreed with a Purchaser; yet before he can propose to sell for a Purchaser, he must patiently submit to have his Goods rummaged at this new Excise-Office, where they may be detained for fourteen Days, and even then he may find them returned as prohibited Goods, by which his chief and best Market will be forever shut against him; and that without any Cause, without the least Shadow of Reason, either from the Laws of his Country, or the Laws of the Stage.

These Hardships, this Hazard, which every Gentleman will be exposed to who writes any Thing for the Stage, must certainly prevent every Man of a generous and free Spirit from attempting any Thing in that Way; and as the Stage has always been the proper Chancel for Wit and Humour, therefore, my Lords, when I speak against this Bill, I must think I plead the Cause of Wit, I plead the Cause of Humour, I plead the Cause of the British Stage, and of every Gentleman of Taste in the Kingdom: But it is not, my Lords, for the Sake of Wit only; even for the Sake of his Majesty's Lord Chancellor, I must be against this Bill. The noble Duke who has now the Honour to execute that Office, has, I am sure, as little an Inclination to disoblige as any Man; but if this Bill passes, he must disoblige, he may disoblige some of his most intimate Friends. It is impossible to write a Play, but some of the Characters, or some of the Satyr, may be interpreted so as to point at some Person or another, perhaps at some Person in an eminent Station: When it comes to be acted, the People will make the Application, and the Person against whom the Application is made, will think himself injured, and will, at least privately, resent it: At present this Resentment can be directed only against the Author; but when an

Author's Play appears with my Lord's Passport, every such Resentment will be turned from the Author, and pointed directly against the Lord Chancellor, who by his Stamp made the Piece Current. What an unthankful Office are we therefore by this Bill to put upon his Majesty's Lord Chancellor! an Office which can no Way contribute to his Honour or Profit, and yet such a one as must necessarily gain him a great deal of ill Will, and create him a Number of Enemies.

The last Reason I shall trouble your Lordships with for my being against the Bill, is, that in my Opinion, it will no Way answer the End proposed: I mean the End openly proposed, and, I am sure, the only End which your Lordships propose. To prevent the acting of a Play which has any Tendency to Blasphemy, Immorality, Seditious, or private Scandal, can signify nothing, unless you can likewise prevent its being printed and published. On the contrary, if you prevent its being acted, and admit of its being printed and published, you will propagate the Mischief: Your Prohibition will prove a Bellows which will blow up the Fire you intend to extinguish. This Bill can therefore be of no Use for preventing either the publick or the private Injury intended by such a Play; and consequently can be of no manner of Use, unless it be designed as a Precedent, as a leading Step towards another for subjecting the Press likewise to a Licensor. For such a wicked Purpose it may, indeed, be of great Use; and in that Light it may most properly be called a Step towards arbitrary Power.

Let us consider, my Lords, that arbitrary Power has seldom or never been introduced into any Country at once. It must be introduced by slow Degrees, and as it were Step by Step, lest the People should perceive its Approach. The Barriers and Fences of the People's Liberty

must be pluck'd up one by one, and some plausible Pretences must be found for removing or hood-winking, one after another, those Sentries who are posted by the Constitution of every free Country, for warning the People of their Danger. When these preparatory Steps are once made, the People may then, indeed, with Regret see Slavery and arbitrary Power making long Strides over their Land, but it will then be too late to think of preventing or avoiding the impending Ruin. The Stage, my Lords, and the Press, are two of our Out-Sentries; if we remove them, if we throw them in Fetters,—the Enemy may surprize us. Therefore I must look upon the Bill now before us as a Step, and a most necessary Step too, for introducing arbitrary Power into this Kingdom: It is a Step so necessary, that, if ever any future ambitious King, or guilty Minister, should form to himself so wicked a Design, he will have Reason to thank us for having done so much of the Work to his Hand; but such Thanks, or Thanks from such a Man, I am convinced every one of your Lordships would blush to receive,—and scorn to deserve.

In the Debate upon the Motion for settling 100,000l. a Year upon the Prince of Wales, (a Part of which we gave in our last, see p. 341.) the Reply was in Substance as follows, viz.

The Importance of the present Debate is, Sir, what I shall readily acknowledge, it has been, I think, acknowledged by every Gentleman who has spoke upon either Side of the Question; but some of the Gentlemen who have spoke against the Motion, have endeavoured to represent it in a Light which, I am sure, it can no way bear, a Light which, I must say, can no way contribute to the Honour or Advantage of either

ther of the two royal Persons who seem to be concerned. To insinuate that either of them can conceive the least Grudge from any Thing that passes in Parliament; is really, in my Opinion, to insinuate; that they are ignorant, or not observant of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament. This, I believe, the honourable Gentlemen were not sufficiently aware of, otherwise they would not have pretended that this Motion, or any Motion in Parliament, could ever occasion any Breach or Dispute between his Majesty and his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales*, or that it can lay any Gentleman under the least Difficulty how to behave. As my Attachment to the present Royal Family is so well and so publicly known, I cannot, I think, be suspected of desiring or designing to foment or stir up any Division between them; I hope every one who knows me will do me the Justice to think, I would do all in my Power to prevent any such fatal Divisions; and for this very Reason I am for agreeing to the Motion now made to us, because it will remove that which is often the Cause of Dissension in private Families, and may be even with respect to the Royal Family; for when the Son is obliged to apply to the Father for every trifling Sum he may have occasion for, it is a continual Fund for Dissension, and often begets a Coolness both of the one Side and the other.

It is to be presumed, I hope, Sir, there will always be good Reason for presuming, that the Behaviour of every Gentleman in this House, with respect to any Motion he may make, or any Opinion or Vote he may give, is founded upon what he thinks right, upon what he takes to be his Duty as a Member of this House; and to imagine that his Majesty, or his *Royal Highness*, would be offended at any Gentleman's doing what he takes to be his Duty in Parliament,

is certainly a very wrong and a most groundless Imagination: But to suppose that either of them could conceive the least Grudge against the other, on account of any Motion or Question in Parliament, is to suppose that the Parliament is directed in every Thing they do, either by this one or the other; which is a Supposition as injurious to the Honour of Parliament, as it is inconsistent with the Wisdom and Justice both of his Majesty and of his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales*; we therefore ought to suppose that neither his Majesty, nor his *Royal Highness*, knows any Thing of what we are about; we are in Duty bound to suppose that neither of them will be offended with the Fate of this Question, be it what it will; and it is impossible to suppose it can occasion any Breach between them; so that let the Importance of the Question be of never so high a Nature, it can be of no melancholy Concern, nor can it be attended with any cruel Consequences. No Man can from thence imagine there is any private Mistake or Dispute between his Majesty and the *Prince*, because no Man can justly suppose, I hope no Man does suppose, the Proceedings in Parliament are directed by either. The only Thing they can suppose is, that his *Royal Highness* is not as yet provided for in the Manner he deserves, and in that Manner in which all former *Princes of Wales* have been; and this was not only supposed, but publicly known, and generally talked of, long before this Motion was thought of; therefore, if this Motion has any Effect on People without Doors, it will be to shew them, that we are mindful of our Duty, and that we have due Regard for the Honour of the Nation, and for the Happiness and Independency of the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown.

I am far from thinking, Sir, that

our agreeing to this Motion will occasion any Breach between the two royal Persons concerned; On the contrary, I am convinced it will be extremely pleasing to both. The royal Father must be pleased to see his eldest Son and *apparent Heir* so greatly beloved, as to have the Parliament interposing themselves in his behalf; and the *Prince* will be pleased to see the Parliament taking Care of his being made independent of his Father's Ministers and Servants. Therefore no Gentleman can in that Respect be under any Difficulty in giving his Vote for the Question; and I am surpris'd to hear it said that by voting for or against it, an Injury can be done to either of the Royal Persons concerned. Can the giving of an honest and disinterested Advice ever be look'd on as an Injury to the Person to whom it is given? Can my refusing to give an Advice, which I do not think proper, be look'd on as an Injury by any Person whatever? The Address propos'd is only by way of Advice, and it is giving our Advice in the humblest Manner. Shall this, Sir, be called a Violation of Property? Shall it be called a taking from the King that Property which is established in him by Act of Parliament? If the Motion had been, to bring in a Bill for taking 100,000*l.* from the Civil List and settling it on the *Prince of Wales*, there might have been some Pretence for such Exclamations; but surely our advising his Majesty in the humblest Manner, to give what we think the *Prince* ought to have, can never be called a Taking his Property from him by Violence; even supposing he had as good and as absolute a Right to the whole Civil List Revenue, as any private Man can have to his Estate: Which I cannot grant without some Restriction; for a private Man may squander his Estate in what Manner he pleases; whereas in the Civil List

Revenue should be ridiculously squandered, the Parliament would have a Right to interpose, and would; I believe, interpose in a Manner more effectual than that of Addressing.

To pretend, Sir, that the Parliament has no Power to appropriate Money after it is granted, or that we never enter into any Consideration about Money once granted to the Crown, without the previous Consent of the Crown, has no Relation to the present Debate; because it is not now propos'd to bring in a Bill for appropriating any Money, nor to take into our Consideration any Grants made to the Crown, it is only propos'd to address his Majesty to make such a Settlement on the *Prince of Wales* as we think necessary for supporting the Dignity and Grandeur of his high Birth: But I must confess, I am at a Loss to know how the Power of Parliament comes to be confin'd in either of the Cases mentioned; I am sure the Parliament often in one Bill appropriates Sums of Money granted by former Bills in the same Session, and why it may not appropriate Money granted by a Bill pass'd in a former Session I cannot comprehend: And, I think, but last Session, we took into our Consideration, and absolutely released a very large Sum of Money, formerly granted to the Crown, without any previous Consent of the Crown; for I do not remember we had any general Message from the Crown, when we pass'd the late famous Bill for and against Smugglers, by which a very large Sum of Money, due by them to the Crown, was absolutely released by Parliament; tho' it must be granted, his Majesty had as good and as absolute a Right to every Shilling of that Money, as he has to any other Part of the Civil List Revenue. Therefore, if a Motion had actually been made, to bring in a Bill for taking 100,000*l.* a Year from the Civil List, and settling it on the

Prince of Wales, it would not have been without Precedent, with respect to our having no previous Consent from the Crown; and as the Parliament has certainly a Right to see every Sum of Money applied to that Use for which it was intended, tho' not expressly appropriated, with respect to the Power of Parliament, such a Motion would not have been entirely without Reason: But as the Motion now made to us is only for an Address, there can be no Doubt of the Parliament's having a Power to present such an Address as is proposed, and therefore the only Question is, Whether or no it be proper?

With respect to this Question, Sir, the Debate seems now indeed, by his Majesty's Message, to be brought within a very narrow Compass, it seems in some Manner to be reduced to one single Point, which is, Whether his Majesty can spare more than 50,000*l.* from the Civil List Revenue, for the Use of his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales*. By this Message even his Majesty seems to acknowledge, that the *Prince of Wales* ought to have an independent Settlement, and that it is now high Time that Settlement should be made; and the Hon. Gentleman who delivered us the Message seems to admit that the Settlement proposed to be made is not a sufficient Settlement; so that the only Question now remaining is, whether the Civil List Revenue, as it stands at present, can possibly spare a larger Sum for the Use of his Royal Highness? And from this being made a Question I shall shew, that the Address proposed is a very proper Address, and that it is become absolutely necessary for us to agree to present such an Address; but as some Objections have been made to the Right which the *Prince* has to a sufficient independent Settlement, I shall first beg Leave to answer some of the most material Objections I have heard made against it.

The Maxims of State, Sir, in any Kingdom or Commonwealth, are always most certainly to be deduced from their ancient and general Customs: The Historians or political Writers of any Country may be mistaken, they may deliver that as a Maxim of State which never had any Authority as such; they may neglect to mention, or may perhaps not observe, a Maxim which has always obtained; but where a Custom has been long and generally received, the Maxim, or Rule in Politticks upon which that Custom is founded, must be allowed to be a Maxim of State in that Kingdom or Commonwealth. Can any one then say, the Settling of an independent and sufficient Provision upon the *Prince of Wales* is not a Maxim of State in this Kingdom? Is it not a Custom which has been observed without any one Exception as long, as far back, as we can trace our Monarchy? And the Wisdom of this Maxim not only appears from the Nature of the Thing itself, but is expressly pointed at almost in every one of the Charters and Acts of Parliament that have been granted or made for that Purpose. First, with respect to the *Prince*, the Wisdom of this Maxim is evident, because he is thereby enabled to support the Dignity and Grandeur of his Birth, without a Dependence upon his Father's Ministers and Servants; and then with respect to the Crown itself, the Wisdom of this Maxim is still more evident, because it is established and secured by the Honour and Character acquired by the Heir Apparent. These two Considerations are both pointed at in the Charter, or Act of Parliament, by which *Edward III.* granted the Duchy of *Cornwall* to his Son *Edward the Black Prince*; and in the Charter granted by that King for creating his Son *Prince of Wales*, the Reason for that Grant is expressly declared to be, for doing Honour to the King.

and for adding Strength to the Nation and to the Royal Family. Thus, Sir, we see that the Settling of an independent Provision upon the *Prince of Wales* was look'd on as a Piece of great Wisdom by *Edward III.* but now it seems we are to look on it as a Solecism in Politicks, as a Step which might be the Occasion of great Misfortunes to the Royal Family.

But, Sir, while I can distinguish between that laudable, that honourable Dependence, which proceeds from Loyalty and filial Duty, and that vile, that sordid Dependence, which proceeds from Lucre, I shall always be of the same Opinion with our great King *Edward III.* The *Prince of Wales* must always have a Dependence on the King as his Father, as his Sovereign: This is a Sort of Dependence which no Man can, which no honest Man would endeavour to take away or diminish; but to say that he ought to have a pecuniary Dependence upon the King, or rather upon the King's Ministers, is to say he ought to have a Sort of Dependence which no Man of Honour or Spirit can submit to; and it is a Sort of Dependence absolutely inconsistent with our Constitution. The *Prince of Wales* is by his Birth the first Peer in Parliament, and consequently ought not to be subjected to a dishonourable Dependence upon any Man; but if it should once be establish'd as a Maxim, that he ought to be under a vile pecuniary Dependence upon his Sovereign, it might then be justly said, he was not only the first Peer, but the first Pensioner in Parliament.—From this Consideration alone we may see how absolutely necessary it is, to have a sufficient and independent Provision settled upon every *Prince of Wales* before he comes to Man's Estate; and the making of such a Settlement will be so far from destroying or diminishing that Dependence which

proceeds from Loyalty and filial Duty, that it will increase and secure it; whereas the keeping him under a pecuniary Dependence may provoke him to shake off both his Loyalty and filial Duty. A pecuniary Dependence is a Dependence of so slavish a Nature, that no great Mind can long bear it: The more Honour, the more Spirit a Man has, the more impatient will he be to get rid of such a Dependence, and that Impatience may at last get the better both of his Loyalty and his filial Duty.

Thus, Sir, in every Light we can put it, the Wisdom of this Maxim, and the Necessity of observing it, must appear evident to those who think there is any other Dependence in Nature besides that which proceeds from Lucre. Indeed to those who put no Trust in any other Sort of Dependence, the Politicks of *Edward III.* and the Maxim on which those Politicks were founded, must appear ridiculous and absurd; but, I hope, there are no such Gentlemen in this House. I hope there is no Gentleman in this House that ever submitted to such a slavish Dependence, or that ever endeavour'd to impose any such upon others; and, I am sure, no Man can put his only Trust in that which he has never felt within himself, nor ever experienced in others.

For this Reason it cannot but appear strange to me, that any Gentleman in this House should attempt to evade or deny the Maxim I have endeavoured to establish; yet so loth, I find, are some Gentlemen to admit of it as a Maxim of State in this Kingdom, that they have ransacked our Histories to find out other Reasons for the frequent Settlements made upon our *Princes of Wales*; and tho' the Security of the Crown, and the Enabling the *Prince* to support the Honour and Dignity of his noble Birth, are the Reasons, and the only Reasons, mentioned in the

Charters by which those Settlements were made, yet we are told these were not the true Reasons; but that the true Reasons were, in order to do Honour to some County or Borough, to secure the Affections of a People newly conquered, or to declare and establish the Right of the *Prince of Wales* as next Heir to the Crown. Thus when we are to interpret antient Laws or Charters, we are not to take their Meaning or Intention from the Words, we are to have no Regard to the express Words of the Law, but we are to take its Meaning or Intention from the History of some cotemporary Facts with which we cannot but be very well acquainted; whereas when we are to interpret any late Statute, for Example, the Statutes by which the Civil List Revenue was established, we are to regard the Words only, we are not to take the Meaning or Intention of the Law from the History of these cotemporary Facts with which we are very well acquainted, and which Facts to the particular Knowledge of many of us, greatly influenced the Passing of those Laws, and were the chief Cause of the Shape they now appear in. Whether this Method of interpreting Statutes be established upon any Rule or Maxim of Law, I do not know; but to me it seems directly contrary to common Sense; and therefore I must still continue to think, it has always been held as a Maxim of State in this Kingdom, that the *Prince of Wales* ought to have a sufficient independent Estate of his own; and that this Maxim, and the Wisdom and Policy upon which it is founded, were the chief Causes of all those Settlements that have been made.

A yearly Allowance, or an Annuity depending upon the Will and Pleasure of the King, might perhaps enable the *Prince*, if he resolved to spend the Whole yearly as it comes in, to live in as grand a Manner, as

an Annuity of the same Value sealed upon him independently and for Lives but as an Annuity depending upon the Will of any Man must be precarious and uncertain, no Man of common Prudence will resolve to spend the Whole yearly: He will look on it as a Sunshine upon the Continuance of which he can have no Dependence, and that therefore he ought to save as much as possible, in order to provide for a cloudy or rainy Day. Besides, Sir, an Annuity of such a Nature looks so very like a Pension, it would be inconsistent with the Honour of the Nation to suffer that the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown should have nothing else to depend on. It would even be inconsistent with our Constitution: In this Kingdom we do not admit the Judges of our Common-Law Courts to depend upon the precarious Will and Pleasure of the King, and shall we admit or suffer that the *Prince of Wales*, who is one of the Judges of the supreme and highest Court of Judicature in the Nation, should have nothing else to depend on? Therefore we must conclude that, from the established Maxims of the Kingdom, from a continued Series of Precedents for a great many Ages passed, and from the very Nature of our Constitution, the *Prince of Wales* has a Right to a sufficient and independent Settlements; and that the Parliament may interpose for making that Right effectual, has been shewn from many Precedents. (See p. 345 C.)

'Tis true, Sir, this likewise has been objected to, and it has been said, that the Parliament has seldom or never interposed but when desired or prompted by the Crown to do so; or otherwise, that the Precedents are such as ought not to be drawn into Example. Sir, There is not one of the Precedents which have been mentioned, that appears to have been founded upon any Message from the Crown.

Crown. The Motion was perhaps in some of them, made by one who was known to be a Courtier, but can it be said that the Motion's being made by a Courtier, without so much as signifying he had any Authority from the Crown for that Purpose, would have made it proper for the Parliament to have agreed to a Motion, which it would not have been proper for them to have agreed to, if the same had been made by any other Person, or by one who was not known to be a Courtier? Therefore we must suppose, that without any Regard to the Motion, the Parliament approved of the Motion, and thought it such a one as was proper for them to agree to; and from thence we must conclude, that every one of the Precedents mentioned in the Beginning of this Debate is a good Precedent for the Address proposed.

But unluckily, Sir, for the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question, there are, I think, very sufficient Reasons for believing, the Address, or Petition of Parliament, for having *Richard* the Son of the *Black Prince* created *Prince of Wales*, was resolved on by Parliament without any Direction from, nay probably in Opposition to the Court at that Time; for it appears from our Records, that that *young Prince* was sent to Parliament at the Desire and upon a Petition of the Commons; and when the Parliament addressed for having him created *Prince of Wales*, the King's Answer shews he was not very well pleased with the Address; for in his Answer he tells them, the creating of a *Prince of Wales* no way belonged to the Parliament, but to the King only; which is an Answer it can hardly be supposed he would have made, if the Address of Parliament had proceeded from his Authority, or had been moved for with his Approbation: Then again, from the Circumstances of the Court at

that Time, it is not probable the King would have been so forward in creating his Grandson *Prince of Wales*, if he had not been forced to it by his Parliament; for it is certain that King, in his old Age, fell into a Sort of *Love Disease*, and gave himself entirely up to the Management of his Mistress *Alice Pierce*, and his second Son, the *Duke of Lancaster*, which raised a most reasonable Jealousy in *Edward the Black Prince*, who was then upon his Death-bed, and therefore could not but be anxious about the Safety and Right of his only Son *Prince Richard*, whom he found he was soon to leave a Child in the Hands of a doting Grandfather, and an ambitious aspiring Uncle. For this Reason, 'tis thought, he applied privately to Parliament, and they obliged the King to send his second Son abroad, and to banish his Mistress and all her Favourites from Court, which happened only about a Year before the *Black Prince's* Death; but no sooner was that *Prince* dead than the King recalled this *Duke of Lancaster*; and *Alice Pierce*, and her Favourites, resumed their Places and their Interest at Court, in such that a Member of the House of Commons was imprisoned for having spoke freely against her in Parliament, and was actually a Prisoner, when *Prince Richard* was created *Prince of Wales*, which shews that the King was then very much under her Management; and it is not very probable she would advise the King to be so very speedy in conferring that Honour on *Prince Richard*, since she could not but be sensible that *young Prince's* Father had been the Cause of her having been banished the Court. For these Reasons I think it may most probably be presumed, that both the Motions in Favour of *Prince Richard*, both that for his coming to Parliament, and that for creating him *Prince of Wales*, were made

made and carried in Parliament; in Opposition to the Court at that Time. This fully justifies the Motion now made, and shews we have a Right and a Power to interpose in Favour of the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown, without any previous Consent or Ap-
Aprobation from the Crown; and I hope it will not be said of the Reign of *Edward III.* as has been said of the Reign of *Henry VI.* that nothing that happened in that Reign ought to be made a Precedent for any Thing in the present Reign.

But, Sir, even with respect to the Reign of *Henry VI.* for as unfortunate, for as tempestuous a Reign as it was, there were many Things then done by Parliament which ought to be made, which, I hope, always will be followed as good Precedents, as
Boften as the Parliament has the same Occasion. When the Nation has the good Fortune to be under a wise and a prudent Administration, the Parliament has never an Occasion to exert any of its extraordinary Powers. It is in a weak Reign, or under a wicked Administration, we are to look for the Powers of Parliament: it is in tempestuous Times the State flies to Parliament for Preservation, there, I trust in God, the State shall always find it, and then the Power of Parliament can be
Cbounded by nothing but the Good of the Publick.

Another Precedent which we are told ought not to be followed, is that which happened in the Reign of *King William*; and why is not this to be followed? Because it produced a Prorogation. Sir, I say for that very Reason it ought to be highly applauded, and ought to be followed. Can it be said that the *Princess Anne of Denmark* ought not to have had some additional Settlement made upon her? Would not such a Neglect have been a Blemish upon the Glory of that Reign? Yet that wise and great King, by the Advice of
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some weak or malicious Favourites, would probably have committed that Error, or would at least have omitted that Duty, if it had not been for the Honour, the Fidelity, and the Obstinacy of his Parliament. They thought it was what the King ought to do, they therefore thought it was their Duty to advise him to do it, they insisted upon it, notwithstanding the King's Displeasure, and by disobliging him they put one of the greatest Obligations upon him; because they at last prevailed with him to do that which was right. The Behaviour of that Parliament is therefore a glorious Example which, I hope, will be followed by this. I can have no Apprehension that an unseasonable Prorogation will be the
CConsequence of our agreeing to this Motion; but if it should, it can be no Reason against our agreeing to the Motion: It would be a strong Reason for our resuming the Affair, and agreeing to a Motion of the same Nature the very first Day of the
Dnext Session.

But we have been told, Sir, there may be a Reason for the Parliament's interposing between a King and his presumptive Heir, which can never hold with respect to a King and his eldest Son; because it is not so natural for a Man to provide honourably for his presumptive Heir, as it is to provide for his own Children. Suppose then a King, who has no Children, does not provide honourably for his presumptive Heir, what is it that gives the Parliament a Right to intermeddle? Is it not the Right which that presumptive Heir has by the Constitution and Maxims of this Kingdom to a sufficient independent Settlement, and the Power the Parliament has to see that Right made effectual? And has not the *Heir Apparent* as good a Right, by the Constitution and Maxims of this Kingdom, to a sufficient independent Settlement, as the Heir presumptive?

Surely he has; he has not only the same Right by the Maxims of the Kingdom, but also an additional Right by the Laws of Nature; and if the King his Father should neglect or refuse to give him his Right, which may certainly happen some Time or other to be the Case, has not the Parliament a Power to see that Right at least which he has by the Maxims of the Kingdom, made effectual? To say they have not, would be to tell us, that where the Maxims of the Kingdom only are neglected, the Parliament may interpose, in order to procure a Remedy; but where both the Laws of Nature, and the Maxims of the Kingdom are neglected, the Parliament cannot interpose, nor make the least Step towards procuring a Remedy.

To avoid falling into such a palpable Absurdity, we are told, that common Decency does nor admit of the Parliament's interposing between Father and Son, that it would be intermeddling in the King's domestick Affairs, and prescribing to his Majesty what Provision he should make for his Children; and lastly, that tho' the Parliament may have a Right to offer Advice to their Sovereign in Affairs which regard his political and royal Capacity, yet they never ought to offer Advice to him in any Affairs which regard only his natural and paternal Capacity. As for common Decency, Sir, it can never be inconsistent with a Man's Duty, therefore if it be the Duty of Parliament to interpose so far between the King and his eldest Son, as to advise the Father to make that Settlement upon his eldest Son which he is bound to make by the Maxims and the Laws of his Kingdom, common Decency can never forbid or prevent the Performance of that Duty, nor can any humble and respectful Address or Petition from Parliament, ever be called a Prescribing to the King what Provision he should

make for any of his Children; but if it should, the Princes and Princesses of the Royal Family are in some Manner the Children of the Nation, as was in a late Case most solemnly decided; they are all so much the Children of the Nation, that the Nation is in Honour bound to see them provided for in a Manner suitable to their high Birth; therefore the Parliament has some Sort of Right to prescribe what may be deemed an honourable Provision for every one of them; they are to give that Provision, and surely they have a Right to see what they give properly applied. But with respect to the eldest Son, and *Heir Apparent* of the Crown, it has been made so fully appear, and has been so generally admitted, that the Nation has a Concern in seeing him honourably provided for, that I am surpris'd to hear it so much as insinuated, that an Address for that Purpose would be an Intermeddling in the King's domestick Affairs, or in those Affairs which regard only his natural and paternal Capacity: It is an Affair which regards his Majesty's political and royal Capacity as much as it does his natural and paternal Capacity; and therefore the Parliament has as good a Right to offer their Advice in that Affair as they can have in any other.

I hope, Sir, I have now, to the Satisfaction of every Gentleman in the House, established his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales's* Right to a sufficient and independent Settlement by the Maxims of the Kingdom, and, I hope, I have equally established the Power the Parliament has to interpose, at least by an Address, in order to see that Right made effectual, both from Precedent, and from the Nature of the Thing itself. Now with respect to the Right which his *Royal Highness* may have to such a Settlement, either in Law or Equity, from the Method in which the Civil List is now established, and from the Statutes by which that Establishment was

made, I hope no Gentleman expects we are bound to make out that Right in the same Manner it would be, or ought to be made out, in any of the Courts in *Westminster-Hall*; and therefore, I believe, I need not take any Notice of that Learning which has been made use of, to prove he has not such a Right as would be recoverable in any of the Courts below. It may be true that he has no such Right as would intitle him to sue and recover in any of the Courts in *Westminster-Hall*, and yet he may have a Right both in Law and Equity, and such a Right as the Parliament are bound to see made effectual. The Courts of Common Law, we know, are confined to very strict Rules, it is necessary they should be so; but in Parliament we are bound to follow Justice and Equity wherever we can find it, and to administer it impartially when we have found it: In so doing we shew a proper Regard to the Honour and Interest of the Crown, as well as the Liberties and Properties of the Subject; and while his Majesty's Ministers are as loyal as his faithful Commons have always shewed themselves to be, the general Equity of an Act of Parliament will be as sacred, as religiously observed, and as closely adhered to at *St. James's*, as the Words of it are in *Westminster-Hall*.

But, Sir, notwithstanding the narrow Limits our Judges at Common Law have confined themselves to, notwithstanding their close Adherence to the Letter of the Law, I can hardly believe they will give it as their Opinion, that the *Prince of Wales* has no Right either in Law or Equity to a Support out of the Civil List Revenue; because he has certainly as good a Right to that Share of the Civil List Revenue which was intended for him by Parliament, as they have to the Salaries they enjoy. Neither his Right nor their Right is founded upon the express Words of any Statute, they are both founded upon the Meaning and Intention of

the Legislature, at the Time those Statutes were passed, by which the Civil List is established, and they must stand and fall together. I do not mean to say that our learned Judges would at any Time be biased in their Opinion by their own Interest, I am sure the present would not. No, Sir, they certainly think, and every Man, I believe, thinks, they have both a legal and an equitable Right to the Salaries they now enjoy, and as the *Prince of Wales's* Right stands upon the same Foundation, they would certainly judge of it as they do of their own, and would consequently give it as their Opinion, that it was a Right founded both in Law and Equity.

Surely, Sir, neither the Judges in *Westminster-Hall*, nor any Lawyer, nor any Man in the Kingdom, can say, the *Prince of Wales* has no Right to have a necessary Support allowed him out of the Civil List. The Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question do not pretend to say any such Thing; they have even told us, the eldest Son of every Landed Gentleman in *England* ought to be supported out of his Father's Estate, and that that Support ought to be according to the Character and Circumstances of the Family; but say they, he has no legal or equitable Right to any particular Share of his Father's Estate, or to any Share but such as his Father pleases to allow him, unless that Right be established by some Settlement agreed to by the Father. Is not this, Sir, to tell us, the Son has a Right and no Right? He has a Right to be supported out of his Father's Estate, but he has no Right to that Support, unless his Father pleases to allow it him. This Method of arguing might, for what I know, be of some Weight in *Westminster-Hall*, but surely, it can be of no Weight in this House. If a Son has a Right to be supported out of his Father's Estate according to the Character and Circumstances of the Family,

Family, he certainly has both a legal and an equitable Right to that particular Share of his Father's Estate which bears a just Proportion to, and is determined by the Character and Circumstances of the Family; and if the Father does not allow him that Share, he certainly withholds his Right from him. This Right may perhaps not be recoverable in any of the Courts of *Westminster-Hall*; but there are many good and just Rights which are not made recoverable in *Westminster-Hall*, because the making them recoverable there, would occasion such a Multitude of Law-Suits, as would be inconsistent with the general Good of Society: The Right a Man has to Gratitude in Return for Benefits bestowed, is not recoverable by any Action or Suit at Law, yet that Right is as good and as equitable a Right as any Right a Man can have. In the same Manner the Right the *Prince* has to a sufficient independent Settlement out of the Civil List Revenue, is a good and an equitable Right, and tho' it be not recoverable at Law, yet it is such a Right as may be regarded, and ought to be enforced by Parliament.

But to make still a farther Use of the Rights of private Men, in order to clear up the Right now under our Consideration; suppose, Sir, a Country Gentleman has a small Estate and a great Number of Children; suppose a neighbouring Gentleman, or a Relation, of a plentiful Estate and bountiful Disposition, takes notice of his Neighbour's or his Relation's Difficulties, and in order to relieve him, and enable him to support his Family, settles a large Annuity upon him for Life; and suppose that in the Deed for establishing that Annuity it is expressly mentioned, that the Annuity was granted him in order to enable him to support and provide honourably for his Family; I should be glad to know whether the eldest Son of that Country Gentleman would have any Right to be supported out

of that Annuity, and what Sort of Right he would have? I believe in that Case, he would have not only a Right established upon the general Principles of Equity, but such a Right as would be recoverable in the Court of Chancery, especially if the Granter of the Annuity joined with him in the Complaint. And I am very certain, if the Annuitant should waste his Annuity, and neglect to provide sufficiently for his Children, especially for his eldest Son, the Granter would have a Right to complain, or at least to advise, or desire of him that he would apply the Annuity to those Uses for which he had granted it; and his giving such an Advice would be absolutely necessary, if he intended that the Annuitant's eldest Son and Apparent Heir, should likewise be his Heir, and next Successor to his Estate. This is so apposite to the Case now before us, that I need not make any Application. It not only shews that the *Prince* has a Right to a sufficient Settlement out of the Civil List Revenue, but it shews that we have a Right, that we are in Duty bound to interpose, in order to see that Right made effectual.

Thus, Sir, it appears the *Prince* has a Right to be supported out of the Civil List Revenue by the general Maxims of the Kingdom, and also by the Meaning and Intention of those very Statutes by which the present Civil List was established; and if he has a Right to any Support, he has certainly a Right to a sufficient Support, to such a Support as the high Character of the Royal Family of *Great Britain* may require, and the present Circumstances of the Civil List Revenue will admit of; therefore, if the Settlement proposed, by the Message now before us, to be made, be not sufficient, the Message is so far from being an Argument against, that it is one of the strongest Arguments that can be thought of, for the Motion; because it shews that without the Interposition of Parliament,

ment, his *Royal Highness* is not to have, nor can expect a sufficient Settlement. That the Settlement proposed to be made upon his *Royal Highness* by this Message, is not sufficient, has been in some Manner acknowledged by the Hon. Gentleman A who delivered us the Message; but farther, Sir, it has been expressly acknowledged by the King himself. By the Regulation and Settlement of the *Prince's* Household, as made some Time since by his Majesty himself, the yearly Expence comes to 63,000/. B without allowing one Shilling to his *Royal Highness* for Acts of Charity and Generosity. By the Message now before us, it is proposed to settle upon him only 50000/. a Year, and yet from this Sum we must deduct the Land Tax, which at two Shillings in the Pound amounts to 5000/. a Year, we must likewise deduct the Six-penny Duty to the Civil List Lottery, which amounts to 1250/. a Year, and also we must deduct the Fees payable at the Exchequer, which will amount to about 750/. a Year more; all which D Deductions amount to 7000/. a Year, and reduces the 50000/. a Year proposed to be settled upon him by the Message, to 43000/. a Year: Now as his *Royal Highness* has no other Estate but the *Duchy of Cornwall*, which cannot be reckoned at the E most above 9000/. a Year, his whole yearly Revenue can amount but to 52000/. a Year; and yet the yearly Expence of his Household, according to his Majesty's own Regulation, is to amount to 63000/. a Year, without allowing his *Royal Highness* one Shilling for the Indulgence of that generous and charitable Disposition with which he is known to be indued, to a very eminent Degree. Suppose then we allow him but 10000/. a Year for the Indulgence of that laudable Disposition, his whole yearly Expence, by his Majesty's own Acknowledgment, must then amount to 73000/. a Year, and his yearly Income, according to this Message, can amount to no more than

52,000/. a Year. Is this, Sir, shewing any Respect to his Merit? Is this providing for his Generosity? Is it not reducing him to a real Want, even with respect to his Necessities, and consequently to an unavoidable Dependence, and a vile, a pecuniary Dependence too, upon his Father's Ministers and Servants. I confess, Sir, when I first heard this Motion made, I was wavering a good deal in my Opinion; but this Message has confirmed me: I now see that without the Interposition of Parliament, his *Royal Highness* the *Prince of Wales*, the *Heir Apparent* to our Crown, must be reduced to the greatest Straits, the most insufferable Hardships.

After what I have said, Sir, I think I need not take up your Time with shewing the yearly Value of the Settlements made upon former *Princes of Wales*; the Insufficiency of the Settlement proposed for the present is so demonstrable from the Calculations and Accounts I have laid before you, that there is no Occasion for having recourse to former Precedents, for shewing that Insufficiency; yet I cannot omit taking Notice to you, that the Revenue enjoyed by the late *King James* while *Duke of York*, tho' but presumptive Heir of the Crown, amounted to 104,000/. a Year; and the Revenue enjoyed by the present King, while *Prince of Wales*, amounted to upwards of 100,000/. a Year; which I take Notice of, in order to shew you, that his Majesty did not propose any Thing extraordinary or extravagant, when he regulated and settled the Household for his present *Royal Highness*.

I come now, Sir, to the last Question, and which I take to be, indeed, the only Question in this Debate, which is, Whether it be possible for his Majesty to spare more than 50,000/. a Year for his *Royal Highness*, from the Civil List, as it now stands

stands established? And this Question I shall consider in two Methods; first, by shewing that the Civil List, as now established, must amount to above 100,000 *l.* a Year more than was ever had or enjoyed by his late Majesty; and next, by supposing that it amounts to no more than was enjoyed by his late Majesty. In the first Method, Sir, let us remember, 'twas acknowledged in Parliament before the late Gin Act was passed, that the Produce of the whole Taxes, Excises, and Duties, appropriated to the Civil List, amounted to 818,000 *l.* a Year: I believe it will be admitted that the 70,000 *l.* a Year granted by that Act to the Civil List, and made payable out of the Aggregate, or rather out of the Sinking Fund, does more than compensate the Loss the Civil List sustained by taking from it the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, in which Case the Increase of the Excise upon Beer and Ale, occasioned by the preventing the Retail of Spirituous Liquors must wholly be a nett Profit to the Civil List: The Increase of the Excise upon Beer and Ale, if I am rightly informed, amounted for the very first Quarter, I mean from *Michaelmas* to *Christmas* last, to near 30,000 *l.* one Half of which goes to the Civil List; so that we may reckon the Civil List has got by the Gin Act, an Addition of at least 60,000 *l.* a Year; besides what is got by the Increase of the Wine-Licence Duty, which every one knows has been greatly increased by prohibiting the Retail of Spirituous Liquors. Then, Sir, let us recollect, that a little before his present Majesty's Accession, the Civil List was discharged of 36,200 *l.* a Year in Pensions, which during the greatest Part of his late Majesty's Reign, were paid out of the Civil List, but ever since his Majesty's Accession have been a Burthen upon, and paid out of the publick Service.

Let us add together these three Sums of 818,000 *l.* 60000 *l.* and 36200 *l.* and they amount to 914,200 *l.* which, according to the highest Probability, we must allow to be the yearly Amount of the Civil List Revenue as now established, and which is 114,000 *l.* a Year, more than was enjoyed by his late Majesty, even including all the particular Grants that were occasionally made to the Civil List in his Reign.

But, Sir, this is not all, his present Majesty has had one very extraordinary Grant of 115,000 *l.* made to the Civil List; and the 80,000 *l.* granted as a Fortune to the Princess Royal, may properly be said to have been an extraordinary Grant to the Civil List; for tho' I am far from finding Fault with that Grant, yet as the Civil List was granted in order to enable his Majesty to make an honourable Provision for his whole Royal Family, that Princess's Marriage Provision should have been paid out of the Civil List; and since the Publick took it upon them, it ought to be looked on as a new and an extraordinary Grant made to the Civil List. Then, Sir, I must not forget another yearly Addition, which may be looked on as a very great Sum, considering from whence it comes, I mean a Sum of 40000 *l.* a Year, from *Scotland*, which is now a yearly Addition to the Civil List. I will not, indeed, take upon me to say, that the Whole or any Part of that Sum is brought *in Specie* to *London*; but if it is laid out for paying Pensions in *Scotland*, which must be paid yearly out of the Civil List Revenue, I may take upon me to say, it prevents an equal Sum from being sent yearly *in Specie* from *London*: From all which Considerations I think it is evident, his present Majesty has above 100000 *l.* a Year more than his late Majesty ever enjoyed, and therefore we must conclude, he may easily spare 100000 *l.*

a Year for the Use of his *Royal Highness*, without any great Frugality or good Management, and without contracting any Part of that Expence which was found necessary in the late Reign. I am now, Sir, to make a Supposition, which, I believe, no Gentleman that hears me will join with me in: I am to suppose that the Civil List Revenue, with all the Additions and Improvements lately made to it, does not produce one Shilling more than his late Majesty enjoyed, including the several occasional Grants that were made to him: In short, I am to suppose, it does not produce one Shilling more than 800,000 *l.* a Year; and if upon this Supposition I can shew, that with tolerable Management, it may spare 100,000 *l.* a Year to the *Prince*, I am sure every Gentleman will conclude, his *Royal Highness* ought to have at least that Sum settled upon him; and the Opposition that has been made to this Motion, and the Message we have received, will be additional Arguments for having that Sum settled upon him in the most independent Manner. We may remember, Sir, or at least we may see by the Journals, that when the 700,000 *l.* a Year was settled upon his late Majesty, the State of the King's Household, and also the State of the *Prince of Wales's* Household, and the whole Articles of Expence necessary for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, or of the *Heir Apparent*, were very minutely and maturely examined into and considered, and upon that minute and strict Examination it was found, that 600,000 *l.* a Year was sufficient for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and that 100,000 *l.* a Year was the least that was necessary for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the *Heir Apparent*. In the Calculations made at that Time, we are not to suppose, the Parliament re-

stricted themselves to the nett Sum which appeared to be necessary for supporting the King's Household and Civil Government. We cannot suppose any such Thing, because the nett Sum found necessary for that Purpose in the late Queen's Time, appears never to have exceeded 430,000 *l.* a Year; and in the first Year of the late King, the whole Expence of his Household and Civil Government amounted to but about 453,000 *l.* so that if they had restricted themselves to the nett Sum which appeared to be necessary for supporting the King's Household and Civil Government, they could not have computed the Sum necessary for that Purpose at above 460,000 *l.* a Year; but they considered that something was to be allowed yearly for Acts of Generosity and Charity, and something was likewise to be allowed yearly for what is called secret Service Money; for both which, it seems, they computed 140,000 *l.* a Year would be sufficient, and therefore reckoned that a gross Sum of 600,000 *l.* a Year would be sufficient for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, to which they added 100,000 *l.* a Year more for the Support of the *Prince of Wales*.

The 140,000 *l.* a Year allowed for Acts of Generosity, and for secret Service Money, was then thought to be a very large and a very sufficient Allowance; and from the Experience of the former Reign, from the Experience of the Reign of *Queen Anne*, there was good Reason to think it a very sufficient Allowance; for in all that Reign, besides what was allowed for secret Service Money to the Generals of our Armies, and most profitably, most gloriously for the Nation, bestowed by them, or at least by one of them, I mean our General in *Flanders*, there appeared to be but two Sums given to any secret or unknown Uses, and these were so small, so trifling, it would surprise

one; for the one was a Sum only of 1200*l.* and the other of 500*l.* only; and even as to these, upon a particular and private Enquiry, it appeared, the first had been issued for entertaining *Prince Eugene*, when he did this Nation the Honour of a Visit, and the other had been made a Present of to one of the Queen's own Relations. From hence, I say, the Parliament had good Reason to think that 140,000*l.* a Year was a sufficient Allowance to his late Majesty for Acts of Generosity, and for secret Service; but I do not know for what Reason, or by what Fatality, the Branch of the Civil List Expence called secret Service Money, increased prodigiously in the late Reign: It increased so prodigiously, Sir, that in four Years, from the Year 1721 to 1725, that Branch of the Civil List Expence amounted to 2,728,000*l.* which was at a Medium 682,000*l.* a Year; as appeared by an Account which happened by some Chance or other to be laid before Parliament. By that Account it appeared, that vast Sums of Money had been given for Purposes which nobody understood, and to Persons whom nobody knew or had ever heard of; for which Reason, in the Beginning of the following Session, the Account having been laid before the House at the very latter End of the former Session, several Gentlemen had a Mind to have it taken into Consideration, but this Enquiry was warded off, by telling them, the Parliament could not take into their Consideration any Account that had been presented to a former Session.

It is to this only, Sir, we are to impute the Necessity of making any new Grants to the Civil List in the late King's Reign; for as to the visible Expence of the King's Household and Civil Government, it was no Way increased, or at least not considerably increased, above what it was in the former Reign, or

in the first Year of his own; and as the visible Expence of his present Majesty's Household and Civil Government is no Way, or but very little increased above what the Expence of the late King's Household and Civil Government amounted to, even supposing the present Civil List Revenue to amount to no more than 800,000*l.* a Year, we must conclude that 100,000*l.* a Year may easily be spared out of it, for the Use of the *Prince of Wales*; for allowing 460,000*l.* a Year to be now necessary for supporting the nett Charge of the King's Household and Civil Government, which is 30,000*l.* a Year more than it amounted to in the late Queen's Reign, and 7000*l.* a Year more than it amounted to in the first Year of the late King's Reign; allowing 50,000*l.* a Year for the Queen; allowing 50,000*l.* a Year for *Prince William*, the Princesses, and for a proportionable additional Allowance for Bed and Board, and other extraordinary Expences in the several Palaces; and allowing 100,000*l.* a Year for the *Prince of Wales*; his Majesty has remaining 140,000*l.* a Year to be employed in Acts of Generosity, and in secret Service, which is as large a Sum as the Parliament thought necessary for that Purpose in the Beginning of the late Reign, and is, in my Opinion, a larger Sum than can in the Time of Peace be wisely or prudently employed in that Way, especially considering his Majesty's numerous Issue, and the great Expences, which do, and must necessarily attend an honourable Provision for his whole Royal Family.

From the Account I have given you, Sir, of the prodigious Increase of secret Service Money in the late Reign, we may more clearly see, than perhaps we could do before, what was the Intention of that Parliament which established the present Civil List upon his Majesty, and what

what was then meant by the *Experience of past Times*, and therefore I shall take the Liberty to explain myself upon that Head. The surprising Account of the secret Service Money I have mentioned, was then fresh in every Man's Memory, it had been under their Consideration but a Year or two before, and the extraordinary Amount of that Account had been so much and so lately found fault with, that they would not certainly have agreed to settle upon his present Majesty as large a Civil List as had been settled and given to the late King; but that they considered, that his Majesty had a Queen-Consort and several younger Children to provide for, and therefore could not allow his Ministers to run into any such extraordinary Expence with respect to secret Service Money, but would apply what might and ought to be saved upon that Article, to the Making of an honourable Provision for the Queen-Consort, and for his younger Children. As his late Majesty had in the Whole but 700,000*l.* a Year, as that Revenue had enabled him not only to support the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, but to employ a much larger Sum in secret Service Money than had ever before been, or ever could for the future be necessary or safe in this Kingdom, according to the Opinion of many Gentlemen in both Houses of Parliament, those Gentlemen could not, from the *Experience of past Times* conclude, that 700,000*l.* a Year would be necessary for his present Majesty, if they had not considered as I have said that his present Majesty had a Queen Consort and several younger Children to provide for, and that whatever could be saved out of the Sums needlessly, as they thought, expended in secret Service Money by his late Majesty, might be usefully employed by his present Majesty, in making an honourable Provision for his Royal Family;

therefore, and for this Reason only, they agreed to the Settling 700,000*l.* a Year upon his present Majesty for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and providing for his Royal Family; and to this Sum 100,000*l.* a Year more was added, in order that he might settle upon the *Prince of Wales*, as soon as he came to *England*, the same Revenue he had himself enjoyed in the Lifetime of his Father.

From this State of the Case, I think, we may evidently see, what the Parliament then meant by the *Experience of past Times*, and what they intended with respect to the *Prince of Wales*; but, Sir, to put this Matter in another, and yet a clearer Light, I shall beg leave to divide the Civil List Revenue settled and occasionally granted to his late Majesty into three Parts; one Part amounting to 460,000*l.* a Year, is that which was applied for the Support of the King's Household and Civil Government, and was a little larger than had ever before been found necessary for that Purpose; the other Part, amounting to 100,000*l.* a Year, is that which was settled, and had, during the whole Reign of the late King, and, indeed, I may say ever since the Beginning of the Reign of *King Charles II.* been deemed, the least Sum that was necessary for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown; and the remaining third Part amounting to 240,000*l.* a Year, is that which was allowed to his late Majesty for Acts of Generosity and Charity, and for secret Service Money, but had always been thought by most Men without Doors, and, I believe, by most within, to be too large a Sum, and was really at least twice as large a Sum as had ever been allowed for these Purposes to any former King of this Nation. Upon his present Majesty's Accession it appeared, that he was subject to

a Charge which the late King was free from, I mean that of providing for his Queen and younger Children; yet he neither asked, nor did the Parliament grant him any greater Civil List Revenue than the late King enjoyed. This additional Charge which the present King was then subject to, was therefore certainly intended, both by King and Parliament, to be thrown upon some one, or some two of the three Parts into which I have divided the late King's Civil List Revenue, or upon the three jointly; and considering the Circumstances of these three Parts, which were then exactly as I have represented them to you, I must refer to every Gentleman that hears me, whether it is not most probable, that both King and Parliament intended to throw this additional Charge either solely upon the third Part, or upon the First and the Third jointly? Is there not all the Reason in the World to presume, that both King and Parliament then intended that the second Part should be entirely free from this additional Charge? And is not this still the more probable, on account of the *Prince of Wales's* being then actually come to Man's Estate, and the whole Nation in daily Hopes of seeing him married and soon blessed with Children?

Sir, if there were not a Man alive who was then in Parliament, I should, from this State of the Case, be convinced, the Parliament then intended the *Prince* should have his 100,000 *l.* a Year without one Shilling Abatement; but I had then the Honour to be a Member of Parliament myself, I know what was my own Intention, I know what was the Intention of many others, I know we all intended and expected that 100,000 *l.* a Year should have been settled on the *Prince of Wales* as soon as he came to *England*: And I very well remember, the honourable Gentleman who made the Motion for

settling the present Civil List Revenue, made use of it as an Argument for his Motion, that the *Prince of Wales* was then near of Age, and that it would be very soon necessary to settle the same Revenue upon him, that had been settled upon his Father, whilst *Prince of Wales*. This, Sir, I say I very well remember, and I remember too, that it seemed to be the Reason which had most Weight with the House, and which, I believe chiefly, procured his Motion almost an unanimous Approbation. Gentlemen may talk what they please about gathering the Intention of an Act of Parliament from the Words only: This may be the Rule in *Westminster-Hall*, but it is impossible it can be the Rule in either House of Parliament, especially when there are so many Members now in each House who had a Share in the Passing of that Law. They must gather the Intention of the Act from the Intention they themselves had at the Time of its passing, and their Testimony ought to have some Weight with those who had not the Honour of being Members of either House at the Time the Law was passed.

It certainly was the Intention of Parliament, Sir, I hope it still is the Intention of Parliament, that his *Royal Highness* should have at least 100,000 *l.* a Year out of the Civil List; and since it is now made manifest by the Message delivered to us in this Debate, that he is like to be disappointed of one Half of what was, and, I hope, still is intended for him by Parliament, it is become absolutely necessary for us to address his Majesty, in order to know from him the Reason of that Disappointment. If the Civil List Revenue produces above 900,000 *l.* a Year, as I believe it does, it may certainly spare 100,000 *l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*; if it produces but 800,000 *l.* a Year nett, which no Man believes,

yet even in that Case, it may spare 100,000*l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*, according to the best Judgment we can form from the Experience of any former Reign: But suppose it true, that by reason of some new and extraordinary Articles of Expence, the Civil List Revenue cannot spare above 50,000*l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*, we ought to have that Answer from the King himself, and in a proper and direct Manner, which we can have no other way but by means of the Address proposed. If such an Answer should be returned to us, I am sure it will then be our Duty to enquire into the Produce, and into the Disposal of the Civil List Revenue, especially that Part of it which is pretended to be laid out in secret Services. The Civil List Revenue was never so high as in this Reign: It is a most dangerous Revenue, especially when a very considerable Part of it may be applied, no Man knows how! It is a sharp Instrument in the Hands of a Minister, which may some Time or other be employed in cutting the Throat of our Constitution. During his present Majesty's Reign we cannot apprehend that any Part of it will be converted to a bad Use; but I hope I shall never see such a Revenue granted in any future Reign, nor granted in such a Manner. Money generally carries Persuasion along with it; therefore it is most justly to be apprehended, that some future guilty Minister, provided with such a large Fund of Persuasion, and that Persuasion supported by an armed Force, may be enabled to do whatever he pleases with our Constitution; and as either he or our Constitution must be sacrificed, we may easily judge which will bleed at the Altar.

As his Majesty's Message to the *Prince* was in Writing, and is now communicated to us by his Majesty's

Command, it may be made use of, and is certainly a very strong Argument in favour of the Motion; but, Sir, I am surprised to hear the *Prince's* supposed Answer made use of in this House, as an Argument against the Motion; because the *Prince's* Answer neither was in Writing, nor was desired to be given in Writing; and as I took it down in Writing soon after his *Royal Highness* delivered it, I must beg leave to say, it was not exactly in the Terms the noble Lords who brought the Message seem to have reported; therefore I wish they had given his *Royal Highness* previous Notice of the Message, and desired that he might prepare to give them an Answer in Writing, which would have prevented any Surprise of the one Side, or any Mistake of the other; for I am convinced the noble Lords did not designedly make any Mistake in their Report. Altho' I took down his *Royal Highness's* Answer in Writing, yet, Sir, I shall not pretend to communicate it to this House, since I have no Authority from him for that Purpose; but thus much I may observe, that if his *Royal Highness* said he was sorry for any Thing, it was, that he was sorry any Gentleman of either House of Parliament should have Occasion to give himself any Trouble about that Settlement which ought to be made upon him; and this, I believe, the greatest Part of the Nation are sorry for as well as his *Royal Highness*: I am sure every Man who has a true Regard either for his Father or him, or for any of their illustrious Family, must be sorry for it. However, Sir, even suppose his Answer had been in the very Words reported, it is so full of filial Duty and Respect, that it is a new Argument for the Address proposed; because the great Respect which his *Royal Highness* there shews for the King his Father, may very probably prevail upon him to submit

to very great Difficulties, rather than take the Liberty of troubling his Father with any new, tho' most necessary Demand; which is a strong Argument for the Necessity of his having a sufficient independent Settlement, and for the Parliament's ^A interposing in his Behalf.

So unlucky, Sir, are the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question, that nothing has happened, almost nothing has been said during the Debate, but what tends to fortify the Argument against them. This, ^B I am sure, may most justly be said of the melancholy Account they have given us of that unlucky Dispute which happened between the present King, when *Prince of Wales*, and the late King his Father. I shall most readily agree, that that Dispute was owing neither to any Want of paternal Affection in the late King, nor to any Want of filial Duty in the present, but to the Pride and Vanity of some mean and low Sycophants and Tale-Bearers. Now, Sir, I would be glad to know from those ^D Gentlemen, what Sort of Situation they think the present King, who was then *Heir Apparent* to the Crown, would have been reduced to, if he had had no independent Settlement of his own, or not a sufficient independent Settlement? The Account they have given us of his Situation is melancholy enough; but if he had not been provided with a sufficient independent Settlement, would not the Account of his Situation have been a great deal more dismal? Would not he have been obliged ^F either to submit to and become the Slave of those very mean and low Sycophants, or to subsist by the Generosity and Beneficence of his Friends? And we know, Sir, how hard it is to meet either with Generosity or Beneficence, when People are sensible ^G that their Generosity or Beneficence will be imputed to them as a Crime against the State. Can any Thing

be said, Sir, can any Thing be thought of, that can justify our agreeing to the Motion, more than this very Accident? For if ever any such unlucky Accident should happen, which God forbid, it may happen when his *Royal Highness* is blessed with as many Children as the King his Father was when that Accident happened to him; and we are not certain the Court would in such a Case behave in the same Manner towards his Children.

I am surpris'd, Sir, to hear a Motion for an humble Address called a Stating ourselves as the higher Power, and bringing the *Prince of Wales* and his Majesty as Plaintiff and Defendant before us. Can Advice be called a Decree, or is the common Stile of an Address the Stile of a superior Power? But I am still more surpris'd to hear it said, our agreeing to the Question would be a Determining that his Majesty has done Injustice to his eldest Son. Does not every one know that our Kings can do no ^D Wrong, that they can do no Injustice? If any Wrong is done, we must always necessarily suppose it done by the Ministers; and if any of them has told the King that 50,000*l.* a Year is sufficient for supporting the *Prince of Wales*, or has ^E led his Majesty into such an Expence that he cannot spare more out of the Civil List, I will say they have done Injustice, and the Nation will, the Nation ought to suppose they are no longer fit, nor ought to continue to rule over us; so that whatever Foreigners ^F may think, no Man who understands our Constitution can expect or suppose our agreeing to this Motion will be attended with any such Misfortune as has been represented.

Our agreeing to this Question, Sir, can be attended with no Misfortune to any Branch of the Royal Family, nor can it be the Occasion of any Quarrel or Breach between the King and the *Prince*: Indeed it may be

the Occasion of his Majesty's quarrelling with those who have told him that 50,000 *l.* a Year is enough for his eldest Son; because it is to be presumed, his Majesty will give more Credit to his Parliament than to any Counsellor he has about him; and consequently will dismiss them from his Councils, for telling him what he finds by the Address of his Parliament to be a notorious Falshood: Or it may be the Occasion of his Majesty's quarrelling with those who have led him into such an Expence, as not to be able to spare above 50,000 *l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*; because such an Address from Parliament would certainly procure a Contracting of that Expence for the future, or would produce an Enquiry into the late Management of the Civil List Revenue, by either of which his Majesty would find, they had led him into a needless Expence, the certain Consequence of which would be, his turning them out of his Service. Our agreeing therefore to the Motion can never produce any Breach between the Royal Father and the Royal Son; but if we should disagree to the Motion, it will afford an Opportunity for evil Counsellors to confirm his Majesty in that Error they have already endeavoured to lead him into; and as one wicked Step generally begets a second, worse than the first; they may very probably represent this Motion in Parliament as procured by his *Royal Highness*, in order to distress his Majesty's Measures, and to procure himself a much larger Settlement than he has any Occasion for. This second Step we have some Reason to dread, Sir, even from the Words of the Message now before us; and therefore we have great Reason to dread that our Disagreeing to the Motion may produce, or at least be the distant Cause of a perpetual Breach between the Father and Son; but in that Case it cannot be said, that those

who have endeavoured to do Justice to the Son were the Cause of the Breach; we must look for the Cause in the opposite Corner; and, I hope, if there should ever be any Necessity for an Amputation, it will fall upon those who most justly deserve it.

We have heard a great deal, Sir, of the ill Effects our agreeing to this Motion may have on the People without Doors. These Apprehensions, Sir, I have shewed to be without any Foundation, at least with respect to his Majesty himself, or any of his illustrious Family; but let us consider the ill Effects our not agreeing to this Motion may have upon People without Doors, with respect to the Opinion they may form of the *Heir Apparent* to our Crown, or of the Justice and Equity of Parliament. What will People think, what will they say of the *Prince of Wales*, when they hear, that his Settlement is reduced to one Half of what has, for these many Years last past, been thought necessary for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the *Heir Apparent* or *Presumptive* to the Crown of *Great Britain*; and that at a Time when every other Provision for the rest of the Royal Family has been vastly increased? The Civil List is now near double what it formerly was: The Dowry settled upon her present Majesty, and most deservedly settled, is double what was ever settled upon any former Queen. The Marriage Provision granted by Parliament to the *Princess Royal* is double what was ever given to any *Princess Royal of England*; for King *Charles I's* Daughter, had but half the Sum, and even that, I believe, was never paid; and King *James II's* Daughter, whom King *Charles II.* looked on as his own, had but 40,000 *l.* when married to the *Prince of Orange*, afterwards our glorious Deliverer, nor was that Sum fully paid, I believe, till he came to be our King, when, I do not know

but he might have Interest enough to see himself paid. If we should disagree to this Motion, will not the People have Reason to conclude, that we have no great Opinion of the Merit of the present *Prince of Wales*? Will they not from thence imagine he is not worthy of succeeding to the Throne? They would certainly imagine so, Sir, if it were possible; but, thank God, his Merit is publicly and generally known: Every one knows that no Part of any Settlement made upon him will be hoarded up to the Detriment of publick Circulation, nor the least Part of it converted to any wicked or ridiculous Use: No, Sir, whatever he may have more than necessary for supporting the Dignity of the *Apparent Heir* to our Crown, will, we are sure, be wholly employed in Acts of true Charity and publick Utility. So far as the *Prince* can spare it, the Wants of every deserving Man will be supplied, the unfortunate will be relieved, and whoever excels in Virtue and true Merit will be forwarded. As this is the Case with respect to his *Royal Highness*, what Opinion can the People without Doors form of the Proceedings within? Will they not be apt to say, our Proceedings are directed, not by Justice, but by some selfish and sordid Consideration?

Thus, Sir, I have given you my Opinion fully and freely in this Affair. I know the Danger I am in by appearing in favour of this Motion. I may perhaps have a Message sent me, I may lose the Command I have in the Army, as other Gentlemen have done, for the same Reason, before me; but I should think myself a pitiful Officer, if I were directed in my Voting or Behaviour in this House, either by the Fears of losing the Commission I have, or the Hopes of obtaining a better; and if any Minister whatever should send to threaten me with the Loss of my Commission, in case I did not

vote in Parliament as he directed, I should receive the Message with a suitable Indignation, and would be very apt to treat the Messenger in such a Manner as I do not think decent here to express. While I have the Honour to sit in this House, I shall upon all Occasions endeavour to judge impartially, and shall always vote with Freedom according as my Honour and Conscience direct; and as I am convinced his *Royal Highness* has a Right, and ought to have a sufficient independent Settlement; as I am convinced 50,000 *l.* a Year is not a sufficient Provision for the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown of *Great Britain*; as I am convinced the Civil List, if rightly managed, may easily spare 100,000 *l.* a Year for his *Royal Highness*; as I am convinced this is the Sum which was intended for him by that Parliament which established the present Civil List Revenue; and as I am convinced his Majesty has been misinformed, and ill advised, otherwise this Sum would have been settled upon him long before this Time; therefore, as a Member of this House, as a loyal Subject to his Majesty, and as a sincere Friend to his Family, I think myself obliged in Duty, in Honour, in Conscience, and in Spite of every sordid Temptation to the contrary, to endeavour as much as I can to give my Sovereign a right Advice, a true Information.

The Speakers in this Debate in the House Commons were as follows, viz.

<p>For the Motion.</p> <p>F W—m P—y, Esq;</p> <p>Sir J—n B—d</p> <p>J—n H—ges, Esq;</p> <p>L—d B—re</p> <p>E—d W—r, Esq;</p> <p>Sir W—m W—m</p> <p>R—d H—t, Esq;</p> <p>W—m P—t, Esq;</p> <p>P—p G—n, Esq;</p> <p>T—s L—n, Esq;</p> <p>W—r P—r, Esq;</p> <p>R—d G—le, Esq;</p> <p>T—s B—t, Esq;</p>	<p>Sir W—d L—n</p> <p>Sir J—n R—t</p> <p>H—y B—t, Esq;</p> <p>W—m A—', Esq;</p> <p>Sir T—s S—n</p> <p>T—s F—ct, Esq;</p> <p>Against the Motion.</p> <p>Sir R—t W—le</p> <p>M—r of the R—lls</p> <p>Il—y P—m, Esq;</p> <p>Mr. S—r C—t</p> <p>Sir W—m Y—s</p> <p>J—pb D—rs, Esq;</p>
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And in the H—se of L—ds the Speakers were as follow, *viz.*

For the Motion.	Against the Motion.
L—d C—t	D—ke of N—tle
L—d G—r	L—d V—t H—s
D—ke of B—d	E—l of F—r
D—ke of M—gb	E—l of I—a
E—l of Cb—ld	E—l of S—gb
L—d B—f	L—d H—gb C—r
E—l of W—nd	E—l of S—rd

The Division in the H—se of C—ns on this Question was, 234 Noes, 204 Yeas: so that it was carried against the Motion by a Majority of 30. And in the H—se of L—ds, the Division on the Question was, **B** in the House 79 Not Contents, 28 Contents; Proxies, 24 Not Contents, 12 Contents; in the Whole 103 Not Contents, 40 Contents: Majority against the Motion 63.

In the H—se of L—ds there happened a Debate in relation to Form, which being something curious, we shall give a short Account of it.

The D—ke of N—tle, who was the first that spoke in that House against the Motion, concluded his Speech with acquainting their Lordships, that he had a Message from his Majesty to communicate to them; and after reading in his Place the same Message which had before been communicated to the H—se of C—ns, and of which we have already given a Copy, (p. 360.) he delivered it to the House, and the E—l of S—rd moved it might be read a second Time by the noble Lord on the Wool-Sack; whereupon the L—d C—t stood up and said, that by the constant Form and Method of Proceeding, it had always been deemed inconsistent with the Dignity of that House, to have any Papers or Writings read a second Time by the noble Lord on the Wool-Sack, except Speeches or Messages made or sent by his Majesty in Writing directly to that House: That as for all other Writings, or Papers, delivered or communicated at any Time to

that House, if they were to be read a second Time, the constant Custom had been, to have them read a second Time by the Clerk at the Table. That he was not against having that Paper read a second **A** Time, which the noble Duke had, by his Majesty's Command, communicated to them; but as it was no Message in Writing from his Majesty directly to that House, but only an Account of a Message his Majesty had been pleased to send to his Royal Highness the *Prince of Wales*, and of the Answer his Royal Highness had returned to that Message, therefore he thought it ought to be read a second Time, not by the noble Lord on the Wool-Sack, but by the Clerk at the Table.

C To this 'twas answered by the L—d D—r, the E—l of C—y, and the E—l of I—a, in Substance, That as the Paper communicated to them was of the utmost Importance, and was so very long, that no Lord of that House could judge rightly **D** about it, upon hearing it only once read, it would be absolutely necessary to have it read a second Time. That if any foreign Potentate should send a Letter or Memorial to his Majesty, and he should think fit to communicate the same to that House, **E** every one of their Lordships had a Privilege to desire it might be read a second Time, before the House could enter into any Consideration relating to it; and as the Message then delivered to them in Writing, was of as great Importance as any such Letter or Memorial could well be, therefore it ought to be read a second Time, before they proceeded to take it into their Consideration, especially, as the second Reading had been moved for by one of their Lordships. That the noble Duke had told them, he had express Orders from his Majesty to communicate it to them, therefore it ought to be considered as a direct Message from **G**

his Majesty to that House, and consequently as it was in Writing it ought to be read a second Time, and that second Reading ought to be by the noble Lord on the Wool-Sack, and not by the Clerk at the Table.

To which 'twas replied by the Lord B———, That the Question was not, whether or no the Message should be read a second Time, but whether it should be read a second Time by the Lord on the Wool-Sack, or by the Clerk at the Table? As to which, he would desire no other Argument for convincing him, that it ought to be read a second Time by the Clerk at the Table, than that which had been mentioned by the noble Lords who seemed to be of a different Opinion; for if his Majesty should receive a Letter, Memorial, or other Writing, from any Potentate in *Europe*, and should think fit to communicate it to the House, surely the Lord who in that Case might be honoured with his Majesty's Commands, would tell the House, he had express Orders from his Majesty to communicate such a Letter; Memorial, or Writing, to the House; and yet in that Case, such a Letter, Memorial, or Writing, would not be read a second Time by the Lord on the Wool-Sack, it would be contrary to Precedent, and inconsistent with the Dignity of the House to do so; it would be read a second Time only by the Clerk at the Table, and then reported to the House by the Lord on the Wool-Sack: That this had been their constant Custom in all such Cases, and the Reason was plain, because in such Cases, there is no Message in Writing sent by his Majesty directly to the House, the only direct Message from his Majesty to the House, is a verbal Message, and that verbal Message is delivered by the noble Lord, when he tells them he has Orders from his Majesty to communicate such a Writing or Paper to them. That if his Majesty should order a long Treaty or Negotiation

between him and a foreign Prince to be communicated to the House, there would be the same Reason for having it read a second Time by the Lord on the Wool-Sack, as there was, or could be pretended, for having his Majesty's Message to the Prince, and the Prince's Answer, read a second Time by the Lord on the Wool-Sack; and as no such Thing had ever been done in the former Case, therefore he thought it ought not to be done in the latter.

This is the Substance of what was said upon this Head; but the Question was not fully debated; for as many seemed to be impatient to have the Message read a second Time, the Lords who were for having it read only by the Clerk at the Table, submitted without a Division, and it was read a second Time by the noble Lord on the Wool-Sack; after which they proceeded in the Debate upon the chief Motion; and at the End of that Debate, the Earl of S——rd, who was the last that spoke, said,

That, altho' he was in his Opinion against the Motion, and therefore obliged to differ from those with whom he had generally agreed, and would again agree, he believed, in all Matters where the Constitution or Liberties of his Country were concerned, neither of which, he thought, had any Concern in the Question then before them, yet, he thought, 'twould be better, and more decent, to wave putting any Question upon the Motion; for which Reason, if any of their Lordships appeared to be of his Opinion, he would move, to adjourn till next Morning; but as no Lord seemed inclined to second this Motion, his Lordship waved making it; and the Question being put upon the principal Motion, it was carried in the Negative, as above related.

Craftsman, July 30. N^o 577.

THE Publick (says Mr. D'Anvers) cannot be Strangers to the extraordinary Measures lately taken against *this Paper*. The Publication of it was not only stopt for a Week, and several Persons taken up and detained in Custody for an unusual Time, without any Examinations, but the *Shop-Books and other Accounts*, nay even the *Advertisements* for the Week, were likewise seiz'd, and the *House*, where the Paper was printed, shut up by the *Messengers*. (See p. 383.)

We shall say nothing of such Proceedings at present; but since our Paper of the 2d Instant, concerning the late *Act for licensing the Stage*, is said to have drawn down this great Weight of Authority upon us, I must take the Liberty to say a Word or two more upon it. It must be acknowledged that *our Stage* hath long stood in Need of some Regulation; but I am still of Opinion that it is not so much on Account of its *Profaneness, Immorality, or even meddling in Politicks*, (especially with relation to *Tragedy and Comedy*, which have been much purer in this Respect than they were formerly) as for those wretched low Tricks and mobbish Entertainments, which the Managers have lately introduc'd upon it, besides some other novel Diversions of a more pernicious Nature. This Point is fully explain'd in the following Paper, publish'd soon after most of these ridiculous Innovations were brought upon the Stage.

Of the present Degeneracy of the
STAGE.

I Believe no Body, at present, will deny that in polite Learning and true Wit, especially in Dramatick Poetry, we are most lamentably sunk, not only below the antient Greeks and Romans, and the first Writers of our own Country, but even below the

worst of those, who went immediately before us. Several Reasons have been assigned for this shameful Degeneracy; but I can impute it to nothing so much as the *bad Management and Corruption of the Stage*.

A The Advocates for the Drama have always urged, in its Defence, that it improved the Manners of the People, and encouraged a Spirit of Learning. For these Ends, no doubt, it was first instituted; and it cannot be justified, under a wise Government, upon any other Account. On the contrary, the Enemies of the Stage, taking hold of the Corruptions, which have crept into it, have maintained that it tended to debauch the Morals of Men, particularly of the younger Sort. So that both Parties agreed in this, that Theatrical Representations have always had a wonderful Influence upon the Minds of the People.

I believe it would be no hard Task, to prove that Corruption of Manners and Decay of Learning have generally, if not always, attended the Corruption of the Stage; and that they have either flourished or declined, in Proportion as that continued pure or degenerated. Athens and Rome, those two famous Republicks, were at their highest Pitch of Glory, whilst the Stage continued in its fullest Perfection; and Liberty and Learning kept Pace in their Rise, Maturity and Declension, till at length they were both extinguished together. In England, it is remarkable that the Revival of Learning, and of the Stage, was brought about much at the same Time; for if I must not call Shakspeare and Johnson the Fathers of our Dramatick Poetry, they were certainly the first, who refined it. Soon after them the Times grew troublesome, and a terrible civil War succeeding, it is no Wonder that the Stage disappeared, and nothing but a strange Variety of Politicks took Place. At the Restoration it revived, and the Muses looked up again; from which

Time the *Stage* continued to improve for several Years, and produced, in that Space, all the Writers we have to boast of, in this way, except *Shakspear* and *Jobson*, *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*. In this flourishing Condition it continued till a few Years ago, when it took a different Turn; and after several fatal Revolutions, was reduced at last to that miserable Ebb in which we now behold it.

The first Innovation upon the good Sense of the *English Stage*, was the Importation of *Italian Musick*; which, tho' exceedingly agreeable in itself, has accidentally had an unlucky Effect upon a great Part of the *Beau Monde*, who have been led by it entirely to give up the Instruction of their Understandings to the Edification of their Ears.

As the *Italians* furnish'd us with some of their warbling Eunuchs; so the *French* some Time after supplied us with an Invention to conceal the natural Bashfulness of our *English Ladies*, and take off that Restraint, with which they used to converse in Publick. But this also is tolerable; for, methinks, there is a vast Satisfaction in this new Fashion of talking at Random, and cracking Jokes very apropos upon us know not whom. Besides, it serves us to Disguise, which may be very useful in an Age, when it is grown almost necessary for a Man's Reputation and Interest to appear in a Mask. *Totus mundus agit Histrionem* may now be interpreted in the most literal Sense; for our *Maljurade* is, strictly speaking, a Comedy of Masking; of which the celebrated Mr. *H—* is to be esteemed the Author; and a confused Jumble of all Ranks, Ages, Sexes and Conditions, such as *Ministers of State* and *City Prentices*, *Ladies of Quality* and *common Punks*, *Tavern-Drawers*, *Privy-Counsellors* and *Running Footmen*, mix together and compose his *Dramatis Personæ*.

At length, to crown all, those delightful Entertainments, called *Dumb Shows*, were brought amongst us. At first, they insinuated themselves into our Favour in *short Interludes*, and *antick Dances*, between *Acts*; which lasted for some Years, and meeting with uncommon Applause, this encouraged a new Set of *Wits* to rise up, and give the last Stroke to the old-fashioned Writings of the *Stage*, by forming long *Farcus* upon this grotesque Model. And thus, at last, the stupendous Concepts of *Harlequin*, *Scaramouch*, *Columbine*, and *Pierrot* have laughed all the dull, talking Heroes of *Shakspear* and *Jobson* quite out of Countenance.

It cannot be determined, without some Difficulty, to whom we are obliged for the Invention of this new Drama. The Characters are undoubtedly of *Italian* Extraction, being to be found in all their Comedies; but their professed Taciturnity, and the surprising Tricks they perform, seem to be the improve-

ments of our northern Genius. I know there is, at this Time, a warm Dispute on Foot between the two Houses, not only which has produced the finest Pieces of this Kind, but also to whom the Honour belongs of first introducing it. But if the Gentlemen on both Sides would admit me for their Moderator, in my Opinion, it belongs to neither, but to a Gentleman, who has not yet been once mentioned in the Question, I mean, the Master of *Sadler's Wells*; for the famous Entertainment of *St. George and the Dragon*, which I had the Pleasure to see many Years ago at that Place, seems to be the Original of *Dumb Shows* in England; from whence they have both copied and borrowed their Patterns.

As to the Improvements in this Theatrical *Lagerdemain*, it would be endless to enumerate half their Beauties. How artfully contrived was that Incident of the *Wind-Mill*! What a prodigious Genius does it require to metamorphose Men into Women, and Women into *Lawful Trees*! How does it raise our Imaginations, to see some drawn up by Wires to the Top of the Stage; and sink it again, to see others let down to the Bottom thro' Trap Doors! *Walking Tables* and *flying Hobby Horses* are become familiar to our Eyes. The Device of setting an old Barn on Fire discover'd a vast deal of Spirit; but that Master Piece of raising the Stage up into the Air is inimitable.

I am under some Uneasiness to consider what new Diversions the Theatre will find out for the Time to come; for we seem to have exhausted all the Ancients, and pillaged all the Moderns. We have plundered the Greek and Roman Theatres, gutted all the French Comedies, Spanish Novels, and Italian Farces. Nay, we have been already driven to such Shifts, that we have turned Plagiaries upon *Drolls* and *Puppet-Shows*; descended to mean Thefts from *Mountebanks* and *Posture-Masters*; and gleaned up the dull Leavings of *Windmill-Hill* and *Barbican-Fair*. I am at a Loss to imagine what they will do next, unless they bring the famous Mr. *Fawkes*, and the wonderful Woman with the Horn in her Head, or some other such surprising Curiosities, upon the Stage, for the Entertainment of the Publick.

Common Sense, July 30. N^o 26.

Of Publick Spirit, and some Thoughts on Turpin the Robber.

NOTHING can be more obvious than the Consequence of an Opinion, that Zeal for the Publick Good is ridiculous, and that it is the Interest of every Person to gain Riches, Power, or Pleasure at any Expence, and by any Means whatever. If such Men

ies should gain Credit among the *Hottentots*, or any to whom Government is yet unknown, the Weak would be absolute Slaves to the Strong; whereas, should these Doctrines be received in a Nation where there is a Government already instituted, it would be mighty easy for the Governours to gain over to their Measures some few of the Rich and Powerful, and that by giving them more Riches and Power, at the Expence of the People in general.

As in a natural State Men will tyrannize and oppress according to their Degrees of natural Strength; so in an artificial State (which all Governments may be called) Slavery will descend in proportion to the artificial Strength; viz. the Power and Riches of every Individual. He that hath most, will enslave all; and from him downwards, the Grandees will enslave the Gentry, and the Gentry the Commonalty; and this is the Case of all absolute Governments in the World.

I thank God I was born in a Country, which hath formerly extolled the *Romans* in their publick Spirit. I know however, this hath been (I hope with little Reason) thought to abate of late Years. Indeed the Press hath lately vented some Doctrines in direct Opposition to this Principle: But the Reception those scandalous Papers meet with, evidently shews the general Sense of the Nation is not totally debauched.

This being the Case, the Necessity follows of keeping alive and awake this noble Principle, which, tho' not utterly lost, I cannot think so active and vigorous as it ought to be in a Nation jealous of her Liberty. And this Suspicion of mine hath chiefly arisen from a late Instance, which, I fancy, few People have seen in the same Light with myself: I mean the flagrant, undisturbed Success of the infamous *Turpis*, who hath robbed, in a Manner scarce ever known before, for several Years; and hath at length grown to such a Height of Insolence and Impudence, as to threaten particular Persons, and become openly dangerous to the Lives, as well as Fortunes of the People of *England*.

That a Fellow, who is known to be a Thief by the whole Kingdom, shall for a long Time eagrous to rob us, and not only so, but to make a Jest of us for being robbed; shall defy the Laws, and laugh at Justice; that the whole Nation shall see this, and sit quiet and contented, and shall trust to the common Methods of taking Rogues by Officers, who are, perhaps, afraid of him, and (which is not impossible) perhaps bribed by him, only in hopes that we ourselves may escape what several of our Countrymen have and must suffer: This, I think, argues a Want of that Publick Spirit before mentioned.

Must not a Foreigner laugh to hear the whole Nation exclaiming every Day in the publick News Papers against the Degradations

of one pitiful Fellow, one of very mean Rank and Qualifications, every Way contemptible? — What must they think of a Nation who quietly permits such a Wretch as this to carry on a successful Series of impudent Robberies, which every one knows, every one exclaims against, and yet every one submits to.

A As this Man therefore is a publick Evil, to put an End to his Success is become the Object of publick Spirit; and I cannot help hoping, that some among us, possessed of this noble Principle, will unite together to destroy him, which, if once attempted, must be mighty easy to execute: And this Fellow, who hath struck a Terror all over the Kingdom, will soon be brought to the Fate he deserves, and be rather an unfortunate Example, than an Encouragement to all succeeding Villains.

Universal Spectator, Aug. 6. N^o 461.

To the LADIES who affect shewing their white Stockings.

C Ladies,
THE great Regard I have for your Sex in general, makes me so free with you as to blame any Customs you fall into that are inconsistent with that Modesty which gives a Lustre to your brightest Qualities, and is so essential to a Lady, that there is no real Beauty in any Thing which is not irradiated by it.

D Having lately seen so far up the white Stocking, which I can scarce look innocently upon for half a Minute, it is past my Skill to understand how your Desire to have it seen is consistent with your own Innocence and Modesty. A Lady's Leg is a dangerous Sight in whatever Colour it appears; but shewing us your Legs in White, is next to shewing us them naked; and what Havock and Destruction would you make, if it should be a Custom among you, to smite us in *paris naturalibus*, by wearing no Stockings at all? At a proper Distance I can now see to the Calves of your Legs, and cannot but wonder what should induce some of you (whose Legs, thence downwards, are not so

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Fins by Degrees and beautifully left, as to make it very eligible to have them seen) to be so fond of exposing them to our View. There are some of you, whom I cannot but be surpris'd at, upon another Account, and that is the disagreeable Difference observable between your Stockings and some of your Complexions: When I have follow'd a Lady, and had my Eye awhile upon the white Stockings, as soon as I have pass'd by her I have given a Look at her Face, expecting that as she is desirous I should see her Legs, I shall not be disappointed in seeing her Face: But, alas! the black swarthy Complexion

I found there, provok'd me to think that the white Stockings should be so dishonour'd as to be upon a Leg of so dissimilar a Colour.

If you are married, I know no Right any one has to a Sight of your Legs but your Husbands; and if you are unmarried; and only have a vehement Desire to have Husbands, depend upon it from me, Ladies, it is no great Encouragement to any Gentleman to wish for the Property of such a Pair of Legs, as you are fond and ambitious of exposing to every one who has a Mind to look at them.

It is not to the modest, but the bold white Stocking I am now writing: There is no more Harm in a white Stocking, which is not too much expos'd to View, than in a Stocking of any other Colour. It is not the Stocking, but the too great Appearance of it, which gives us such Offence, and puts our Virtus into so much Danger.

I am, Ladies,
(Heartily wishing your Reformation)
Your most obedient humble Servant.

Daily Gazetteer, Aug. 6. N^o 662.

A Letter (which seems to be wrote by Osborne) treats of the present State of Political Writing, the Ministry, the Opposition to it, and the Danger and Mischief thereby occasioned to the Nation: And then concludes, that there is no Remedy against this, but the hearty Union of the Whigs to strengthen the Hands of the Government against all its Enemies at Home and Abroad.

This Union would render us as formidable Abroad, as when the Whigs were united about the Middle of Q. Anne's Reign; for, tho' there's this Difference between those Times and the present, that they then felt our Blows; yet, were the Friends of the Government firmly united, they would dread the Feeling of the same Blows again, and so never attempt to disturb our Peace, or invade our Rights. The Honour of the Government abroad, therefore, depends not so much upon the Manner of our Negotiating, as upon the united Strength of its Friends at home: And I am fully convinc'd, that whatever Dishonour we have suffer'd, it is originally to be laid at their Doors who broke this happy Union, and sacrific'd the Welfare and Glory of their Country to personal Spight, Ambition, and Love of Power; for, Foreigners know, as well as we, who are the real Friends of the Revolution and the present Settlement of the Crown; and stand ready to take all the Advantages which our fatal Divisions play into their Hands. With what Contempt must they look down upon us, to see Whig Writers disgrace the Revolution, defame the Government, ridicule the Royal Family, and call upon the People to Murders and Assassinations of the King's Ministers;

and this too, at a Time, when the two greatest Catholick Powers in Europe, Powers able to swallow up all the rest, are united; and when the Enemies of the Government at home are in the highest Expectation of something turning up in their Favour from this unnatural Junction, and from the sudden and reserved State of Things abroad! I leave all Whigs to imagine the rest, and make fact and Use of it as Reason and Virtus command.

Craftsman, Aug. 6. N^o 578.

Of political Writers, the Liberty of the Press, Case of the Craftsman, &c.

As it cannot be deny'd that we have carry'd on this Paper from first to last upon the true Principles of Liberty and the Revolution, our Adversaries standing Topic is, that tho' we reason upon right Principles, we apply them to a wrong Use, and employ the same Arguments against a good Government, which the Old Whigs did against a bad one. This hath been the constant Cant of all

Court Writers, under legal and establish'd Governments; that is, under all Governments; for whilst they subsist; they will have the Laws on their Side, and consequently may be said to be establish'd. This was the principal Argument of L'Estrange, Parker, Dryden and other ministerial Writers, in the Reign of K. Charles II. whose Government was certainly both legal and establish'd, bad as it was. Mr. Dryden, in his Vindication of his Play, call'd the Duke of Guise, speaks thus;

Our Liberties and our Religion are both safe. They are secur'd to us by the Laws; and those Laws are executed, under an establish'd Government, by a lawful King. The Defender of our Faith is the Defender of our common Freedom; and to oppose the Succession, in any private Man, is a treasonable Practice against the Foundation of it.

It is now generally acknowledg'd that the Government, of which all these fine Things are said, was a very bad one; that neither our Religion nor our Liberties were safe under it; that the Laws were of little Security to us, tho' executed under an establish'd Government and by a lawful King; that the Defender of our Faith was very far from being the Defender of our common Freedom; and tho' opposing the Succession, at that Time, might be a treasonable Practice, in the Eye of the Law, it was found absolutely necessary, for the Preservation of our Religion and Liberties.

Our manifest Design in these Observations is to shew, that nothing can be a greater Reflection upon our present excellent Government, than to defend it upon Topics, which will serve equally to defend the worst Governments; and that they have been actually made Use of for that Purpose. It would certainly be more

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for the Honour of the present Government, or rather the present Administration, to explain the Wisdom of their Negotiations, their vigorous Protection of our Trade, and frugal Management of the publick Treasures, as well as the Mildness, Equity and Incorruption of all their Proceedings, both within Doors and without; rather than merely saying that they see establish'd by Law, and supported by Power.

I do not think that Ministers ought to be oppos'd in all their Measures, right or wrong, as some Persons pretend to understand me; but that the People have a Right to express their Disapprobation of whatever they apprehend to be detrimental to them, either in Writing or Discourse, provided only that they keep themselves within the Bounds of Decency. This is what is commonly call'd the Liberty of the Press. But the Difficulty is how to ascertain the just Limits of this great Privilege. It is said by Men in Power, as well as their Advocates, that Writers are set to carry it into Licentiousness; and Writers complain, with equal Reason at least, that Men in Power are always endeavouring to cramp it within such narrow Bounds as will render it of no Effect. It must therefore be left to the Judgment of the World, and especially those, who are authoriz'd by Law to decide it, in particular Cases.

This leads me to take some Notice of our own Case, and the late extraordinary Proceedings against us, occasion'd by the Craftsmen of July 2. concerning the Act for licensing and restraining the Stage. (See p. 432.)

I may appeal to any Man of common Sense and Candour, whether the natural and obvious Design of that Paper was not to shew that several old Plays are capable of as bad Applications as any new ones can be; and to ridicule the modern Doctrine, that Clipping or Hissing at a Play-House, is a scandalous and seditious Practice. For this Purpose, several Passages are quoted out of old Plays, with relation to Kings, Queens, and Ministers of State, which it is said malicious People may apply in a bad Sense; but the Author of that Paper makes no Application of them himself, and only recommends them to the Care of the Licensor, or his Deputy. In short, if Innuendo's and double Meanings are to be allow'd, the most innocent Writings may be converted into Libels; Treason may be extracted out of Pliny's Panegyrick; Obscenity out of the Whole Duty of Man; and even Blasphemy out of the Bible.

I must here make an Apology to the Publick for their Disappointment in some of our late Papers, which have been very incorrectly printed, as well as imperfectly written; but when they consider the great Confusion, which the late Proceedings against us have occasion'd; that all the Workmen (even so low as

the Devil himself) have been kept above 3 Weeks in Custody, and oblig'd to procure extraordinary Bail; that the Printing-House was shut up by Authority, and several Papers seiz'd; I say, when they consider all this, they will have the Goodness to excuse us, and impute whatever they may think deficient to unavoidable Necessity.

I shall only add that, as for myself, I am resolv'd to abide any Hardships in the Prosecution of so glorious a Cause, as becomes one, who professes himself an Advocate for Liberty; and hath so long receiv'd the Encouragement of the Publick upon that Account.

Common Sense, Aug. 6. N^o 27.

Political Wizards and Conjurers.

WE find, that in the early Ages of the World, those, who by the Strength of their natural Reason could foresee the Effects of publick Measures, who by offering wholesome Advice, had been instrumental in preventing publick Mischief, or giving Success to some great Undertaking, were reputed to have something in them more than natural. In short, those that had a more than ordinary speculative and practical Knowledge in the great Affair of governing Mankind, were generally looked upon as Conjurers and Magicians.

The Ancients conceiv'd so high a Veneration for that occult Kind of Learning, so admired by the Vulgar, commonly call'd Conjuring, that Cadmus, Zoroaster, and many others, were rais'd to Royalty, and made Kings for being reputed Wizards; or as I understand it, for being reputed wise Men, or being thought knowing in the Affairs of Government; for I cannot conceive they were made Kings for being able to tell who stole a Thimble, or Silver Spoon, which is now the ordinary Occupation of Conjurers.

In our Times Conjuring has been in such high Reputation, that Men in several Professions, have endeavour'd to impose themselves upon the World for Conjurers. Physicians have pass'd for Astrologers, and Poets for Prophets; nay, the most ignorant have made Pretences this Way. Coblers and Tinkers have call'd themselves Astrologers and Fortune-tellers. Every Fellow with a brazen Face, and nothing in his Head, has attempted to impose upon Mankind, by pretending to be a Conjuror: But I hope it is no Disgrace to the Science itself, that Impostors have sometimes meddled in it.

I cannot help admiring at the Ignorance and Superstition of our Ancestors, in enacting penal Laws against Witches and Wizards, and making it criminal to consult them in any Case. What was this but in a manner, excluding wise Men from any Share in the Go-

vernment? It is true, the Law was in a great Measure become obsolete; for which we may thank the Wisdom, or, perhaps, the Insidelity of the Age; but while it continu'd un-repeal'd, it might still have been in the Power of any malicious Person to have prosecuted his Neighbour for being a wiser Man than himself.

The Enemies of our present most excellent M——, did not fail to reproach them, as if the Repealing of this Act was calculat-ed only for their private Security, being con-scious to themselves that they were Con-jurers. But suppose they were sensible that all the World took them for Conjurers, so their Enemies are vigilant and active, who can blame them for providing for their own Safety, by repealing a Law, which might, one time or other, have put it in the Power of their Enemies to have destroyed them?

The Things that have been thought about for our Glory and Advantage, within a few Years, are of so surprizing a Nature, and have something in them so like Magick, that by a little Law Oratory they might certainly have been stretch'd to come within the Con-struction of the Act against Witchcraft, had it not been repealed.

Conjuring is commonly understood to be done by the Help of the Devil; and I remem-ber very well, when Men talk'd upon Pub-lick Affairs and ask'd, how came this Fleet to be sent here; or that to be sent there? How came this Treaty to be made, or that Convention to be concluded? you never cou'd hear any other Answer but this—Because the Devil was in our—

While I am upon this Subject, it comes into my Head; that if Ministers turn Witches, as Witches are old Women; it would be no improper Expression to say, that a Nation is sometimes *Hoy-riden*.

And indeed, whenever I mention Witches or Wizards, I cannot help turning my Thoughts upon the greatest Negotiator the World ever saw; he may be truly call'd *The wonderful Wonder of Wonders*; I cannot describe him better than in the Words of the Poet:

*Among the rest, a politician,
With more heads than a beast in wisdom;
And more intrigues in every one,
Than all the whores of Babylon:
So politick, as if one eye,
Upon the other were a spy.*

Metinks I see him with all the Business of Europe in his Head, looking so much like

a Witch, that I should apprehend a supersti-tious *English* Jury would hang him for his Looks.

Who can describe the Archness of that Leer, that circumvented a politick Cardinal, a Cardinal that was head a Jesuit too! What shall I say of the Intrigues and Stratagema of that Head, that drew the subtil Priest into a War, and made him content with so poor an Acquisition as the Dutchy of Lorrain! How can I give an Idea of that Wit that delights the Men, as his Beauty charms the Women! In fine, how shall I paint that Air, that Mien, that Address, or that fine Hand, which is this Minute employ'd in pulling up the Breeches!

If any body shou'd assert, that the repeal-ing the Act was altogether unnecessary, on account of the M—— because, if they hap-pen to be Conjurers, they can baffle all the Devices of their Enemies by the Power of their Art—My Answer is, that it was not safe to trust to that, because it is the Custom of the Devil to leave his best Friends in the Lurch upon a Pinch.

S I R, July 20,

I DESIRE you to insert the following Criti-cism in your next *Magazine*. Yours, &c.

A Criticism upon the Word WOMAN.

BEING formerly carried away by the Stream of vulgar Error, with relation to the Etymology of the Word *Woman*, I could not forbear being surpriz'd at the ill nature of our Ancestors, for giving so harsh a Name to the Fair Sex; especially when I consider, that this Nation has for many Ages been fa-mous amongst Foreigners, even to a Pro-verb, for their Love and tender Usage of them.—The learned Languages were Imme-diately consulted, wherein I could not find any Word signifying the Fair, that intimated the least Suspicion of Guilt or Evil.— Upon this I concluded that the Word must be modern, and of later Date than the Con-vention of our Ancestors to Christianity; be-cause they could have no Notion of the Fall, and of the Part transferr'd therein by the Wo-man, before they were acquainted with the Holy Scriptures.—The Hebrew, if not the first Language, is at least as old as the Dis-per-sion from *Babel*; and that very pertinently calls her † *Isab*, because she was taken out of *Is*.—She is also frequently term'd † *Ne-guebab* from the Distinction of Sex. — In the *Greek*, her most common Appellation is

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* England is the Heaven of Women, the Purgatory of Servants, and the Hell of Horses.—Spem. Prov. † Gen. II. 23. וְקָרָא אֵתָּהּ אִשָּׁה כִּי מֵאִשׁ לְקָרָאָהּ—She shall be called *Isab*, because she was taken out of *Is*, i. e. Man, † Jerem. XXXII. 22. & *alibi passim* נְקֵבָה נְקֵבָה a *Rad.* נְקֵבָה *perforavit.*

is *Gynē*, as if from *Genē*; the Bearing of young ones; and *Thelais* † from *Thelō*, a Breast—in Latin, her Name is *Mulier*, quasi *Mollior*; as if the softer Creature; and *Femina* a *factu*, from the young, which she conceives, bears; and nurses.—*Scaliger* indeed derives the Word from the Greek *ἔμψια*, an Offspring; others from *Factu minando*, i. e. *decendo*, from the Production of the young ones; but others more justly from *Femina*; the Distinction of the Sex.

In these several Languages there is nothing harsh, nothing that offends the Ears in the Names of the Fair; but to call her *Wife*, as if design'd for and actually employ'd in the Ruin of Man, has often been not a little displeasing not only to the Fair ones themselves, but to all their Admirers.—And tho' it must be confess'd, that she was employ'd by the grand Enemy in the Seduction of her Husband, and stands in some Measure chargeable, as an Instrument of the Mistry consequent thereon; yet does that Stain seem sufficiently washed away, by her being the Instrument of Health and Salvation to the Species, in producing the Saviour of the World without the Assistance of Man—It being *the Seed of the Woman*, and not of the Man, which was to *bruise the Serpent's Head* ††. Which Prophecy so perplexed the learned Jew *Maimonides*, that he has left it amongst his insuperable Difficulties.

After I had been for some Time exercis'd with these Thoughts, I met with several ancient *English* Manuscripts, and particularly †† *Trevisa's* Translation of the *New Testament*, and there I found out my Mistake.—Our Ancestors very pertinently call'd the Fair one *Wombman*, from the Distinction of Sex; and leaving out the *s* to soften the Pronunciation, they in Time wrote and term'd her *Womman*, and at last *Woman*.—This is the real Etymon of the Word, which it may not be improper to publish, in order to take from our Sex their common Handle of Abuse and Calumny; and give the Ladies this Piece of defensive Armour, to secure them against the injurious Tongues of old Bachelors, and other Haters of the Fair.

I am, Sir,

Your constant Reader and humble Servant,

PHILOGENE.

* Γυνή quasi γονή παρά τῷ γένει, *Scapula* ex *Etymol.* & *Platone*. † Γυνή, γενίτρα, factus, factura, proles.—*Scap.* † The Female is call'd *θηλυς* and *θηλυαία* from *θηλυή*, a Woman's Breast or the Dug of any Female, *Plato* in *Cratylō*. †† *Diēta* fait *Mulier* quasi *Mollior*—Owen the *Epigrammatist* from *Varro*. § *θύμα* παρά τῷ *θύμῳ*—*Phyma* and thence *Femina* from *φύω* to bear. ** *Femina* est interior pars *Femoris*. †† Gen. III. 15. †† *John Trevisa* finish'd his Translation of the *New Testament* from the Latin, A. D. 1387. N. B. *Neither Trevisa, nor Wickliff* his *Contemporary*, *Divinity Professor* at *Oxford*, under *Andr. Greek*, the *Wickliff* translated the whole Bible.

Old Wigs, August 4 and 11.

S I R,

AS you are a rational and *Cassibus* *Præstant*, it must have often rous'd your Indignation to observe the Cheats put by *Romish* Priests upon the unwary Souls of Men. Some of these the Scripture calls *Sorcery*; they are a Kind of *Spiritual Magick*, or an Art of making Men religious, and of leading 'em to Heaven without any real Holiness or Virtue at all.

But is there nothing of this *same Sorcery* practis'd among us? As some of the brightest Ornaments of our Church have not only acknowledged some Things in its Constitution, and Forma would admit of Alteration, but have even wish'd and labour'd for it; and as we are once a Year taught to lament the Want of *golly* *Disciplin*, and to pray that it may be restored, 'twill not, I hope, be thought *Presumption*, if, with the Frankness of an *Old W'ig* and a *Free Briton*, I observe some Things in our own Church, which carry too great Appearance of this *Spiritual Juggle* or *Sorcery*. What otherwise can we think of three of its prescrib'd Rites, *Confirmation*, *Ab-solution*, and the *Burial* of the *Dead*?

By the *first* of these, all Persons baptiz'd, when come to competent Age, and able to say the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Creed*, and the ten *Commandments*, and the shorter *Catechism*, are to be brought to *Confirmation*; The *Bishop* having ask'd, *Whether they renew the solemn Promise and Vow that was made in their Name at Baptism?* upon their answering *we do*, declares in the most publick and solemn Manner, even in an *Address* to God himself, that he has vouchsafed to regenerate those his Servants by *Water* and the *Holy Ghoſt*, and to give them the *Forgiveness* of all their *Sins*; and laying his Hands upon the Head of each particular Person he certifieth him by that *Sign* of God's *Favour* and *gracious Goodness* towards him.

Now this *Bishop* they are taught to look upon as the *Ambassador* of *Jesus Christ*, and a Successor of the *Apostles*, who had Power to remit *Sins*: And when they hear this venerable Person thus solemnly declaring that God hath regenerated and forgiven them; who can wonder if they really believe themselves to be so; and upon these Grounds indulge a

confident Security as to the Favour of God, and Happiness in a future World?

That the poor ignorant and unthinking Part of the People should be thus easily deluded, is not so strange: But that such learned, wise and pious Men, as our Rev. Bishops are, who know the Aptness of Mankind to deceive themselves by false Hopes, and the infinite Folly and Danger of their so doing; that *these* should thus contribute to lull them asleep, and without knowing their Hearts, or a due Enquiry into their Lives, declare them in the Presence of God regenerated and pardoned, is a Conduct truly surprising, and not easily to be accounted for.

In the *Absolution of sick Penitents*, the sick Person being *moved to make a special Confession of his Sins, if he feel his Conscience troubled with any weighty Matter, after such Confession the Priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this Sort: Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left Power to his Church to absolve all Sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great Mercy forgive thee thine Offences; and by the Authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy Sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

What and where is that Church to which Christ has left this Power? Is it the Catholic and universal Church, or any national or provincial Church? Or, is it every particular Society of worshipping Christians? In what Persons is it lodged? with the whole *Body of the People*, who, according to Scripture Language, and the Doctrine of our own Articles, are properly called *the Church*; or with the *Ministers or Clergy*, who are never so called? In the former Part, 'tis said to be *left to the Church*; but in the latter the Priest claims it as his *Peculiar*; to which, when his Claim shall have been fully proved, his Character shall be confess'd *indelible and sacred*, and Innocent and the Kees be offered him as the Representative of Christ upon Earth.

If Christ hath given Power to any *authoritatively* to absolve *those who are truly penitent*, he must also have given them Power to know *who are truly penitent*; else 'tis a Power to do just nothing: For till they know them to be truly penitent (*i. e.* till they can search their Hearts) they cannot *authoritatively* absolve them; and if they cannot do it till then, they cannot do it at all.

Is a *meer Confession of Sin* all the Gospel demands, in order to its Forgiveness? Must it not be *forsook and broken off* as well as *confessed*? Are not the most debauched, when Sickness seizes, and Death is thought to approach them, wont to *feel their Conscience troubled*, readily to confess their Sin, to express great Sorrow, to vow Amendment if spared? But when the Danger is blown off, is it hardly ever seen that they return not to their Crimes with as much a Gust as before?

Another Absurdity in this dangerous and delusive Form is, that tho' the Confession be but *special*, the Absolution is *general*. But, by what Logic? Or from what Scripture is this Inference drawn, that a Contrition for *some Sins*, shall obtain Forgiveness of *all Sins*?

Well—but the sick Man dies—he liv'd a vicious and debauch'd Life, was a known Drunkard, Adulterer—but when his last Sickness came, he trembled at the Thought of Death—sent for the Priest, confess'd his Sin, and desired to be absolved: The Priest by *Authority committed to him*, in the most solemn Form of Words, even in the Name of the Father, &c. pronounces and declares him absolved from all his Sins. The unhappy Person thus dead—comes now to be buried. Here the Priest, in the Face of a vast Crowd who knew the Man's wicked Life, solemnly declares, *That God hath taken to himself the Soul of this our dear Brother—gives him hearty Thanks that it hath pleased him to deliver this our Brother out of the Miseries of this sinful World—and prays, that when we shall depart this Life we may rest in him (Christ) as our Hope is this our Brother doth.* What can the attending Crowd think of all this? If they think at all, it must be either,

First, That what the Priest hath said is true, and may be depended on as the Word of God, whose Ambassador he is supposed to be; and if so, Remission may be had in this World, and Salvation in the other, without breaking off my Sins: I shall have Peace therefore, tho' I go on to *add Drunkenness to Thirst*; and however vicious my Life be, may have hope in my Death that I shall *rest in Christ*, as the Priest tells me, *this our Brother doth.*

Secondly, If these Pretensions and Expressions be examin'd but by common Sense, they appear to be all a *solemn Farce*, a *stocking and gross Delusion*; a dangerous Encouragement to careless and immoral Living; subversive of good Order and Virtue upon Earth; calculated to advance the Power of Priests, and to stupefy and enslave the Consciences of Men. There are Numbers of our wise Clergy who groan under these unhappy Forms, and sincerely wish them removed: Why in the Name of God, are they not removed? Or if this cannot be obtained, why are they not more zealously and *openly* disavow'd? Our Church is daily dishonoured and weakened by these Practices. Infidelity gains on it here, Popery there.

PAULUS.

Common Sense, Aug 13. N^o 28.

Of the Royal Touch for the King's-Evil.

S I R,

THE frequent Disputes concerning Prerogative, reminds me of what happen'd

in a neighbouring Kingdom some Time since, when I was there on my Travels. I accidentally fell into Discourse with a Courtier, on the Nature of their Government, when he mentioned an antient Branch of Prerogative, called *Touching for the King's-Evil*, which, with them, had been in great Reverence and Esteem, tho' of late Years, it had been given up without any Equivalent (the only Prerogative ever parted with on those Terms.)

He told me, that in his Remembrance, many Thousands were usually touched for this Distemper in a Year, and, among the Number, surprizing Cures were performed. That the Church held this Branch of Prerogative in so great Esteem, as to compose a solemn Office or Ritual to be used in the Exercise of it; and that by Force only of a Touch with the Hand of the Prince, and of a Piece of Gold suspended to the Neck of the Patient, the Distemper gradually left him, and could never return whilst the Gold remained. My Concern, says he, for the Difuse of this is the greater, because I always look'd upon the Miracles wrought on these Occasions, as the only Proof of the Divine Right of Kings, or that they were bestowed on us immediately from Heaven.

My Friend thus fortified with so refined Notions of Religion and Policy, was very zealous of seeing this ancient Practice revived. As a Disciple of *Macbiavel*, I heartily concurred in Opinion with him, who seemed rejoiced at my Agreement with him on any Terms, and said, very few, Sir, of your Countrymen, have any true Notion of Religion or Politicks; I know you have many *Arcana* in England but none equal to this; it is even preferable to *Ward's Pills*, which, I hear, make a great Noise with you; the Operation is both safer and easier, being attended with neither of those Evacuations (so disagreeable to all cleanly Persons) and the Effects are much more certain.

Whilst we were thus gravely reasoning upon so serious a Subject, a young Abbé (who is a noted *Risur*) broke in upon our Conversation; and being informed of what had amused us, he immediately fell a laughing, and said, that the Revival of this Practice was a chimerical Project, attended with many insuperable Difficulties.

In the first Place, says he, we live under a frugal Administration, where there is nothing to be squandered away; all our Publick Revenues are appropriated, and our Civil List is hardly thought (by some) sufficient to satisfy the keen Appetite of the Court; who then, says he, do you think, will provide the Pieces of Gold necessary to employ in the Care of so many thousand People, by this idle, stupid Piece of Bigottry, this Confederacy of Priestcraft and K—craft?

My Friend, the Courtier, who had a plod-

ding Head, and had always been dabbling in state Projects, particularly those relating to the Finances, immediately reply'd, it would be very easy to find an Expedient for this Difficulty; the — Fund, says he, is the natural Resort for defraying the Expence of all publick Services, that cannot otherwise be provided for.

But, says the Abbé, supposing this Difficulty, as to the Gold, got over, there is still another stands in the Way. How do you know that the Operator for this Miracle will be willing to lie under those Restraints, which seem necessary to qualify him for the Performance of it? The Hand employ'd in the Solemnity, must (like other consecrated Utensils) be appropriated wholly to that Use; it must never be profanely employ'd for any unballowed Purpose, or so much as touch any Thing sinful, wicked, or unclean, lest the Power and Efficacy of the Miracle be thereby defeated.

If this Objection were maturely considered, the Scheme must be rejected. Can it be supposed the Performer, to qualify himself for the solemn Operation, would be content to carry the Hand in a Sling, like an Invalid? Or how must he, when Necessity requires, scratch his A—, if it should happen to itch, a Symptom of Nature that is no Respector of Persons? Must he be confined to employ one Hand only in that most delightful Recreation?

You have, I know, says the Abbé to my Friend, a fertile Brain for Expedients, and you may imagine, that on a sudden Call of this Kind, there is hardly a Courtier but would cheerfully lend his S — a Hand; or that if need be, the Office of Scratcher in Ordinary might be erected for that Purpose. But even that Expedient is attended with its own Difficulties also; such an Employment would, in its Nature, be a great Trust and Confidence, and fit only to be bestowed on a Person of the first Rank.

A Minister would be persecuted with many Candidates, and however worthily he might happen to bestow this honourable Employment, he would, no doubt, send many away discontented, who might therefore revolt from his Measures, and desire him for the future, to do his dirty Work himself; and if, to avoid this Dilemma, he should endeavour to gratify several at once, by putting this Office in Commission, the Duty of it indeed will be more easily performed, the Commissioners might take their Turns in Waiting. But there must be considerable Appointments for each Commissioner, which would be a dead Weight on the Civil List; and I am sure if I were P— I would never pretend to touch for the Evil on these Terms, but scratch my own A—, rather than, for any Reason of State, be at so much Trouble and Charge to have it done by others.

I don't think, says the Courtier, that the Power of working this Miracle can be defeated by any other Use of the Hand. If so, how cou'd the Right R—d B—s convey the spiritual and apostolical Benediction? But however (says he) as there are many People whose Scruples may still remain, there is an easy and known Remedy: For as the Devil may be immediately expelled by a proper Exorcism, the same Method may be used with the Hand in question, before its Employment in these Cures; and the B— of —, who, from the Remoteness of his D—, and the great Ease with which he discharges the Duties of his Function, has so much Leisure as constantly to attend the D—g Room, and often pays his Devotion to the Court than his God, would be a very proper Exorcist; which Office might be annex'd to his B—, and held in Commendam.

Craftsman, Aug. 13. N^o 579.

THIS Paper contains a second Letter from the same Author, concerning the Stage, which, as well as the former, (p. 432.) was originally written above 12 Years ago. In this he examines the Reasons which are urg'd for dumb Shews, Pantomimes, &c. And among other Things, says:

The pretty Gentlemen of the Town, who love to be thought great Wits, excuse themselves for frequenting these stupid Innovations, by telling us that it is only to pass away a few idle Hours, and make themselves merry; imagining, perhaps, that they have no other Effect upon them. But I have observ'd, in my former, that our Manners are in a great Measure influenced by the Characters, which are presented to us upon the Stage; and I am afraid, that the grotesque Habits, in which many of them affect to appear, are copied from these Models; for methinks their light tripping Pumps, and large Harness Buckles, their short Mop Whigs, black Bags, and Windmill Sweeps, favour strongly of such an Imitation; and I can impute it to nothing else that so many fine Gentlemen, now-a-days, look more like Harlequins and Scaravouches than Persons of Fortune and Distinction.

Another Argument is, that these Entertainments are really no Innovations, but can be traced up to the first Institution of the Stage; for which they quote the ancient Greek and Roman Pantomimes. Now this, with Submission, is defending of Stupidity, by discovering of Ignorance; for the ancient Pantomimes were no more like our modern Harlequins, than the personating of natural Characters, and mimicking probable Actions, are like inventing unnatural Characters, and performing the most monstrous improbable Actions. In the former Case, there may be a great

deal of good moral Instruction; in the latter, nothing but Absurdity and gross Impostion.

The TATTLING TRAVELLER, continu'd
from p. 315.

My dear URANIA,

AS the Disorder I have so frequently been affected with, is now come to an Intermision, 'tis during one of these Intervals that I have Leisure to acquaint you of the good Success of my Physician's Prescriptions; after one Intermision more he has order'd me a large Dose of *Lac Sulphuris*, to be taken inwardly, which he is in great hopes will make a perfect Cure. As the Disease has now spread so far as to become almost universal, he thinks it highly necessary the learned World shou'd no longer be unacquainted with such an inestimable Remedy; and for my own Part, I can't but think if the World had been surpris'd of such a Remedy before the Revolution, THE ITCH OF SCRIBBLING might by this Time have been very much allay'd, if not quite cur'd. It has long been a Dispute amongst the Learned in the *Esculapian Faculty*, whether this Disorder lies in the Brain or in the Nerves; but as the Distemper has often appear'd to me more raging and violent in those Persons which (morally speaking) it's impossible shou'd feel any Disorder in the former, I therefore conclude it must be in the latter; and when to this I add my own Experience, 'tis still a stronger Confirmation. My Physician tells me he has already communicated this Secret to the Rev. and learned Dr. W—d, who notwithstanding the Length of Time he has labour'd under this heavy Affliction, inasmuch that it is almost become hereditary to Nature, is now come to a Determination to make trial of its Virtues. If it meets with the desir'd Success, I expect Mr. F—r and Dr. S—g will soon follow his Example. But you'll pardon this Digression, and give me leave to tell you, how much I'm pleas'd with the near Approach I'm now making towards my dear Urania. We arriv'd at our old Quarters in B—m—ng—m on the 14th of this Instant August, which as they are the most agreeable, I expect we may be detain'd the longer. I doubt not but you have good Nature enough to pardon this impertinent Scribble and chit-chat Amusement; for

I no pretence to wit or humour make,

But merely scribble just for scribbling's sake.

My Brother being so agreeably entertain'd when in Town last, found means to introduce himself into the Company of some few very worthy Gentlemen and substantial Tradesmen, who frequently meet at this House for Conversation in an Evening; and what added to the Pleasure was, the B—r the D—r and one other very peculiar little
Gentleman

Gentleman happen'd that Night to be absent, to the universal Satisfaction of all the rest of the Society. The chief Topick of Discourse that Evening related to the extraordinary Behaviour of the C—h W—s of the two Parishes for the preceding Year: Those for the old Parish the Gentlemen seem'd to acquit, one of them especially; but the other two were universally condemn'd, and not without severe Marks of Reproach, which my Brother imagin'd to be just. But one of the Gentlemen, who hates the Repetition of a bad Action, and willing to divert the Company, gave a Turn to the Conversation by relating the following Story. He said about a Fortnight past he had been told the two C—h W—s for the upper Parishes having some slender Scruples upon their Consciences, with regard to their past Conduct, propos'd them one Evening over a Bottle to a certain Curate in the Town, well known for his deep Penetration and Skill in all the Branches of casuistical Divinity. This Gentleman, after having privatour'd as deep into their Consciences, as Turpin cou'd have done into their Purfes, and applying the best Remedies for a star'd Conscience that he was able, gravely left 'em just where he found 'em: One of them, whether thro' a Weakness in his Head, or the Effect of Liquor, he cou'd not determine, seem'd frequently under an uncommon Disorder, wou'd loll supinely upon his Elbows for a few Moments, then on a sudden start up and talk of — Charity-Sermon Money — giving up his Accounts at L—nd — regaling the Spirits with a Bottle—sipping Bumpers at a Parish Expence, &c. — with other incoherent Stuff, that seem'd to be the Effect of Liquor or a dissemper'd Mind. The other Gentleman, good Mr. Casuist said, seem'd to be troubled with a very great Oppression upon his Lungs, occasion'd by the Fumes of Sulphur and Charity-Sermon Bateles, that it appear'd exceeding difficult coming at his Conscience; and he gave it as his Opinion that it cou'd not be done, till his worthy Superintendants shou'd admit proper Evacuations to be made for that Purpose. Mr. Casuist, after advising them both seriously to peruse John Bunyan's Excellency of a broken Heart and his Good News to the wilful of Men, with a parting Glass left them to their own Meditations.

A Gentleman in the Company said, he thought the Inhabitants of the Place cou'd not do better than make an Application to his Lordship the Bishop of the Diocese, who was then in Town, to have the Words NEXURATOR in large Gold Letters a Foot long put up at the Head of each C—h W—s's Pew. and if it shou'd happen to join to that of an O—f—r's of the Poor, one Inscription might serve both; and as both the Gentlemen are Men of Learning,

he said he imagin'd they would very readily know where to look for the Command in their Mother Tongue: He added, and 'tis possible, Gentlemen, from such an Example as this, the Legislators might one Time or other reinforce the Command by ordering it to be put up in some particular Tradesmens Compting-Houses, in Brafs and Spalor Ware-Houses, Coffee-Houses and other publick Rooms, where Workmen on some particular Occasions are often oblig'd to attend their Masters.

My Brother, who is naturally a grave Man, and thought the Subject treated in too ludicrous a Way, said, indeed Gentlemen, for my Part I can't think all Mankind have such just Ideas of moral Virtue as they ought to have; and tho' I'm far from turning a Subject like this into Jest and Ridicule, yet notwithstanding all the Sagacity that appears in a great Part of the trading World, as well as in the Countenances of your worthy C—b W—s, I think there's a Possibility of too many self-interested Traders mistaking the Command, as I'm afraid many of their Fathers have done before 'em, by imagining

it reaches only to Cut-Purses, Foot-Pads and Higwaymen; and I question not but many who are bang'd at Tyburn are less criminal than some who are Spectators of the Tragedy, and might perhaps have the Honour to sit upon the Bench. I presume, Gentlemen, you have not forgot what SOLOON, one of the wise Men of Greece, said of the Laws, viz. that they were like Spiders Webs, which only catch the small silly Flies, while more turbulent and perfidious Insects break thro' and escape them. We often see Equity and Justice, Right and Wrong, ebb and flow by the secret Influences of a long Purse; and 'tis my sincere Opinion (resum'd he with a good deal of Warmth) if the Account I have had of your two C—b O—s be true, and they were try'd even by a Spartan Jury, whose Laws gave them a Liberty to steal, (but never fail'd punishing those that were not detestous and ready-banded in making a clean Conveyance)

I say, were they acquitted by this Lacedaemonian Law, I'm afraid they'd not find the same kind Indulgence in the Vale of Jehoshaphat, where the Laws are establish'd on a quite different Foundation.

The Observation made upon this Story by Tom Skip, who you know is an arch Wagg, pleas'd me very much. Tom had diligently attended to his Master's Discourse, while he waited at Supper; and perceiving him smile when he was taking away the Cloth, I ask'd him in a familiar Way, what were his Sentiments upon the Matter: To which he reply'd with a low Bow, 'tis my humble Opinion, Madam, nothing can be found in the whole Codex Juris Anglicani so proper to purge these Gentlemen's Consciences from dead Works, as a Cat of nine Tails: This, says

he,

he, (in a very grave Tone) might perhaps have them the Trouble of making up their Accounts at *L—f—d*, and going to *W—k* to pay the Reckoning; but says he,
*If — should be their unhappy fate,
 Let us draw them in a coach of state.
 I am, my dear Urania, your sincere*

CAMILLA. A

Daily Gazetteer, Aug. 18. N° 672.

THE Craftsman makes grievous Complaints of what he calls the extraordinary Measures that were taken against his Paper: But I believe it will appear that there was nothing at all extraordinary in them. It is not to be disputed now, because it has often been determined and settled for Law, That Secretaries of State may commit, as Conservators of the Peace did at common Law, and that it was incident to the Office, as it is to the Office of Justice of Peace, who are not authorized by any express Words in their Commission to that Purpose, but do it *Ratione Officii*.

Those Persons, therefore, that were taken up, and detained in Custody, for the Craftsman of July 2. were taken up and detained by virtue of a legal Warrant and Authority, for a Crime which our Law esteems to be of a very heinous Nature; that is, for printing and publishing a most scandalous and infamous Libel against one whose Person the same Law esteems sacred, and holds in such high Veneration, that it is a Maxim in it, that *he can do no Wrong*.

As to the Seizing the Papers, there is no Question but there is the same Law for seizing the Libel, as there is for apprehending the Person who wrote it. Libels are a Kind of contraband and prohibited Goods, which may be seized where-ever they are found: And a Smuggler may, with equal Justice and Reason, complain of the Custom-house Officers for seizing run or prohibited Commodities, as the Craftsman of the Persons who execute the Warrant of a Secretary of State, for seizing his Libels.

Let us now proceed to that Part of his Complaint, which it is impossible can be true, in the Manner he relates it. For the Case really stands thus: His Men were taken into Custody for printing and publishing a scandalous Libel, as they very well deserved to be, and as they legally might be; they were detained in Custody till they could procure Bail to answer the Matters in charge against them, as it was likewise highly proper they should be, and which the Magistrates would have been blamable for, if they had not been; the natural Consequence of this was, that for want of Men, the Paper could not be published the Week following; and his Workmen still continuing in Custody for Want of Bail, it put him to some Difficulty and

Expence to procure others to supply their Place. This is the State of the Case, even according to his own Account of this Matter: And now I would be glad to know what Hardship or Oppression he has suffered in all this? And what Reason or Foundation there is for his Complaint?

A Extraordinary Bail is undoubtedly a Hardship; but what may be extraordinary Bail in one Case, may not be so in another. But since he complains to the Publick of being obliged to procure extraordinary Bail, why does he not vouchsafe to let the Publick know what Bail was demanded from him, that they may judge whether it was extraordinary or no? (See p. 432, 436.)

Craftsman, Aug. 20. N° 580.

Sir Roger L'Estrange and the present Country Writers compar'd.

I HAVE been lately dipping into Sir Roger L'Estrange's Paper call'd the *Observer*, wrote in the Reign of K. Charles II. and wonder that none of our London Journalists, Free Britons, or Gazetteers, have transcribed them into their Works, instead of torturing their own poor Brains for Arguments to the same Purpose. They will there find Matter in Abundance against the Country Party of those Times, under the present modish Appellations of *Libellers, Incendiaries, Republicans, Rebels and Traitors*, with a plentiful Intermixture of *Rogue, Rascal and Villain*; whilst the *modest Knights*, like our present *Drudges in Scandal*, is constantly complaining of *Austerity against himself*, and calling upon the *secular Arm* to proceed against his *Adversaries* with the utmost Rigour. They will there see *Patriotism* resolved into *Faction*, as well as *Liberty* into *Licentiousness*, and all Opposition to the *Amintistration of Government* represented as the Effect of *disappointed Ambition*, or a continued Plot against the *Constitution* itself, which his *Patrons* were then manifestly destroying. They will find him treating the *Magistrates and Citizens of London* as a *Pack of sturdy, insatiable Beggars, seditious Mechanicks, and perjured Villains*. They will see all *Petitions* to the *Parliament, for Redress of Grievances*, made the Subject of *Abhorrence*; whilst *flattering Addresses* to the *King*, are strenuously vindicated and applauded. As for *Bribery and Corruption, Prerogative, the Dependency of Parliament, and an unlimited Confidence in the Crown*, they will meet with much better Arguments than they have been able to produce upon the *same Subjects*, considering the great Difference between *those Times, and the present*, when all such *Principles* are solemnly abolished by *Law*, and our *Liberties* have received a *new Confirmation*. In short, I can hardly look into

into one of *these Papers*, without fancying to myself that I am reading the Works of our *Wal-fingbams* and *Osbornes*; for they are so much alike, that one would do for the other, with a few Alterations, adapted to the particular Circumstances of the *respective Times*; and, indeed, I am apt to believe that *some of them* have been obliged to *old Sir Roger* for the choicest Flowers of their *Wit* and *Rhetorick*; particularly that Mirror of Knighthood, Sir *A. B. C.* He then gives a Specimen of *Sir Roger's Manner of Writing*, as he did before of *Dry-dan's*. (See p. 435 D.)

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON-MAGAZINE.

S I R,

AFTER the many mortifying Disappointments, my vain Presumption has newly met with; — (I mean, with regard to those poor, excluded Excursions, of the poetical Sort, — which have successively, of late, been severally thrown aside, as quite unworthy of the Light: — I say, — considering these repeated Discouragements; — and, after all this unkind Usage of an old Correspondent; —) it may seem somewhat extraordinary, in so unfortunate a Scribbler, to think of persecuting you any further, with his pedling Performances: Which, in all human Probability, wou'd only expose him, (especially, now you seem to have got a Trick of serving him in this shameful Manner,) to the much-dreaded Disgrace of a *fresh Repulse*. Rage and Resentment (you may very justly imagine,) have above half-determin'd him to fly for Refuge to your most formidable Antagonist at *St. Job's Gate*: and, (like a brave, resolute Soldier, whose very best Services seem altogether slighted,) to desert, without more ado, to the alluring Enemy. For we are all perfectly sensible, that almost any Thing, in the World, — be it ever so wretchedly weak, or despicably low, — passes muster very readily with the incurious, injudicious *Urbans*. Any Kind of coarse *Garbage* serves well enough for poor, simple *Sylvanians*; and helps rarely to fill up his ungarnish'd *Gallimaufry*.

In a Word, — the most ponderous Productions are most manifestly calculated for the fore-mention'd Meridian, * and (methinks, very seasonably for poor *Syl*.) wou'd add something of *Weight* to his frothy Collections.

But, when all's done, Sir, — I must own, I've a natural Ambition to be seen in the *best of Company*; and therefore have now, again, presumptuously inclos'd a small poetical Present. † Which, perchance, may fortunately meet with a more favourable Reception, than some late ones, I seem'd to obli-

gately desirous of forcing upon You, I'm, in part likewise, animat'd to this bold and sturdy Perseverance by a certain consolatory Kind of *Advertisement*, that my poor, sorrowing, dejected Eyes were, at length, aware of: and which (as I suppose,) was intended, by way of *Cordial*, for your drooping Correspondents. Herein, Sir, you very plainly intimate (as I take it,) a cheerful and constant *Willingness* to oblige your said *versifying Passals*. Nay, — (to the no small Comfort of all *Journeyman-Jinglers*, — as well as for the due Encouragement of those ravishing *Rhyme-Jobbers*, of superior Rank,) you moreover most kindly condescend even to *desire* the Continuance of (what you're very complaisantly pleas'd to call) *their Favour*. And therefore, — shou'd we, accordingly, — in eager Pursuance of this generous Invitation, — officiously continue our small Scantling of *Servicos*, — (tho' it be, by *casting* only, now and then, a *Mite* into your *Treasury*;) we hope, you'll deal ingenuously with your *faithful Friends*, and graciously accept of their humble *Contributions*.

But if, by your discouraging (I had almost said, — *heart-breaking*) *Omissions*, you provokingly give us Room to call your *Sincerity* in question; — if, — notwithstanding your warm Professions of Respect, and an ardent Desire of gratifying our Ambition, — you begin to look coldly upon Customers, and disdainfully reject their most elaborate Efforts: — such a contradictory Procedure, such *cool* and unlook'd for Neglect, must inevitably occasion a very considerable Abatement of our natural *beat*, — put a sudden Stop to the *Impetuosity* of our Genius; — and (in particular,) not only mortify the *aspiring Vanity*, but quite deaden too the *expiring Vivacity* of,

From my Garret, S I R,
in Grub-Street. Your most obsequious Slave,
Aug. 17. 1737. Poetaster Jingle,

Common Sense, Aug. 20: N^o 29.

Consolatory Advice to the Ladies, during their
Recess in the Country.

THO' the Separation of the Parliament generally suspends the Vigour of political Altercations, I doubt it creates domestick ones; and, possibly, the Individuals of both Houses, may find as warm Debates at Home, as any they have met with during the Course of the Session.

Their Motion for adjourning into the Country, is, I believe, seldom seconded by their Wives and Daughters; and if at last they carry it, it is more by the Exertion of their Authority, than by the Cogency of their Reasoning. I think therefore I shall do my

Country good Service, if, by any Advice and Consolation I can offer to my fair Country-women, I can alleviate their Misfortunes, and mitigate the Horrors of their 6 Months Exile.

I know no Case of greater Compassion, and few of greater Consequence, than that of a fine Woman, hurried, not only by her Husband, but with her Husband, from all the Joys of London to all the Horrors of the Mansion-Seat, in the Country; where (not to mention many other Circumstances of this Tyranny) in one particular, I fear it too often resembles the *Mentemius* Cruelty, of tying a living Body to a dead one.

I first address myself to those Ladies, whose distinguish'd Beauty, Delicacy, and Accomplishments, justly place 'em at the Head of the Pleasures and Fashion of the Town. I am not absurd enough, even to hint the usual rural Recreations, of fetching a Walk, a Horse Race, an Assize Ball, or a Silly-bub under the red Cow, which must all of 'em be excessively shocking to their Delicacy. I wish I could procure 'em a six Months Sleep or Annihilation; but as that is not in my Power, the best Advice I can give 'em, is to carry down a Provision of the tenderest Books, which will at once improve their Style, nourish all the Delicacy of their Sentiments, and keep Imagination awake.

The most voluminous Romances are the most servicable, and wear the best in the Country, since four or five of them will very near hold out the Season. Besides that, the pleasing Descriptions of the Flowery Valles, where the tender Heroines so often bewail'd the Absence of their much-lov'd Heroes, may, by the Help of a little Imagination, and an elegant Sympathy, render the solitary Prospect of the neighbouring Fields a little more supportable.

Some Time too may be employ'd in Epistolary Correspondence with distress'd, sympathizing Friends in the same Situation, pathetically describing all the disagreeable Circumstances of the Country; with this just Exception only, *That one could bear with it well enough for two or three Months in the Summer, with the Company one lik'd, and without the Company one dislike'd.*

With such Amusements, I should hope they may pass, or rather kill the tedious Time of their Banishment, without very great Anxiety; but if that can't be, there is one Expedient more which I have often known practis'd with Success; that is, the Cholick, and Pains in the Stomach, to such a Degree, as absolutely to require the Assistance of the *Bath*. The Cholick (in the Stomach I mean) is a clean, general Disemper, and by no means below Women of the first Condition; and they should always keep it by 'em, to be us'd as Occasion requires.

As for those Ladies who move but in a second Sphere in Town, their Case is far from being so compassionate, their Fall from London to the Country being by no Means so considerable; nay, in some Particulars, I am not sure if they are not Gainers by it. For they are indisputably in the Country what they never are in Town, the First. They give Currency to Fashions and Expressions; they are star'd at, admir'd, and consulted. They are likewise of a more accommodating Temper, and can let themselves down to Country Recreations: It is true, these are Condescensions, and Condescensions too, which they would be horribly ashamed of, should they be detected in the Fact by any of their London Acquaintance; but still, with these Helps, the Summer goes off tolerably well, till bad Roads, bad Weather, and long Evenings change the Scene. Then comes the dire domestick Struggle; the Lady exposes with Satire and Contempt the rustick Pleasures, that detain 'em in the Country; the Husband retorts the Pleasures of a different Nature, which, he conceives, invite her Ladyship up to Town; Warmth ensues, the Lady grows eloquent, the Husband coarse; and from that Time, till the Day is fix'd for going to London, Peace is banish'd the Family.

The *Bath* would be of sovereign Efficacy in this Case too, and, like the Waters of *Lethe*, would wash away the Remembrance of these disagreeable Incidents; but if that can't be compass'd, the last Resort I can recommend to these Ladies, is, by the alternate and proper Use of Clamour and Sullenness, Invectives and Tears, to reduce their Husbands to seek for Quiet in Town.

Old Whig, Aug. 25. N^o 129.

Of Suicide, or Self-Murder.

SELF-Murder appears to me to be incapable of any rational Defence. 'Tis worthy of our Consideration, that it is condemned by the common Consent and Sense of Mankind; even those not excepted who would put the most favourable Construction on the Action, by saying, that no Man can perpetrate the Fact without being *pro tempore* a Lunatick: which plainly proves, that even such People own it to be a *mod*, or an *irrational Action*. But this Way of treating *Suicides*, in general, is surely very faulty, since we have had many Instances of *Self Murderers*, who have proved to us, by every precedent Part of their Behaviour, that they had as great a Command of their intellectual Faculties as any Man can be said to have, who commits Adultery, robs his Neighbour of his Property, or takes away his Life.

But it is said more directly in Vindication of the Action, 'That altho' human Laws have

have condemned it, yet it is no where forbidden by any express *divine Law*.*

It must be own'd, that there is no express written Law of God which says, *Thou shalt not kill thy self*. But then the Law of God expressly says, *Thou shalt do no Murder, or Thou shalt not kill*. Now then, if a Man's taking away his own Life be neither *Killing*, nor *Murdering*, then I own that there is no express *divine Law* against it.

But the *Devil* in the Book of *Job*, reasons better than our *Suicides*; and that *Accuser* plainly proves to us, from the Knowledge he had of human Nature, that there was no more Reason for an express Divine Law against *Self Murder*, than there was to forbid a Man's neglecting Food when he was hungry.

But again, it is said in Defence of the *Suicide*, 'That a Man's Life is his own Property, freely given to him of God, and as a free Agent he may dispose of it at his Pleasure.'

But this Intimation can in no supposed Case be supported. For Instance; had I no Relation or Friend in the World to which I stood more immediately obliged, and was there no particular or special Demand on me from the *Publick*, yet this is not sufficient to constitute me quite independent. The Author of my Being has placed me in a fixed standing Relation to the Whole; and by the Law of my Maker has obliged me to contribute all in my Power to the Good of the Whole. But my taking away my own Life is an *explicite Refusal* of my Duty, and asserting an Independence to which I have no manner of Claim.

The Freedom of Agency with which I am endowed, gives me no more Right to take away my own Life, than it does to affront God my Maker in any other Regard.

Nor will it be any sufficient Defence to say, 'I have more Evil than Good in my present Allotments, and therefore I have a Right to give my self a Discharge.'

I could almost imagine, that that ancient Book of *Job* was written on purpose to answer such an Objection, or solve such a Difficulty. The chief Character that dramatick Writing presents us with, is a Man thrown from the Summit of Prosperity to the lowest Ebb of Calamity and Distress. And what does he say, or how does he behave? Why, his Wife seems to have advis'd him to turn *Suicide* — *Curse God and die*, * says she. His Answer is, *Shall we receive Good at the Hand of God, and shall we not receive Evil?* I would ask any Man, whether this does not discover a much nobler Mind, and infinitely more Bravery of Spirit, than if he had given way to *Cowardice* and *Despair*, and meanly

deserted the Post assign'd him by his General or Commander, because a difficult one?

The heathen Theology has taught, that *Patience*, *Submission*, and *Resignation* under Afflictions, are Virtues which most exalt and perfect human Nature. So taught a *Socrates*, a *Seneca* and an *Antoninus*: And nothing is more apparently the Spirit of the Christian Doctrine, as may be seen fully confirmed by the whole Behaviour and Conduct of the Holy *Jesus*. In a Word, the *New Testament* cannot be defended in its Precepts and Examples, if *Self-Murder* be either lawful or indifferent.

This State is evidently a State of Trial, and as such, requires a considerable Mixture of Affliction or natural Evil; in order to curb, and blunt the Edge of the Appetite toward moral Evil, and is an useful and proper Antidote against it, in the present Oeconomy of Things.

To conclude, It is a surprising Circumstance which belongs to some of the Defenders of this unnatural Crime, *vis.* 'that they are in Doubt about the Certainty of a future Existence.'

Methinks a mere Doubt about the Reality of a future State, is a Reason sufficient to dread a Departure out of the present. It is like *Hobbs*, to take a great Leap in the Dark! gloomy Ideas, a Leap into Chaos and endless Night! or fixed Misery! To this, surely, no Circumstance of Being here, but what must be preferable; because, these we know are not fixed, but changeable; and tho' very afflictive now, Good may anon gain the Ascendency. What an unaccountable Creature then must he be, who so daringly makes this stupid, this wicked Adventure!

PHILANTHROPE.

Craftsman, Aug. 27. N^o 531.

THIS Paper contains some more Quotations from Sir Roger L'Estrange, which Mr. D'Anvers concludes, with a short Remark or two upon the Whole. And first, (says he) we may observe that the worst Ministers in the World will never want Advocates, whilst they continue in Power. 2dly, It appears, from these Instances, that bad Ministers have always an implacable Hatred against the common People, whom they treat worse than brute Beasts, and will not allow them the Use of their Senses, to judge whether they are well govern'd or not. The Revolution was a most solemn and practical Condemnation of all such slavish Doctrines; and nothing can be more absurd than to revive them under a Government, which receiv'd its very Being from Principles diametrically opposite.

* Job's Wife seems to have had a right Notion of Self-Murder; for she supposes that a Man's destroying himself, must be the Effect of his angry Resentments against his Maker, q. d. cursing thy God, and killing thy self, will agree well enough together.

The Palace of FANCY.

HIGH on the bright expanse of azure
skies,
Hid from the ken of *Gabriel's* eyes,
A planetary orb revolves its sphere
Round, as its center, the remotest star.
Not *Flamsteed's* self could e'er discern its phase
Thro' the bright convex of increasing glass:
Nor are its motions more exact survey'd,
Progressive, station'ry or retrograde;
Unsol'd the whole by *astronomick* rules,
Or observations of star-gazing schools:
From vulgar minds eternally conceal'd,
To quick imagination only yet reveal'd.

An airy goddess its dominion claim'd,
Fancy by men, by gods *Pantasia* nam'd:
No kind embrace of genial love brought forth
The dame, (to nature's laws a monstrous
birth)

But from the drunken deity's temples bred,
As wisdom issu'd from the thund'rer's head.
The jovial god once quaff'd beneath his vine
Too free, when lo! the flabby fumes of wine
In painful vapours stuf'd his lab'ring head,
Till ripe for birth leap'd forth the full-grown
maid;

Of form so various, of such medley mind,
Now true, then false, now courteous, then
nankind;

The angry gods expell'd her from their eyes,
And left her to possess the lower skies.

Here in resplendent majesty she reigns,
In a grand edifice not made with hands;
By magic skill the curious structure wrought
And to perfection rais'd as quick as thought,
Pendent in air, uplifts its gilded tow'rs
By strong effluvia of magnetick pow'rs:
The frontispiece of costly *Parian* stone
Studded with gems, in sparkling lustre shone,
On earth unmatched, beyond conception fine,
Or poets skill, or painters gay design.

The walls around with breathing canvass fill'd
(Where *Hogarth's* self might see himself ex-
cell'd).

Of various kinds, in fabulous tales express
The goddess' influence, and her power confess.

Here we behold in lively colours drawn
* Th' adventurous sire but more adventurous son,
In that impervious maze for life confin'd
Which his own choice invention had design'd:
Till thought gave wings and taught them how
to fly

With borrow'd plumage thro the liquid sky:
Mark! the rash youth now tow'ring out of sight,
Too near alas! he feels the god of light;
The soft'n'd wax relaxes in the flame,
He falls and gives the seas beneath a name.

There the ingenious artist had display'd
† The furious ravisher and flying maid,

See! the strong colours to the life express
Horror, amaze, confusion in her face, [forth
When at th' appointed time the fair brought
Her fruit, half-man, half-beast, a monstrous
birth.

Here in another pourtraiture are seen
The dreaded ills of melancholy men;
Pity that spoke, and tears that seem'd to fall,
Expressive sighs, and wishes fill'd the wall;
Surliness, jealousy, and empty fear,
With all the ghastly train of black despair.

There its reverse on th' adverse side portrays
Delusive hopes and airy promises,
Prospects of motley hue, *Elysian* schemes,
Astoria's mines, *Pactolus's* golden streams,
Vague reveries, that on the senses creep,
When reason nods, and fancy sports in sleep.
Such nice designs, the pencil's strokes ex-
press'd,

The spangl'd portal of her palace grac'd;
Two lofty valves its inner parts compleat,
The massive doors on golden hinges grate,
Which opening wide, thro spacious passages,
Leads to the palace' innermost recess.

On either side of costly work is seen
Neatly contriv'd a curious magazine;
Where hoarded up unpepal reliques lie,
Vows unperform'd, and death-bed charity;
The maiden's chastity, the knaves good name,
Kept mistress' constancy, and lover's flame;
The tradesman's honour, and the sick man's
pray'rs, [heirs,

The great man's promise, and the grief of
The doctor's faith, the lawyer's conscience,
The parson's learning, gown-man's eloquence;
All treasure'd here, long, long since mis'd on
earth,

Till new *Saturnian* Times recal them forth.

Thence passing forward thro' the sacred dome
Ascend six gradual steps the presence room:
There on a gorgeous seat, which far outshines
The wealth of *Africk* or *Peruvia's* mines,
Of that inestimable jewel wrought
Philosophers so long on earth have fought,
In royal state exalted sits the queen
Of various figure and unsettled mien;
About the throne her costly garments flow,
And vie for colours with the radiant bow.
Myriads of airy forms around her stand,
Prepar'd to follow instant her command.

These over human race intreat preside, [guide:
Watch all their ways, and all their motions
Unseen to us are ever on the wing,
And grief or gladness, pain or pleasure bring.
By these machines the goddess long has reign'd
With arbitrary power o'er the mind;
Thro' all her mazes the fond soul beguiles,
And glads or sorrows, as the frowns or smiles.

Thus when the dame vouchsafes a cheerful
day,
And her pleas'd looks a graceful smile betray;

* *Dædalus* and *Icarus*. *The Art of Flying*, a Science much improv'd by a late *Modern*, the
Bishop of Queder. † *Saturn* and *Phylira*. *The Birth of the Centaur*, a *Chimæra*.

Swift to their posts the airy elves repair,
 And whisper pleasures in the mortals ear:
 With various raptures ev'ry bosom's fir'd,
 Like the mad priestess by the god inspir'd.
 [To be concluded in our next.]

Sennet from *Monsieur Fortanella*.

TIS I (so said whilome to *Daphnis Apollo*,
 As puffing and breathless the nymph he
 did follow,

Repeating the while with a most earnest spirit,
 A long list of his feats to set of his merit.

• 'Tis I inspire poets with poetical fits, [wits,
 • I'm acknowledg'd the god both of poets and
 But poetry could not, and wit wanted the charms
 To persuade the fair nymph to the god's long-
 ing arms. [prevail,

• Musick I know, sure musick will o'er you
 But for once even musick so pow'rful, did fail.

• By my deep skill in herbs a physician I'm
 made

• And I am by profession the god of the trade,
 A physician! that word added wings to her
 sight [fight.

And quicker than ever she skims out of his
 Had he said, see the conquest you have in
 your pow'r,

I ever am handsome, ever fresh as a flow'r,
 With youth everlasting full of smiles in my
 face, [end to the race.

The nymph, faith, had stop'd and put an

To *Miss Nancy T——r*.

THE goddess of *Paphos*, in terrible pain,
 Was fought for by *Cupid*, but fought all
 in vain; [stretts,

When thus the blind urchin proclaims'd in the
 Whoever the beautiful wanderer meets,
 And tells me, her forrowing son, where she is,
 The greatest reward I can give, shall be his.
 To the marks I describe your attention bestow,
 And I'm sure you my mother from thousands
 will know.

Each charm of her face, and each glance of
 her eyes,

In spite of indifference forces surprise.
 Ten thousand soft beauties encircle her waist,
 And ecstacy melts on her heav'nly breast.
 Her beautiful tresses hang down on her back,
 Now wanton in air, and now play on her
 neck.

On her lips all the sweets of *Arabia* dwell,
 Such sweets, gods! as none but who taste
 them can tell.

What painter can draw, or what poet express,
 The carelessly flowing and ease of her dress?

Ambitions to gain the blind god on my side,
 To what he said, thus I in raptures, reply'd,
 Oh! *Cupid*, the god I have always ador'd,
 Fair *Venus* shall soon to your arms be restor'd;
 For by your description (unless it deceives)
 I'm sure I can tell where the goddess now lives.

Haste, haste, said the god, prithee, do not
 delay, [way.

But to the dear place, where she is, lead the
 I led him to *Camberwell*—there in the grove,
 And shew'd (as I thought her) the goddess of
 love.

How great was his wonder, how strong his
 surprise,

When first he beheld *T——r's* powerful eyes!
 He gaz'd on each feature, and studied each
 grace,

That gave a fresh lustre and charm to her face.
 Is't possible, heav'n! all in raptures he cried,
 There should be such beauty unstained with
 pride! [said,

I'm pleas'd with thy error, fond mortal, be
 For now all my losses are doubly mortal;
 In search of my mother in vain I may rove,
 Then henceforth be *T——r* the goddess of
 love. [below;

Thou'st seen the most charming of women
 And she's the reward which on thee I'll be-
 stow.

The *lovely* BEAUTY.

AMONG the roses white and red,
 That o'er fair *Flavia's* face are spread,
 With painted wings young *Cupid's* play,
 As sporting on a holiday;
 And let their random arrows fly,
 In mirth, among the standards-by:
 But quickly will, their pasture done,
 Pick up their arrows, and be gone;
 And only the bruise'd flow'rs declare,
 The little urchins had been there.

But unto *Sylvia's*, as their home,
Venus and all the graces come.
 Here *Cupid's* numberless are seen,
 As at the court of beauty's queen;
 Not bent on sport, but ready stand
 Obedient, at their queen's command,
 To send the love-creating dart,
 And reach with skill the destin'd heart:
 And there with constant care shall wait,
 'Till *Sylvia's* self submit to fate.

Flavia's beauty gives surprise,
 Like lightning, to the sense, and dies.
 But *Sylvia's*, like the vestal fire,
 Does awful reverence inspire;
 While *Venus* and her son supply
 The sacred flame, that ne'er shall die.

The blossom in the infant-year
 Like *Flavia's* beauty does appear:
 Frail being! form'd too weakly fair
 The sky's inclemencies to bear;
 Or, if from casual harms secure,
 Born but a moment to endure.

But *Sylvia's* lasting beauty shares,
 As that the sacred laurel wears;
 Whose boughs a heav'nly lot partake,
 By *Phebus*, lov'd for *Daphne's* sake;
 Bless'd by the god, unchang'd to wear
 Perpetual verdure all the year; [ogle

And with unfading leaves to crown
The deathless poet with renown.

Thou charms to last with life are giv'n
To *Sylvia*, fav'rite nymph of heav'n:
And the too shall thick honours spread
Around her happy poet's head:

But let not, *Sylvia*, thy devoted swain,
Who loves like *Phebus*, love like him in vain.

O do not thou, like *Daphne*, cruel prove!
Change not thy nature to deny me love.
So by my muse to future ages shewn,
Thy virtues and perfections shall be known:
Who pleas'd shall read the wonders I rehearse,
And trace thy beauties living in my verse,

DE CUPIDO & de la DAME.

Tiré de MAROT.

A MOUR crovois celle qui m'est amere:
Es j'y estois, j'en sçay bien mieulx le compte:
Bon jour, dit il, bon jour, Venas m'en mere,
Puis tout à coup il veoit qu'il se mescompte,
Dont la couleur au visage lui monte
D'avoir failly: bontaux Dieu sçait combien t
Non, non, Amour, ce dy je, n'ayez bonte t
Plus clers voyans que vous s'y trompent bien.

The above imitated by Mr. Lockman.

THE LOVELY MISTAKE.

AS *Mira* once and I were laid
Beneath the woodbine's trembling shade,
Came *Cupid*; dear mamma, he cries
(Bright anguish stealing from his eyes)
Alas! I've sought you all the day,
Surpris'd where my mamma could stray;
O'er dales and hills and rocks I flew,
E'er gliding fairies slip the dew:
Sighing, to love I breath'd a vow:
'Twas heard; for oh! I've found you now.

Love's rising joy his smiles express,
When swift he springs to *Mira's* breast;
But going to kiss her rosy cheek,
Amas'd he starts, and scarce can speak.
Thus to mistake! O fatal disgrace!—
Confusion sweetly flush'd his face.—
How folks will laugh! this wak'd his pride;
He hangs his head, and turns aside.

Seeing the rover tortur'd thus;
Fond child, says I, why all this fuss?
Suppress your blushes, be not griev'd;
Much quicker eyes have been deceiv'd.

AN ANSWER to the RIDDLE for the Ladies.
(See p. 392.)

IF she shall first be made a wife,
Who first your name can guess;
The thing is done, I'll lay my life
That I shall have success.
Hard iron from the earth is brought,
Design'd for mortals aid,

And must in various shapes be wrought,
Before the NEEDLE's made.
By industrious hand with active speed
Thro' flow'ry lawns it's sent;
And helps the maid in time of need,
When parents wealth is spent.
True emblem of conjugal love!
Get me a man of worth,
My constancy to him shall prove
As *tbine* is to the north.
Tho' maids of honour s'ight thine aid,
(Cause play is so bewitching;)
My good man never shall upbraid
My negligence in stitching.

A Letter from an Apothecary's 'Prentice in
W—street to his Friend at Oxford, in
Answer to an Epistle which exposes the logi-
cal Opinions that prevail in the University.

Dear Tom,

AS forward children learn to talk,
By imitating wiser folk,
So I by your example fix'd
To budibrack have aspir'd,
Laid aside gallipots and glasses,
To see which thought in verse surpasses;
And as for juleps, fomentations,
With all our other preparations,
Of vegetable, animal,
Chemical or Galenical,
One hour they're banish'd from my brain
For sake of a poetick strain.
Why should they not? since imitation
Is surest sign of approbation.

Well then — a word of our physicians,
Who nearly imitate logicians;
But troubled with much stranger fancies,
What one agrees to — t'other gainsays.
Each has establish'd theories,
And numberless hypotheses,
Fetch'd from as many diff'rent points as
The mariner can tell in's compass.
There's not a thing they all agree in
But acceptable form of seeing.
Ask them from whence proceed diseases,
You're answer'd just as fancy pleases;
With one 'tis acid quality,
T'other affirms it alkali,
A third will give them both the lye.

But stay — do I not satyrise?
Which only is the part o'th' wife.
Well be it so — I'll turn my cue
And give the other side their due.
Those whose opinion never varies
Like understanding 'pothecaries
(Who strive to heal by following nature)
Are far beyond the reach of satire;
Omitting astrologick notions
They mark th' effects of pills and potions;
And as for all the diff'rent knowledge
That's sought for by our learned college,
Supply its place with botany,
Chemistry and anatomy.

Knowing full well that they contain
More than enough for human brain,
And are by all thought most prevailing
To the chief point the art of healing.
In short, did all with these agree,
The noblest art would never be
Loaden as 'tis with infamy. }

Perhaps you'll wonder how I can
Attack the sage physician,
(Whose learned pen in dissertation
Instructive, rails at our vocation,
And would in healing part deny us
A nobler task than gonorrhoeas;)
Therefore I'll verify a story,
To set the matter right before ye.

One day (as fabulists report)
A painter of the meaner sort
Was hasting on to cross the waters,
With signs and some such kind of matters;
But seeing an impudent show'r,
Turn'd back for shelter to the Tow'r:
When by a shilling's aid he'd seen
The crown of England's king and queen,
He turn'd aside to cast his eye on
That dreadful animal — the lyon:
With prying eye he view'd the beast,
The beast as sternly views his guest,
Who now with inward pride elate
Shews him in paint two lyons fate,
Where spite of all the best they can do
They're worsted — by a single man too.
The noble king of beasts reply'd,
What shoaks of men by us have dy'd,
Arabia's deserts can attest
And many nations in the west;
But here's the worst on't — we have not
The art of painting 'mong us got.
Now to apply — while doctors write,
And we like fools stand out of sight,
No wonder that they brag and glory,
Just like the painter in my story.

But now, dear Tow, to end my letter,
Since length can ne'er make dullness better,
May health and happiness attend you
And all the learning heav'n can send you.

H. W.

AN EPITAPH on Edward Johnson, Web-
ster: Who devi'd a Copyhold-Tenement,
towards the Maintenance of a Minister,
to preach at the Chapel of Talk-on-the-Hill,
in the County of Stafford.

AS I an earbly blessing from the Lord re-
ceiv'd,
So again to his use I have it bequeath'd.
As I no issue had, some of my friends I gave;
Who rest to Talk, that preaching they might have,

* They were kindly intended, by the Author, for Johnson's Grave-Stone; and very liberally in-
clud'd in a learned Letter to the Trustees, for their previous (tho' quite unquonifiable) Appropriation.
But, alas! — either the depressing Essay of the present Times, — or the unaccountable ill Taste of
modern Critics, — or both, — gave the Preference (it seems) to another Epitaph, that was (sur-
prisingly enough) suppos'd to be better Penn'd,

To help their souls to heav'n, the high abode,
Where saints and martyrs sing the songs of God.

On the foregoing Verses. [By Mrs. Barbara
Billingsgate.]

SUCH stuff before was never writ!
The fellow's, sure, quite void of wit;
Nor pity has, nor sense of shame,
To make his verses, all, dog-lame!
And then, — what adds to my surprize, —
They are expos'd to publick eyes;
Which, tho' half blind, may plainly see,
His ignorance and pride agree.
All will, no doubt, be much amaz'd,
And cry, — alas! the poet's cran'd! —
Poor man! — I pity his condition:
His pbenxy has no intermission.

Pri'thee, let me advise, for once;
And never write again, thou dunce!
Thou heavy clod! — thou hobbling creature! }
Plague not a pen; — scrawl not a letter: }
Holding the plow'll become thee better. }

The Requisite Remonstrance; or, Grave
Rebuke: An Epistle, — to the Rev. Mr.
B—ch, Curate, Schoolmaster, and Poet; On
his most profoundly sublime Epitaph on Ed-
ward Johnson, Webster. [By Poetaster
Jingle, Esq; the Grubstreet Laureat.]

BOLD, barbarous brother! — O what hast
thou done?
Why, — murder committed, as sure as a gun.
Bloody work (in good truth!) thy soul fingers
have made on't: [make a trade on't.
But, in grace o' good luck, boy, — they won't
What a monster is here! — all feet, — and no
head!

Sure, thou by a *status ignis* wast led, [Colly'as
Not inspir'd by a muse, child! — unless cousin
For thou art his match, in poetical follies;
And, as worthy to tell us of *beav'nly abodes*,
As he, to compose us divine *birth-day odes*:
So, my vote and best int'rest, — if thou but
survive, —

Thou shalt certainly have, bro', (if I be alive,)
His poor, pist-on garland to win, and to wear:
For, to his laugh at laurel, at law thou art heir.

But, then, — soar not too high, — lest thy
Pegasus founder; [der.
And stumbling on clouds, fall as flat as a flower-
I suppose, you have read, — among *Ovid's*
relations, — [mations,)
(I mean those of fundry and strange *Transform-*
Of *Phaeton* bold: — him, at least, you have
heard on; [I ask pardon:)
(For you mayn't teach so far, br; — if so, —

How, being got out of his road, like a fool, fir,
And, the sun's fiery couriers unable to rule, fir,
He rais'd, here below, a most mighty combustion :

Like a grovelling poet, that deals much in
Whose ambitious attempts end, at last, in a
flame,

Thro' a senseless pursuit of a whimsical fame.

Of one *Icarus* too,—and his counterfeit wings,—
(In your diction'ry, at least,—among other
such things,)

You have possibly read:—who vent'ring much
Than prudence advis'd, or his cunning old fire,
Came tumble, tumble, tumble,—without stop
or stay,—

And fell wi' th' head foremost, plumb into
So that *fights bigb and lesty*, as well as too
low,

May occasion (you find fir,) a great deal of
But, if,—after all—you've an itching desire
To scribble still on,—spite of *water*, or *fire*,—
And, *avoid Misered*;—(but hold! 'tis not
common

To come out with *Latin*, before an *old woman* :)
I say,—if you'll needs be for making diversion,
Approaching no harm, or from *flame*, or
submersion ;

But *hope*.—notwithstanding what yet has been
To go off with honour and die in your bed :
If (in short,) you'll e'en venture to flourish
and vapour,

And play tricks, and conjure, with pen, ink,
Consider, old friend,—this the case does not
alter :

Impunity helps many a one to an *halter*.
Think too, what you risk, thus to kill
and to slay :

You're a *parricide* both, and a *felo de fe*.
For you murder, without any consideration,
Your abus'd *mother tongue*, and your *own*
reputation.

Bouncing *Bays* before-mention'd, thy proud
predecessor,
Of the same savage sort, a most shameful
Wou'd make us believe, he has study'd *Low-*
ginnus ;

And seem full as subtil, as *Thomas Aquinas* :
But the Light, & he sets out with, serves
only to blind us.

But, for wrecking sound words, fir, and
mangling fine speeches, [*Tom Cr—'s*,
Pray, what's his just fate?—why, the same with
In *Effigia*, at least, more than once has he
swung ;

And, both long and loud, his great *insamy*
Nay, his prostitute credit—(and what can be
fadder ?)

Each revolving new-year, is twice turn'd off
And not without cause ;—for (when loading
his desk,)

On *mejsby's self*, he e'en dares to burlesque.

For which vile offence, (were he both *flarr'd*
and *garter'd*.)

He richly deserves to be hang'd, drawn, and
To so gracious a king, to be so disloyal! —
How comes it, the wretch is not brought to
his trial? .

For he eats of his bread, and drinks of his
And the trait'rous ingrate shou'd be put on the
rack.

Him too he dishonours, whom great *George*
represents:

Which, the seal of so *pious* an age, sure, re-
For he strangely perverts and prophanes holy
scripture ;

And, for this, you'll allow, that he ought to
Beside,—what's the reverse of *creation*, but
murder ?

So *C—r's* dull jade, when at start he had
Cry'd,—*let there be light* †! —and, (to give
him his dues,)

Straight, the palpable *darkness of Egypt* ensues.
To recover my *subject*, as well as my
figbt ;—

(For, in troth! I had like to ha' lost 'em—
Thy unmusical lyre keeps no manner of *time*;
But 'tis hard, there shou'd be neither *reason*,
nor *rhyme*.)

If thy labours, in *prose*, are no better, nor
But as dull, and as flat, and as lame, as thy
metre ;

Lord!—how any man, in his wits, must be
To see thee, poor soul, *bobble* after thy *text* !
And surely, 'twould raise our contempt, or
our pity,

Shou'd a fellow, that's *dumb*, try to give us
And a poor, scrambling *cart-horse*, that's both
lame and *blind*,

(Nay,—as well to the *stagers*, as *spavin*, in-
Is an *asi*, for his pains, if he needs will turn
racer ;

Since he hardly will mend much his wonted dull
For, the' damnably spur-gall'd, and flogg'd,
o'er and o'er, }
He'll come wheezing and gamb'ling, with' }
And but make people laugh, 'till their
sides are e'en fore.

Old *Hopkins*, and *Sternbold*, their *eyes*, and
their *eyes*,

Us'd, as so many props, to support their weak
Tho' the work be but *coarse*, yet you there
have good *measure* ;

And their hymns may recite, both with pro-
But thy brains awkward offspring is such an
odd creature,

It has neither *proportion*, nor one goodly *fea-*
Nor one sparkling of *wit* was e'er spy'd in the
minion :

Nay, 'twou'd puzzle a divine, to be a sk'd his
In this thy poetical jargon, and canting,
If agreeable *sound*, or good *sense*, be more
wanting.

* See London Magazines, Vol. I. page 365.
cited Ode.

† See, — the bright Beginning of the above-

Had not *Jobson's* industrious shuttle ran
smoother, [such a loother,
He, nor living, nor dead, wou'd have had
As *lawning M—t B—cb*; — whole hopes
were then budding, [padding.
Of having a share * in the webber's plumb-
But, O *Paradogues* rare! — precious *prigs* of
Apollin! — [we thee follow?
'Tho' the intricate maze, pray, how shall
'Thou had no more regard to *construction*
grammatic, [fanatic,
'Thou, — to good, decent forms, a foul, filthy
It, in *fun'ral-harangu* †, *Nod* no better
was fitted, [omitted.
Thy compliments *grofs* had as well been
For thy very *third line*, man, obliquely *dece*
hint,

That his table of sins had *adultery* in't;
And makes him come out with a tacit *con-*
fession, [transgression,
That he something had known of that *sordid*
At first glance, this appears, from thy *stile*
comprehensive: [extensiveness.
But *Nod's* charity, sure, was not quite so
And now, — brother *B—cb*, — (left you
think me quite rude,) [conclude. —
With some *serious advice*, I'll make bold to
In your study, — (if any you have,) — or, in
school, [the fool,
I charge you, take care, you no more play
'Gainst *sunday*, read o'er, — with attention
most steady, —

And a *humble* strive to get perfect and ready.
Mind your *nouns*, and your *verbs*: — and I
prize thee, friend, mind, [declin'd.
That *CARMEN's* a word, that may well be
Regard what I say, — lest your flock, at
the church, [you i'th' lurch: —
In the midst of your *dream*, shou'd all leave
And the lads, at the school, shou'd, at
length, be aware, [thing to fear.
From thy *merciful rod*, that they've no-
For they too will *lough*, and be glad in their
heart, [smare.
When *Birch* has not pow'r to make any thing

Upon the Translation of the Right Revd. Dr.
POTTER to the See of CANTERBURY.

WHEN rev'nd *Waka* in peace resign'd
his breath,
And fell a victim to impartial death;
Potter the great, (whose venerable name
Stands consecrated to immortal fame;)
Was by our faith's defender thought to be
The worthy'st bishop for the vacant see.
Now rev'nd *Potter Lambeth's* seat doth
grace,
As his just right, when merit claims the place.
Learning and honour, justice, truth divine,
In *Potter's* sacred breast serenely shine;

* He made Interest, about that Time, for the *Plague*,
ral-Sermon.

Land's piety, and *Seldon's* zeal appears;
And *Jaxon's* loyalty divinely fair.
Sure, rev'nd *Potter* was by heav'n design'd
To give divine instructions to mankind;
As he by providence divine was sent,
To guard the church, and be her ornament;
Kind heav'n permit, that he may live to
see
Our sacred temples in prosperity;
Piety flourish, heresy abate,
And rites divine regain their ancient state.
When his immortal spirit mounts on high,
And leaves behind its dull mortality;
May he a crown of endless glory wear, [are.
In these blest realms where saints and angels

On the famous Lord Theobald: Found in a
fool Copy under the Title of *Misere in*
Felicium. I think it shou'd be rather, *Mi-*
serere Infelicium.

NAVIA, mercator, homo, dux Theobaldus,
& armis
luctatus, at civis totius orbis oras.
Et modo regales felix affuisset beatus;
Et modo, depositis fœlicibus, ovali abiit.
Cancere conclusus tandem, & spoliatus ad aem,
O quid non fueras? O Theobaldus, quid es?

To the Author of the LONDON MAGA-
ZINE.

S I R,

THE Epigram so much talk'd of at present,
Dum dubitat natura, marem sacretur
puellam,
Factus es, O pulcher pene poella puer;
is far from being either grand or just. Doubt-
less *Ausonius* only intended it as a pretty little
Compliment to a Child; and in such manner it
shou'd be Translated:

While nature meditated that and this,
Forth cam'st thou, lovely boy, almost a mis!

But if we turn the Compliment, and make a
Gradation from the Female to the Male (instead
of from the Male to the Female) then the Com-
pliment will be both great and delicate. It
was thus done about a year ago by a Friend of
mine, and deservedly applied to a very agreeable
young Lady, as follows.

To Miss E. H.—pk—ns.

While nature doubted, youth or nymph to
france;
Forth to the wond'ring world *Eliza* came. —
Thus by mere chance, explain it as you can,
One female (and but one since time began)
Has all her sex's charms and all the *soft* of
man.

† Mr. B— preach'd *Nod's* *Fune-*

The Description of a Handkerchief, writ upon
Condition of being rewarded with a real one.

NO common theme display'd in rhime
Teach me, *Pierian* maids, to sing ;
Here, humble vot'ry, to your shrine
The trophy'd *bandkerchief* I bring.
Whether the silk-worm spin to form
Its texture, or the cotton-tree
With vegetable wool adorn,
Still all in its applause agree.
See ! this the drooping *Sage* relieves ;
Posts to its protection go ;
Hence *tragedy* pathetic grieves ;
Effectual engine this of woe !
This animates the *preacher's* line ;
Pulpits awak'ning truths reveal,
While brandish'd this by hand divine
Streams out the instrument of seal.
Thou art (if thee we may address)
Chief mourner at the miser's bier ;
Now, chang'd the scene, dost joy express
By frolic swains high warr'd in air.
Oft thou around the aching head
(While hartshorn spends its drops in vain,
In vain while spouting blood is shed)
Forbidst to rage the temples pain.
Edg'd with no sparkling lace the coat,
What is it thus attracts the eye ?
The pocket's pride thou peepst out,
Becoming superfluity !
Here for the fainting virgin thou
Dost vials liquid fragrance borrow ;
From thee detach'd quick spirits flow,
Recal her colour, chase her sorrow :
There nymphs to thee neat works impart,
Which painters colours have design'd ;
Around thee sports the needle's art
Leaving gay tracks of flow'rs behind.
The abject task dost thou despise ?
Fly'ft thou to hood-wink *Cupid* o'er ?
Absurd pursuit ! still veil the eyes
Of justice, but of love no more.
But haste, and with thy charms surround
Corinna's neck too often bare ;
There let thy blooming wreaths abound ;
Spread violets, lilies, roses there.

LONDON'S ORDINARY.

THRO' the *Royal Exchange* as I walk'd,
Where gallants in fatin did shine :
At midst of the day they parted away,
At several places to dine.
The gentry went to the *King's Head*,
The nobles unto the *Crown* :
The knights unto the *Golden Fleece*,
And the plowman to the *Clown*.
The clergy will dine at the *Miter*,
The vintners at the *Three Tunns* :
The usurers to the *Devil* will go,
And the fryers unto the *Nuns*.
The ladies will dine at the *Feathers*,
The *Globe* no captain will scorn :
The huntman will go to the *Gray bound* below,
And some townsmen to the *Horn*.

The plummer will dine at the *Fountain*,
The cooks at the *Holy Lamb* :
The drunkards at noon to the *Man-in-the-Moon*,
And the cuckold to the *Ram*.
The roarsers will dine at the *Lyon*,
The watermen at the *Old Swan* :
The bawds will to the *Negro* go,
And the whores to the *Naked Man*.
The keepers will to the *White Hart*,
The mariners unto the *Ship* :
The beggars they must take their way
To the *Eggs* and the *Whip*.
The farriers will to the *Horse*,
The blacksmith unto the *Lock* :
The butchers to the *Bull* will go,
And the carmen to *Bridewell-Doek*.
The fishmongers unto the *Dolphin*,
The bakers to the *Cheast Loaf* :
The corners unto the *Ladle* will go,
Where they may merrily quaff.
The taylor will dine at the *Shears*,
The shoe-makers will to the *Boot* :
The *Welfomen* they will take their way,
And dine at the sign of the *Goat*.
The hofers will dine at the *Lag*,
The drapers at the sign of the *Brush* ;
The fletchers to *Robin Hood* will go,
And the spendthrift to *Beggars Bush*.
The pewterers to the *Quart Pot*,
The coopers will dine at the *Hoop* :
The coblers to the *Leaf* will go,
And the barge-men to the *Scoop*.
The carpenters will dine at the *Axe*,
The colliers will dine at the *Sack* :
Your fruiterer he to the *Cherry Tree*,
Good fellows no lique will lack.
The goldsmiths to the *Three Cups*,
Their money they count as dross :
Your puritan to the *Prester Can*,
And your papists to the *Cross*.
The weavers will dine at the *Shuttle*,
The glovers will unto the *Gloves* :
The maidens all to the *Maiden-head*,
And true lovers unto the *Dove*.
The fadlers will dine at the *Saddle*,
The painters to the *Green Dragon* :
The *Dutchman* will go to the sign of the *Frow*,
Whete each man may drink his flagon.
The chandlers will dine at the *Scales*,
The salters at the sign of the *Bag* :
The porters take pain at the *Labour-in-Vain*,
And the horse-courser to the *White Nag*.
Thus every man in his humour,
From north unto the south :
But he that hath no money in his purse,
May dine at the sign of the *Mouth*.
The swaggerers will dine at the *Fencers*,
But those that have lost their wits,
With *Bedlam Tom* let there be their home,
And the *Drum* the drummers best fit.
The cheater will dine at the *Chequer*,
The pick-pocket at a blind ale-house ;
Till taken and tried up *Holbourn* they ride,
And make their end at the gallows.

N. B. The Nun, Prayer of Manasse, and several other Pieces, must be desert'd, for want of Room.

THE Monthly Chronologer.

SUNDAY, July 31.



THEIR Majesties, their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of *Wales*, and their Royal Highnesses the Princesses *Anne* and *Caroline* went to Chapel, at *Hampton-Court*, and heard a Sermon

preached by Dr. *Blomer*. Their Majesties, and the rest of the Royal Family, abovementioned, dined afterwards in Publick, as usual, before a great Number of Spectators: About 5 o'Clock the same Afternoon, her R. H. the Princess of *Wales* began to find herself in some Pain, and the same continuing by Intervals, about 7, Coaches were ordered to be got ready, and soon after the Prince and Princess of *Wales*, attended by several Ladies, set out from thence for *St. James's*, where they arrived about 9 at Night; and her Royal Highness's Pains encreasing, she was, a little after 11 o'Clock, safely and happily delivered of a Princess. About half an Hour after 10, the Prince dispatched one of his Pages to *Hampton-Court*, to acquaint their Majesties with the News of her Royal Highness's being in Labour, and the Queen immediately thereupon set out for *St. James's*, accompanied by his Grace the Duke of *Grafton*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, the Right Hon. the Lord *Harvey*, her Majesty's Vice Chamberlain, and the several Ladies of her Majesty's Bed-Chamber in Waiting; and arriving there about 4 o'Clock, her Majesty, after a Stay of about 2 Hours, return'd again to *Hampton-Court*. The next Day, viz. *Aug. 1*, about 11 in the Morning, the Guns in the *Park* and at the *Tower* were fired, and at Night there were Bonfires, Illuminations, and other Demonstrations of Joy throughout the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*.

A small SQUIB for the First of August, 1737.

WHAT thunder is that which breaks from the park,

Proclaiming the joy of the nation?

O, this is the day true protestants mark

For *Hanover's* happy accession.

But that is not all, for now Sir, we hear

That bliss is extended still further;

Augusta the fair is heaven's great care,

And her highness this morn is a mother.

Tho' 'tis not a prince, we'll count it no less,

Some have *Englisb* soul in a woman;

Who knows but it may be another queen *Bess*,
To humble the *Spaniard* and *Roman*.

Or else a queen *Anne*, to reign o'er the main:
That *Mariboroughs* ne'er may be wanting.
Let all our young heroes go make the campaign,

Instead of soft ease and gallanting.

THURSDAY, 4-

The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London* waited on his Majesty, to congratulate him on the Birth of a Princess; and Mr. Baron *Thomson*, their Recorder, made their Compliments in the following Speech.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

THE Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London* most humbly entreat your Majesty's Permission to congratulate your Majesty upon the safe Delivery of her Royal Highness the Princess of *Wales*, and the Birth of a Princess.

These your Majesty's most faithful and dutiful Subjects, having a just Sense of the many Blessings they enjoy under your Majesty's Protection, rejoice at any Good attending your Royal Family, and have a real Satisfaction by this Addition to it.

Every Branch of your illustrious Race must be dear and valuable to your Majesty's Subjects, as it gives them a pleasing Prospect of the Continuance of that Happiness which your Royal House has secured to this Nation.

We wish that all your Majesty's Subjects were truly sensible of their Felicity. They would then acknowledge, that they are in the full Possession of their Liberties and Properties; that they are governed by Laws of their own making, under a mild and gracious Prince, who makes those Laws the Rule of his Actions.

Happy is the Lot of such a People!

These, Sir, being our humble Sentiments, we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that you may depend on the most hearty Endeavour in our Sphere, to promote a dutiful and affectionate Regard to your Royal Person and Government, and a zealous Attachment to the Protestant Succession in your Royal Family.

To which his Majesty return'd this most gracious Answer.

I thank you for your Congratulation upon the Birth of a Princess, and I take very kindly this repeated Instance of your Duty to me, and Affection to my Family.

They all had the Honour to kiss his Majesty's

Jeffy's Hand, who was pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood on *Joseph Hankey*, Esq; Alderman.

They were afterwards introduced to her Majesty, and Mr. *Baron Thomson* made their Compliments as followeth.

May it please your Majesty,

THE Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London* most humbly beg Leave to congratulate your Majesty upon the safe Delivery of her Royal Highness the Princess of *Wales*; and the Birth of a Princess.

Every Thing which brings Joy and Comfort to your Majesty; must give a true Satisfaction to all his Majesty's Subjects. Your Majesty's constant and indulgent Regard for their Welfare upon all Occasions, demands the most dutiful and grateful Return on their Part.

That his Majesty's most faithful Subjects, presume to tender their humble Acknowledgments, and to express their Joy upon this happy Occasion.

The Addition of a Princess to your Royal Family, yields them the agreeable Hope, of another Pattern of Virtue and Goodness, to be formed by your Majesty's pious Instructions: They beg leave to offer their hearty Wishes for Prosperity to your Majesty, and every Branch of your Royal Family: That they may be happy themselves, and give Happiness to others; that they may prove a Blessing to Nations; and in that, and every other Respect, resemble your Majesty, and imitate your Royal Example.

To which her Majesty return'd a most gracious Answer; and they all had the Honour to kiss her Majesty's Hand, and were afterwards entertained at Dinner.

Upon the Mention of Mr. *Freeman* being appointed one of the 4 Horse-Carriers to the University of *Cambridge*, we had the following Paragraph.

This was the Office that old *Hobson* enjoy'd, in which he acquir'd so large a Fortune as enabled him to leave the Town that ever-memorable Legacy, the Conduit that stands on the *Market-Hill*, with an Estate to keep it perpetually in Repair. The same Person gave Rise to the well known Adage, *Hobson's Choice, This or none*; founded upon his Management in Business: He us'd to keep, it seems, Hackney Horses, that he let out to young Gentlemen of the University, with whose Characters being well acquainted, he suited his Beast to his Rider, who upon a Dislike, was sure to receive that Answer from him, *This or none*.

They write from *Edinburbh*, That the 5th of last Month, being the first Sederunt of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of *Scotland*, *Patrick Lindsey*, Esq; acquainted the honourable Fraternity, that he was charg'd

by the Right Hon. *Arthur Onslow*, Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons, to make his Compliments to this honourable Convention in the most respectful Manner, and to acquaint them, that he had accepted of the Present of Table Linnen they had sent him last Winter, with a hearty Assurance, that so far as his Interest and Influence went towards promoting the Manufacture of Home-made Linnen, they might rely upon it: and as a Testimony of his good Will and sincere Intention to encourage so valuable a Branch of Business, he made a Present of 100 l. Sterling to be applied to the Use of the Manufacture, in such a Manner as the Hon. Convention shall think proper; which by a Committee appointed for that Purpose, is distributed into Prize-Money, to such as shall make the best Table-Linnen in the Years 1738, 1739, and 1740.

At the Assizes at *Abingdon* for the County of *Berks*, 3 Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, viz. *Francis Hill* for the Murder of a Child about three Years ago at *Spanbam Land*, *De la Fontaine Foreman*, for breaking the House of the Duke of *St. Albans*, and taking his Grace's *George*, a Gold-headed Cane, and a considerable Sum of Money. And *William Abel*, for breaking open two Houses near *Whitley*.— At *Northampton*, 3 Men receiv'd Sentence of Death for a Robbery on the Highway.

At *Derby*, *William Walker* was condemn'd for the Murder of *Isaac Harrison* of *Bulper*; and 2 were order'd for Transportation.

At *Buckingham*, 3 Men receiv'd Sentence of Death; and at *Sarum* one for setting Fire to a Barn.

At *Rockefter* Assizes, *Margaret Wickes* was try'd for the Murder of *Lydia Fagg*, an Infant about 18 Months old, Daughter of Mr. *Thomas Fagg* of *Dover*, and was capitally convicted. It appear'd upon the Tryal, that the Creature took the Child out of a Bed in her Master's House, about 4 o' Clock in the Morning, the 28th of *May* last, and carried it under *Dover* Castle, and threw it into the Sea, and drowned it, to be reveng'd on her Mistress, with whom she had some Words the Day before.

SATURDAY, 6.

At *Kingston* Assizes for the County of *Surry*, 4 Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, viz. *George Green*, for breaking open the House of Capt. *Thomas Foster*, at *Rotberbitb*, and stealing two silver Spoons, half a Guinea in Gold, and 40 Shillings in Silver: *Joseph Mowey*, for stealing a silver Tankard and two silver Spoons; and *John Hammond* and *Samuel Ealing*, for robbing Mrs. *Tims* of *Richmond*, and some other Ladies in a Coach. They were all four reprie'd for Transportation.

THURSDAY, 11.

At *Norwich*, 2 Men receiv'd Sentence of Death

Death for Horse-stealing; and 10 were order'd for Transportation, among whom were 6 Smugglers.—At *St. Edmund's Bury*, for *Suffolk*, a little before, 2 Men were condemn'd, one for House-breaking, and the other for stealing some Brandy.

SATURDAY, 13.

The Assizes ended for *Devon*, when the following Persons received Sentence of Death, *viz.* *Thomas Collins*, for the barbarous Murder of *Ann Upcott* a Fisherwoman, by cutting off her Head, cutting open her Body, taking out her Heart, and carrying it away on the Top of his Bill-Hook; *Richard Brice*, of *Trenton*, for beating his Wife, and throwing her out of the Window into the Street, of which she died; *James Gray*, Murtherer, for robbing a Man of a Moidore, and six Shillings in Silver, who had nothing to say in his Defence but that he did it only for Fun; and a Man for forging a Note of Hand for six Shillings, who was reprimed for Transportation for 14 Years.

WEDNESDAY, 17.

At *Gloucester*, 8 Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz.* *Abraham Wood* and *John Wood*, for the Highway; *John Chapman*, *William Turner*, and *John Thomas*, alias *Ewan Probert*, for Horse-stealing; *John Willis*, *Thomas Rickets*, and *John Gibbs*, for House-breaking.

THURSDAY, 18.

This Day Don *Thomas Geraldino*, Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of *Spain*, had his first private Audience of his Majesty at *Hampton-Court*, and deliver'd his Letters of Credence.

WEDNESDAY, 24.

Sir *John Barnard*, Knt. and Alderman, was presented with the Freedom of the City of *Edinburgh*, in a curious Silver Box, by Mess. *Blackwood* and *Carbarr*, who afterwards elegantly entertain'd him.

THURSDAY, 25.

This Day a Man well dress'd on Horse-back rode as fast as possible from *Fulbam* along the King's Road, who call'd out to the Keepers of the several Turnpikes, when he was at some Distance from them, to open their Gates, telling them he was a Messenger, and was going to *St. James's* with an Account of her Majesty's Death; which Alarm presently took Wind and was spread about the Town for Truth; whereupon a Messenger was immediately dispatch'd by his Royal Highness to *Hampton-Court*, who soon return'd with the agreeable News that their Majesties and the rest of the Royal Family were in good Health. Upon the above Report several Wollen Drapers went and bought Black Cloth at *Blackwell-Hall*, and some considerable Mercers dispatch'd immediately Expresses for *Norwich*, to buy up Blacks there; and several of them went into *Spittle-Fields*, to bespeak Black Silks, Grey Lustrings, &c.

and Blacks and Greys immediately rose 2d per Cent.

FRIDAY, 26.

The Vice-Chancellor, and several Heads of Houses departed by the University of *Oxford*, waited on his Majesty at *Hampton-Court* with an Address of Congratulation on the Birth of the Princess; and the next Day they made their Congratulations to the Prince. The same was soon after done by the University of *Cambridge*.

MONDAY, 29.

This Evening the new-born Princess was baptized at *St. James's*, by the Name of *Augusta*; his Majesty, by his Proxy the Duke of *Grafton*; her Majesty by the Dutchess of *Richmond*; and the Dutchess Dowager of *Saxe-Gotha*, by the Countess of *Burlington*, being Sponsors. The Ceremony was perform'd by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

MR. *John Evans*, Son of *Thomas Evans*, Esq; a Gentleman in the Commission of the Peace for the County of *Carmarthen*, lately married to Mrs. *Manfell*, a Widow Lady of 10,000 *l.* Fortune.

The Rt. Hon. the Lord *Howortham*, to the Sister of the Earl of *Argyle*.

Pawlet Wright, Esq; to Miss *Mary Tyfon* of *Hackney*.

Robert Whitcombe, Esq; to Miss *Gannet*.

Capt. *Dross*, of the 2d. Reg. of Guards, to Miss *Montgomery*, a *Yorkshire* Lady of 7000 *l.* Fortune.

Daniel Moor, of *Woodstock*, Esq; to Mrs. *Curzon*, Relict of *Abraham Curzon*, Esq; a Lady of 25,000 *l.* Fortune.

Mr. *Vandruval*, a rich Dutch Merchant, married, at the *Bull-and-Mouth* Meeting, to Miss *Ingram*, Daughter of Mr. *Ingram*, a Linnen-Drapier in *Cheshide*; a Fortune of 10,000 *l.*

The Lady of Sir *William Heatboote*, Bart. brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Countess of *Albemarle* likewise brought to bed of a Daughter.

The Lady of the Rt. Hon. the Lord *Nesbit* also deliver'd of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

IN *Dean-street*, Major *Paul de Gally*. At *Corham*, the Rev. Dr. *Charles Fleetwood*, Archdeacon of *Cornewall*, Prebendary of *Ely*, and Rector of *Cornewall, Cambridgeshire*. He was the only Son of the late learned Bishop *Fleetwood*.

Rev. Mr. *James Ford*, Fellow of *Clare-hall*, in *Cambridge*.

Herbert Price, Esq; one of the Clerks of the Board of Green-cloth.

Rt. Hon. the Countess of *Cavan*, in *Ireland*. She was Neice to the late famous Sir *Richard Steele*.

At his Seat in *Scotland*, Lord *Alexander Hay*.

May, Uncle to the Marquis of Tweedale.

At *Tring*, *Hertfordshire*, the Hon. Lady *Mary Gore*.

At *Edinburgh*, *William Drummond*, of *Grange*, Esq;

Hon. *Edward Leigh*, Esq; Heir Apparent to the Lord *Leigh*.

Rev. Dr. *King*, Master of the *Charter-House*.

At his Seat in *Scotland*, *Robert* late Earl of *Carmarthen*.

At *Hampstead*, *William Carbonnel*, Esq;

At *Stourhead*, *Joseph Dunbar*, Esq; formerly a Commander in the Royal Navy.

At *Mortlake*, *Richard Edwards*, Esq;

At *Litchfield*, *George Middleton*, Esq; many Years Governor of *Bermudas*, and some Time Governor of *Placentia*.

At his Seat in the County of *Sabp*, *George Gibbon*, Esq;

At *Dorchester*, *Essex*, *Jacob Ballany*, Esq;

Rev. Mr. *James Watson*, Fellow of *Clare-Hall*, *Cambridge*.

Rev. Dr. *Day*, one of his Majesty's Chaplains, and Fifth Chaplain to *Chelsea-College*.

At his Seat in *Essex*, *David Morgan*, Esq;

At the Spa in *Germany*, *William Kingford*, of *Chesham*, Esq;

At *Blackburn*, *Lancashire*, *Sir Clement Stous Ebyrd*, Knt.

Rev. Mr. *Manners*, Fellow of *Winchester-College*.

At *Colnbrooke*, *George Honeywood*, Esq;

At *Sandywell*, *Gloucestershire*, *Capt. John Carey*.

At *Chelsea*, the Lady of the Right Hon. *Sir Robert Walpole*.

At *Rickmansworth*, *Gabriel Cornforth*, Esq;

At *Swallow-field*, *Berks*, *David Clayton*, Esq;

At *Moulsey*, *Surrey*, *John Thompson*, Esq;

At *Hampton-Court*, his Excellency *Baron Hartoff*, his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Affairs of *Hanover*.

At *Brailes*, *Warwickshire*, the Rev. Dr. *Zeans*, Minister of that Parish.

At *Warwick*, *Philip Hatton*, Esq;

James Leake, Esq; formerly a Director of the *South-Sea-Company*.

Mrs Catherine Cullum, only surviving Daughter of the late *Tbo. Cullum*, of *Kaling*, *Middlesex*, Esq;

Sir Harry Peachy, Bart. Member of Parliament for *Midbury* in *Suffex*.

Rev. Mr. *Arthur Williams*, Archdeacon of *St. David's*, and Rector of *St. Mary's* in *Chester*.

Mr. *Edward Barnard*, an eminent Surgeon in *Great Russel-Street*.

The Lady of Mr. *Royald*, Son to the Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*.

In the 88th Year of his Age, the Rev. Mr. *Samuel Bold*, Chaplain to the present Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, and Rector of *St. Andrew* in *Dorsetshire*, of which Parish he had

been 56 Years Incumbent; a Person whose Character is sufficiently eterniz'd by the great Mr. *Locke*, and was well known to the learned World by the several Tracts which he has publish'd. It is remarkable there have been but 5 Rectors of *Strectle* since the Reign of *K. Henry VIII.* which is near 200 Years.

Mr. *Thomas Cutbert*, one of the senior twenty-four Musicians in Ordinary to his Majesty, and an eminent Performer on the Violin;

At *Tonbridge*, in the 94th Year of his Age, — *Ferguson*, Esq; who for several Years was Receiver General of the Customs in *Scotland*.

David Morley, Esq; an old Officer in the Army.

Ecclesiastical Preferments in our next.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

Archibald M' Aulay, Esq; elected Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*, in the Room of *Alexander Wilson*, Esq;

Duke of *Newcastle* chosen High Steward of *Cambridge*.

Nathaniel Blackerby, Esq; chosen Chairman of the *Westminster* Sessions, in the Room of *Sir John Gonson*, who resign'd.

Thomas Bloodworth, Esq; appointed Master of the Horse to the Princess *Amelia*.

Capt. George Cooke, Lieutenant-Governor of *Pensylvania*.

Wentworth Odiam, Esq; made Serjeant at Arms to the House of Commons.

Mr. *Cesar Hawkins*, of *Pall-Mall*, made Surgeon to the Prince of *Wales*.

Earl of *Berkeley* made Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of *Gloucester*, and Cities of *Bristol* and *Gloucester*.

Major-General *Tyrrill* made Governor of *West Tilbury Fort* and *Gravesend*.

Major-General *Barral* made Governor of *Pendennis Castle*.

John Price, Esq; made Lieutenant Governor of *Berwick*.

Christopher Webb, Esq; made Esquerry to her Majesty.

Earl of *Abercorn*, *Edward Walpole*, and *Luke Gardiner*, Esq; appointed of the Privy Council in *Ireland*.

Countess of *Tankerville* made a Lady of the Bed-Chamber to her Majesty.

Mr. *Robert Fyter* made Inspector-General of the Customs throughout *England*.

Brigadier *Cavalier* made Adjutant-General of the Forces.

Nicholas Man, Esq; chosen Master of the *Chaster-Husk*, in the Room of Dr. *King*.

New Members chosen.

Tbo. Carrow, Esq; for *Minstead*.

Robert Broom, Esq; for *Dorchester*.

Sir Charles Gilmour, for the Shire of *Edinburgh*.

Duncan Urquhart, Esq; for the Burghs of *Liverness*, *Nairn*, &c.

Persons declared BANKRUPTS.

MARY Jenkins, of Barnstable, Devon; Woolen-draper and Chapwoman.

John Norris, near Chelsea, in the Parish of St. George, Hanover-Square, Victualler and Chapman.

Thomas Clarke, of Lang-Lane, Southwark, Dealer and Chapman.

John Gallopine, of Fish street hill, London, Tobacconist.

John Seward, of Lambeth, Surrey, Retailer of Lead and Iron, Dealer in Metals and Chapman.

Thomas Bean, of Rye, Sussex, Innholder and Chapman.

Thomas Lloyd, late of King-street, Westminster, and now of Chelsea, Wine-Merchant.

Robert Gibson, of Gawdon-Hall, in the Parish of Halifax, in the County of York, Chapman.

John Davies, of St. Martin's in the Fields, in the Liberty of Westminster, Woodmonger and Chapman.

Elizabeth Webb, late of Plymouth, Devon, Grocer.

John Hurst, late of Leicester, Baker.

Robert Jackson, of Bromby-Gardens, Suffolk, near Yarmouth, Dealer in Brandy.

Robert Philips, late of Queen-street, in the Parish of St. Giles's in the Fields, Bricklayer.

Thomas Crouch, late of Agmondesham, Bucks, Innholder and Chapman.

Bartolomew Swift, of St. Paul's Church.

well, Middlesex, Anchorsmith and Chapman; Richard Hill, of Ladgate-Hill, Grocer; Edward Heylyn and Rob. Rogers, of Bristol, Merchants and Partners.

Abraham Arnold, of Battle-Bridge, Southwark, Rightward and Chipman.

Edward Greville, of Bristol, Grocer.

Geo. Albar, of Strawberry, Dealer in Cotton.

William Hoare, of Haverford-West, Shop-keeper and Chapman.

Edward Butler, of Bristol, Mailer and Chapman.

John Woods, late of Ramsey, Hunts, Taylor.

Henry George Rounds, of Sberaditch, Cordwainer.

Wm. Peales, of the Strand, Bookseller.

Thomas Taylor, of Woodbridge in Suffolk, Chapman.

John Scobough, late of St. Giles's in the Fields, Salesman.

Francis Kent, of Newcastle Underline, Chapman.

John Daniel, of St. Martin's in the Fields, Brewer.

Joseph Westwood and John Westwood, of Brentwood, Essex, Butchers, Salesmen and Partners.

John Dawgs, of St. Andrew's Holborn, Victualler and Chapman.

Nehemiah Eastman, of Thomas-street, Dry-Salter.

Alexander Worthington, of Manchester, Chapman.

Prices of Stocks, &c. towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 107 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{3}{4}$	Afric. 14
—Bonds 4 16	Royal Aff. 108 $\frac{1}{2}$ a 9
—Annu. 111 $\frac{1}{2}$ a 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	Lon. ditto 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$
Bank 145 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$	3 per C. An. 106 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$
—Circ. 3 15	Eng. Copper
Mil. Bank 123 $\frac{1}{2}$	Salt Talties 1 a 5
India 176	Emp. Loan 113
—Bonds 6 16	Equiv. 112

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amsf. 34 9 a 10	Bilboa 40 $\frac{1}{2}$
D. Sigbe 34 8 a 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	Leiborn 49 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
Rotter. 34 11 235	Genoa 52 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hamb. 33 9 2 a 10	Venice 50 $\frac{1}{8}$
P. Sight 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$	Lish. 55 5d $\frac{1}{2}$
Boardx. 32 $\frac{1}{4}$	Opers. 55 5d $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
Cadtz 39 $\frac{1}{2}$	Antw. 34 10 a 11
Madrid 40 $\frac{1}{4}$	Dublin 9 $\frac{1}{2}$

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat 28 34	Oates 10 13
Rye 13 18	Tares 22 24
Barley 16 19	Pease 27 31
H. Beans 20 25	H. Pease 16 17
P. Malt 22 27	B. Malt 16 19.

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from July 26 to Aug. 23.

Christned	{ Males 570 } 1231	{ Females 661 }
Buried	{ Males 959 } 2017	{ Females 1054 }
Died under 2 Years old	812	
Between 2 and 5	201	
5	10	75
10	20	66
20	30	133
30	40	181
40	50	185
50	60	135
60	70	104
70	80	82
80	90	34
90 and upwards	7	

Hay 48 to 60s. a Load.

Sing

Since our last we have the following Accounts.

FROM the *Moscovite* Army under Count *Munich*, That having passed his whole Army over the River *Boy* on the 27, 28, and 29th of *June*, he marched directly to *Umanow*, where his advanced Guard arrived the 9th of *July*, and next Day his whole Army: On that very Day he invested the Place, and next Day attacked and drove the *Turks* from every one of the Outworks and Fortifications on the Outside of the enclosed Way. On the 24th he attacked and drove the *Rossy* from the Countercarps and covered Way; and on the 13th he gave the general Assault to the Place, which the *Russian* Soldiers made with such Vigour and Alacrity, that by Noon the Garison hung out the white Flag, and surrendered. As this City is surrounded with a Wall with several Bastions, all lined with Stone, without which there is a large and deep Ditch, and without that again a regular Countercarp; and as it was provided with a Garison of 17,000 Men, of the best *Turkish* Troops, it is really surprizing how it was possible for the *Moscovites* to make themselves Masters of it in these Days, and without so much as opening Trenches. There never was a more convincing Proof of the extraordinary Effects of good Government and a right Police: It is not the military Art alone that has wrought such a Change on the *Moscovite* and *Turkish* Troops; there must besides be some good Management in the present Government of *Moscow*, which has raised the Spirit and whetted the Courage of that whole Nation; and on the other Hand there must have been a Series of had Oeconomy in the *Turkish* Government, which seems to have destroyed the Spirit of their regular Troops, as well as the rest of their Subjects.

From the other *Moscovite* Army under General *Lacy*, That on the 30th of *June*, he passed his Army over a narrow Part of the Sea, which almost surrounds the *Crimæa*, by means of a Bridge of Boats he had caused to be built near *Caduzi*; from whence he marched towards *Arabat* about 8 Leagues from *Keræa*, without so much as seeing an Enemy, except about 400 *Tartars* who were immediately put to Flight; the Reason of which was, that the *Kam of Tartary*, with his grand Army, had posted himself at *Preop*, imagining that to be the only Place by which the *Moscovites* could penetrate into the *Crimæa*.

From the *German* Army commanded by Count *Saldendorff*, That on the 12th of *July*, they built a Bridge over the *Morawa*, which the Army passed next Day, and immediately Hostilities were begun against the *Turks*, by attacking some of their *Palanka's* or little Redoubts, thrown up for defending their Positions. The first Incampment of the Army,

within the *Turkish* Territories, was at *Barankin*; from whence General *Philippi*, with six Regiments of Cavalry, was detached on the 20th towards *Nixxa*; and on the 22d the whole Army marched to a new Camp marked out for them at *Schöpsach*. On the 2nd General *Philippi*, with the Detachment under his Command, invested *Nixxa*, and immediately summoned the Governor to surrender, who thereupon desired a Truce for 20 Days, in order that he might send to know the *Grand Seigneur's* Pleasars; but an Answer was returned, that if he did not surrender the Place by the 25th they would attack it Sword in Hand, and would give no Quarter: Upon this the few *Yaninaries* who were in the Place, were for holding it out as the last, but the *Militia* and Inhabitants sustained upon them; so that the Governor was obliged to propose a Capitulation, which was agreed to on the 25th; only he desired for his Honour's Sake, he might not be obliged to evacuate the Place till the grand Army came up, which they did on the 28th. That Evening three of the Gates were put in Possession of the *Imperialists*, and next Day the *Turkish* Garison evacuated the Place, and with such of the Inhabitants as had a Mind to retire, were conducted to *Sophia*.

From the *German* Army in *Transylvania* under General *Wallis*, That they had entered the Provinces of *Moldavia* and *Wallachia*, and as they found no Army to oppose them, they had laid both the Provinces under Contribution, having divided the Army in four different Bodies for that Purpose, and were in hopes of being very soon Masters of that whole Country.

Hitherto we have heard of nothing but great Success against the *Turks*, but from the Army under the Prince *Hildburghausen*, and other Parts of *Bosnia*, where the famous Count *Bonnevall* commands as *Baron* and General of the *Turks*, we are to give a different Sort of Accounts. In this Province the *Germans* began Hostilities against the *Turks*, likewise upon the 12th or 13th of *July*, and after having passed the *Sava* and made themselves Masters of several *Turkish* *Palanka's*, the Prince with an Army of 34,000 regular Troops, and about 10,000 *Selawians*, marched and laid Siege to *Begualuck* on the 21st. While he was employed in this Siege, a Body of *Croatian* *Militia* of about 5 or 6000, with about 600 regular Troops marched to attack the Castle of *Zabia* belonging to the *Turks*; but in their March a Body of about 10,000 *Turks* came upon them by Surprise, and entirely defeated them: In this Action the *German* regular Troops behaved most gallantly, but being soon deserted by the cowardly *Militia*, they were mostly cut to Pieces, together with the *Born de Roussab*, who commanded that little Army, and several other good Officers.

The Prince notwithstanding went on with the Siege: But whilst the Governour was amusing him by a Feint as if he wanted Ammunition, and entering into a Capitulation; *Bonnewal* came by Surprize upon the Prince's Army of Observation, and gave them a signal Overthrow; while the Governour made a vigorous Sally upon the besieging Army, so

that both were put to the Rout, and the Enemy left in Possession of their Cannon, Mortars, Baggage and War-Office. The *Turks* also cut down the *German* Bridge of Communication over the *Varber*, so that the main Body of the *German* Army, attack'd by *Bonnewal*, were either drown'd in the River or massacred by the Enemy.

The Monthly Catalogue for August, 1737.

ENTERTAINMENT and POETRY.

1. **H**ORACE to *Augustus*. By Mr. *Pope*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1s.

2. A Poem to the Princess of *Wales*, occasion'd by her late happy Delivery of a Princess. By Mr. *Wells*. Printed for *J. Walshaw*, price 6d.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

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T H E
LONDON MAGAZINE.

SEPTEMBER, 1737.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the last
Session of PARLIAMENT, continued from Page 431



WE shall now begin to give a regular Account of the most remarkable Proceedings and Debates of the last Session, according to the Order of Time in which each respective Affair was introduced.

On *Wednesday, Feb. 2.* a Petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and other Freeholders of the County of *Norfolk*, whose Names were theretunto subscribed, in behalf of themselves, and of a great Number of the Freeholders of that County, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the said County, was presented to the House, and read; and 'twas ordered, that the Matter of the said Petition should be heard at the Bar of that House, upon *Thursday* the third Day of *March* then next; and that Lists, with respect to the said Election, should be, in pursuance of the Resolution of that House, delivered by that Day three Weeks, *viz. Feb. 23.*

This was the first Petition relating to controverted Elections that was presented, and, if it had been prosecuted, would certainly have taken

up all the Time the Session had to spare for such Affairs, and would probably have ended in the same Manner with the *Yorkshire* Election in the preceding Session; but on *March 2.* a Motion was made, that the Petitioners might be at Liberty to withdraw their Petition, which was accordingly granted, and, the Controversy being thus ended, Mr. Speaker was next Day ordered by the House to issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown, to make out a new Writ for electing a Knight of the Shire to serve in the present Parliament for the said County, in the Room of *William Wodehouse, Esq.* who had died after his Election and Return, against which the said Petition was presented

A Tho' this Election was thus given up, yet there was one Thing happened relating to it, which, as the Point was not then properly determined, may hereafter occasion a Dispute in some other Election; and therefore we think ourselves obliged to give some Account of it.

The Resolution of the House relating to the delivering of Lists of controverted Voters, which is a Resolution always agreed to the Beginning

ning of each Session, and in pursuance of which the Lists with respect to this controverted Election, had been ordered to be delivered as before mentioned, is as follows, *viz.* *That in all Cases of controverted Elections for Counties in England and Wales, to be heard at the Bar of that House, or before the Committee of Privileges and Elections, the Petitioners should by themselves, or by their Agents, within a convenient Time, to be appointed either by the House or the Committee of Privileges and Elections, as the Matter to be heard shall be before the House or the said Committee, deliver to the sitting Members or their Agents, Lists of the Parsons intended by the Petitioners to be objected to, who voted for the sitting Members; giving, in the said Lists, the several Heads of Objection, and distinguishing the same against the Names of the Voters excepted to; and that the sitting Members should, by themselves, or by their Agents, within the same Time, deliver the like Lists on their Part, to the Petitioners or their Agents.*

In pursuance of this Resolution, and according to the Order of the House, the Petitioners for the County of Norfolk, and the sitting Member for that County, there being then only one in the House, who supported the Election of himself and the other Member deceased, delivered Lists to each other respectively, within the Time limited by the House; but in the Lists delivered by the Petitioners to the sitting Member, the Heads of Objection were not properly distinguished against the Names of the Voters excepted to; for almost all the material Heads of Objection that could be made against any Voter for a County, were set against the Name of almost every Voter they excepted to; which the sitting Member thought contrary to the Resolution, and therefore he made his Complaint to the House, and represented, That the Resolution

had been agreed to, in order to save Trouble and Expence to both Parties concerned, and likewise to prevent either Party's taking up the Time of the House with examining Witnesses to an Objection he could not fully prove, and then flying from that to another, from thence to a Third, &c. That if either Party thought he had several Objections to any one Voter, each of which would be of itself sufficient, he ought, by the Resolution, to fix upon that Objection which he thought he could most clearly prove, and distinguish that Head of Objection only against the Name of that Voter; by which means the other Party might know what he had to do, and might prepare proper Proofs or Materials for supporting the Right of his Voter against that Objection: But in the Manner the Lists had been delivered to him, it would be impossible for him to know what to do, for that it would be vastly troublesome and expensive to prepare proper Proofs and Materials for supporting the Right of a Voter against every Objection that could be made; and if he prepared to answer one Objection only, he might at last find himself obliged to answer another Objection, for the Answering of which he could not then possibly have an Opportunity to prepare: That if the Method in which the Petitioners Lists were drawn up should be admitted, it would render that Part of the Resolution quite useless, which relates to the distinguishing the Heads of Objection against the Names of the Voters excepted to; for if all the Heads of Objection that could possibly be made against any Voter, should be set against the Name of every Voter, it would be the very same with making no particular Objection at all, which would leave both Parties as much at Liberty to vex one another, and to take up the Time of the House unnecessarily, as

if no such Resolution had ever been made: And lastly; that in the particular Case then before them, it would be a very great Hardship upon him; because in the Lists he had delivered to the Petitioners, he had strictly conformed to the Resolution of the House, which would give the Petitioners a very great Advantage over him; therefore he desired they might be ordered to amend their Lists, and to put them in that Method which was prescribed by the Resolution.

To which 'twas answered, That by the Resolution it was not intended to limit either the Petitioners or the sitting Member to the making but one Objection only against each Voter excepted to; nor could it be supposed that the House meant any such Thing when they agree'd to that Resolution; because it would be doing Injustice to both, to limit them to the making but one Objection to a Voter against whom they had several material Objections; therefore it was to be presumed, the Resolution intended only to oblige each Party to explain and expressly mention the several Objections they were to make against each Voter excepted to, which was the Method the Petitioners had taken with respect to the Lists they had delivered; and by that Method the sitting Member might know what to do, and could be put to no greater Expence or Trouble than the Nature of the Case required; for if he found that any one of the Objections proposed was well founded, and would probably be sufficiently proved, it would be quite unnecessary for him to put himself to any Expence or Trouble in supporting the Right of a Voter, who, he knew, had no Right; nor could the Time of the House be unnecessarily taken up, because each Party would begin with examining Witnesses as to that Objection which he thought the strongest, and which he thought he could the most fully

prove; and if he found he had fully proved that Objection, he would proceed no further; nor trouble himself or the House with proving any other Objection; whereas if his Witnesses for proving that Objection should not, in their Examination before the House, come up to that which they had declared to him in the Country, which was often the Case, it would be Injustice to preclude him from proving any other Objection, when he found he neither had, nor could fully prove the Objection he had first insisted on; therefore they did not think themselves obliged by the Resolution to amend their Lists, or to deliver them in any other Manner than what they had done: However, that they might not be thought to intend, and as they did not desire to take any sort of Advantage of the sitting Member, they were willing to amend their Lists, and to put them in the very same Method with those delivered to them by him; so that it would be quite unnecessary for the House to interpose in the Affair, or to come to any new Resolution, or Order, upon that Head.

This Compliance in the Petitioners prevented a Reply, and likewise prevented the House's coming to any new Resolution, or to any Determination, for explaining their former Resolution; so that the Point in dispute remains undetermined, and, if no new Law be made for regulating the Elections for Counties, it may be the Subject of some future Debate.

Upon the same Day, viz. Feb. 2. and immediately after the proper Orders were made for hearing the Petition from *Norfolk*, as before mentioned, a Petition of Sir *John Glynn*, Bart. complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Borough of *Flint*, in the County of *Flint*, was presented to the House and read; and 'twas ordered, That the Matter of the said Petition should be heard upon *Tuesday, March 8.* then next;

which Order was afterwards put off to *Thursday, March 24.* when the House proceeded to the Hearing of the Matter of the said Petition; and the Petition, and the last Determination of the House, concerning the Right of electing a Burgess to serve in Parliament for the said Borough, made *May 21, 1728;* and also the standing Order of the House, made *Jan. 16, 1735.* for restraining the Counsel at the Bar of that House, or before the Committee of Privileges and Elections, from offering Evidence touching the Legality of Votes for Members to serve in Parliament for any County, Shire, City, Borough, Cinque-Port, or Place, contrary to the last Determination of the House of Commons; were read.

Then the Counsel for the Petitioner were heard; and the original Poll, taken at the said Election, being produced; and the Title thereof, and the total Number of Votes for each Candidate, being read; they examined several Witnesses, touching the Behaviour of the returning Officers at the Time of taking and closing the said Poll, and the Declaration of the Number of Votes, and of the Majority, and touching a Scrutiny to be had, and the Manner of making the Return, and the Declaration of one of the returning Officers, and the Instructions to him given by the sitting Member previous to the Election, and other Occurrences at and after the said Election: After which the said Return, dated *May 16, 1734.* on which Day the Poll was closed, being read; the Counsel for the Petitioner were further heard, as to the Merits of the Return; when they insisted, that the Counsel for the sitting Member should proceed to justify the Return, before the Merits of the Election should be proceeded upon: As to which Point the Counsel for the sitting Member were heard by way of Answer, and the Counsel for the Petitioner by

way of Reply; and then the Counsel on both Sides being, according to Direction, withdrawn, the following Motion was made, *viz.*

That the Counsel for the sitting Member be directed to proceed, in order to justify the Return for the Borough of Flint, before the Merits of the Election are proceeded upon.

Upon this Motion there was a long Debate, and the Question being at last put, it was carried in the Negative, by 205 to 166.

After which, the further Hearing of the Matter of the said Petition was ordered to be adjourned to *Tuesday* then next; when the Counsel for the Petitioner proceeded in their Evidence; and having proposed to qualify several Persons, whose Votes for the Petitioner appeared, upon the original Poll taken at the said Election, to have been disallowed by the returning Officers, they examined *Benjamin Hughes*, one of the Church Wardens of the Parish of *Flint*, at and before the Time of the said Election, in order to qualify one of the said Persons; and a Paper being by the said Witness produced, purporting to be the Church and Poor Rate for the Borough of *Flint* in the Year 1733, the Counsel for the sitting Member (having cross examined him, and examined a Witness in relation to the said Paper) objected to the admitting of that Paper in Evidence: As to which Objection, the Counsel for the Petitioner were heard by way of Answer, and the Counsel for the sitting Member by way of Reply; and then the Counsel on both Sides being, by Direction, withdrawn, the following Motion was made, *viz.*

That the Paper produced by Benjamin Hughes be admitted in Evidence, as the Rate for the Church and Poor of the Borough of Flint for the Year 1733.

Upon this Motion there was likewise a Debate, but upon the Ques-

tion's being put, it was carried in the Negative; and then the further Hearing of this Matter was ordered to be adjourned till *Thursday* Morning then next.

On that Day the Counsel for the Petitioner examined several Witnesses, A and produced Evidence, in order to qualify several Persons, whose Votes for the Petitioner appeared, upon the original Poll taken at the said Election, to have been disallowed by the returning Officers; and on the *Tuesday* following, being *April 5*, they examined several Witnesses, and produced Evidence, in order to add to the Poll of the Petitioner several Persons, who offered to vote for him at the said Election, but were refused by the returning Officers; and having proposed to add to the said Poll *Matthias Rogers*, by proving that his Landlord paid Scot and Lot for the Tenement, in which the said *Matthias Rogers* inhabited, they thereupon acquainted the House, that they intended to offer the like Proof, as to the other Persons; upon which they were directed to withdraw, and upon their being withdrawn, the following Motion was made, *viz.*

That the Inhabitants of the several Boroughs of Flint, Rhydland, Caerwys, Caerquerley, and Overton (including Knolton and Overton-Foreign) renting Lands or Tenements, for which the Landlords thereof only pay Scot and Lot, have a Right to vote in the Election of a Burgess to serve in Parliament for the Borough of Flint in the County of Flint.

Upon this Motion there was also a long Debate, and the previous Question being proposed, *viz.* Whether that Question should be then put? It was upon a Division carried in the Negative by 149 to 115; so that there was no Question put upon the Motion: After this the Counsel were again called in, when they proceeded in their Evidence, by examining Witnesses, and producing Evidence, in

order to add to the Poll of the Petitioner the said *Matthias Rogers*, and several other Persons, who offered to vote for the Petitioner at the said Election, and were refused by the returning Officers.

Next Morning, the House, according to Order, proceeded to the further hearing of the said Matter, when the Counsel for the Petitioner examined several Witnesses and produced Evidence, in order to disqualify several Persons, who voted for the sitting Member; after which the further Hearing was ordered to be adjourned to *Tuesday* the 19th, on Account of *Easter Holy Days*.

Accordingly, on the 19th, The House resumed the Hearing of the said Matter, and the Counsel for the sitting Member being heard, they examined several Witnesses touching the Occasion of examining upon Oath into the Qualification of the Electors, and of protracting the Poll; and touching the Threats and abusive Language offered to the returning Officers, and an Assault upon one of them; and the Declaration of the Number of Votes, and the Demand of a Scrutiny; and the Manner of declaring the Majority, and other Transactions at and after the Election: And the Record of *Nisi Prius* upon an Information prosecuted against *Richard Williams*, Clerk, for the said Assault upon *John Roberts*, one of the returning Officers, being produced; the Verdict of the Jury, by whom the said *Richard Williams* was convicted of the said Assault, was read: After which the further Hearing was ordered to be adjourned till next Morning.

Next Day, and the Day following, the Counsel for the sitting Member examined several Witnesses, and produced Evidence, in order to disqualify several Persons, whose Votes for the Petitioner appeared, upon the original Poll taken at the said Election, to have been disallowed by the

returning Officer, and whom the Petitioner's Counsel had endeavoured to qualify; and in order to disqualify several Persons, who offered to vote for the Petitioner at the said Election, and were refused by the returning Officers, and whom the Counsel for the Petitioner had endeavoured to add to his Poll; and likewise they examined several Witnesses, in order to justify the Votes of several Persons, who voted for the sitting Member, and whom the Counsel for the Petitioner had endeavoured to disqualify.

On *Tuesday* the 26th, when this Affair was again resumed, the Counsel for the sitting Member proceeded further to justify, as last mentioned; and then they examined Witnesses, and produced Evidence, in order to qualify several Persons who offered to vote for the sitting Member at the said Election, and were refused by the returning Officers; after which they examined several Witnesses, and produced Evidence, in order to disqualify several Persons, who voted for the Petitioner at the said Election.

On *Thursday* the 28th, the Counsel for the sitting Member summed up their Evidence: Then the Counsel for the Petitioner were heard by way of Reply; and examined several Witnesses, and produced Evidence, in order to justify the Votes of several Persons, who voted for the Petitioner at the said Election, and whom the Counsel for the sitting Member had endeavoured to disqualify; and also to disqualify several Persons, who offered to vote for the sitting Member at the said Election, and who were refused by the returning Officers, and whom the Counsel for the sitting Member had endeavoured to add to his Poll; and also to discredit and contradict several Witnesses, examined on the Part of the sitting Member: After which, Part of the Information prosecuted against *Richard Williams*, Clerk, for

the Assault upon *John Roberts*, one of the returning Officers, was read; and the Counsel for the Petitioner having finished their Reply, the Counsel on both Sides were ordered to withdraw.

Thus the Hearing of the Matter of the said Petition being finished, and the Counsel withdrawn, the following Motion was then made, *viz.*

That Sir George Wynne, Bart. is duly elected a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament, for the Borough of Flint in the County of Flint.

Whereupon, *Sir George Wynne*, the sitting Member, having been first heard in his Place, and afterwards withdrawn, as usual in such Cases, there ensued a long Debate; and the Question being at last put, it was carried in the Affirmative upon a Division, by 158 to 107.

Tho' an impartial Examination, and just Determination of Elections in general, be an Affair in which every freeborn Subject of *Great Britain* is deeply concerned, yet a Dispute relating to any particular Election is not an Affair of such a general Concern; therefore we have not given an Account of any of the Debates that happened in this Election, because we could not spare Room for so doing, without laying ourselves under a Necessity of omitting some of those Debates which are of a more general Concern; and as this was the only controverted Election determined during last Session, that was very remarkable, we think it unnecessary to give an Account of any other.

The House of Commons having resolved on the said *Feb. 2.* that they would next Morning take into Consideration the Speech of the Lords Commissioners, appointed by his Majesty, for holding that Parliament, to both Houses of Parliament, they accordingly proceeded next Day to take the said Speech into Consideration,

and the same being again read by Mr. Speaker, a Motion was made, That a Supply should be granted to his Majesty; whereupon 'twas resolved, That the House would next Morning resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the said Motion.

Thus the Committee of Supply was established in the usual Form, and as that Committee is in every Session one of the chief Committees, we shall give the History of it during last Session, before we give an Account of any of the Debates that happened in it; in order that our Readers may have at once, and as it were at one View, all the Resolutions agreed to in that Committee.

On the 4th, the Order of the Day being read, for the House to resolve itself into the said Committee, the said Speech of the Lords Commissioners was ordered to be referred to the same; and the House having then resolved itself into the said Committee, they resolved, That it was the Opinion of that Committee, that a Supply should be granted to his Majesty; which was on the *Monday* following reported and agreed to by the House *Nemine Contradicente*.

On the 9th, the House, according to Order, resolved itself again into the said Committee, and came to the following Resolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the House, *viz.*

That *ten thousand Men* should be employed for the *Sea Service* for the Year 1737, beginning from *Jan. 1 1736*: That a Sum, not exceeding *4l. per Man per Month*, should be allowed for maintaining the said 10,000 Men for 13 Months, including the *Ordnance for Sea-Service*: And that a Sum, not exceeding *219,201l. 6s. 5d.* should be granted to his Majesty for the Ordinary of the Navy (including half Pay to Sea Officers) for the Year 1737.

On the 18th, the said Committee

came to the following Resolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the House, *viz.* That the Number of effective Men to be provided for Guards and Garisons in *Great Britain*, and for *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, for the Year 1737, should be (including 1815 Invalids, and 555 Men, which the six independent Companies consist of for the Service of the *Highlands*) 17,704 Men, Commission and Non-Commission Officers included: That a Sum, not exceeding *647,549l. 11s. 3d. ½* should be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Charge of the said 17,704 Men: That a Sum, not exceeding *215,710l. 6s. 5d. ½* should be granted to his Majesty, for maintaining his Majesty's Forces and Garisons in the *Plantations*, *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*, and for Provisions for the Garisons at *Annapolis Royal*, *Canso*, *Placentia*, and *Gibraltar*, for the Year 1737.

On the 28th, the said Committee came to the following Resolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the House, *viz.* That a Sum, not exceeding *79,723l. 6s. 3d.* should be granted to his Majesty, for the Charge of the Office of *Ordnance for Land Service*, for the Year 1737: That a Sum, not exceeding *604l. 19s. 2d.* should be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the extraordinary Expence of the Office of *Ordnance for Land Service*, and not provided for by Parliament: That a Sum, not exceeding *62,401l. 3s. 6d. ¼* should be granted to his Majesty, to make good the Deficiency of the Grants, for the Service of the Year 1736: That a Sum, not exceeding *10,043l. 3s. 10d. ¼* should be granted to his Majesty, to replace, to the Sinking Fund, the like Sum paid out of the same, to make good the Deficiency of the additional Stamp Duties at *Christmas 1735*, pursuant to a Clause in an Act of Parliament passed in the 4th Year of his Majesty's Reign, for raising

468 PROCEEDINGS, &c. in the *last Session* of PARLIAMENT.

1,200,000*l.* by Annuities and a Lottery for the Service of the Year 1731: That a Sum, not exceeding 42,187*l.* 10*s.* should be granted to his Majesty, on Account of the Subsidy payable to the King of *Denmark*, pursuant to the Treaty bearing Date *Sept.* 19, 1734, for three Quarters of a Year, to *Sept.* 19, 1737.

On *March* 4, the said Committee came to the following Resolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the House, *viz.* That a Sum, not exceeding 28,707*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* should be granted to his Majesty, upon Account, for Out-Pensioners of *Chelsea Hospital*, for the Year 1737: That a Sum, not exceeding 56,413*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ should be granted to his Majesty, for defraying several extraordinary Services and Expences, incurred in the Years 1735, and 1736, and not provided for by Parliament: That a Sum, not exceeding 10,000*l.* should be granted to his Majesty, upon Account, towards the Support of the Royal Hospital at *Greenwich*, for the better Maintenance of the Seamen of the said Hospital, worn out and become decrepid in the Service of their Country.

On the 9th, the House resolved itself again into the said Committee, and made some Progress; and on the 11th being again in the said Committee, they came to the following Resolution, which was reported, and agreed to by the House, *viz.* That the Sum of *one Million* should be granted to his Majesty, towards redeeming the like Sum of the increased Capital of the *South Sea Company*, as is now commonly called *Old South Sea Annuities*.

On the 16th, the said Committee came to the following Resolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the House, *viz.* That a Sum, not exceeding 20,000*l.* should be granted to his Majesty, towards settling and securing the Colony of *Georgia in America*: That a Sum,

not exceeding 10,000*l.* should be granted to his Majesty, to be applied towards the Maintenance of the *British Forts* and Settlements belonging to the Royal *African Company of England*, on the Coast of *Africa*:

A That the Sum of 4,000*l.* should be granted to his Majesty, towards repairing and finishing the Collegiate Church of *St. Peter's Westminster*: That a Sum, not exceeding 44,685*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* should be granted to his Majesty, upon Account, for reduced

B Officers of his Majesty's Land Forces and Marines, for the Year 1737:

That a Sum, not exceeding 3,945*l.* should be granted to his Majesty, for paying of Pensions to the Widows of such reduced Officers of his Majesty's Land Forces and Marines, as

C died upon the Establishment of half-Pay in *Great Britain*, and who were married to them before *Dec.* 25, 1716, for the Year 1737: That a Sum, not exceeding 50,000*l.* should be granted to his Majesty, towards the Rebuilding and Repairing the Ships of the Royal Navy, for the Year 1737.

This was the last Time of the said Committee's Sitting, and by the above-mentioned Resolutions it appears, that the Total Sum granted by last Session of Parliament amounts to 2,025,172*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$, besides the *Million* granted for redeeming so much of the *South Sea Capital*.

As soon as the House had agreed to the three Resolutions of the Committee of Supply, first above mentioned, relating to the Seamen and Navy, which was on *Thursday, Feb.* 10. they resolved, that they would next Morning resolve themselves into a Committee of the whole House,

F to consider of Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to his Majesty; and accordingly, next Day the House resolved itself into the said Committee, in which they resolved, That 'twas their Opinion, that towards raising the Supply granted

to his Majesty, the Duties on Malt, Malt, Cyder, and Perry, which, by an Act of Parliament of the 9th Year of his Majesty's Reign, had continuance to *June 24, 1737*, should be further continued, and charged upon all Malt which should be made, and all Malt which should be made

or imported, and all Cyder and Perry which should be made for Sale, within the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, from *June 23, 1737* to *June 24, 1738*: Which Resolution was, according to Order, reported to the House the next Day, and agreed to; and the House ordered that a Bill should be brought in upon the said Resolution, and that *Sir Charles Turner*, Mr. *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, &c. should prepare and bring in the same.

The said Committee was by Order continued from Time to Time, without sitting, till *Monday, March 14*, when the House resolved itself again into this Committee, and came to the following Resolution, which was reported and agreed to by the House, *viz.* That towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, the Sum of 2*s.* in the Pound, and no more, should be raised in the Year 1737, upon Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Pensions, Offices, and personal Estates, in that Part of *Great Britain* called *England, Wales*, and the Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*; and that a proportionable Cess, according to the 9th Article of the Treaty of Union, should be laid upon that Part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*: After which the House ordered, That a Bill should be brought in upon the said Resolution; and that *Sir Charles Turner*, Mr. *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, &c. should prepare and bring in the same.

On the 18th, the said Committee came to the following Resolutions, which were reported, and agreed to by the House, but with some Amendments to the Third, as below mentioned, *viz.* That the Duty of

36*s.* a Barrel on Sweets granted by an Act of the 5th Year of her late Majesty *Queen Anne*, for the Term of 99 Years, and since made perpetual, should from and after *June 24, 1737*, cease and determine.

A That there should be granted to his Majesty for every Barrel of Sweets made for Sale, from and after *June 24, 1737*, the Sum of 12*s.* the said Duties to be paid by the Maker and Makers of the said Sweets, and so in Proportion for greater or lesser

B Quantities. That the Allowance of 5*s.* per Barrel on *British* made Gunpowder exported, granted by an Act of the 4th Year of his present Majesty's Reign, which was to expire the End of that Session of Parliament, should be further continued

C for seven Years. That towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, a Duty of 2*s.* per Bushel should be laid upon all Apples, which at any Time or Times, from and after *June 24, 1737*, should be imported and brought into the Kingdom of

D *Great Britain*, over and above all Customs, Subsidies and Duties before imposed thereon. The third Resolution as amended and agreed to by the House was as follows, *viz.*

E That the Allowance of 4*s.* 6*d.* per Barrel on *British* made Gunpowder exported, granted by an Act of the 3th Year of his present Majesty's Reign, which was to expire the End of that Session of Parliament, should be further continued for 7 Years.

F Then the House ordered, That Leave should be given to bring in a Bill or Bills upon the said Resolutions; and that *Sir Charles Turner*, Mr. *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, Mr. *Dodington*, Mr. *George Osenden*, the Lord *Sunder*, Mr. *Winnington*, Mr. *Attorney General*, Mr. *Solicitor General*, Mr. *Scrope*, and Mr. *Edward Walpole* should prepare and bring in the same.

G From the said *March 18*, the Order for this Committee was conti-

nued from Time to Time, till *Friday, May 6*, when the House resolved itself again into the said Committee, and came to the following Resolutions, which were reported to the House on the *Monday* following, and were as followeth, *viz.* That 'twas the Opinion of that Committee, that towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, there should be issued and applied the Sum of one Million out of such Monies as had arisen, or should or might arise of the Surplusses, Excesses, or overplus Monies, commonly called the Sinking Fund. That for the Encouragement of the Paper Manufacture of this Kingdom, there should not be allowed any Drawback or Repayment of Customs charged upon foreign Paper, which should be imported into *Great Britain*, upon the Exportation thereof. That towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, a further Duty of *nine Pence per Bushel* should be laid upon all Oysters imported into *Great Britain*. Of these three Resolutions the First and Second were agreed to by the House; but the Third was recommitted: And 'twas ordered that it should be an Instruction to the Gentlemen who were appointed to prepare and bring in a Bill or Bills upon the Resolutions of the 18th of *March* above mentioned, that they should insert a Clause or Clauses in one of the said Bills, pursuant to the said second Resolution.

On the 17th, the said Committee came to the following Resolutions; which were reported, and agreed to by the House, *viz.* That the several Rates and Duties then payable upon foreign Oysters imported into this Kingdom, should from and after *June 24, 1737*, cease and determine. That a Duty of *seven Pence per Bushel*, strike Measure of the *Winchester* Corn Bushel, should be laid upon all foreign Oysters imported into this Kingdom; in lieu of all other Rates

and Duties before imposed thereon. After which 'twas ordered, that a Bill should be brought in pursuant to the said Resolutions; and that Sir *Charles Turner*, Mr. *Horsmanden Turner*, Mr. *Scrope*, Mr. *Pollbill*, Admiral *Haddock*, and Mr. *Gybbon*, should prepare and bring in the same.

This was the last Time of the said Committee's sitting, and from their Resolutions it appears, that the Ways and Means proposed for raising the Supply for the present Year, were (besides the Million granted out of the Sinking Fund) the Malt Tax, which is generally supposed to produce near 700,000 *l.* a Year; and the Land Tax, which, at 2s. in the Pound, produces near a Million; and for making good the Deficiency, his Majesty was enabled to borrow any Sum or Sums of Money, upon the Credit of the Duties laid on Sweets, not exceeding 500,000 *l.* at an Interest of 3 per Cent. per Annum.

Several of the above mentioned Resolutions both in the Committee of Supply, and in the Committee of Ways and Means, occasioned long Debates; but we thought it was proper to give first the Resolutions by themselves, that our Readers might at once see the several Sums granted for the Service of this Year, and the several Ways and Means proposed for raising those Sums; and hereafter we shall give an Account of the Debates in Order as they occurred, the First of which was in Relation to that Resolution of the Committee of Supply for keeping up 17,704 Men of regular Forces.

The House having on *Feb. 18*, as before mentioned, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider further of the Supply granted to his Majesty, Sir *W—m Y—ge*, *S—y* at *W—r*, after having in a short Speech shewn the Necessity there was for keeping up the same Number of regular Forces that were kept

kept up the preceding Year, moved, That it might be resolved by the said Committee, that the Number of effective Men to be provided, &c. (as before mentioned, p. 467.) And as this Number was thought by several Gentlemen to be much greater than was necessary, and more than ought to be kept up in Time of Peace, therefore the Motion was opposed, and thereupon a long Debate ensued, in which the Arguments for the Motion were in Substance as followeth, *viz.*

Sir, it has always been allowed, and, I believe, it will not now be controverted, that no Government can be supported without some Sort of military Force. In every Society it is absolutely necessary to have a certain Number of Men properly armed and disciplined, for protecting the Society against foreign Invasions, as well as for preventing the Weak from being oppressed by the Mighty, and for putting the Laws of the Society in Execution against Offenders of every Rank and Degree. In former Times this military Force consisted chiefly of the Militia of every Country, who for that Reason were all properly armed and disciplined, and obliged to answer the Call of those who had the Command over them; but of latter Ages, and since Mankind have begun to apply themselves to Arts and Industry, they have neglected to breed themselves up to Arms and military Discipline, and therefore it has been found necessary in most Countries, especially in all our neighbouring Countries, to provide and maintain a certain Number of Men, whose chief Business it is to breed themselves up to the Art of War, and who for that Reason are called regular Troops. To them the Defence of the Society both against Invasions from without, and Insurrections from within, is chiefly intrusted, and by that means the rest of the People of the Society are en-

abled to pursue Trade, Manufactures, Agriculture, and other industrious Employments, with greater Application and Assiduity than they could possibly do, if they were every now and then obliged to withdraw from their Labour, in order to learn their Exercises as Soldiers, or to march against a foreign or domestick Enemy.

This, Sir, is the chief Reason that Arts and Sciences have of late flourished so much in *Europe*, and it is by this Method only that Trade and Industry can be supported and encouraged in this Kingdom; therefore I shall not suppose that any Gentleman will be against our keeping up any Number of regular Troops. That some certain Number of regular Troops ought always to be kept up in this Island, is a Question which I shall take for granted; so that the only Question that can come this Day properly before us, is, What Number of regular Troops may be sufficient for protecting this Island against any foreign Invasion, and for supporting our Government in the Execution of the Laws of their Country? With respect to this Question, Sir, we ought to consider, that in a free Country as this is, and, I hope, will forever remain, tho' every Man enjoys many Advantages and great Happiness by the Liberties and Privileges he is entitled to, yet that private Good is, and always must be, attended with this publick Inconvenience, that it begets, and supports Parties, Factions, and Divisions among the People in general; and when the Government is not provided with a sufficient military Force for a necessary and just Support, those Parties and Factions are apt to come to Extremes: The Discontented, let their Complaints be never so unreasonable, are apt to raise Insurrections, and to break out in open Rebellion, when by the Imbecillity of the Government they conceive Hopes of obtaining by Force,

Force, those Ends which they neither were intitled to, nor could obtain, by the Laws of their Country; the necessary Consequence of which is, that the People are always exposed to, and must often fall under the Misfortunes of a Civil War; and in such a Case the prevailing Party but seldom shews any great Regard to that very Constitution, the Support of which was at first, perhaps by both Sides, made the sole Pretence for engaging in War.

To this general Consideration, Sir, we ought to add another which is peculiar to this Kingdom: It is not only peculiar to this Kingdom, but is in itself of a most peculiar and a most extraordinary Nature. In this free, this happy Country, we have a Party amongst us, and a considerable Party too, who are every Day labouring to destroy that Freedom to which only they owe their very Existence as a Party, who are every Day contriving Plots for putting an End to that Happiness of which they themselves are equal, but unworthy Partakers. When I say this, I believe, I need not tell Gentlemen I mean the *Jacobites* and *Papists* in the Kingdom. I hope their Party is every Day tending to its utter Dissolution; I am confident it has not of late received any Addition or Nourishment; but there are such Numbers of our mean and ignorant Sort of People affected with that Sort of Madness, that if it were not for our regular Army, I am convinced that Party would not keep so quiet as they have done of late Years. If we should leave the Government unprovided of a sufficient military Force, it would immediately revive their Hopes, and if they should again break out in open Rebellion, they would certainly be joined by all the Abandoned, the Profligate, and the Desperate, who will generally chuse that Side, as being that from which they may expect the greatest Reward in case of Suc-

cess; in which Case we would again be obliged to fight for our Liberties, and the most fortunate Event would be attended with great publick Loss, and with many private Calamities.

But, Sir, tho' we were in no Danger of any publick Insurrection, or open Rebellion, yet a pretty large Number of regular Troops seems now to be necessary, even for protecting us against private Rogues and Pilferers, and for putting the Laws in Execution against the most notorious Criminals; for the People of this Country have for many Years accustomed themselves to little to the Use of Arms, that if it were not for the Body of regular Troops kept up, a Gang of Thieves and House-breakers, by providing themselves with Arms, and keeping in a Body, might be able to protect themselves against a whole County, and to plunder the Inhabitants at Pleasure; at least it would not be possible to reduce them, without losing the Lives of many industrious and useful Tradesmen, and perhaps of some of the best Gentlemen of the County. Then with regard to Mobs and Tumults, we find by Experience, that regular Troops are of great Use, not only for preventing any such from happening, but for quelling and dispersing them after they have happened, and that without any great Mischief's being done of either Side: Whereas if we had no regular Troops to be employed in such Services, tho' the Civil Power might perhaps at last be able to put an End to the Tumult, and to seize and punish the Rioters; yet 'tis certain, the Mob or Tumult would always be gathered to a great Height before the Civil Power could effectually interpose, and the Rioters would oppose the Civil Power frequently with such Obstinacy that great Mischief would be done on both Sides, before the Tumult could be suppressed.

With respect, therefore, to the

intestine Peace and Tranquillity of the Country, a sufficient Number of regular Troops must always be of great Use; but, Sir, with regard to our foreign Affairs, and with regard to the protecting our People against Invasions, it is still more necessary; A for as all our Neighbours are highly sensible of the great Inequality between Militia and regular Troops, as Experience has often shewn what a vast Number of the former may be attached and put to Flight by the latter, they therefore now put their only Confidences in their regular Troops; and every Nation in Europe is now respected and esteemed by the Rest, in proportion to the Number of regular Troops they have in their Pay; so that to preserve that Respect and Esteem which we have, C and ought always to have, among our Neighbours, we ought to keep up a considerable Body of regular well disciplined Troops; because if any of our Neighbours should begin to despise us, they would of course begin to insult, and perhaps to invade us, which would keep our Sea Coasts in a continual Alarm, and might expose many of our maritime Counties and Cities to be plundered and ravaged by a Handful of foreign Troops, landed in any Corner of the Island. I do not suppose, Sir, that a Handful of any Sort of Troops would be able to conquer the Island; but if we had nothing but Militia to send against them, they might do us infinite Mischief, before we could gather and form such a Body of Militia as durst oppose them. D

From these Considerations, Sir, I must be of Opinion, that it is no way consistent with true Wisdom and Policy, or with the Peace and Security of the People, to diminish the Number of regular Forces we have at present on Foot. It is the least Number has been kept on Foot for many Years, and Experience has shewn us that from such a Number

there are no Inconveniences to be apprehended; but on the contrary we have felt many good Effects from keeping up that Number, and even from augmenting it now and then as Occasion required. It would be too tedious to recapitulate all the Advantages we have from thence acquired; but in general it must be granted, we have for near these 20 Years enjoyed a most profound Tranquillity both at Home and Abroad, which is chiefly to be attributed to our keeping up such an Army as made our Enemies both at Home and Abroad stand in Awe, and to the other prudent Measures which his Majesty and his glorious Predecessor have during that Time pursued. Even but lately, when the greatest Part of Europe were involved in the Flames of War, we were left at Liberty to pursue our Trade through all Parts of the World in Peace and perfect Security; and by the small Addition we made to our Army, and the Augmentation of our Fleet, we not only preserved our own, but we contributed greatly to the Restoring of the publick Tranquillity; for by so doing we set Bounds to the ambitious Views of the Victorious, and convinced them that, if they endeavoured to pursue their Conquests any further than was consistent with preserving the Balance of Power in Europe, we were not only resolv'd to interpose, but would be ready to interpose with such a Force as would be sufficient to stop their Progress, and to make their Enemies triumph in their Turn. This, Sir, was what made them so ready to hearken to equitable Terms, to Terms which did not essentially vary from the wise Plan his Majesty, in conjunction with his Allies the States General, had been pleas'd to propose for restoring the Tranquillity of Europe. E

Since therefore we have experienced so many Advantages from

keeping up the present Number of regular Forces, and have felt no Inconvenience; since no Danger or Inconvenience can be apprehended during his present Majesty's Reign, I cannot think any Gentleman of this House would be for diminishing the Number, even tho' there were no particular Reason at present subsisting for keeping up the same Number we had last Year; but, Sir, there are in my Opinion 3 very strong Reasons peculiar to the present Times for continuing the same Number at least for this next ensuing Year, 2 of which are of a foreign, and the 3d of a domestick Nature. There is, 'tis true, no War at present subsisting between any of the Christian Princes or States of Europe; with respect to any such War the publick Tranquillity may properly be said to be restored; but it cannot be said that the Tranquillity of Europe is altogether restored. The Muscovites are already engaged in a War against the Turks, and 'tis more than probable the Emperor's Arms will soon be turned the same Way. As yet the other Powers of Europe seem to have nothing but peaceable Inclinations to all publick Appearance; but we do not know how long that serene Appearance may hold: There are some other Powers of Europe who have seldom long remained at Quiet, when they found the Emperor involved in a War with the Turks; and if they do not take that Opportunity for attacking the Emperor, it is to be apprehended they may think it a proper Opportunity for making Incroachments upon some other of their Neighbours: Tho' perhaps no such Thing may be intended directly against this Nation, yet it must be granted, that no such Incroachment can be made in which we have not some Concern; and when there is so much Reason to fear such Attempts, it would be very imprudent in us, by an unreasonable Reduction of our Forces, to put

it out of our Power to defend ourselves or assist our Allies, in case of a sudden Inroad or Invasion upon either.

Besides, Sir, as the System of Affairs in Europe seems to be very much altered by the late Treaty between the Emperor and France, and as the Terms of that Treaty seem not yet to be fully discovered, we do not know but that there may be some secret Conventions between those two Powers, which may be found prejudicial to the Neighbours of both. In such a Case, that Treaty, instead of being a Foundation for establishing the Tranquillity of Europe, would prove a Firebrand for rekindling, perhaps the most general and the most furious War that ever was in Europe: A War in which this Nation could not avoid being one of the principal Parties concerned; and therefore, I must think we cannot with Safety disband any of the Forces we have at present on Foot, till the Consequences of this new System of Affairs may be fully seen through, which they cannot be till all the secret Articles of that Treaty are fully discovered, and the Views and Designs of both the contracting Parties perfectly understood.

The 3d Reason for keeping up the same Number of Forces, at least for this ensuing Year, is, as I have said, of a domestick Nature, and is founded upon that Spirit of Discontent and Dissatisfaction which has been so industriously spread over the whole Nation, and has of late produced Mobs, Riots, and Tumults, almost in every Corner of the Kingdom. I am persuaded every Gentleman that hears me will join with me in saying, his Majesty's Government, ever since he came to the Crown, has been so mild and just; that no Man can really have the least Reason to complain. It cannot with Justice be said his Majesty has ever attempted the least Incroachment upon the Liber-

ties and Privileges of the Subject in general, nor can any private Man in particular complain that he has met with Injustice or Oppression; yet there is such a Spirit of Dissatisfaction and Sedition gone forth, that the lowermost Rank of our People are every where ready to fly in the Face of the Civil Magistrate; and even the Acts of the whole Legislature have been most heinously insulted, and misrepresented. I shall not pretend to shew how this seditious Spirit has been raised, or to what it is chiefly owing; but while it continues, I must say, it would be very unwise in us to dismiss any Part of our regular Army; for if we can but keep the People quiet till they have Time to think and consider, they will soon find their Discontents and Clamours to be without any Reason, and will then of course become quiet and peaceable Subjects. This we may probably do by keeping up our Army for the ensuing Year; because in that Time the Minds of the People may be quieted, and while we have such an Army, those who are disaffected will not dare to take any Advantage of the Discontents they have raised, nor will they dare to push those they have seduced, upon any violent Measures: Whereas if we should at this Juncture disband any great Part of our Army, the disbanded Soldiers would probably join with the Discontented, which might produce Consequences I tremble to think of; but this House will, I hope, prevent my Fears, by agreeing to the Motion I shall now make; which is, To resolve, &c. (See p. 467 A.)

To this 'twas answer'd in Substance as follows, viz.

Sir, as I am not, nor do intend to speak against our keeping up any standing Army at all, I have no present Occasion to take Notice of the Arguments that have been made use of for shewing the indispensable Necessity of such a Measure: However,

left it should be thought, that I am likewise of Opinion, that a Government cannot now be supported, nor the Laws put in Execution, without a Body of what we call regular Troops, permit me to give some Reasons for my being of a contrary Sentiment. I know, Sir, that all our Neighbours have now fallen into a Method of keeping up a large Body of regular Troops; but it is not for the sole Reason, that such Troops must always have a great Superiority over Militia, or that a Government cannot be supported without the Assistance of such Troops; it is because among most of them, I may say among all of them, some Sort of absolute and arbitrary Government has been lately introduced; and for supporting such a Government, it is absolutely necessary to keep up a standing Army, and to discourage the Use of Arms among all the rest of their Subjects. In such a Country a Body of regular Troops, accustomed to the Use of Arms, and acquainted with military Discipline, must always be much preferable to a Body of their Militia, most of whom we may suppose never touched a Sword or a Gun, before it was put into their Hands upon that Occasion; but in a Country where no regular Army is kept up, and proper Care taken to exercise and discipline the Militia, and to infuse a martial Spirit into all their Subjects in general, I can see no Reason why a Body of Men, who have for 7 Years been bred to hard Labour, to the Use of Arms, and to military Discipline, without any Pay, should not be as good as a Body of Men bred up for the same Time to military Discipline, with Pay, and by Reason of that Pay, bred up in Laziness and Idleness: On the contrary, I should think the former would be better able to endure the Fatigues of War, and I am certain no Man's Courage was ever improved by a State of Laziness and Idleness.

A Soldier, Sir, may learn all his Exercises to perfection in 3 or in 6 Months, and after he is once Master of his Exercises, he is as good a Soldier as he ever can be without seeing Action. He may then make as good a Figure at a Review as the oldest Veteran; but for making a good Figure in a Day of Battle, it depends upon the Courage and the Experience of the Soldier, neither of which, but especially the latter, can be acquired any other Way than by having been frequently in Action. Now with respect to the military Exercises, and to the making of a Figure at a Review, I can see no Reason why a Man who is 5 Days of the Week at Plow, or any other industrious Employment, and 2 Days at his military Exercises, may not in half a Year, or a Year, become as much Master of the latter, as he that is 2 Days of the Week at his military Exercises, and the other 5, sitting or carousing at an Ale-House or Gin-shop. Therefore if the Militia of this Country, or any Country where the Spirit of the People has not been broke by arbitrary Power, were properly regimented, and put under the Command of Gentlemen of Honour and Courage, instead of being commanded by Shoemakers and Taylors; they might in a Year or 2 be as properly called regular Troops, as any mercenary Regiment can be, which is composed of Officers and Soldiers, who never had Occasion to look an Enemy in the Face, unless it was a Gang of Smugglers, or a Mob of Pick-pockets; and while there is a Man in the Kingdom, who has been in Action, a Regiment of Militia would have as good a Chance to have some of them among them, as any Regiment of mercenary Troops can have, after a Peace of 20 or 30 Years Duration. I shall readily grant, Sir, that a Regiment of veteran Soldiers, a Regiment composed chiefly of Officers and Soldiers who have

been frequently in Action, may be much superior to a Regiment of the best disciplined Militia; but I cannot admit that a Regiment of mercenary Troops, who never saw an Enemy, has any Advantage over a Regiment of Militia, well disciplined and properly commanded; for which Reason I shall always be of Opinion, that a Country may be governed, the Laws executed, and the People protected both against Invasions and Insurrections, by a regular Militia, as well as by a mercenary Army; and in a free Country I am sure the former is a much more proper Defence than the latter.

What we now call regular Troops, or standing Forces, have produced, and always will produce, the most fatal Consequences in every Country where they are kept up. In such Countries the People in general not only neglect to breed themselves up to the Use of Arms and martial Discipline, but they are bred up from their Infancy with a Sort of Terror at the Name of a Soldier; by which means the bravest, the most warlike People may, in the Space of one Century, be rendered the most dastardly and effeminate. They put their whole Trust in what they call their Army; and if that Army happens by the Chance of War to be cut off, there is no finding another that dare look a victorious Enemy in the Face, which is the Reason that every such Country has at last become an easy Prey to some foreign Invader: Whereas, in a Country where they have no Army to trust to, the Government must necessarily take care of the Militia, the whole People are bred Soldiers from their Infancy, and an invading Enemy finds them like the Hydras' Heads; if they have the good Fortune to cut off one Army, they immediately find another more formidable grow up in its stead; for such a People may be killed, but they cannot be conquered.

quered. I am surprized, Sir, to hear it said that Arts and Sciences cannot be promoted, nor Trade and Industry encouraged but by the keeping up of standing Armies. It may as well be said that neither the one nor the other can flourish but in Countries where arbitrary Government is established; for arbitrary Power has in all Countries been the certain Consequence of keeping up a large standing Army. In such Countries they may have the good Luck to have a Prince, or an Administration, that encourages Arts and Sciences, and protects Trade and Industry; but that Period is generally of no long Continuance, and Barbarism, Ignorance, and Idleness always succeed. In this Kingdom we know that Arts and Sciences were introduced, and Trade and Industry established, long before we had such a Thing as a standing Army. In the Grecian and Roman Commonwealths their Tradesmen and Labourers gained Laurels in the Field of Battle by their Courage, and returned to gain a Subsistence for themselves and Families by their Industry; but when they began to keep standing Armies, their Soldiers, 'tis true, for some Time gained Laurels in the Field of Battle, but they returned to plunder and at last to subdue their Country; which put an End to their Freedom, and of course to every Thing that was Praise-worthy among them. God forbid our Fate should be the same! 'Tis a Mistake to imagine our Tradesmen would be drawn away from their Labour by breeding them up to military Discipline; on the contrary they might be brought to use it as their Diversion, and then they would return with more Alacrity to their usual Labour. In former Times our Holy-Days, and even Sundays, were employed in the Exercise of the Long-Bow and other warlike Diversions; and I must think that such Days would still be much

better employed in that Way, than in sitting at an Ale-House, or loitering in a Skittle or Nine-Pin Grounds; but such a Change of Manners is not to be introduced without the Assistance of the Government, and some proper Laws for that Purpose; and I am convinced our Government will never assist, as long as we furnish them with a standing Army; for a standing Army is in all Countries a most useful Thing to those in Power, and a well disciplined Militia a most dangerous Thing to those who are grasping at more than they ought to have.

I shall readily agree with the honourable Gentleman, that every Government must have a military Force for its Support, and must make use of that military Force when Necessity requires; but a legal and limited Government ought to be provided with a free and legal military Force, and not with a military Force depending upon the sole Will and Pleasure of the Governor; a military Force which he may make use of for breaking, as well as for executing the Laws of his Country. Such is our regular Army according to its present Establishment. They are not free Subjects, they are Soldiers, not governed properly by the Laws of their Country, but by a Law made for them only; and all depending upon the sole Will and Pleasure of the King. This may in Time make them look upon themselves as a Body of Men different from the rest of the People; and as they, and they only, have the Sword in their Hands, they may at last begin to look upon themselves as the Lords, and not the Servants of the People. They will obey and execute your Laws whilst you make such Laws as please them, but if you should begin to make such Laws as may be disagreeable to them, they will neither execute nor obey your Laws; they will make Laws for themselves,

and one of the first, you may depend on't, will be, a Law for dissolving your Assembly: They have done so before, and they may do so again, if ever they should happen to be under an ambitious King or General. I know it may be said our Militia depend as much upon the sole Will and Pleasure of our Governor, as our regular Army; but it is not to be supposed they would so readily join in overturning the Laws of their Country, as a mercenary Army would, when properly garbled for that Purpose; and if our Militia should be brought under any new Regulations, which must be done, before they can be made useful, proper Care might be taken; for putting it out of the Power of any Man to make a bad Use of them.

In a Country where the Government is limited and the People free, there may perhaps be more room for Party and Faction, than in a Country where the Government is absolute and the People dare not complain; but, Sir, even in a free Country, and under the most limited Government, while those in Power do their Duty, while they consult the Inclinations of the People, and refrain from all manner of Oppression either publick or private; no Party, no Faction can become dangerous to the Government, tho' it has no regular Troops to trust to. Such a Government will always have a great Majority of the People, in their Interest, and tho' there may be some who, from private Views, may be dissatisfied with the publick Measures pursued, yet they will for their own Sakes remain quiet and peaceable; for no Man of common Sense will rise in Arms against an established Government, unless he is sure not only of a general Discontent among the People, but that the general Discontent is got to such a Height as to make the Majority of the People ready to fly to Arms for their Relief or Pres-

ervation. Of this the glorious Reign of *Queen Elizabeth* is a most convincing Proof: I believe hardly any History can parallel so long a Reign so little disturbed with Faction; yet the Beginning of that Reign seemed to threaten the most violent Party Divisions and State Convulsions. One of the first Steps of that glorious Queen was to overturn the Religion she found established in her Country; a Religion supported by a great Party at Home; and professed and protected by the greatest Part of Europe: At the same Time she knew she had a Pretender to her Crown, and a most dangerous Pretender too, a Pretender who was of the Religion then established in the Country, a Pretender who was in Possession of a Kingdom of her own, a Kingdom within the same Island, and a Kingdom which could vindicate the Rights of their Queen with as brave and as fierce Armies as ever marched from any Country; and what still added to the Danger, that Pretender was not only Queen of *Scotland*, but Wife to the *Dauphin of France*. From such Circumstances, what Factions, what Commotions, what violent Convulsions were not to be apprehended; yet that wise Queen, without any standing Army, established herself upon the Throne, established the Religion she professed, triumphed over all her Enemies, and after a Reign of 43 Years transmitted the Crown in Peace to her next lawful Successor, without ever having been disturbed by any Party or Faction's rising in Arms against her; except one in the *North*, and some few Commotions in *Ireland*, neither of which ever became considerable.

In a free Country, indeed, when those in Power make a weak or a wicked Use of their Power, or make any Attempts upon the Liberties of the People, a Party will certainly form itself against the Government, and such a Party as cannot be with-

Good but by means of a numerous and mercenary Army; but in that Case, Sir, the Government becomes the Faction, and if that Faction be enabled to support itself against the general Benefit of the People, the Liberties of that People are at an End; some outward Forms may be preserved, but the Government, in Substance, becomes from that Moment arbitrary. Faction is an ugly Name, in a free Country, always bestowed upon those who oppose the Government; but whether they, or the Government, best deserve the Name, depends upon the Measures pursued by each. To prevent Faction and civil Discord has in all Countries been the plausible Pretence of those who secretly aimed at the Establishment of arbitrary Power: In most of our neighbouring Countries that Pretence has had the wished for Success, but I hope it never shall in this; for it is much happier for a People to be in a continual Danger of Civil Discord, or even of Civil Wars, than to be in a continual State of Slavery. A Civil War is an Imposthume, it may be troublesome, it may be painful while it lasts, but it carries off any contagious Matter that may be lodged in the Body, and generally brings Health and Vigour for many Years after; whereas despotick Power is an Ulcer, a Gangrene, which admits of no Cure, nor can receive any Comfort.

I have as bad an Opinion of *Jacobites* and *Papists* as any Gentleman of this House can reasonably have, but I never thought that either our *Jacobites* or *Papists* were for establishing arbitrary Power: I am sure very few of them are. We maintained our Liberties when the whole Nation were *Papists*; we may lose them now we are *Protestants*; and if we should, it would make many Men *Jacobites* who are very far from being so at present. People under Oppression always hope for Relief from any Change: If the Liberties of this

Country should be once overturned, the worst we could expect would be only changing one Slavery for another. Even the truest Lovers of Liberty might be prompted by Revenge to become *Jacobites*, in Order to disappoint and punish those who had cheated them out of their Liberties. I do not believe there can ever be a Party in this Kingdom for establishing arbitrary Power, unless it be our Ministers and their Creatures. An Itch for arbitrary Power seems, indeed, to be epidemical with respect to that Set of Men: We have often had Ministers who have been infected with that dangerous Distemper: We may again have such Ministers; and for that Reason, chiefly, I am against keeping up a numerous standing Army, because, according to its present Regulation, it is too much under the Power of Ministers: They may some Time or other make use of it for attaining to that which to many of them have seemed to long for.

There are, 'tis true, Sir, too many Rogues and Thieves in the Kingdom, there are, I believe, some great ones who are not yet discovered, but I doubt much if a numerous standing Army will contribute either to their being discovered or punished. With respect to any of those little Pilferers that have of late been seized and hanged, I am sure it cannot be said the Army has been, in the least, assisting. They have all been apprehended by the Country People, or by the common Thief-catchers; which is a Trade, I hope no Gentleman of the Army will ever be desired to undertake, unless the Thief be some Person of a very eminent Degree. I do not know that the Army has ever been employed in any Sort of Thief-catching, except with respect to those Thieves called *Smugglers*; and the Reason of the Army's being necessary for that Purpose is, that our Taxes are so many and so high,

and have been so long continued, the People begin to look upon *Smugglers* as their Friends, and therefore will not be concerned, or run any Risk, in apprehending or opposing them. If we had no Taxes but such as the People thought reasonable, and if those Taxes were applied to Uses which the People thought necessary for their Preservation, they would be as ready to join the *Hus. and Cry* against a *Smuggler*, as they are now against a House-breaker or Highwayman. I am persuaded there is nothing contributes so much to the Increase of Criminals of all Sorts among us, as the great Number of regular Troops we keep up; the common Soldiers mix among the Vulgar, and by their Example, they propagate a Spirit of Lewdness, Debauchery, Idleness, and Extravagance in every County and City of the Kingdom; I wish even some of the Officers may not in this Way be a little to blame. The Credit and Subsistence of a Merchant, a Tradesman, or a Labourer, depends upon his Character: If he gets the Character of a lewd, profligate Fellow, no Man will trust him, no Man will employ him; for this Reason he is obliged at least to be a Hypocrite, and so can do no Mischief by his Example; but the Credit of a Soldier depends upon his doing his Duty, and his Subsistence depends upon his Pay; if he does his Duty he may be as lewd and profligate as he pleases, and as openly as he pleases, consequently may do great Mischief by his Example. In all Countries the young and high-metall'd are proud of keeping Company with Soldiers; they learn their Manners, and soon begin to imitate them in their Vices; by so doing they lose their Characters, and when no Man will trust or employ them, if they cannot get into the Army, they must rob or steal for Subsistence.

Among a certain Set of People,

Sir, I have observed, that Mobs are represented as most hideous Things. I confess they ought not to be encouraged; but they have been sometimes useful. In a free Country I am afraid a standing Army rather occasions than prevents them; where a Magistrate has a Guard of regular Troops to trust to, he is apt to neglect humouring the People, he despises them, and even sometimes oppresses them; in which Case the People, as long as there is any Spirit among them, will certainly grow tumultuous. If a Tumult happens without any just Cause of Complaint, a little gentle Usage, and calm Reasoning, will generally prevent any Mischief, and prevail with the People to return to their Duty; but a Magistrate with an Army at his Back will seldom take this Method, for few Men will be at the Pains to persuade when they know they can compel. If a Tumult happens from a just Cause of Complaint, the People ought to be satisfied, their Grievance ought to be redressed, they ought not surely to be immediately knocked on the Head, because they happen to complain in an irregular Manner. To make use of regular Troops upon every such Occasion, is like a tyrannical School-Master, who never makes use of the soft Arts of Persuasion and Allurement, but always makes use of the Rod; such a Man may break the Spirit, but never can improve the Minds of his Scholars.

I do not know, Sir, what the Hon. Gentlemen mean by that Respect and Esteem which we have, and ought to have, among our Neighbours; surely they do not think that this Nation is to be respected only in proportion to the regular Troops we have in our Pay; In that Case there are several Princes in *Germany* who would deserve more Respect than we; there is hardly a Kingdom in *Europe* that would deserve so little; and I am sure those who keep

up their *Hundreds of Thousands*, as some of our Neighbours do, would have no Occasion to shew us any Regard or Esteem. But I believe the Case is directly otherwise. I believe the more regular Troops we keep up in Time of Peace, the less we shall be respected or esteemed by every one of our Neighbours: They know we have no Frontier to defend, nor fortified Towns to garison, and therefore they will conclude our Government would never be at the Expence of keeping up a large Body of regular Troops, if they were beloved or esteemed by their own People. They will conclude that such a Body of Troops is kept up, only to keep the People in Obedience; and a Government that does not enjoy the Affections and Esteem of their own People, will certainly be despised by Foreigners. Whereas when those in the Government of this Nation do their Duty, when they enjoy the Affections and Esteem of the People in general, tho' we had not a Regiment of regular Troops in the Kingdom, our Neighbours know we could in a few Months appear in the Field with our *Hundreds of Thousands* of regular Troops as well as they; besides an irresistible Navy, by means of which we could carry Terror and Desolation to every Part of their Sea Coasts, and at the same Time protect our own from any Insult.

It is not therefore, Sir, to our keeping up a large Body of regular Troops in Time of Peace, we owe any Part of that Respect we may have among our Neighbours; it is to our naval Power, to the natural Bravery of our Men in general, and to our Government's possessing the Hearts of their Subjects. From hence it is we derive our Strength, from hence it is we derive our Security; and the keeping up of a large Body of regular Troops in Time of Peace, will derogate from every one of the three. It will render it impossible

for us to keep up such a naval Power, as we might otherwise do: It will propagate a Spirit of Effeminacy and Cowardice among all those who are not of the Army; and it will always contribute towards rendering our Government hateful to the People in general. For this Reason I will be bold to say, that if ever any of our maritime Counties or Cities be plundered by a small Party of foreign regular Troops, it will be owing to our keeping up a standing Army. Considering the Extent of our Coasts, we cannot have so much as one Regiment, nor half a Regiment, at every Place where a small Party may land; such a Party may therefore plunder and lay desolate a great Part of the Country before any of our regular Troops can come up to oppose them; and the Effeminacy, Cowardice, and Riches of the Inhabitants, will instigate our Enemies to make many such Attempts.

I am really very much surprized, Sir, to hear it said, we have felt no Inconvenience from our Army. Is not the great Debt we still owe, and the many Taxes we still pay, in a great Measure owing to our keeping up so numerous an Army in Time of Peace? Can it be said that the Quartering of Soldiers is no Inconvenience to those poor People who are subject to that extraordinary Burden? Is it not a very great Expence, as well as a great Inconvenience to every publick House in the Kingdom? And can we imagine our Soldiers are always so civil in their Quarters as never to be guilty of any Insolence or rude Piece of Behaviour? I hope the Gentlemen who tell us so, will forgive me, when I wish that some of them could be metamorphos'd, for a few Weeks only, into a Country Inn-keeper, or Alehouse-keeper, with a handsome Wife, or 2 or 3 pretty Daughters, whose Virtue and Well-being he might be supposed to have some

Concern for: I believe such Gentlemen, upon their Return to this House, would shew a little more Sympathy; I believe they would allow our Inn-keepers and Alehouse-keepers might live at a less Expence, and with a great deal of more Ease and Quiet, if they had no such Inmates, or not so many, as they are now generally plagued with. But this is not all: Can any Gentleman say our Liberties can never be in Danger from a standing Army? Have they not once already been overturned by a Parliamentary Army? Our regular Troops are, 'tis true, at present kept up by our Authority, but are we certain our Authority will be sufficient for disbanding them, whenever we have a Mind? Our being in no Danger from his present Majesty signifies nothing: Under a good King, we ought to adopt no Custom, nor make any Precedent, which a bad one may make a bad Use of.

Whatever our other Measures may have done, I am persuaded, Sir, neither the late Preservation of our own Tranquillity, nor the Restoration of the publick Tranquillity, was owing to the Army we kept up, or the Addition we made to it. As to our own Tranquillity, it is certain our remaining quiet, was the utmost that could be hoped for by those who began the War: Our not joining against them was the greatest Favour they could expect from us, and therefore it would have been ridiculous in them to have disturbed our Tranquillity, because it would have forced us to join against them. And as to restoring the Tranquillity of Europe, I am sure it cannot be said to have been restored upon the Footing of any Scheme or Plan proposed by his Majesty: I am sure his Majesty never did, nor ever would propose to add such a large Dutchy as that of *Lorain* to the Dominions of *France*. On the contrary, we know the Peace was clapt up between the 2 chief con-

tending Powers without our Knowledge, without our Advice or Assistance; and I wish we may not find it was clapt up on Conditions which may prove disagreeable both to us and our Allies.

I shall grant, Sir, that the System of Affairs in *Europe* seems to be altered by the late Peace; but I cannot think either of the contracting Parties has a Design of making any immediate Incroachment upon us or any of our Allies. If they had, our Ministers at those Courts would certainly have discovered such a Design: Their Wisdom, their Care, and their Penetration, are so well known, it is not possible to suppose such a Design could be kept concealed from them; and if there be no immediate Design, there is no Occasion for us to prepare against it: On the contrary, if we suspect any distant Views, and such only, if our Ministers at foreign Courts have doné their Duty, we can suspect, we ought in the mean Time to save as much as possible, in order that we may be the better able to oppose such Designs, when any Attempts shall be made for carrying them into Execution.

But, Sir, if we can suppose any Alteration made by the late Peace, with respect to the System of Affairs in *Europe*, it must be occasioned by a real Conjunction and thorough Union between the *Emperor* and *France*: It must proceed from a Concert between those two Potentates for prescribing Rules to the rest of *Europe*, or for joining together in order to make Incroachments upon some of their Neighbours; and in that Case the War which the *Muscovites* are already engaged in, and which the *Emperor* will probably be very soon engaged in, against the *Turks*, is a Sort of Pledge for securing the Tranquillity of the rest of *Europe*; because it will prevent the *Emperor's* being in a Capacity of executing his Part of any such Concert.

cert. Then again, if we suppose that no such Alteration has been made by the late Peace, but that *France* may take that Opportunity, as she was formerly wont to do, of attacking the *Emperor* or some of those who, according to the ancient System, are his natural Allies, it is not the first Time the *Emperor*, in conjunction with his Allies, has supported successfully a War against the *Turks*, and at the same Time set Bounds to the Ambition of *France*, even when he had not the *Muscovite* to assist him, and at a Time when we had no such numerous standing Army in *Britain* as we have at present. Thus, let the Case be which way it will, from the present State of Affairs in *Europe*, there can be no good Argument drawn for our keeping up a numerous standing Army in this Kingdom.

Sir, it is impossible to imagine or expect a Time when all the Princes of *Europe* will be not only in profound Peace, but without any Views or Designs of making Inroachments upon one another. If we are not to diminish our present Army till such a Time happens, if we are not to pass the River till it runs dry, it is ridiculous ever to think of passing, or to expect a Diminution. Against secret Designs and sudden Invasions, we may always defend ourselves by means of our Fleet; it is therefore our Business to keep the royal Navy always in good Repair, to keep a considerable Number of Seamen always in Pay, and to encourage military Discipline among our Men in general; but when we are ourselves at Peace, we ought always to take that Opportunity to ease ourselves of the Expence of maintaining a Land Army. Are we to keep up a Land Army for the Defence of our Allies? No, Sir, they have fortified Towns, and numerous Garrisons to defend them against any sudden Attack; and if they do their Duty towards themselves, if they keep the Fortifications

of their frontier Towns in good Repair, and such a Body of regular Troops in their Pay as is necessary for defending their Frontier, we shall always have Time to raise or to hire an Army for their Support, before they can be brought into any great Danger.

I am sorry to hear, Sir, there is so much Discontent, and so many Tumults in the Nation; but upon such an Occasion to bring his Majesty's Name, or his Majesty's Government, into Question, is not fair; I must beg Leave to say, I do not think it altogether decent. The King can do no Wrong, but his Ministers may. I am sure there is no Man in the Kingdom that ever thought himself wronged by his Majesty, but I shall not say so much with respect to his Ministers. Therefore, if there be any Discontents in the Nation, we are to suppose such Discontents owing to the Measures pursued by the Ministers only; and if we examine the History of this Nation for some Years past, we may easily see how they have been raised, and to what they are chiefly owing. During the late great War, the People of this Nation were subjected to many new and heavy Taxes, and a great publick Debt incurred. Every Man was then sensible of the Debt contracted, every Man then felt severely the Taxes he paid, but every Man comforted himself that in a few Years of Peace the Debt would be paid off, and most of the Taxes abolished. We have now enjoyed a Peace of 25 Years standing, and yet now we find the publick Debt near as large as it was at the End of the War, and all the Taxes but one, as high and as heavy as they were in any Time of the War. In this long Tract of peaceable Times, the People have not felt themselves relieved from any one Tax, except a Part of the Land Tax, and even that Tax is as high in *Britain* now in Time of Peace,

as it is in *France* in Time of War. Thus the People have been long disappointed, and now at last they begin to despair of ever seeing themselves relieved from the heavy Burdens they groan under. There may be several other Reasons, there are some which I could mention, but this is the chief Reason of the Discontent's being so general, as I am afraid it is; and I am sure the keeping up of a numerous standing Army in Time of Peace, is not a proper Method for removing this Cause of Discontent. By so doing we may keep the People quiet, or knock out the Brains of those who shall presume to be otherwise, but we shall never remove their Discontents, or gain their Affections; and this must be done, or our Government must be made arbitrary; for a free Government cannot be supported, but by having the Affections of the Generality of the People.

To imagine, Sir, that our Government would be in any Danger from the disbanded Soldiers joining with the Discontented is without any Foundation; for there are many Soldiers would be glad to be discharged, there are many of them would be glad to return to their former Labour and Industry, and there are some who would be entitled to *Chelsea-Hospital*; of these there are not perhaps a great many, for of late we seem to have taken more Care to make a fine Figure at a Review, than a brave Stand in a Field of Battle; so that we have not at present many old Soldiers in our Army; however there are some, and they would be glad of being put upon the Establishment of *Chelsea-Hospital*. By this Means a Reduction might be managed so, as not to discharge a Man who did not look on it as a Favour; and surely it is not to be supposed that those Men who had just received a Favour from the Government would join with any Party against the Government; nor would the Number

of disciplined Soldiers in the Kingdom be diminished by such a Reduction; for, as the Officers would all be put upon half Pay, both Officers and Soldiers would remain in the Island, and would be ready to assist in the Defence of their Country against any Invasion or Insurrection.

I hope, Sir, I have now shewn, there is no Force in any of the Arguments made use of for our keeping up the same Number of Forces we had last Year, nor any Danger to be apprehended from a Reduction; but I cannot leave this Subject without representing to Gentlemen the Danger our Constitution is exposed to by keeping up such a numerous Army. Such Representations have, 'tis true, often been made, but I think they ought to be repeated as often as there is an Occasion. The Number we have at present, especially considering how easily and how soon they may be increased to Double the Number, I will be bold to say, is sufficient for trampling upon the Liberties of this Nation; and the longer they are kept up, the more sufficient will they be for that Purpose; because the People will every Day grow less apt or able to vindicate their Liberties, and our Army will every Day grow the more cemented, and consequently the more fit for such an Undertaking. *Oliver Cromwell*, when he turned every Member of this House out of Doors, when he bid one of his Soldiers take away that Fool's Bauble our Mace, as he called it, had not a much more numerous regular Army than we have at present on Foot; and tho' the Army under *King James II.* behaved in a more honourable Manner, yet such a Behaviour is not much to be depended on; for I am convinced even that Army would not have behaved as they did, if the Discontented had not had an Army to resist; or if proper Measures had been taken to garble them a little before Hand.

But,

But, Sir, without any open and violent Attack upon our Liberties; like that made by *Olivier Cromwel*, our Constitution may, by means of our Army, and the many other Posts in the sole Disposal of the King, be undermined, and at last, to use the military Expression, entirely blown up. It may come to be said down as a Maxim, that an Officer or Soldier ought to be as observant of his Orders in this House, or at Elections, as he ought to be in a Camp or a Field of Battle; and that an Officer who votes at an Election, or in this House, contrary to the Directions of the Prime Minister for the Time being, deserves as much to be cashiered, as he who neglects his Duty in the Field, or deserts his Colours in the Day of Danger. Nay it may happen, that the making of a proper Interest at Elections, or the giving of a right Vote in the House of Commons, shall be deemed the only Service; the only Merit, worthy of Preferment in the Army; and considering how many Officers are in Parliament, considering how many must always be in Parliament as long as we keep up the same Number of Forces we have at present, I may venture to say that, if such Maxims should be established and pursued, it would be in the Power even of the most wicked Minister, to have always a Majority at his Command in both Houses of Parliament. In which case our Parliaments, like the Senate of *Rome* under their Emperors, or the present Assemblies of the States in most of our neighbouring Kingdoms, would serve only for giving Countenance to the Schemes of our Ministers, and for rendering them more bold in their Oppressions.

At present, Sir, we have great Reason, we have more Reason than usual, for being afraid of such Maxims. Several Officers have been lately removed from their Commands in the Army; Officers of almost every

Rank and Station, and Officers who could not be accused of any Neglect or Contumacy in their military Duty; for this Reason the World has great Reason to believe, since we know of none other, that they were removed for some Neglect or Contumacy in that which with respect to such Maxims may be called their Parliamentary Duty.

They had the Misfortune to differ from some Gentlemen in their Sentiments, and they had the Honour to declare their Sentiments freely, and to vote accordingly in Parliament; soon after this they were removed from every Post they had in the Army, without any Cause assigned: What can the World think of such Removes? I am sure every Man without Doors will think it was because they voted according as their Conscience and their Honour directed them in Parliament; and I am sure every Gentleman of this House who thinks so, must join with me in Opinion, that it is now high Time to think of reducing our Army, and of putting the military Force of the Kingdom upon some Footing very different from what it has been upon for many Years past. It is now the very Beginning of a Session: If we now resolve upon a Reduction, we may have Time to contrive and pass a Bill for regulating our Militia so as to make it useful; but if we should now resolve upon continuing the same Number of regular Forces, I am sure no Gentleman can expect a proper Concurrence or Assistance in any such Design, and therefore I am sure no Gentleman will venture to propose any Schemes for that Purpose; for many Objections may be made against the best Scheme that can be proposed, and those who have not a Mind to agree to any Scheme, will always pretend to think the Objections unanswerable; so that unless the Question for a Reduction, at a

Time of so profound a Tranquillity, be approved by a Majority of this House, no Man can expect the Approbation of the Majority to any Scheme he can propose; and no Man will chuse to propose a Scheme which he is sure will be rejected.

From what I have said, Sir, I think it will appear, that the Question now before us is not, Whether we shall keep up the same Number of regular Forces, and continue to neglect our Militia, for one Year longer? No, Sir, the Question now is, Whether we shall keep up the same Number of mercenary Troops, and continue to neglect our Militia, forever? This, Sir, is truly the Question now before us, and I leave it to every Gentleman who has a Regard for the Constitution, or for the Liberties of the People, or for the Honour and Safety of his native Country, to consider what may be the Consequences of his agreeing to such a Question? For my own Part I have done my Duty, and if I should see our happy Constitution overturned, and the Liberties of the People destroyed; if I should see our maritime Cities and Towns plundered, and the Honour of the Nation exposed by that Spirit of Effeminacy and Cowardice which will soon prevail among all those who are not of our Army, and perhaps at last among them likewise, I shall at least have this Comfort left, that I warned my Countrymen of their Danger.

The Reply was to the Effect as follows, viz.

Sir, I should be extremely glad to hear a Method proposed by which we could provide for our Safety both at Home and Abroad, without keeping any Troops in our Pay; but the honourable Gentlemen who now seem to be for a Reduction, tho' they have told us our Neighbours keep up their regular Troops only for supporting their arbitrary Power,

and tho' they have talked a great deal of the Militia, yet they have proposed no Scheme for making the Militia of this Kingdom useful, nor have they shewed us any Method by which we can defend ourselves against the regular Troops kept up by our Neighbours, unless it be by keeping up some of our own. What Reasons our Neighbours may have for keeping up such large Bodies of regular Troops as they do? or, Whether the Militia of this Country, or any Country, may be so well disciplined as to be made equal to regular Troops? are Questions which I do not think very material at present; because, 'tis certain every one of our Neighbours do keep up large Bodies of regular Troops, and it is as certain that our Militia, according to their present Regulation, would be of no Use for defending us against such Troops; therefore till our Militia are made useful, till they are so well disciplined as to be able to defend us against regular Troops, we can put no Trust in them, we must keep up a sufficient Body of regular Forces; and as soon as I see such a Militia in this Kingdom as may be safely entrusted with the Defence of the Kingdom, I shall then most readily agree to the Disbanding of every Regiment we have in our Service.

But, Sir, tho' I wish as much as any Gentleman in this House, our Militia could be made as good as regular Troops, yet I must say it is my Opinion, that the Thing is impossible. There is nothing, I'm afraid, but Necessity or Pay, can make Men be at the Trouble and Fatigue of training themselves up to the Use of Arms and military Discipline; and as the People of this Nation are not now under any Necessity of so doing, I do not think you can ever get any Number of them to submit to such Discipline, unless you pay them for the Trouble they are at, and for that

Part of their Time at least which they employ in that Way. By Necessity I mean that natural Necessity which Men are brought under by the Circumstances of the Country they live in. In former Ages all *Europe* was divided into a great Number of little States or Principalities, each of whom was in some Manner independent, and therefore they were often making Inroads upon, and plundering one another: Many of these little Principalities were often united under one King or Governor; but each of them had so much Power within himself, and was so independent of the chief Governor, that their Quarrells were oftner decided by the Sword than by the Laws of their Country; therefore every Man was under perpetual Apprehensions, and often obliged to defend his Property by his Sword: This laid every Man under an immediate Necessity of accustoming himself to the Use of Arms and military Exercises; and indeed most of them neither thought of nor practised much of any other Sort of Employment. But ever since *Europe* has been reduced under the Dominjon of a few powerful Potentates, the People live in Security; those of the same Kingdom or State have their Differences decided by the Law, and the Differences that arise between two great Sovereign States are oftner decided by Treaty than by the Sword; therefore the Generality of the People in each State being free from those Apprehensions their Ancestors were perpetually under, have long since neglected the Use of Arms, and have applied themselves to Arts and Industry; but this general Neglect of martial Discipline has made it necessary in each Country to keep up a Body of regular Troops; and this is the true and the natural Reason, for introducing that Custom in every Kingdom and State now in *Europe*. The supporting of arbitrary Power cannot be the

Reason in every one of them, because regular Troops are kept up in all the free States of *Europe*, as well as in those where arbitrary Power has been established.

In this Country, Sir, the People live in the same Security with those of any other Country in *Europe*, and for the same Reason the Generality of them have neglected, and will always neglect to train themselves up to War. They are now under no natural Necessity of studying or practising that Art; and if you should pretend to lay them under a legal Necessity, I am afraid you will find it impracticable. Such a Law, or such a Scheme, may appear extremely easy in Speculation, but I am convinced when you come to the Execution, you'll meet with insurmountable Difficulties. Let us consider, Sir, that for keeping the Militia always well disciplined, you must have them out at least twice a Week to learn or to practise their Exercises. If you should make Sunday one of the Days, you may depend on it many of the Clergy, of all Sects and Persuasions, would look upon it as an Incroachment upon them, and would therefore preach against it; from whence many of your People would refuse to obey such a Law out of a Scruple of Conscience; so that we might perhaps have Martyrs for keeping holy the Lord's Day, which might at last produce a religious Civil War in the Kingdom. Two Days out of six is what no labouring Man can spare; nay even one Day out of six, to be spent in military Exercise, without any Pay, would be hard upon a poor labouring Man who had a Family to provide for: It would be a Tax, and a severe Tax too, upon every labouring Man, and every Man of Business in the Kingdom. Their Time is their Estate, and therefore it would be taking one sixth Part of their Estate from them, which, considering how low our

Estates are rated to the Land Tax, would be near equal to six Shillings in the Pound upon Land. For this Reason all the labouring Men, and all the Men of Business in the Kingdom, would think it a great Grievance, to be obliged to spend one Day of the Week, besides Sunday, at their military Exercises, and what would our Landed Gentlemen, and our rich Merchants and Shop-keepers think, what would those Gentlemen of this House who now seem to be so fond of a well disciplined Militia, think of being obliged to get up two Days of the Week, at five or six o'Clock in the Morning, wet or dry, to take a Musket upon their Shoulders, and to spend the whole Day in painful Exercise and Fatigue? It would therefore I believe be impossible to oblige all the Men of the Kingdom to list themselves in the Militia, and it would be unjust to oblige a few only, unless you paid them for that extraordinary Service. Gentlemen may talk, Sir, of making the People use military Exercises by way of a Diversion; but 'tis certain the People will always chuse their Diversions; if you establish any Diversion by a Law, it becomes a Duty, and ceases to be a Diversion: The People will then look upon it as a Business, and most of them will think it hard they should be obliged to employ two seventh Parts, or one sixth Part of their Time, in learning and practising a Business, which they can never propose to get any Thing by, which they may never so much as once in their whole Lives have occasion to follow in a serious Manner. Besides, Sir, no Man that needs his real Business or Occupation, repairs to any Diversion till his Business be over, therefore no Man has any set and unalterable Time for his Diversion; even Sunday itself is often incroached on, is allowed to be incroached on, when necessary Business requires. If

you appointed one or two certain Days every Week for military Exercise, which would be absolutely necessary, such Appointment would often interfere with People's other Affairs, with those Affairs by which they are to get their Bread, or provide for their Families; and if you sent them to their Officers for Leave of Absence, the Obtaining of such Leave would probably become a Tax upon every Man that had occasion for it, and the Tax would rise in proportion to his Ability and the Urgency of his Business. We may therefore see, it is impossible to establish military Exercise as a Diversion: The Attempting to enforce any such Thing by a Law, would raise a most general Discontent and Murmuring, and would consequently expose our present happy Establishment to greater Danger, than it can ever be exposed to by keeping up a small regular Army, and leaving the rest of the People to pursue some industrious Art or Employment, or to follow such lawful Diversions as they themselves shall chuse, without any Let or Disturbance.

For these and many other Reasons I am of Opinion, it is impossible to contrive any practicable Scheme for rendering our Militia equal to regular Troops, and therefore, while we are surrounded with Neighbours who keep vast Armies of regular Troops continually on Foot, I must think it absolutely necessary for us to keep up some regular Troops of our own, for defending our Coasts and maritime Cities from secret and sudden Invasions; and considering the Extensiveness of our Sea Coast, and the present unsettled State of Affairs in Europe, I cannot think a less Number sufficient than that we have now on Foot. But, Sir, whatever may be said, whatever can be said, in favour of a well disciplined Militia, can be no Argument for a present Reduction of our regular Forces; because

cause no Man can say our Militia is now under any tolerable Sort of Discipline, or that they are such a military Force upon which our Government can depend, either for its own Support, or for the Protection of the People; and I must think it would be a Sort of Madness to give up that, or any necessary Part of that upon which only we can now depend for our Safety and Protection, till we have provided something in its stead, upon which we may with some Reason depend for our Security, at least against foreign Invasions.

I am so far from being of Opinion, our regular Army tends to depress the natural Courage or the Spirit of the rest of our Subjects, that I am convinced a regular Army of Natives, well clothed, well paid, and kept under an exact Discipline, will in every Country tend to raise the Spirit of the People, and to make their Men in general affect to imitate that Courage, that Regularity of Manners, and that Discipline, by which they see so many of their Countrymen, perhaps their Relations, rise to Honour and Preferment; for if an Army be kept under proper Discipline, and Preferments justly disposed of, a regular and virtuous Behaviour in private Life, as well as an exact Performance of his Duty as a Soldier, will always be made necessary for intitling a Man to Preferment in the Army; and if the Youth and high-metall'd of every Country are apt to keep Company with, and imitate the Soldiers, an Army, under a right Government, will always be of greater use towards establishing Virtue and Morality among the People in general, than any other Set of Men, not excepting even the Clergy, can be. Indeed, if your Government be in vicious Hands, if Favours and Preferments in the Army be distributed only to the Lewd, the Debauched, and the Profligate, your Army, like every

other Set of Men who depend upon such a Government, will contribute towards corrupting the Morals of the People, and under such a Government the Militia would do the same; for Preferment in the Militia, as well as in the Army, must always depend upon the Government.

Liberty, Sir, does not depend, it never did depend upon the Government's having or not having a regular Army in their Pay. The Liberties of a People must always depend upon their Virtue. The Armies of a virtuous People will protect their Liberties; and a luxurious, vicious People will sell them to the first Purchaser, whether they have a standing Army or no. The *Romans* had great standing Armies long before they lost their Liberties. While the People preserved any Degree of Virtue, those Armies preserved their Liberties; but when the People began to sell themselves to the Leaders of their several Factions, without any Regard to Virtue or the good of the Publick, their Armies followed their Example, they sold themselves to their respective Generals, in their Turn, and according to the Fate of War, became Masters of the Republick; for the Dispute between *Pompey* and *Julius Caesar* was not about the Liberties of the People, but about the Dominion over the People. We have now several free States in *Europe* who keep up, who have long kept up numerous standing Armies. In *Holland*, in *Venice*, in *Poland*, they keep up standing Armies, without thinking their Liberties can from thence be in any Danger. In *Sweden* it was their Army that restored their Liberties; and in this Country it was our Army that restored our Liberties in the Reign of King *Charles II.* and it was our Army that preserved them in the Reign of his Brother King *James*. In all Countries the Army will follow the general Bent of the People

People from whence they are drawn, and if the general Bent of the People be towards Slavery, they will do as they did sometime since in *Denmark*, they will make a free Gift of their Liberties; Then, indeed, an Army may be so modelled, as to prevent the People's resuming the Grant they have made; but such an Army must not be an Army like ours, it must not be an Army whose very Existence depends upon the annual Consent of the People, and whose Pay depends upon the Grants annually made by a Parliament. In this Country I hope the general Bent of the People is no Way inclined towards Slavery, I am sure some Gentlemen have lost a great deal of Pains if it is; and if there be a Spirit of Virtue and Liberty among the People, the same Spirit must prevail in our Army, which is drawn from the People, and commanded by some of the best of the People: therefore it can never be supposed, our Army will countenance or support any Measures that may tend towards establishing arbitrary Power.

Sir, the Soldiers of our Army are as free as any other of our Subjects. They are governed by the Laws of the Kingdom, as all other Subjects are. There is, 'tis true, one Law which relates particularly to them; but that Law is fixed and certain, and publicly known; a Soldier from thence knows his Duty, and if he behaves like a good Subject, and does his Duty as a Soldier, he can be subjected to no Punishment; he is not under the arbitrary Will and Pleasure of any Man in the Kingdom, no, not even of the King himself. Our Soldiers are not, nor can they suppose themselves a Body of Men different from the rest of the People, on account of their being subject to a Law which relates to them only. Every Corporation, every Society, almost every Sort of Tradesmen in the Kingdom, have the same Reason

to think themselves a Body of Men different from the rest of the People; for every one of them are subject to some Laws which relate only to the particular Corporation or Society of which they are Members, or to the particular Trade or Profession they are of. Our Militia are in the same Circumstances; they are already subject to a Law which relates to them only; and whatever new Laws you may make for regulating our Militia, I hope you would not take the Command or the Power over them out of the Hands of the Crown; for such a Regulation I should look on as a total Subversion of our present happy Constitution. I can therefore see no Reason why we should think our Liberties in greater Danger from a standing regular Army than from a well disciplined Militia: I am sure it is as much the Interest both of the Officers and Soldiers of our Army to preserve our Constitution, as it can be of any Set of Men in the Kingdom. The Behaviour of the Army under *Oliver Cromwell* can be no Argument against our present Army: Our Constitution was then overturned; a Set of Men who had got into this House, had murdered their King, had annihilated the other House, had excluded even from this House every Man who would not join with them in all their Measures, and by these Means had assumed to themselves an arbitrary Power: In such Circumstances the Officers of the Army thought they had as good a Title to take the Government of the Nation to themselves, as to leave both the Nation and themselves under the absolute Power of any Set of private Men in the Kingdom; and what was the Consequence? That very Army, as soon as they could find an Opportunity, restored our Constitution.

Arts and Sciences, Sir, are the certain Product of Liberty and Security, and Ignorance and Idleness are as certainly

certainly the Product of Slavery or a State of War. The Security of the People being once established it may for some Time be preserv'd without any regular Troops; but that Security makes them neglect to train themselves up to the Art of War, and then a standing Army becomes necessary for their Defence; especially if their Neighbours are provided with great Numbers of regular Troops. This is the natural Course of Things; it is, I believe, impossible to alter it by any Regulation. The Security of the People of this Kingdom was established, and Arts and Sciences began to flourish, before we had any standing Army; but a total Neglect of military Discipline was not then so general as it is now, nor were our Neighbours provided with such numerous Bodies of regular Forces; therefore it might then be possible to preserve the Security of the People without a standing Army, and yet now the Case may be, and I think is, quite otherwise. Our Neighbours are fully sensible of the great Neglect of Arms and military Discipline among the Generality of the People of this Kingdom: They know how much superior their regular Troops are to your Militias; and if you had no standing Army they would be ready to insult you, to invade you, upon every Occasion; therefore to protect the People against foreign Invasions, a small Number of regular Forces is absolutely necessary, and I do not think it can be less than it is at present.

Then, Sir, with respect to Insurrections and civil Commotions, we may know from Experience, and from late Experience too, how ready a factious Party are to fly to Arms, tho' they are certain of the Majority of the People's being against them; for the Battle is not always to the Strong, nor is Victory chained to the most numerous Army. In the late Rebellion, I hope it will not be

said the Majority of the People were on the Side of the Rebels, and much less can it be said the Majority of the People had any Inclination or Occasion to fly to Arms for their Relief or Preservation; yet that Faction flew to Arms without any just Provocation, depending for Success upon the small Number of regular Troops we had then in our Pay; and if it had not been for that Number of regular Troops, small as it was, those factious Rebels might probably have overturned our Government, and with it, our Liberties. The Case will always be the same, Sir, when you reduce your Army too low, some Faction or another will fly to Arms, and in these several bloody Confests, our Constitution and Liberties will probably at last be made a Sacrifice; for tho' a State of perpetual Discord and Civil War may perhaps be better than a State of abject Slavery; yet we find in most Countries the People have at last chose to submit to arbitrary Power, rather than to continue under, or renew the Miseries of a Civil War. Queen Elizabeth, 'tis true, had great Reason to dread Insurrections and Convulsions at the Beginning of her Reign: She altered the Religion she found by Law established, and she had a Pretender to her Crown of that very Religion; but the Religion which was then established by Law, was far from being established in the Hearts of the Majority of her People; and her Establishing by a new Law, that Religion which was before established in their Hearts, gain'd her not only the Hearts, the Hands, and the Pursets, of the Majority of her People, but proved her great and her chief Security against the Pretender to her Crown. This secur'd the Peace of the Nation at Home, and none of her Neighbours having then any great Number of regular Forces in their Pay, it was not necessary for her to keep up a standing

standing Army, for securing her People against foreign Invasions. His present Majesty will I hope upon every Occasion find he has the Hearts, the Hands, and the Purse of the Majority of the People at his Command; I am sure he has through his whole Reign highly deserved it; but it cannot be said that our Militia are now so good as they were in Queen Elizabeth's Time, nor the Protestants now so much united amongst themselves, or so zealous in the Defence of their Religion; and as every one of our Neighbours now keep in continual Pay vast Armies of regular Troops, it may now be absolutely necessary for us to keep up a standing Army, tho' it did not appear to be so in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

I shall not say, Sir, that all the *Jacobites* are for arbitrary Power; but I am sure the Consequence of their succeeding in their Scheme would be the Establishment of it; and as for the *Papists*, if they understand the Religion they profess, they must be for arbitrary Power; for their Religion can be supported by nothing but Ignorance or arbitrary Power: In former Ages it was supported by Ignorance, and now that Veil is pretty well removed, it can be supported by nothing but Inquisitions and arbitrary Rule; therefore we may suppose, if the *Papists* amongst us should ever get the Government into their Hands, they would establish a despotic Sway, in order to restore and support the Religion they profess. As for Ministers and their Creatures, I do not know but many of them may have an Itch for arbitrary Power; but they are not the only Persons infected with that Disease: It is a Disease incident to other Men, I'm afraid to most Men, as well as to Ministers; and we know by Experience, in this Country as well as in others, that Ministers have been opposed, have been hanged or beheaded, under a

Pretence of their endeavouring to usurp arbitrary Power, by Men who have committed that very Crime as soon as they found an Opportunity.

I believe, Sir, it cannot be said our Soldiers are the most abandoned Set of Men in the Kingdom. I could name some other Sets of Men that are more abandoned and do infinitely more Mischief by their Example. Some of the Soldiers may be lewd, profligate Wretches, but where there is one so I hope there are at least ten otherwise; and the Example of ten will always have a greater Effect than the Example of one. But if the Majority of the Army were supposed to be such Wretches, it could be no Argument for disbanding them; it would only be an Argument for taking some Method to put them under a better and stricter Government; for 'tis certain the military Law may be made much stricter and more severe than the common Law can be made; therefore the Army may be made to promote Virtue by its Example; and if any Set of Rogues should venture to oppose the Civil Power with Force of Arms, surely a few regular Troops would be of great Use for suppressing such a Gang. From what happens while we have an Army, we are not to judge of what may happen while we have none, or but a small one; none but Smugglers have lately dared to oppose the Civil Power with Force of Arms; but if we had few or no regular Troops, I make no Question but other Rogues, even House-breakers and Highwaymen, would follow the Example of the Smugglers: While we have a sufficient Number of regular Troops, no Set of Rogues dare venture upon any such Thing; if they did, I hope no Gentleman of the Army would think it beneath him, to march against those who appear in Arms against their Country.

I must say, Sir, I am sorry to

hear any Gentleman of this House make the most distant Insinuation in Favour of Mobs and Tumults, if any Magistrate should oppress or injure the People, they may have recourse to, they will be relieved by the Laws of their Country. To seek for Redress in a mobbish, tumultuous Way is certainly illegal, and is often attended with Mischiefs to the Innocent as well as the Guilty. Rogues generally take the Opportunity of such publick Calamities to plunder without distinction; and the Malicious take Occasion to satisfy their own private Malice and Revenge: It ought therefore to be the chief Care of every Government to prevent Mobs, or suppress them as soon as possible; and no Method can be so effectual, as to have a few regular Troops ready to obey the Call of the Civil Magistrate upon such Occasions; but you cannot have a few regular Troops in every Part of the Kingdom ready to answer the Call of the Civil Magistrate, if you reduce any Part of the Number you have at present on Foot.

Sir, the Respect and Esteem we have among Foreigners does not depend upon our regular Troops only, it depends likewise upon our Navy, and the great Number of regular Troops they know we could have, and could maintain, in case they should provoke us to War; for this Reason we are justly more respected and more feared than some other States who keep in continual Pay as many Troops as we do; because they keep up in Time of Peace as many as they could have or maintain in case of a War; and have no such Navy either to protect their own Coasts, or to infect those of their Enemy. But, surely, we are more to be dreaded by our Neighbours, when they know we can immediately, upon a Rupture, send out a superior Fleet, with an Army of 5 or 6000 regular Troops on board, to plunder

and lay waste their Country, perhaps for several Miles up from their Sea-Coast; than we would be, if they knew we could send nothing but a Fleet against them, which could only bombard some few of their Sea-Port Towns; and while we have such an Army as we have at present, they cannot propose to do us so much Mischiefs upon a Rupture, by landing small Parties here and there in the Island, as they could propose to do, if we had no regular Troops, or a less Number of regular Troops, to oppose the Landing of such Parties, or to intercept them in their Return to their Ships.

'Tis true, Sir, we cannot have a great Body of regular Troops in every Part of the Island where an Enemy might land; but the small Body of Troops we have may be cantoned so as to have at least a Regiment at or very near every Place where an Enemy could expect any Plunder worth their while; and one Regiment, with the Assistance they would upon such an Occasion get from the Country People, would be sufficient to oppose the Landing of a very large Party, or at least to stop their Progress; for one Regiment of regular Troops would add greatly to the Spirit even of our Militia, and would encourage them to take Arms for the Defence of their Property. But supposing the Army we have at present not sufficient for guarding all our maritime Counties, it may be an Argument for putting our Militia on a better Footing, but till that is done, it is an Argument for increasing rather than for diminishing the Number of Forces we have now on Foot. And while our Army consists of natural-born Subjects of Great Britain, no Foreigner can, from our keeping a few regular Forces in Pay, suppose our Government does not enjoy the Affections and Esteem of their own People: A necessary Army of Foreigners kept

kept up in the Kingdom might give Occasion for such a Supposition; but an Army of Subjects will always be liable to the same Affections with the rest of the People, and will therefore always be a very improper Instrument for supporting a hateful Government, or for keeping a dissatisfied People in Obedience.

Every Convenience in this Life, Sir, must be attended with some Inconveniencies: the Inconveniencies attending our keeping up so small a Number of regular Forces are so few and of so small a Consideration, it may be properly enough said we have felt no Inconveniencies from our Army; the Meaning of which is, we have felt no such Inconveniencies as ought to be regarded. If we had never since the Peace kept up above one Half of what we do at present, the Saving that way would have paid no considerable Part of our Debt, and therefore could not have freed us from any of our Taxes; and the Quartering of Soldiers is so far from being thought an Inconvenience or Expence to any County or City in general, that most Parts of the Kingdom are desirous of having Soldiers among them; because it consumes a Part of their spare Provisions, and can be no Burden or Inconvenience to any but those who keep publick Houses, most of whom get more by what the Soldiers spend in their Houses, than the Expence of their Quarters can amount to. As for the Insolence or rude Behaviour of the Soldiers, if any such Thing happens, which I am convinced seldom does, the Landlord is sure of getting Justice done him in the most summary Way, by a Complaint to the commanding Officer; and if he should fail of it in that Way, he may get Redress by complaining to a Justice of the Peace; or for any Assault, Battery, or the like Misdemeanour, he may have an Action or Indictment at Common Law against

a Soldier, as well as against any other Man in the Kingdom. And as for our Liberties, I can see no Reason why our Soldiers should not be as careful of them as any other Set of Men in the Kingdom; for very few of the Officers, and none of the Soldiers, can propose to better their Condition, but must necessarily make it a great deal worse, by subjecting themselves and their Country to arbitrary Sway.

Now, Sir, with respect to the present Situation of our Affairs both at Home and Abroad, and the Reasons that may from thence be drawn for keeping the same Number of Forces in our Pay, at least for this ensuing Year; whatever may have been the Effect of our late Measures, 'tis certain that, if the late Peace between the *Emperor* and *France* be not such a one as it ought to be, it is so far from being an Argument for reducing our Army, that it is a strong Argument for increasing it; for if by that Peace the *Emperor* and *France* entered into any Concert for prescribing Laws to the rest of *Europe*, or for incroaching upon any of their Neighbours, now is the proper Time for breaking that Concert, either by Force or by Treaty, because the *Emperor* is not now in a Condition to perform his Part of that Concert, or at least not in such a Condition as he will be after he has brought the *Turks* to submit to what Terms he shall please to impose. If immediate Force should be found necessary, we must greatly increase our Army; and if it should be proposed to be done by Treaty, by reducing any Part of our Forces, we shall derogate from the Weight we may have in any Treaty to be set on Foot for that Purpose. But if there is really no such Concert between the *Emperor* and *France*, as I believe there is not, have we not some Reason to apprehend that *France* and her Allies will lay hold of the present Opportunity for gaining some

some new Advantage; or for making some new Conquest, from the Emperor, or from some of his Allies? And while we are under such reasonable Apprehensions, can it be said the present is a proper Time for us to reduce our Army?

We are not, 'tis true, Sir, to keep a Land Army for the Defence of our Allies, nor do any of them desire we should: They are all of them at vast Expence in keeping up numerous Land Armies, and fortifying and keeping in Repair their Frontier Towns, in order to provide for their own Defence; but we stand engaged by Treaty to furnish some of them with a Body of regular Troops as soon as they shall be attacked, and this Engagement we could not perform, if we should reduce our Army to a less Number than it consists of at present. I shall likewise admit that we might in a Year or two appear with great Armies in the Field, tho' we had not near so many regular Troops in our Pay as we have at present; but in that Time some of our Allies might be reduced to the last Extremity, and perhaps obliged to submit to a Peace on any Terms. We all know how easily and how soon France reduced the whole Kingdom of Spain after the Death of their last King; which could not have been done, if we had been ready to have sent a great Number of regular Troops to the Assistance of the Party we had then in that Kingdom: By this Means the following War became much more heavy and expensive than it would otherwise have been, so that we paid severely for the little Frugality we made use of in reducing our Troops after the Treaty of Ryswick; and if ever such a War breaks out again, the Consequence will be the same, if we should render ourselves unable to assist our Friends with a large Body of Troops, at the very Beginning of the War.

Thus, Sir, I think it must appear

that from the present Situation of our Affairs Abroad, no Reason can be drawn for an immediate Reduction; and from the present Situation of our Affairs at Home, there is I am sure as little Reason for a Reduction

A for let the national Discontents not present proceed from what they will, when those Discontents are come so great a Length as to break out in Mobs and Tumults in several Places of the Kingdom, it is not surely a proper Time to make a great Reduction of our Army. I am as sorry as any Gentleman can be, to find so many of our People uneasy and discontented, and I must be the more sorry, because I am certain they never had less Occasion. It is not the Debt we owe, it is not the Taxes we pay, nor the Continuance of those Taxes, that are the true Causes of our present Discontents. The Debt we owe was contracted for preserving our Religion, our Liberties, our Properties, and every Thing that can be dear to a People. Our Taxes must be continued till that Debt is paid, and our immediate Preservation must in the mean Time be taken care of. For this Purpose no Expences have been incurred, but what the Wisdom of the Nation have thought absolutely necessary, nor any Taxes imposed or continued but such as are the least burdensome to the People. We must therefore look some where else for the Cause of our present Uneasiness, and 'tis well known where we ought to look for it. There is a Party amongst us who have been labouring for many Years to overturn our present happy Establishment; they can approve of no Debt that has been contracted, nor of any Taxes that have been or shall be imposed for the Support of that Establishment they are labouring to destroy: By Means of the Scribblers and other Tools they employ, they have persuaded Multitudes of People, that our Debt was

unnecessarily incurred, and that a great Part of it might have been paid off, and the Taxes consequently abolished, if we had not every Year, for many Years past, run ourselves to a vast publick Expence, for which there was not the least Occasion; like petty-fogging Lawyers who always find Fault with an honest Attorney's Bill, in order to persuade the Client to leave him and employ them; and as few Men are themselves good Judges of the Case, such Petty-foggers too often succeed; but when they do, the Client always finds his Lawyer's Bills more extravagant, and his Affairs at last entirely ruined. The Case would be the same with this Nation, if ever that Party should prevail. I hope they never will. However it must be confessed, it is well known, that by Means of the daily, weekly, monthly, and occasional Libels they publish, and by Means of the many Orators they have in every Place of publick Resort, they have poisoned the Minds of many of his Majesty's Subjects; in which their late Success is chiefly to be ascribed to the Law lately passed against the Retail of Spirituous Liquors; for tho' every Man of Virtue or Sense in the Kingdom must approve of that Law, yet it is certainly disagreeable to the lower Class of People, of which our Mobs are generally composed. This Law I say, Sir, this most necessary Law has added greatly to the Success of the disaffected Party amongst us: Nay it has made them so daring as to direct their Libels against the Parliament itself: They have of late even attempted to diminish that Veneration which our People have always most justly had for Parliaments; but this I am no way surpris'd at; for that Party have never shewed any great Liking to Parliaments; and if we should disband any great Part of our Army, they would probably shew their Dislike in a Manner more ef-

fectual, or at least more dangerous, than that of Writing or Talking.

There may perhaps, Sir, be some Soldiers in our Army who would be glad to be discharged, but I am sure there are not many, unless it should be with a View of getting new levy Money in a little Time after; and if they should be disappointed in that View, they would list with the Discontented for nothing. But, Sir, if we should in a Time of general Discontent, and when Insurrections are justly to be apprehended, offer to disband any of our Soldiers, there are many who would desire to be discharged, not with a View to return to Labour and Industry, but with a View to join whoever should appear in Arms against the Government; for among Rebels, a disciplined Soldier may expect to be made a Serjeant or Corporal at least; and every Serjeant would expect to be made an Officer. *Ghelsea Hospital* could receive but very few of the Disbanded; who would expect to be put upon that Establishment; and those who found themselves disappointed, would certainly imitate their Betters, they would join with the Disaffected; so that in every Light we can consider it, a present Reduction would be a Diminishing the Power of the Government to preserve the Peace of the Kingdom, and an Increasing the Power of the Disaffected to disturb the Quiet of the People; and that at a Time when the Power of the latter has been, by a most necessary Law, greatly increased. In a little Time, perhaps in a few Months, these Discontents may subside; the lower Class of our People will find they can live without the Use of Spirituous Liquors, and that they live more healthfully than with them; they will then join with the rest of the Kingdom in their Approbation of that Law, and then a Reduction will not be so dangerous as it is at present.

Sir, I have already shewn why any Army under a lawful and regular Government, can never be supposed to behave in the same manner the Army did under *Oliver Cromwell*; and if any Attempts should be made to undermine our Constitution by means of those Maxims we have been frightened with, the Parliament would interpose, the Army itself would mutiny against such Maxims; but I cannot see why we have at present any Reason for being afraid of such Maxims; for I am sure no Man will pretend his Majesty would, or could be prevailed on to cashier any Officer for voting or behaving according to Honour and Conscience. The Behaviour of an Officer may be influenced by Malice, Revenge, and Faction, under the Pretence of Honour and Conscience; and if ever any Officer of the Army, because his Majesty refused to comply with some very unreasonable Demand, should resolve to oppose in every Thing the Measures pursued by his Majesty and his Ministers, I should think any Man a most pitiful Minister, if he should be afraid of advising his Majesty to cashier such an Officer. On the contrary, I shall leave it as a Legacy to all future Ministers, that upon every such Occasion it is their Duty to advise their Master, that such a very Man is unfit for having any Command in his Armies. Our King has by his Prerogative a Power of placing, preferring, and removing any Officer he pleases, either in our Army or our Militia: It is by that Prerogative chiefly, he is enabled to execute our Laws and preserve the Peace of the Kingdom: If a wrong Use should be made of that Prero-

gative, his Ministers are accountable for it to Parliament; but it cannot be taken from him or diminished without overturning our Constitution; for our present happy Constitution may be overturned by Republican as well as by Arbitrary Schemes. Therefore it must be left to his Majesty to judge by what Motives an Officer acts, and if he thinks an Officer acts from bad Motives, in Duty to his People, in Duty to himself, he ought to remove him.

The only Question, Sir, now before us is, Whether we ought to keep up the present Number of Forces for this ensuing Year. Next Year the same Question must again come before us, and then every Gentleman may again vote as he pleases.

There may be Reasons peculiar to the present Time, I think I have shewn some very sufficient and peculiar Reasons for keeping up the same Number for this ensuing Year. In so doing I am sure I have done my Duty; and if the Nation should be insulted and invaded by Foreigners; if a Civil War should break out, and spread Desolation and Murder over the whole Island; if the *Jacobites* should prevail, and our Religion, our Liberties, and our Properties should be thereby rendered precarious; I shall have some Consolation in this Reflection, that I endeavoured as much as I could to prevent our exposing ourselves to such Miseries.

The Question being at last put upon the Motion for keeping up the same Number of Troops, it was upon a Division carried in the Affirmative by 246 to 178.

[*This Journal to be continued in our next.*]

N. B. Our Readers are desired to correct the following Errors of the Press in our Magazine for last Month, viz. Page 405, Column 2. Line 2. *leave out passing.* Page 414. Col. 2. Line 18. *leave out but.* Page 420. Col. 2. Line 39. for 100,000*l.* read 110,000*l.* As that Part of our Journal of the Debates in Parliament, which was published in the LONDON MAGAZINE for last Month, will, we suppose, be reprinted in the Gentleman's Magazine for this Month, and these Errors faithfully preserved, we thought it the more necessary to correct them.

Universal Spectator, Aug. 27. N^o 464.

S I R,

BY the Consent and Approbation of her Father I made my Addresses to a Gentlewoman, whose *Person, Conduct* and *Behaviour* had long rais'd in me a particular Esteem: Our Age was equal, and our Fortunes justly proportion'd; and if her Fortune, which her Father said he wou'd give her, was added to mine, such an Union, with that of our Hearts, wou'd have made us happy; but when I had gain'd her Affections, and she reciprocally mine; when I press'd the old Gentleman that we might happily end our Amour in Marriage, which had been so happily carry'd on, and which he himself had so long encourag'd and approv'd, he put it off from Time to Time! At last finding by my Anxiety, my repeated Requests, and my Tenderness for his Daughter, that I was deserv'd in Love with her, he even fairly told me, 'That his Girl had not made such a Choice as he lik'd; that he was dispos'd at her, and that if I wou'd take her, I shou'd take her without a Farthing of his Money.' I was confounded at this Speech, and as soon as I cou'd recover myself, I urg'd to him his prior Approbation, his Encouragements, his verbal Agreement, the stipulated Fortune, the Breach of Faith, and the shocking Injury not to me only, but also to his Daughter: But it was all in vain.—I was not so much a Fool but I immediately saw thro' the whole Course of the old Man's Policy, which was first to fix me fast in the Noose, and then to save his Daughter's Portion by the Effect of her Beauty; nor was I, indeed, so ridiculous and imprudent a Lover to be trick'd into a Marriage, which from this new Turn wou'd be attended with Inconveniences that might make my whole Life miserable. With the utmost Speed I had an Interview with the Lady, whom I lov'd, I think, as much as Man cou'd: I acquainted her with this new Caprice of her Father; I pity'd her absolute Dependence on him; I renew'd the Sincerity of my prior Vows, and then set before her the fatal Consequences that might ensue on an imprudent Marriage, when it was the Dependence on her Fortune that in great Measure was to have constituted our Happiness; concluding, that if her Father remain'd obstinate, as we must not think of living together, it wou'd be most proper not to see one another but as seldom as possible. With the most affecting Innocence and Concern mix'd with Love he heard me, 'till I came to the Article of Separation; at that I saw another Passion glow in her Eyes, and with Resentment she cry'd — *Must it not be proper to see one another? — Must it be as seldom as possible? — Indifferent, perjurd, dishonourable*

Man; it shall never be — Are those your Vows? — Is such your Fidelity? — My Father may be a Miser, but you are a — I know not what to name you — You for ever have depriv'd me of Rest, Hope, Pleasures and Felicity, and may never either of them be your Lot — Your Constancy after Marriage might have made my Father relent, and Heaven have bless'd that Fidelity you have not had Honour enough to show — But, Sir, I am not persuading but reproaching you; to witness it, Farewell, Forewell for ever. She left me, with how much Concern upon my Heart, as it was beyond what I ever felt, it is beyond what I can ever express: Tho' I was assur'd her Reproach was unjust, yet from the Principle of Affection that gave Occasion to it, it affected me. I struggled long between romantic Love and prudent Conduct: One Day I resolv'd to sting myself at her Feet the next, and give a Proof of my Love by ruining myself in Marriage; but the next I thought it better to see her Father again, and strive if any reasonable Terms cou'd be made: I went, but the old Gentleman, now convinc'd within himself that I must comply at any Rate, with an ironical Smile, answer'd, 'I know you'll run away with my Girl; but I can't guard, but my Money, I swear, you shall never touch a Dit of.' This I thought justification enough to put an End entirely to my Amour; but the Gentlewoman, to whom my Addresses were paid, has stung herself into a frantic Melancholy, accuses me as a Villain, and I am at least thought a dishonourable Wretch by all who knew our Courtship, but not these later Circumstances of it.

Mr. Spae, as well to defend my Conduct or censure it, as for the Service it may be to your unmarried Readers, I desire you wou'd give your Opinion how far a Man is guilty of Breach of Honour in not marrying after being deceiv'd about the Portion; whether the Vows in Courtship are binding (in such a Case) in Conscience, and whether 'tis an Injustice to a Lady not to ruin her as well as yourself by introducing her into those Inconveniences of Life, which are not consider'd in Love, but felt in Matrimony. The granting this Request wou'd oblige a constant Reader and humble Servant of yours, tho' under the fictitious Name of

EUGENE.

Instead of Mr. Doncastle's Remarks upon this Letter, we shall give our Readers the following, from one of our own Correspondents.

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

S I R,

AS I suppose you will insert in your Magazine for this or next Month, the

Universal Spectator of Saturday last, I hope, for the Sake of Love and the Fair Sex, you will give a Place likewise to the following Remarks on Mr. Eugene's Letter; in order to prevent the bad Effects which a Justification of his Behaviour may have upon those who see, or may be under a Temptation to be guilty of the same Sort of Treachery.

I am as much affected with the melancholy Narration as *Mr. Stonecastle*. can be, and am as ready to condemn the Villany of that unfortunate Lady's Father. Nay, if the young Lady should lose her Life, or even her Sense, her Father is, in my Opinion, guilty of her Murder, and ought to be hang'd by the Laws of God, whatever may be his Fate by the Laws of Man. But to say, that there is either Honesty or good Sense in the Behaviour of Mr. Eugene, is a Judgment can be pass'd by no Man who has a true Sense of Honour, or who has ever felt the tender Endearments and mutual Esteem of an honourable and successful Love.—Can Love be fix'd or removed at Pleasure, or does it depend upon any *Smithfield* Consideration?—Can Man or Woman ever be happy, if they are deprived of the Person upon whom they have sincerely fix'd their Affections?—and can that Man be innocent, who, from a sordid Motive, robs a Woman of her Happiness for ever?—No, Sir, the Inhumanity, the Injustice of the Father, can no Way excuse the Treachery of the Lover.

But we are told by Mr. *Stonecastle*, in excuse for his Correspondent, *he can be guilty of no Breach of Honour or Conscience, nor of any Injustice, for not plunging himself into Poverty, and, what would be worse, making the Woman be loved share a cruel Fate she no way deserves.* If Happiness depended upon Riches, there would be some Weight in this Argument; but we know it does not. Happiness depends upon confining our Desires, and our Manner of Living, to our Circumstances: The poorest Day-labourer in England may make himself, may make his Family happy, by Industry and Frugality; and the Industry and Frugality of every married Couple, depends upon the Love and the Friendship that subsists between them.

However, I shall for this once suppose, that Happiness depends upon a Person's Circumstances being equal to his Education, and the Method in which he was brought up. Mr. Eugene should have considered this, before he made his Address to the Lady, and should have secur'd the Father from having it in his Power to be guilty of Inhumanity towards his Daughter, or Injustice towards him, before he attempted to gain her Affections; for after having once gain'd her Affections, and fix'd her Love, he should then have consider'd, if she had been as much

in Love as he profess'd, he would have consider'd, that no Misery can equal that of a Disappointment in Love, nor can any Prospect of Poverty excuse the Breach of a lawful and honourable Engagement: The Fraud, the Inhumanity of the Father, was certainly, in itself, a great Affliction to the Daughter. To break off the Match upon that Account, was adding Affliction to the Afflicted, and overwhelming that Heart with Sorrow he had before inspir'd with Love.— He was guilty of Imprudence, but the unfortunate Lady was guilty of no Fault, except that of placing too much Confidence in a Lover, who now seems to have a greater Regard for his own future Splendor, than he ever had for her. I say his future Splendor; for that is the only real Difference a Fortune can make in Life: A Man without a Fortune either of his own or with a Wife, may live, he may live happily; but he cannot live in such Splendor, as he that has either the one or the other.

I would gladly ask any Man, how he would expect his Address could be received by a young Lady, if he should tell her, *Madam, I shall be most prodigiously in Love with you if your Father will give you a Fortune of 2000l. as he promises? Or, Madam, I am furiously in Love with you, but my Circumstances will not permit us to marry, unless your Father will give you 1000l. to your Fortune.*

— Launch upon this Occasion ask Mr. Eugene himself, if he ever declar'd his Love in such Terms?— If he did not; if his Professions were all absolute, and without Condition, was he not a Deceiver?— Does he not now shew, that a Condition was implied in every Profession he made?— And can a Man be said to have either Honour, Sense, Conscience, or Generosity, who deceives an innocent and sensible Maid, in that Article on which the Happiness of her future Life chiefly depends?— How then can Mr. Eugene pretend to justify himself? He cannot expect to be justify'd by any Man of Honour or Generosity in the Kingdom; and much less can he expect to be justify'd by any Man or Woman who has ever felt the Pangs or the Pleasures of an honourable Love.

What then was Mr. Eugene to do, upon finding he was like to meet with a Disappointment from the Father? Surely, if he propos'd to act like a Man of Honour or Sense, or like a faithful Lover, he was to acquiesce the young Lady of the Injustice he expected to meet with from her Father: He was to lay his Circumstances fairly before her; but upon such a melancholy Occasion, it was his Duty to make stronger Protestations of Love, if possible, than ever he had made before; and to declare, that, notwithstanding the cruel Deceit of her Father, he remained her faithful Lover, and was willing to give her

immediately the strongest, the most honourable Token of his Love. This, I say, was his Duty, left the unfortunate young Lady should have conceived the least Suspicion, that the Barbarity of her Father was like to be attended with the Infidelity of her Lover; and if he had been really and sincerely in Love, these Protestations he would for his own Sake have made. A Declaration from the Lady, that she was willing to share any Fate with him, would have given him a Pleasure beyond the Power of a selfish Mind to conceive, beyond the Power of the most enthusiastic Pen to express. Such a Declaration would have given him a convincing Proof the Flame was mutual, and equally fierce. Upon such a Declaration it was his Duty to crown their mutual Happiness, as soon as possible; and to trust for their future Splendor, to Providence, and the Father's Remorse.

After a private Solemnisation of Marriage, the happy Couple might have concealed it from their Father. Mr. Eugene, with respect to her Father, might have simulated what he now in earnest shews himself to be, a cold and indifferent Lover; and the young Lady might have simulated what, I'm afraid, is now too real, a frantick Melancholy; in order to try if the Cruelty of the Misér could at last be overcome by the Compassion of the Father. This was the utmost that Prudence could direct, or a generous Heart submit to; and this, I hope, is truly the Case; but I cannot forgive Mr. Stomachable for endeavouring to justify the Case, if it be otherwise.

I should not perhaps have taken any Notice of this Justification, but that I observe a selfish and sordid Spirit spreading, I am sorry to say it, almost universally over this Nation. No Man seems now to be looked on as a Man of Sense, but he who is ready to sacrifice his Country, his Friend, and, now at last, his Mistress, if he can any way add to his Pelf or his Possessions by the making of such a Sacrifice. But such Gentlemen ought to consider, that by so doing they give up the most valuable Possession a Man can enjoy, the Possession of a good Conscience and an innocent Mind.—The Laws of Virtue, — the Laws of Friendship, — the Laws of Love, — are paramount to what are commonly called the Laws of Prudence.—Our Duty to our Country,—our Duty to our Friends,—our Duty to our Mistress,— are preferable to any Duty we can owe to ourselves.—A Man who would sacrifice his Country, his Friend, or his Mistress, even to the Preservation of his own Life, can have no Honour nor Courage, and consequently is incapable of Love; but he that will sacrifice either of the Three, to his eating a more luxurious Dinner, appearing in a more gaudy Equipage, or cramming a little more useless Gold into his shoddy Coffers, must be a most consummate Scoundrel.

As I shall always be proud of appearing an Advocate for Virtue, Friendship, and honourable Love, I could not tamely see it established as a Doctrine, that the noble and generous Passion of Love ought to be sacrificed to any selfish Views: I am sure, if it be real, it cannot be directed by any sordid Consideration; and as Love seems to be the only generous Passion that has not entirely given Way to that selfish Spirit which now prevails, I thought the Publishing of such a Doctrine afforded me a proper Opportunity for putting the Fair Sex in Mind, that, if they have any Sense of Love, if they ever expect to be truly beloved, they must endeavour to root out that Spirit which is as great an Enemy to Love, as it is to Virtue and Friendship. Let the Fair but despite the Man who, for selfish Ends, sacrifices his Country, his Friend, or his Love, and no Man will dare to make a Sacrifice of either; for even he who is, in his Nature, the greatest of Scoundrels, could hardly bear to live under such a Contempt. If they do this, they may restore the Virtue and the Honour of our Men in general: If they do otherwise, Ladies of Fortune may get Husbands, but no Woman can expect ever to meet with a true and faithful Lover. I am,

S I R,
August 29th, Your constant Reader,
1737. JUDA.

D Common Sense, Sept. 3. N^o 31.

Affertation, the Character of Coxcombs.
M^{de la Rochefoucault} very justly observes, that People are never sordid from their real, but from their affected Characters; they can't help being what they are, but they can help attempting to appear what they are not. A Hump-back is by no means ridiculous, unless it be under a fine Coat; nor a weak Understanding, unless it assumes the Lustre of a bright one. Good Nature conceals and pities the inevitable Defects of Body or Mind, but is not oblig'd to treat acquir'd ones with the least Indulgence. Those who would pass upon the World Talents they have not, are as gully in the common Course of Society, as those who in the Way of Trade would put off false Money, knowing it to be such; and it is as rough the Business of Riddle to expose the former, as of the Law to punish the latter.

I cannot be of the general Opinion, that these Coxcombs have first imposed upon themselves, and really think themselves what they would have others think 'em. On the contrary, I am persuaded that every Man knows himself best, and is his own severest Censor. nay, I am convinc'd, that many a Man has liv'd and died with Faults and Weaknesses, which

which no body but himself ever discover'd. It is true, they keep their own Secret inviolate, which makes People believe they have not found it out.

Fatsus, the most confaminate Coxcomb, has Parts enough to have excell'd in almost any one Thing he would have applied himself to. But he must excel in all. He must be at once a Wit, a Lover, a Scholar, and a Statesman; yet, conscious of the Impracticability of the Undertaking, he parcels out his Accomplishments, and compounds to have the several Branches of his Merit admir'd in separate Districts. Hence, he talks Politicks to his Women, Wit to Ministers of State, displays his Learning to Beaux, and brags of his Success in Gallantry to his Country Neighbours. His Caution is a Proof of his Guilt, and shows that he does not deceive himself, but only hopes to impose upon others.

There are as many Species of Coxcombs, as there are desirable Qualifications and Accomplishments in Life; and it would be endless to give Instances of every particular Vanity and Affectation, by which Men either make themselves ridiculous, or, at least, deprecate the other Qualities they really possess. I will now endeavour to point out the Means of avoiding these Errors.

It is very certain, that no one Man is fit for every Thing; but it is almost as certain too, that there is scarce any one Man who is not fit for something; which something Nature plainly points out to him, by giving him a Tendency and Propensity to it. I look upon Common Sense to be to the Mind, what Conscience is to the Heart, the faithful and constant Monitor of what is right or wrong: And I am convinced that no Man commits either a Crime, or a Folly, but against the manifest and sensible Representations of the one or the other. Every Man finds in himself, either from Nature or Education (for they are hard to distinguish) a peculiar Bent and Disposition to some particular Character; and his struggling against it, is the fruitless and endless Labour of *Sisyphus*. Let him follow and cultivate that Vocation, he will succeed in it, and be considerable in one Way at least; whereas, if he departs from it, he will at best be inconsiderable, probably ridiculous. The Players, who get their Parts by Heart, have a Regard, in abusing those Parts, to the natural Bent of their Genius; *Parishmen* never act *Cats*, nor *Boob Scrub*; their invincible Unfitness for those Characters would inevitably have broke out, in the short Time of their Representation. In my Mind, *Dinky* get more Credit by acting *Scrub* well, than he would have got by acting *Cats* ill; and I would much rather be an excellent Shoemaker, than a ridiculous Minister of State.

I greatly admire our industrious Neighbours,

the *German*; they indefatigably pursue the Way Nature has chalk'd out to 'em, and never deviate into any Irregularities of Character. Thus many of the first Rank, if happily turn'd to Mechanicks, have employ'd their whole Lives in the Incrustation of Flamm, or the curious Sculpture of Cherry-Stone; while others, whose Thirst of Knowledge leads them to investigate the Secrets of Nature, spend Years in their Laboratory, in pursuit of the Philosopher Stone: But none, that I ever heard of, ever deviated into an Attempt at Wit. Nay, even due Care is taken in the Education of their Princess, that they may be fit for something; for they are always instructed in some other Trade besides that of Government; so that if their Genius does not lead 'em to be able Princes, it is tea to one but they are excellent Turners.

I must observe, that the Word Coxcomb is of the Common Gender, both Masculine and Feminine; and that the Male Coxcombs are equal'd in Number by the Female ones, who shall be the Subject of my next.

Craftsmen, Sept. 3. N^o 382.

Of the Liberty of the Press, &c.

IT hath been allow'd, on all Sides, that the great Benefit of, what is commonly call'd, the *Liberty of the Press*, consists in the Freedom of discussing Matters of Religion and Government, in all disputable Points, with a proper Regard to Decency and good Manners; tho' even they ought to give Place, in Cases of Extremity, to the publick Good. This is the peculiar Privilege and Blessing, upon which we have long valued ourselves as *Englishmen*, above all Nations in the World; for even the most arbitrary Governments, where Learning and Politicks have got any Footing, make no Scruple of allowing Men of Wit to exercise their Talents upon general Topics of Infraction and Abuse, as even upon Matters of Government and Religion, provided they keep clear of any Reflections upon the Conduct of their Superiors, and advance no Doctrines but what are perfectly orthodox, both in Church and State. But this is not the Privilege, which we distinguish by the Name of the *Liberty of the Press*, and which was always understood to imply a Right of enquiring into the Expediency of publick Measures, and the Truth of prevailing Doctrines, however authorized or establish'd, with the Limitation before-mention'd.

As to Matters of Religion, I think every Man hath Latitude enough, in this Country; and does not seem to have any just Cause of Complaint; especially of less Years. But tho' the other Branch of this Privilege, which relates to Government, is acknowledged to be equally our Right, and the People have un-

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doubtless received many great Advantages from it; yet it is attended with so many *Difficulties* and *Discouragements*, that a Man must have a good deal of *Resolution*, and but little *Regard to his own private Interest*, who exerts it with any *Vigour*, or *Hopes of Success*: For, as *Sir Richard Steele* observes, in his *Dedication to the present Duke of Newcastle*, 'the painful Struggle under so great a Difficulty as explaining with a *Ministry*, is open Contradiction to their Proceedings, is what can be supported by nothing less than the Testimony of a good *Conscience*, and an Heart pure from a *vicious Ambition*.'

It is impossible to shew the *Weakness* or *Iniquity* of any *publick Measures*, without reflecting in some Manner upon the *Authors* of them; and as no Men are so tender, in this Point, as *Princes* and *Ministers*, they will always exclaim against the *Abuse of the Press*, and make Use of their Authority to restrain it, under the Pretence of exercising it only against *false, scandalous and seditious Libels*.

I look upon those, who presume to write against a *Minister*, as a Sort of *Enfants perdus*, or the *forlorn Hope of an Army*, who run the utmost Hazard of being sacrificed for the Good of their Country. The Method of prosecuting *these Men*, by Information in the *King's-Bench*, and of late Years by a *special Jury*, is generally supposed to be built upon the Proceedings of the *Star-Chamber*, and took its Rise from the Abolition of that *Court*.

I am far from pleading for a *Licentiousness* of any Kind, properly so call'd; or for exempting it from Punishment, in a *legal Way*. My only Design is to shew what *Difficulties* and *Hardships* a *Writer* is sometimes obliged to encounter, who employs his Pen in Defence of *Liberty*; and that it is always construed into *Licentiousness* by those, who are conscious to themselves that even the *just Extent of Liberty* must end in their Destruction.

But whatever Usage *Authors* and *Book-sellers*, who are supposed to understand what they write and publish, may be thought to deserve, I must beg Leave to think it a little unreasonable that the *common Labourers of the Press*, who get an hard Livelihood by the Sweat of their Brows, without any other View, should be liable to the same strict Inquisition, Expenses and Penalties. The *Composers* themselves, whose Business it is to put the Letters together, which they pick out of different Cases, one by one, have often the Copy deliver'd to them by *Piecemeal*, and in disjointed Fragments, without any Coherence or Connection, one Part of it being given to one *Composer*, and another to another, for the Sake of Expedition; especially in periodical Writings; so that they have

seldom any Opportunity to read or judge of what they are composing. The *Proofs* are still more in the Dark; for as soon as they receive the Forms ready-set from the *Composers*, they have nothing to do but to work them off as fast as they can, at so much a Thousand; and the *Devil*, as he is call'd, is only the Servant of the rest, whom they hire to run upon *Errands*, and do all their *Drudgery*. Many of *these poor Creatures* cannot so much as read; or if they can, is it to be supposed that they are able to judge what is strictly speaking a *Libel*, or not a *Libel*, which is so far from being an easy Point to determine, that it often puzzles the *wisest Splitters of Cases*?

He then shews that the *Gazetter of Aug. 18.* has misrepresented his *Case*. Among other Things that *Writer* says: 'If any Thing illegal hath happen'd, the Law is upon — will not the Law redress him? — Are the Courts of Justice shut only to him?' — No, Mr. *Mumble-Case*, who says they are? But are there no *Difficulties*, or *Disadvantages*, 't'ye think, against a *private Man*, in such a Prosecution? If I thought myself injur'd, or aggrieved by a *Messenger*, or a *common Justice of Peace*, and could be sure of their being left to stand upon their own *Legs*, I might be tempted, perhaps, to seek my Remedy against them at *Law*; but a Man had much better sue a *Beggar*, than those, who are known to be supported by *long Purse*, as well as *long Hands*.

I agree with this *Writer*, that *Examination* is so far from being a necessary Preparative to being *ball'd*, that no *Man of Sense*, let him be guilty or not, will answer any Questions directly, which may do him hurt, and cannot possibly do him any Good; nor can any *Magistrate* insist upon it; for it is one of the most known and establish'd Maxims of our Law, that *Nemo tenetur seipsum accusare*.

He allows that *extraordinary Bail* is an *Hardship*, and calls upon me to let the *Publick* know what *Bail* hath been demanded. To which I answer, that only Mr. *Haines* is yet *ball'd*, and 500*l.* was demanded of him; which is 200*l.* more than has usually been ask'd, in the same *Case*, and from Persons in much better Circumstances.

Grubstreet Journal, Sept. 8. N^o 404.

OF MARRIAGE.

MARRIAGE is defined a Compact between a Man and a Woman for Procreation and Education of Children; which in every well ordered Society, ought to continue during Life.

For Children gradually arising one after another, they have hardly done with the Care of their Education, till the Parents are unfit

for second Marriages; and therefore it is convenient, that Marriages should continue during Life, that the mutual Care of the Parents might be employed in the Provision for their Children; and that the Love and Respect of their Children might be repay'd to both Parents without Distinction or Confusion; which could not be well done if the Marriage was to be disjointed, and their Interest was to sever, after the Concern of Education was over.

The Interest of Marriage could not be conveniently carried on, if there were a Prospect that the Marriage was any otherwise to be determined than by Death alone. For each Person would be injuriously drawing out of the common Stock, to the Injury of their joint Concern, and the Prejudice of the Education of the Off-spring.

That the Conjunction of Parents should continue 'till the Off-spring be sufficiently provided for, seems to be the Law of the whole Creation. For, tho' in those Animals who feed on Grass, the Conjunction between Male and Female lasts no longer than the very Act of Copulation, because the Teat of the Dam is sufficient to nourish the Young, until it is able to feed on Grass, and the Male can contribute nothing to its Sustainance; yet in Beasts of Prey, the Conjunction lasts longer, because the Dam not being able well to subsist herself, and nourish her Off-spring by her own Prey alone, the Assistance of the Male is necessary to the Maintenance of their common Family, which can't subsist until they are able to prey for themselves, but by the joint Care of Male and Female.

So in other Animals, we find the Cock and Hen continue Mates 'till the Young are able to use the Wing, and provide for themselves: (only in domestick Fowls, the Plenty of Food from the House, often excuses the Male from feeding and taking Care of the Brood) and when the Young can subsist of themselves, the conjugal Bond dissolves of itself, till the anniversary Seasons summon them to new Marriages.

But it is still stronger with respect to Man, who being endowed with Reason to enjoy the Pleasures of Friendship, and with a Prospect of future Necessities, as well as present Necessaries, the Society of Man and Wife should be more lasting, than that of Male and Female among other Creatures; that to their Industry might be encouraged, and their Interests better united, to make Provision for their common Issue; which unceremonious Mistrust, or easy and frequent Solutions of conjugal Society, would mightily disturb.

Daily Gazetteer, Sept. 3. N^o 680.

Proposal for a College of Politicians.

It would propose, that a sufficient Fund should be rais'd, by the voluntary Contribution

of all the Politicians in England, for erecting a College, in some convenient Place near London, in which should be taught the Art of Politicks in all its Branches, by Professors and Masters of the greatest Ability. As St. George's Fields is a spacious, airy Place, I think it would not be improper for this Purpose, as well on Account of its Vicinity to St. James's, as for other Reasons which it may not be convenient to mention.

During the Sessions of Parliament the Professors should be resident at College, and read Lectures three Times a Week, at which every Member should be obliged to be present, in Order to be informed of the Nature and Duty of the Trust reposed in them, and to receive proper Instructions, how to comport themselves in their Senatorial Capacity.

But besides such Publick Lectures there should be private Tuitions, where young Members should be fully instructed in the Subject Matter of every great Debate before it comes on, that they may not be totally ignorant of the Subject upon which they are to speak; as at present, for want of some such laudable Institution, often happens to be the Case. And because there are many Gentlemen, who tho' they cannot speak at all, yet very frequently find themselves under an absolute Necessity of making a Speech, such Gentlemen shall have Speeches ready made for them, suitable to their Capacity, and to the Opinion the World has of them. If the Speakers set up for Wits, their Speeches shall be larded with Jokes, and the End of every Sentence shall be pointed with a Stroke of Satyr and Raillery. If they affect the Character of Patriots, their Speeches shall be full of strong Things, against wicked Ministers, and arbitrary Governments. And if they would be thought to be in earnest in what they say, and that they are in no Terms whatever with the M—y, they shall proceed to downright ill-Language, and personal Abuse.

And in order that they may make no Hesitation, nor forget what they have to say next, but may be absolutely perfect in their Speeches, they shall repeat them in the College, in a full Assembly, before they speak them in the House; and every Person present shall be at full Liberty to laugh, or talk, or make what Noise he pleases; the better to prepare and fortify the Speaker for the Reception he is to meet with, when he first commences publick Orator: This is infinitely to be preferred to the present Way, which Gentlemen for want of a little Pain seem generally to fall into; that is, of reading out of their Hats a Parcel of impertinent Stuff of their own composing.

But the most important Advantage that would attend this Project, would be, that the Nation would be always furnished with a

sufficient Number of Persons, to fill the great Offices of the Kingdom, at an easy Expence; who, instead of bestowing themselves in Velvet and Gold, and eating out of China or Plate, would be content with College Commone, a Suit of new Cloaths once a Year, and a clean Shirt twice a Week: By which means, we might soon hope to see Taxes lessen, Trade revive, Dramatick Poetry flourish, and the Tragedy of *Common Sense* acted again without a Licence from the Lord Chamberlain; for a Libel would be of little or no force against great Men, if they had neither Sparies nor Perquisites belonging to their Offices:

Common Sense, Sept. 10. N^o 38.

FEMALE COXCOMBS.

THERE may be two Kinds of Women Coxcombs; those who affect what does not fall within the Female Sphere of Action, and those who go out of their own natural Characters, tho' they keep within the Female Province.

Each Sex has its distinguishing Characteristic, and if the fair Sex can with Justice (as certainly they may) brand a Man with the Name of a *Cott-Queen*, if he invades a certain Female Detail, which is their Prerogative; may not we retort upon them, when, laying aside their natural Characters, they assume those which are appropriated to us? The Delicacy of their Texture, and the Strength of ours; the Beauty of their Form, and the Coarseness of ours; sufficiently indicate the respective Vocations. Was *Heracles* ridiculous and contemptible with his *Distaff*? *Omphale* would not have been less so at a Review, or a Council-Board. Women are not form'd for great Cares themselves, but to froth and soften ours; their Tenderness is the proper Reward of our Toils for their Preservation; and the Ease and Cheerfulness of their Conversation; our desirable Retreat from Study and Business. They are confin'd within the narrow Limits of Domestick Offices, and when they stray beyond them, they move eccentrically, and consequently without Grace.

Agrippina would appear learned, and has read just enough of all Things, without comprehending any one, to make her talk absurdly upon every Thing. She looks upon the Art of Pleating as her Master-piece, but mistakes the Means for much, that her Flattery is too gross for Self-love to swallow, and her Lies too palpable to deceive for a Moment; so that she shocks those she would gain.

Sparta had Beauty enough to have excus'd (while young) her want of common Sense. But the scorn'd the precarious Triumphs of Beauty. She would only conquer by the Charms of her Mind. A Union of

Hearts, a Delicacy of Sentiments, a modest Adoration, or a Sort of tender Quixotism, were what she long sought for, and never found. Thus *Nathan* struggled with Sentiment till he was 45. but then got the better of it to seek a Degree, that he made very advantageous Proposals to an *Irish* Esquire of 31: Equally ridiculous in her Age and in her Youth!

A *Cassius*, wither'd by Age, and smother'd by Impudencies, topten under the Load of her misplec'd Ornaments; and her Dress varies according to the freshest Advice from *Paris*, instead of conforming itself (as it ought) to the Directions of her Undertaker. Her Mind, as weak as her Body, is as absurdly adorn'd; she talks Politicks and Metaphysics, mangles the Terms of each, and, if there be Sense in either, most infallibly puzzles it.

I shall not enter into an Examination of the lesser Affections (most of 'em are pardonable, and many of 'em are pretty, if their Owners are so) but confine my Animadversions to the Affection of ill-fated Characters; for I would by no Means deprive my fair Countrywomen of their greatest little Terror, Antipathies, and Affections. The alternate Panicks of Timours, Spiders, Ghosts, and Thunder, are allowable to Youth and Beauty, provided they don't forsake 'em. But what I mean is, to prevail with 'em to set their own natural Parts, and not other Peoples; and to convince 'em, that even their own Imperfections will become them better than the horrow'd Perfections of others.

D Should some Lady of Spirit ask what Province I leave to their Sex? I answer, that I leave 'em whatever has not been peculiarly assign'd by Nature to ours. I leave 'em a mighty Empire, *Love*. These they reign absolute, and by unquestion'd Right, while Beauty supports their Throne. They have all the Talents requisite for that soft Empire, and the abject of our Sex cannot contend with 'em in the profound Knowledge and Conduct of their *Arts*.

I confess, our best read of Ladies, such as *Saïramis*, *Thalgoris*, &c. who have made very considerable Figures in the most heark and manly Parts of Life; but considering the great Antiquity of these Histories and how much they are mix'd up with Fables, one is at liberty to question either the *Facts*, or the *Sets*. Besides that, the most ingenious and credit *Courad Wolfgang Laboriusus Dignow*, of *Hall* in *Saxony*, has prov'd, in the 12th Volume, Page 289, of his learned *Tractat de Herostratibus*, That all the renowned Female Heroes of Antiquity were of this Epious Species, tho' out of Regard to the desired modest Part of my Readers, I dare not quote the *General Facts* and *Reasonings* with which he supports this Assertion; and as for the Heroines of modern Date, we have more than Suspitions of their being at least of the *Ep*

flame Gender. The greatest Monarch that ever fill'd the *British* Throne (*till very lately*) was *Q. Elizabeth*, of whose Sex we have abundant Reason to doubt, History furnishing us with many Instances of the Manhood of that Princess, without leaving us one single Indication of the Woman; and thus much is certain, that she thought it improper for her to marry a Man. The great *Christina*, Queen of *Sweden*, was allow'd by every body to be *above her Sex*; and the Masculine was so predominant in her Composition, that she even conform'd, at last, to its Dress, and ended her Days in *Italy*. I therefore require that those Women who insist upon going beyond the Bounds allotted to their Sex, should previously declare themselves in Form *Hermaphrodites*, and be register'd as such in their several Parishes; till when I shall not suffer them to confound Politicks, perplex Metaphysics, and darken Mysteries.

How amiable may a Woman be, what a Comfort and Delight to her Acquaintance, her Friends, her Relations, her Lover, or her Husband, in keeping strictly within her Character! She adorns all Female Virtues with native Female Softness. Women, while untainted by Affectation, have a natural Chearfulness of Mind, Tenderness and Bénévolence of Heart, which justly endears them to us, either to animate our Joys, or soothe our Sorrows; but how are they chang'd, and how shocking do they become, when the Rage of Ambition, or the Pride of Learning, agitates and swells those Breasts, where only Love, Friendship, and tender Care should dwell?

Let *Flovia* be their Model, who, tho' she could support any Character, assumes none; never misled by Fancy or Vanity, but guided singly by Reason, whatever she says or does, is the manifest Result of a happy Nature, and a good Understanding. Tho' she thinks and speaks as a Man would do, still it is as a Woman she should do; she effeminates (if I may use the Expression) whatever she says, and gives all the Grace of her own Sex to the Strength of ours; she is well bred without the troublesome Ceremonies, and frivolous Forms of those who only affect to be so. Womens Beauty, like *Mene Wit*, is generally fatal to the Owners, unless directed by a Judgment which seldom accompanies a great Degree of either; her Beauty seems but the proper and decent Lodging for such a Mind; she knows the true Value of it, and far from thinking that it surmounts Impertinence and Coquetry, it redoubles her Care to avoid those Retorts that are so usual Attendants.

The excellent Speech of *Queen Elizabeth*, to her Army command'd at *Tilbury*, under the Command of the *Earl of Leicester* in the Year 1588; which she delivered thus

illustrat'd with an Imitation from *Spain*: Refer'd to by *Rapin* in his *History of England*, Vol: II. Page 135, Folio Edition, Printed for *Knapton*.

My loving People,

WE have been persuaded by some that are careful of our Safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed Multitudes, for fear of *Traitors*; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving People.

Let *Tyrants* fear, I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have plac'd my chiefest Strength and Safeguard in the loyal Hearts and Good-will of my Subjects; and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this Time, not for my Recreation and Disport, but being resolv'd in the midst and heat of the *Battle*, to live or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God, and for my Kingdom, and for my People, my Honour and my Blood, even in the Dust.

I know I have the Body but of a weak and feeble Woman; but I have the Heart and Stomach of a King, and of a King of England too; and think foul scorn that *Pavia* or *Spain*, or any Prince of *Europe*, should dare to invade the Borders of my Realm; to which, rather than any Dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up Arms; I myself will be your General, Judge, and Rewarder of every one of your Virtues in the Field.

I know already, for your Forwardness you have deserved Rewards and Crowns; and we do assure you in the Word of a Prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean Time my *Lieutenant General* shall be in my stead, than whom never Prince commanded a more noble or worthy Subject; not doubting but by your Obedience to my General, by your Concord in the Camp, and your Valour in the Field, we shall shortly have a famous Victory over those Enemies of my God, of my Kingdoms, and of my People.

Craftsmen, Sept. 10 and 17.

These Papers contain a Discourse upon Libels, publish'd in 1723; from which we shall extract a Passage or two:

MANY Methods have been tried to remedy the Evil of Libels. In *Turkey*, and the Eastern Monarchies, all Printing is forbidden; which does it with a Witness; and by the same Reason there ought to be no Talking, lest People should talk Treason, Blasphemy or Nonsense; but I desire it may be remembered, that there is neither Liberty, Propriety, true Religion, Arts, Sciences, Learning or Knowledge in those Countries.

But another Method hath been thought on,

in these western Parts, much less effectual, yet more mischievous; namely, to put the Press under the Direction of the prevailing Party; to authorize Libels on one Side only, and to deny the other Side the Opportunity of defending themselves. This is comprehensive of all the Evils that any Nation can groan under, and must soon extinguish every Seed of Religion, Liberty, Virtue or Knowledge.

Libels seldom or never annoy an innocent Man. Wise and honest Men laugh at them and despise them, and such Arrows always fly over their Heads, or fall at their Feet. If K. James had acted according to his Coronation Oath, *Lilly Burlers* might have been executed long enough before he had been long out of his Kingdoms. And if there had been no *Soubise* Scheme, or if it had been justly executed, there had been no Libels upon that Head, or very harmless ones. Most of the World take Part with a virtuous Man, and punish Calumny by the Detestation of it. The best Way to prevent Libels is not to deserve them, and to despise them.

I do agree, when the natural and genuine Meaning and Purport of Words and Expressions in libellous Writings carry a criminal Intention, that the Writer ought not to escape Punishment by Subterfuge or Evasion. But when Words understood in their literal and natural Meaning, import nothing criminal; then to strain their genuine Signification to make them intend Sedition (which possibly the Author might intend too) is such a Stretch of discretionary Power, as most overturn every Species of Liberty. Without such a Power some Men may escape Censure who deserve Censure, but with it no Man can be safe; and few Men or States will be aggrieved by this Indulgence, but such as deserve much worse Usage.

But above all it should be consider'd, that all the Methods hitherto taken to prevent real Libels have proved ineffectual. There is no hindering Printers from having Presses; unless all Printing be forbidden, and feared then; and dangerous and forbidden Libels are more effectually dispersed, enquired after, and do more Mischief, than Libels openly publish'd. There were more publish'd in K. Charles II's and K. James's Times, when they were severely punish'd, and the Press was restrain'd, than have ever been since.

Universal Spectator, Sept. 24. N^o 468.

IN every Attempt to reclaim a perfidious Husband, I would recommend to the Ladies to exert all their *softest Talents*, and mix with their Accusation *Tenderness* and *Compassion*; for that Man who has been weak enough to have been led astray by the deceitful Flatteries and false Fondnesses of a Prostitute, will not be reclaim'd to a virtuous Life

by dint of *Noise* and *Clamour*. In the Tragedy of *Philotas*, Mr. *Frowde*, the ingenious Author, has with great Judgment wrote a Scene between an injur'd Wife and perfidious Husband. After some gentle Reproaches, which *Philotas* cou'd not deny the Truth of, *Cleora*, his Wife, thus addresses him.

A Come, come my lord, your silence but upbraids you;
You wou'd, but cannot justify your crimes;
Obl' cou'd you but as easily repeat,
As the then blest *Cleora* cou'd forgive,
How wou'd she triumph with exulting joy!
'Tis sure, she comes not (be so just to think it)
With sharp invectives to pursue your fault;
Her only aim, if possible, to win you
Back to yourself, whom you have much forgot;
With me forget—whs dare not chide but mourn;
Be but again *Philotas*, thou art mine.

He still in doubt, and agitated with Remorse and Pity for his Wife; yet with Kindness for his Mistress; *Cleora* still gently argues,

C Wherefore, *Philotas*, do I view thee thus,
Idly tormenting thy dear breast and mind?
Obl' then at length redeem thyself from shame,
Throw off the chains of ignominious bondage;
Break thro' the forc'd rest arms that long have held thee

A stranger to these ever faithful arms:
Nor arduous is the task, the boon I beg;
'Tis but to be resolv'd, th' enchantment ceaseth,
I see a kind of yielding in thy eyes:

D Oh! therefore hear me; for thy good I court,
Thy peace, thy liberty and fame restor'd.
Conquer'd by such Reasons, *Philotas*, with
Exalted replies,

Thou thus restor'd—obl' take me to thy bosom,
There mould me as thou wilt; my soften'd heart
(Strike deep th' impression) shall receive thy
image;

E Never, oh! never thence to be eras'd:
Thy mighty goodness has at last o'ercome,
And thum'd me to myself, my best *Cleora*.

—Alas! *Cleora*, whither have I wander'd,
And stray'd a wanton from thy tender care?
How has my ear been deaf, nor known 'till now,
Thy gentle voice, that lures me home to Love?

F To love, to constancy and plighted faith? [Weeps]
'Tis there, ye gods, ye have plac'd your highest
Seat of content, and calm retreat from care;
Sweetest partner of past toils and present anguishes;
There the kind partner of our fates attends,
Or grieves to mitigate, or beighen joy,
And each *Cleora* makes her master happy.

With such Arguments and Gentleness as *Cleora's* it is most probable the Heart of *Mess* will be affected; such Means will unavoidably lead him to Reflection, and consequently into Repentance. To enter this, Mr. *Frowde* in another Scene between the Wife and the Mistress, has made *Cleora* upbraid the Woman, who had been her Rival in her Husband's

band's Love, with these fine and natural Sentiments.

How'er the Libertine may rove,
And frontless treat the rounds of guilty love,
In the soft rage of joys, without controul,
Secret remorse shall once reproach his soul:
When sat in the lawless wanton's arms,
He weighs with cooler thoughts her Syren charms;
Wak'd from his dream, now wonders at the art,
The specious frowns seduc'd his easy heart:
Convinc'd at length be this great truth shall
own;
Pleasures sincere chaste Hyman gives alone,
While far away the prostitute is thrown.

Craftsman, Sept. 24. N^o 585.

On the Maxim, The King can do no Wrong; with a summary Account of Shakespear's Measure for Measure.

THERE is not a more evident Truth, than that Princes see with other People's Eyes, and hear with other People's Ears. This I take to be the Foundation of that favourable Maxim in our Law, *that the King can do no Wrong*; tho' it hath been construed very wildly in a moral and religious Sense; as if there was a Sort of Divinity in an anointed Head, which renders it incapable of Error, or Wickedness; whereas, on the contrary, it supposes a King to be so liable to *Dectis* and *Imposition*, that no *Wrong* ought to be imputed to him, but to those, whose Duty it is to advise him better, and therefore ought to be accountable for it. Nay; even this Exposition of the Maxim, which is the only rational one, ought to be taken in a limited Sense; for if the Prince should discover a Design of subverting the Constitution, or obstinately supports his Ministers in it, they have a Right to the common Law of Nature, that is, to the Law of God, who hath implanted the Principle of Self-Preservation in the Minds of all his Creatures; and consequently they have a Warrant from Heaven to resist such an oppressive Government, whatever some holy Parasites may assert, or Madmen believe. Law, Reason, and Scripture are all against them. It is therefore ridiculous, in such a Case, to say *that a King can do no Wrong*; nor does our Law intend any such Thing; unless we are to suppose that all the *Revolutions* in this Kingdom have been contrary to Law, tho' many of them have been authorized and confirm'd by Law; and unless we suppose that our *Ancethers*, as well as ourselves, have been guilty of so gross an Absurdity, as to bind up their *Sovereigns*, by Oath, to good Behaviour; tho' the very Nature of their Office renders them absolutely incapable of any bad Behaviour. This monstrous Doctrine all Parties have condemn'd by their Practices,

whatever their Principles might be, especially at the last great Revolution. This shews how cautious all Princes ought to be of extending, or explaining, what is call'd their Prerogatives, beyond its due Bounds; and of protecting their Ministers, in bad Measures, till the whole Weight of popular Resentment falls upon themselves.

A Shakespear hath given us an admirable Moral, to this Purpose, in his *Measure for Measure*; where the Duke of Vienna pretends to go into Poland, on some important Business, and leaves one Lord Angelo his Deputy, with full Power of Life and Death, &c. but the Duke, instead of really going abroad, dress'd himself up in a Fryar's Habit, and under that Disguise travell'd about his own Country, in order to make his Remarks both upon the Manners of his People, and the Conduct of his new Substitute. This Angelo had, by his Dissimulation, obtain'd the Character of extraordinary Sanctity; and was so particularly famous for his Abstinence from Women, that he is described in several Places to be a Man, whose Blood was hardly supposed to flow.

C There was, it seems, at that Time, an old Act against Fornication, which made it capital. This Act was grown almost obsolete; but the Lord Deputy, out of his great Detestation of such a crying Sin, began his Viceregency with reviving it by Proclamation, and put it in Force against one Claudio, who had got a young Lady with Child, to whom he was contracted in Marriage, but for prudential Reasons was oblig'd to keep it secret, for some Time. Upon this Account, he was actually condemn'd. Escalus, an old Lord, who was join'd with Angelo in the Commission, as a Sort of Counsellor or Minister, pleaded very earnestly with him for Mercy, on Account of the young Gentleman's Age, the Merits of his Father, and the common Frailties of human Nature; but he still continued inexorable, and order'd his Execution the next Morning. The poor Gentleman had now but one Resource left. He had a beautiful young Sister, just at that Time going into a Cloister; and being in Hopes that the moving Addresses of an innocent Virgin, in Favour of her unfortunate Brother, would make some Impression upon the most stony Heart, he begg'd her to intercede for him; which after some Difficulty she undertook, and pleaded his Cause with so much natural and pathetick Eloquence, to which the Charms of her Person added no small Force, that he began to relent; and, upon the second Interview, was so overcome with her Beauty and Innocence,

E that he promised to pardon her Brother, if she would give up herself to his Lust; but in Case she refused, he told her that Claudio should not only die, but be put to the utmost Torture. The young Lady rejected this in-

famous Offer, and carry'd the melancholy News to her *Brother*, with an Account of what had pass'd between her and the *hypocritical Tyrant*, whose just Character she points in the following Lines.

— This outward-fainted deputy,
 Whose settled wifage and deliberate word
 Nips youth i'th' bead, and sollicit doth remove, A
 As falcon doth the fowl, yet is a devil;
 His sith within being cast, he would appear
 A pond as deep as bill.

Claudio at first applauds his *Sister's* Virtue, and resolves to prepare himself for Death; but he is soon stagger'd by the Terrors of his approaching Fate, which operates so strongly upon him as to make him even desire his *Sister* to prostitute herself, for the Sake of an ignominious Life; but she refuses this mean Proposal with the same noble Disdain, notwithstanding her natural Affection and Tenderness for her *Brother*, and devotes him to Death, rather than buy his Life at such a dishonourable Price.

Amidst all this Distress, the good *Duke* steps forth, still disguised as a *Fryar*; and having overheard all that had pass'd, proposed a Method to *Isabella* (for that was the young *Lady's* Name) how she might do an Act of Justice to another injured *Lady*, and save her *Brother's* Life, without any Stain upon her own Honour.

Lord *Angelo* was betroth'd to a young *Lady*, named *Mariana*, and the Day of their Nuptials had been appointed; but her *Brother* having been wreck'd at Sea, and her Fortune lost with him, he left her in a most perfidious Manner; which however inflam'd her Passion, instead of quenching it. The royal *Fryar* therefore propos'd that *Isabella* should promise to give *Angelo* a Meeting at a proper Place and Time, so as not to be discover'd, and that the wrong'd *Mariana* should go in her Sess'd. This Scheme which was agreed upon between them, took Effect; and the detestable *Blasphemer* having gratify'd his brutal Appetite, as he thought with *Isabella*, gave private Orders for her *Brother's* Head to be brought to him, by five a Clock the next Morning; but this inhuman Action was prevented by the Management of the *Duke*, who directed the Head of a common Malefactor, who died in Prison, and was not unlike that of *Claudio*, to be sent in its Room.

The *Duke*, having now got to the Bottom of this whole Scene of Iniquity, sends an unexpected Letter to *Angelo*, that he was very near Home; and that he design'd to make his publick Entry into *Venice*; with Orders to prohibit it in the City an Hour before, that if any Persons had Reason to claim Redress of their Grievances, they might present their Petitions to him openly in the Street. This was done with a particular View to *Isabella*;

who accordingly throws herself at the *Duke's* Feet, and demands Justice against Lord *Angelo* in such pressing Terms, according to her Instructions, that the *wild Deputy* could not any longer prevent the full Discovery of his Guilt. In short, the whole Plot being unravel'd, the *Duke* gives several Instances of his Justice, and sends Measure for Measure. His wicked *Deputy* is first of all commanded to marry the *Lady*, whom he had wrong'd; and then sentenced to the same Block, which was prepar'd for *Claudio*; but upon the moving Intercession of his injur'd *Brith*, as well as her Friend *Isabella*, and it appearing afterwards that *Claudio* was still alive, his Punishment is remitted, with a particular Injunction to be kind to his *Lady*. *Claudio* is not only pardon'd, but restor'd to the Arms of his beloved *Julietta*, upon whose Account he underwent such extreme Dangers; and as for *Isabella*, she is rewarded in a still higher Manner, for her unshaken Virtue, by being advanced to the royal Bed of the *Duke* himself. Thus ends the Play; but I must not omit one Speech of the *Duke*, whilst under Disguise, in which he explains the miserable Condition of his *People*, in these emphatical Words.

— My business in this place
 Made me a looker-on here in *Venice*,
 Where I have seen corruption bill and lull'd,
 Till it o'er-ran the flow; laws for all faults,
 But suits so countenanc'd that the strong sta-
 tutes

Stand like the forfeits in a Barber's shop,
 As much in mock as mark.

I now leave the Reader to judge whether here is not an excellent Moral pointed out to the Observation of all *Princes*, how their Authority may be abused, and how they might redress it; and shall conclude with recommending the following Passage of the same Play to the Consideration of all Men in Power, whether great or small.

— Oh, 'tis excellent
 To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous
 To use it like a giant—could great men thunder
 As Jove himself does, Jove would not be quiet;
 For every pelting, petty officer
 Would use his power for thunder;
 Nothing but thunder—merciful heavens!
 Thou rather, with thy sharp and sulphurous bolt,
 Split'st the unwedgeable and gnawed oak,
 Than the soft myrtle—O, but men, great-
 men,

Dress in a little brief authority,
 Most ignorant of what he's most offer'd,
 His glassy essence, like an angry ape,
 Plays such fantastick tricks before high heaven,
 As makes the angels weep.

[For some particular Reasons, we cannot insert the Piece from our Mathematical Correspondent.]

The PALACE of FANCY, continued from
p. 448.

HENCE the ambitious worldling to advance
His fortune tries the giddy wheel of
chance;

Profuse of riches, hoping to obtain,
He risks a certainty for doubtful gain:
Already in his thoughts h'as drawn the prize,
Sets up his equipage and liveries,
Is a gait chariot at his ease reel'd,
And six spruce footmen sneering him behind:
Pride, pomp and grandeur occupy his breast,
And golden dreams prolong his balmy rest.

Hence the close statesman labours deep de-
signs,

And on his various projects oft refines;
Pleas'd with the thoughts of prosperous success
Gay scenes of future state his slumbers bless:
Places and pensions he with pleasure spies,
And stars and garrets captivate his eyes. [brain

Hence *Bodiam's* monarch fills his frantick
With pompons titles and despotick reign;
His court's his kennel, where he proudly
talks,

And in long robes of rags majestic stalks;
Ambitious thoughts with pride his bosom swell,
He reigns unrid'd in his empty cell. [sins,

Hence the chaste virgin burns with am'rous
Untasted joys suggest unknown desires;
Some happy lover charms the willing fair,
And breaths soft whispers in her ravish'd ear;
The scene of future bliss distracts her thought,
She's pleas'd with something, yet she knows
not what:

With expectation melting soft away,
By night in broken dreams, in sighs by day.

Hence the pleas'd poet's ravish'd in his muse,
And wreaths of ever-blooming laurels views;
He wastes, oh! fatal love of empty praise!

In slothful ease the vigour of his days:
Nocturnal lucubrations break his rest,
And pinching want his tow'ring sights molest;
Yet ev'n in penury he knows no care,
But rears at will fine castles in the air;
Builde to himself a long immortal name,
And sees a vision of eternal fame.

But when the wayward goddesses angry grow,
And on her sprites a fullen frown bestows;
The ready guards the well known signal take,
High poiz'd in air, their flutt'ring pinnions
shake;

Down to the earth they bend their hasty flight,
And with imaginary terrors fright-
Straits every face shows discontented agh,
Plung'd in the gulph of horrible despair.
Expected ill the feeble mind beset,
Which ne'er had other being than in thought:
The spawn of fear shall ghastly forms display,
Grief, disappointments, horror and dismay.

Of dire *Chimeras* an unnumber'd train
Haunt the weak soul and threaten fancy'd pain.

Hence for meer want the griping miser pines,
And starves amidst the dross of *Indian* mines;
He prays, as *Midas* fondly wish'd of old,
That all he touches may convert to gold:
No certain bounds determin'd his desires,
The more he gets the more he still requires;
And as his growing fortune multiplies,
His wants and wishes in proportion rise.
Behold! the wretch sit brooding o'er his store,
Sly as the serpent watch'd th' *Hesperian* oar:
He fears his own domesticks slyly plod
With impious hands to rob him of his god;
Starts in his sleep at every rustling wind,
And thinks he hears the ruffian's steps behind.

Hence the vile wretch whose hands have
been imbrud,

Inflam'd by passion, in his neighbour's blood,
Shuns the approach of light, and as he flies,
Fancies a thousand deaths before his eyes.
In vain to foreign climates he may run,
Conscious of guilt himself he cannot shun:
Nor night, a friend to crimes, conceals the sin,
His mind presents, and makes broad day within.
Racks, gibbets, gallows his dreams infect,
And lasting furies haunt his guilty breast.

Hence the dark traitor who attacks the
throne,

Doubts lest his impious treachery be known;
The fatal secret farther to disclose
He fears, and those intrusted thinks his foes:
His conscience stings him, and his heart's dis-
may'd,

Lest by his complices he be betray'd:
Waits ev'ry moment the supreme arrest,
And dreads a meeting in each unknown guest.

Hence the enamour'd youth in absence sighs,
Each lazy ling'ring hour, for her he dies:
His eager passion vain distrust improves,
Lest some more happy rival share his loves;
Fear and despair his anxious thoughts annoy,
And wracking tortures all his hopes destroy.

Hence the old dotting fumbling lecher ty'd
In marriage bonds to some young wanton
bride, —

Suspects the fair one of incontinence,
And for no cause but his own impotence;
Distracting jealousies his mind affright,
And endless doubts awake each joyless night.

Hence self-tormenting hypocondriacs groan
Beneath a weight of griefs they make their own;
Those ill in weak imagination feel,
Dire casualties which crow'd each weekly bill;
And all the crosses, disappointments mourn,
The most unfortunate have ever born;
Blood and confound the sexes, change the mien
And form of bodies, by the pow'r of spleen;
The pregnant doctor roars with lab'ring pains,
And in a china jar the love-sick maid com-
plains.

* *Ille malis usuris dominis, ait, Effice quicquid
Corpore contigero, futurum vertatur in aerum.* Ovid. *Metam.* Lib. 12.

Frail mortals feel such maladies as these,
When the swift *demons* lead an eastern breeze;
Or in a vapour shift th' alternate scenes,
Acting on various minds by various means:
Until the vassal globe her empire own,
And look for ill or blessings from her throne.

Hail, sovereign power, whose despotic
sway

Men, women, children, earth and sea obey,
Sole arbiters of all things here below, [flow !
The source from whence our joys or sorrows
Hear me all-gracious! lend a willing ear
In tender pity to thy votary's pray'r.

Let thy pleas'd looks a cheerful glance impart
And clear the gloom that hovers round my
heart :

Disperse the terrors that my case destroy,
And fill my bosom with a flood of joy.
Then if unsteady fortune sternly frowns,
And bear my soul with weight of troubles
down,

Thy smiles some fancy'd pleasures shall create
To ward against the real ill of fate:
Prospects of future bliss shall charm the brain,
And the soul lost in raptures quite forget her
pain.

The NUN. *By Mr. Price. (See p. 390.)*

JENNY having been desir'd,
And to her sorrow got with child,
Yet liv'd as tho' she ne'er had fray'd,
And ev'ry day in private pray'd;
While all the other sisters food,
And thro' the grate their mirth pursu'd:
At length the abbess thus begins
To warn 'em to forsake their sins:
Pray mind our *Yano's* religious deeds,
And imitate the life she leads:
Renounce the world with past disdain,
And from its vanities refrain. —
They instantly reply'd, we too shall be
As sober, when we've done as much, as she.

The Prayer of Manasse. In Imitation of
Mr. Prior's Hymn of Callimachus.

By the same Hand.

Almighty God! by whose creating word
The spacious, wide, unbounded heav'ns
were form'd,
And all their shining glories; at thy bidding
This universal round of earth, obedient,
Sprung out from *Chees*. Thy omnic voice,
Eternal father! circumscrib'd the deep,
And taught old ocean where to roll his waves.
The scatter'd nations of this amp'z globe,
Great ruler! potent lord! superior king!
Conscious of guilt, fall prostrate at thy throne,
Imploring pardon for their sinful actions:
And pardon thou dost give to those who seek it

Unfeign'd, and with truth.
If to thy Godhead thou I sue for grace,
If I confess (but ah! my faultful soul
Bids me be silent when my tongue would
speak) [sented,

And thank myself with those who have of
Propitious thou wilt hear me, and thy mercy
Dismiss'd from her bright mansion, shall under
The leath'rn dungeon, and conduct me forth
Triumphant, tho' unworthy to behold
The glorious luminary thou hast hang'd
Aloft to guide the wandering sons of men.
Manasse therefore, like th' angelick host,
Whole loud *Hosanna's* and accepted songs
For ever sound their great Creator's praise,
To lifting mortals shall proclaim thy good-
ness,
And bless the strength of thy defending arm.
Poet, August 20.

From a manuscript Poem, entitled, The Pro-
GRESS of LEARNING. By Mr.
Lockman.

BE it, O science! radiant maid,
To thy immortal honour told,
That whilst thy heavenly dictates sway'd,
Fair *virtus* triumph'd over gold.
But when thy smiles no more cou'd charm,
And *Romans* slighted thy embrace,
Vice blazon'd forth her painted form,
And weeping *virtus* left the place.
Then down sinks thy devoted head,
And *Vandals*, to complete thy doom,
Wide o'er the world dire havoc spread,
Thy fanes destroy, and all is gloom.
Past some few years, a shapeless sprite,
Offspring of cloysters, sp'd thy mien;
Glanc'd sukkward, thro' the fallen night,
And faintly cheer'd the widow'd scene.
Sadden the scatter'd vapours fly
To realms where midnight darkness reigns;
For lo! the genial blaze is nigh,
That gilds once more *Astoria's* plains,
'Tis come! for *Leo* mounts the throne,
Neglected arts auspicious friend;
The golden years his influence own,
And raptur'd joys his steps attend.
Had ev'ry pontiff smil'd like thee
On learnings son's, and sooth'd their flame,
None still o'er all woo'd mistress be,
And justly boast the glorious name.

The BACHELOR's Litany.

FROM the dismal fatigues of a languish-
ing lover,
From laying restraint on a generous rover,
And those vile legal courtships which make
such a pother,

Libera nos, &c.

From the writings and rites which empty one's
 purse,
 From taking a woman for better, for worse,
 And those prayers for children, which oft
 prove a curse, *Libera nos, &c.*

From the perpetual clack of an ignorant wife,
 Stubborn by nature, pleas'd always with strife,
 Proper only to make a man weary of life,
Libera nos, &c.

From coffee, tea, brandy and all that fine
 cheer,
 Which women will have, be it never so dear,
 To make out a feast for a sisterhood near
Libera nos, &c.

From the tooth-ach and quains, which those
 us'd to reading [a breeding ;
 Say the husband must bear, while his honey's
 And from all the expenses of those nine
 months feeding, *Libera nos, &c.*

From midwives and nurses, and all that long
 train,
 Who live by affliction, and of it make gain,
 And remove from the wife, to the husband,
 the pain, *Libera nos, &c.*

From those medical charms which by night
 a child pays,

From rocking and singing by, to it a day,
 And from passive obedience to all a wife says,
Libera nos, &c.

From that labour and toil which a father
 must take, [make,
 That his wife and his children a figure may
 And from denying one's self for a family's
 sake, *Libera nos, &c.*

From having the brow adorn'd with the horn,
 (Which husbands must bear, tho' 'tis hard to
 be born) [mention'd with scorn,
 And from the name of a cuckold, always
Libera nos, &c.

From a thousand more plagues, which are al-
 ways the fate

Of those who are link'd in that terrible state ;
 From marrying in haste, to repent when too
 late, *Libera nos, &c.*

But lastly and chiefly, from marrying those
 witches, [dear riches ;
 Who've neither good nature, good sense, nor
 And from those termagant jades who'd still
 wear the breeches, *Libera nos, &c.*

*On the Death of Mr. Waring, the late inge-
 nious Musician, much esteem'd by the Gentle-
 men of Oxford.*

Quando ullum invenient parem ?

WHAT soul could hear without an in-
 stant moan
 The British Orphans give his parting groan ?

What he, said I, for pleasing notes renown'd
 Sure 'tis not he that gives this troubling sound !
 On * Isis, as he touch'd the viol string,
 Still I remember how I heard him sing.
 Neptune himself, the god of waves, was next,
 (Such musick might engage a Neptune there)
 Hushing the waters as they stream'd along
 He stood attentive to the melting song.
 My blood surpriz'd at his attractive strains
 Was sooth'd to coolness in my joyful veins.
 This sciences welcom'd him to ev'ry place,
 Great Oxford own'd him for her shining grace.
 The sacred muses fondly strove to save
 Their worthy fav'rite from the silent grave.
 But now alas ! death deeply wounds his heart,
 Averts to hear the wisest charmer's art.
 Then rest, sweet shade ! for ever shall thy name
 Live fresh, resounded by the voice of fame.
 The star that shone propitious at thy birth
 Ordain'd thy numbers far too fine for earth :
 The heavens rowling jubilant and blest
 Smile at the coming of thy tuneful guest.
 Apollo rises from his gemmy seat,
 Eager his second in the sky to meet. [wroog,
 Weep not, O world, nor think you suffer
 Rather be thankful that he staid so long.
 Be Waring mortal, yet it must be said, [dead.
 The moved ground close follow'd him, e'en

*To a Gentlewoman above 60 Years old, married
 to a young Gentleman under Age.*

HARD is the fate of ev'ry childless wife,
 The thoughts of wedlock tantalize her
 life.

'Tis true, aged bride, by thee 'twas wisely done,
 To choose a child and husband both in one.

*To his Royal Highness the Prince of WALES.
 AN ODE. By Mr. Thomson.*

WHILE secret-leaguings nations frown
 around,

Ready to pour the long-expected storm ;
 While she, who wont the restless Gaul to
 bound,

Britannia, drooping, grows an empty form ;
 While on our vitals selfish-parties prey,
 And deep corruption eats our soul away :

Yet in the goddess of the main appears

A gleam of joy, gay-flushing every grace,
 As she the cordial voice of millions hears,
 Rejoycing, zealous, o'er thy rising race ;
 Strain her rekindling eyes resume their fire,
 The virtues smile, the muses tune the lyre.

But more enchanting than the muses song,
 United Britons thy dear offspring hail :

The city triumphs thro' her glowing throng ;
 The shepherd tells his transport to the dale :
 The sons of roughest toil forget their pain,
 And the glad sailor cheers the midnight main.

* A River running by Oxford.

Can ought from fair *Augusta's* gentle blood,
 And thine, *thou friend of liberty!* be born;
 Can ought, save what is lovely, gen'rous, good;
 What will, at once, defend us, and adorn?
 From thence prophetic joy new *Edwards* eyes,
 New *Henrys*, *Amas*, and *Elinas* rise.

May fate my fond devoted days extend,
 To sing the promis'd glories of *thy reign!*
 What tho', by years depress'd, my *muse* might
 bend,

My heart will teach her still a nobler strain:
 How, with recover'd *Britain*, will she soar,
 When *Fr—e* insults, and *Sp—n* shall rob, no
 more!

*On the Report of a Wooden Bridge to be built
 at Westminster.*

BY *Rufus* hall, where *Thomas* polluted flows
 Provok'd, the *genius* of the river rose,
 And thus exclaim'd—have I, you *British*
swains,

Have I, for ages, sav'd your fertile plains?
 Given herds, and flocks, and villages encrease,
 And fed a richer than the *golden fleece*? [tide,
 Have I, ye merchants, with each swelling
 Pour'd *Africk's* treasure in, and *India's* pride?
 Lent you the fruit of ev'ry nation's toil?
 Made every climate yours, and every soil?
 Yet pilfer'd from the poor, by gaming base,
 Yet must a wooden *Bridge* my waves disgrace?
 Tell not to foreign streams the shameful tale,
 And be it publish'd in no *Gallick* vale.
He said;—and plunging to his christal drome,
 White o'er his head the circling waters foam.

*STEPHEN'S DESPAIR on the Death of
 Delia. A SONG.*

*To the Tune of, Wait me some rest and cool-
 ing Breeze.*

WHAT music can my numbers boast,
 Now my fair *Delia's* from me flown?

What muse invoke? my muse is lost,
 And I disconsolate must moan.

Farewel, each shady green retreat,
 Where zephyrs in soft whispers blow,
 Where echoing hills my songs repeat,
 And silver streams in murmurs flow.

Where cuckows tell their painful love,
 Where oxen feed, and linnets sing.

Where turtles coo, in ev'ry grove,
 With warbling sounds the vallies ring.

I'll leave those beds of springing flowers,
 And hid sedice to all the quire,

To cooling springs, and shady bowers,
 Where once I us'd to tune the lyre.

Wildly I range thro' ev'ry grove,
 And beat my breast, and tear my hair;

To ev'ry oak I talk of love,

And sing the praises of my fair.

Far hence I'll find some dreary cell,
 In which, I'll mourn for evermore;

Or 'mongst the rav'nous beasts I'll dwell;
 Or plunge me where you billows roar.

F. DEVOTE.

*On a beautiful but very proud young Girl at
 CAMBRIDGE.*

ON *Dolly's* cheek the blooming rose,
 Flush'd with its freshest crimson glows
 The lily's lustre ne'er express
 The snowy beauties of her breast.
 Form her soul gentle as her eyes,
 Each youth with tender fondness dies.
 But now, tho' charming as the dawn,
 Just blushing o'er the dewy lawn,
 Who sees her's vex'd, and leaths her smiles,
 Such odious scorn each air bequies;
 —With just contempt all turns aside,
 And curse such poverty and pride.

*On the DEAN's present charitable Scheme,
 by J. L. T. C. D.*

O GENIUS of *Hibernia's* state!
 Sublimely good, severely great,
 Of wit redundant, fraught with sense,
 Prince of poetick eloquence!
 How does this latest act excel
 All you have done or wrote so well!
 Satyre may be the child of spite,
 And fame might bid the *Drapier* write;
 But to relieve, and to endow
 Creatures that know not whence or how,
 Argues a soul both good and wise,
 Resembling *Him* who rules the skies.
 He to the thoughtful mind displays
 Immortal skill, ten thousand rays;
 And to compleat his glorious task,
 Gives what we have not sense to ask.

Address'd to a LADY,

Adorable Madam,

MUST I for ever sigh, for ever mourn?
 For ever languish and for ever burn?
 And never tell the pining flame that glows
 Hot in my soul, and, murders my repose?
 Ah no! thou heav'nly charmer, long I've
 strove

To curb my passion and conceal my love;
 But all in vain, I must the flame reveal,
 That's too too fierce, too boundless to conceal.
 And sure you will forgive that furious fire,
 That none but your dear beauty could inspire;
 'Twas that, alas! and who can that resist?
 That fill'd with flaming love my glowing
 breast.

O think what wonder, admiration, love,
 That heav'nly face (all heav'nly charms) must
 move.

Who can behold the dear inspiring eyes,
 Nor fail to love a willing sacrifice?
 Wounded by them, I burn in fiercest fires,
 Dissolve in love and melt in warm desires;

Tumultuous passions in my bosom roll,
And all the pow'rs of love distract my soul.
O that I could my real flame rehearse,
And pour my soul in some prodigious verse;
Enchanting maid, you would with wonder
view

A love so fierce, so boundless and so true.
But words, alas! too weak and scanty prove,
To speak thy beauty, or to tell my love.
Ye gods, that see my passion, wait my care
To the soft bosom of the heav'nly fair;
Tell ev'ry tear, and whisper ev'ry sigh,
Tell how I love and mourn, despair and die;
Tell her I pine in an incessant fire, [expire.
That burns within my breast and never can
O gods, the pain, the anxious pain remove;
Or thou, dear goddess, deign to crown my love.
Where have I gone — my furious passion flies
A pitch that I must never hope to rise. [this?
Heav'n! what a wild, distracting thought is
Condemn'd to love, and know I mayn't possess.
Ah wretched me! I still must hopeless burn,
But may not, must not ask a kind return.
So cease my muse, so fruitless to complain,
And O that I could cease to love in vain.
Far from my breast must cheering hope remove,
And nothing leave but sad despair and love.
I'll nourish still, unknown, a hopeless flame,
And lose together with my hope my name.

Madam,

Your firm Adorer,

And eternal Lover,

Fidelio Anonymus.

To the same LADY, on her returning the foregoing.

AH! why so cruel, heav'nly maid,
And why, oh charmer, why
Do you, when lovers ardours breathe,
Reject the tear and sigh?

As you possess a heav'nly form,
You should like heav'n be kind,
And let a warm adorer's sighs
To pity melt your mind.

But oh! you'll call these tender strains
A wild poetick flight,
An empty gust, a sudden flash;
And, madam, faith, you're right.

To Mr. POPE.

By a YOUTH of Sixteen.

WHEN sounds of harmony the fancy
warm, [charm,
Fill with their force, or with their softness
Some child attentive, ('midst the list'ning
Some child attentive, ('midst the list'ning
throng,) [the song;
Hears the sweet strains, and much admires
He knows not 'tis an impulse sent from heaven,
But thinks to him, the pleasing power is given;
Bids rising notes to swell at his command,
Wake into sound, and startle from his hand;

With awkward thrumming, please the vocal
strings, [sings,
Harsh jarring grates the ear, and discord
Such is the verse my unskill'd muse in-
spires, — [sings;

Breaths forth a trembling note, and then re-
Learns from her weakness, to reverse the more
Thy strains unequal'd, thy transcending powers;
Where ev'ry science beams its aiding rays,
And shines diffusive, thro' the polish'd lays:
So smooth yet nervous, so correct yet sweet,
Polite tho' learn'd, and daring tho' discreet.

Accept, oh Pope! these praises from a
youth, [truth;
That lives 'midst falsehood, yet 's a friend to
Boasting no merit, claims the praise of none,
Honour the great, but scorns the servile fawn,
Whom would the sacred muses deign t' inspire,
No venal lay should prostitute the lyre.

JANUS, an ODE. Occasioned by the Birth
of the young Princess AUGUSTA.

WITH sprightly notes awakes the lyre!
'Till gently-thrilling accents flow;
Let harmony your strains inspire,
Bid joy in every bosom glow.

Long have I sought to bless mankind,
To grant 'em universal peace;
Peace, the fair goddess, ever kind,
The nurse of arts, and wealth's increase.

By her the ancient Grecians state
Sublime in ev'ry virtue grew;
'Till yielding to the Romans fate,
Peace to her conqu'ring eagles flew.

Britannia next, her darling isle,
The heaviest her latest presence gave;
There social graces round her smile,
And blest Saturnian times revive.

Your circling joys shall have no end,
Virtue each British breast shall warm;
See her once more to earth descend!
Drick'd in Augusta's milder form.

Dear pledge of bliss! in whom unite
All the perfections of thy race;
Beam like Augusta to our sight!
O smile with Fred'rick's genial grace!

Rise like the vernal rose, secure,
Untouch'd by fate's impartial hand;
'Till warmer gales thy sweets mature,
Then fragrant, bless thy native land.

The COMET. A new Song.

WHEN a Comet presumes
To sweep heaven's rooms,
With a toil as long as a beehive;
Astrologers show,
And mortals all know,
Some strange thing will vex, or else please 'em.
But fear not, my friends,
What this shag comet portends;

For if any wonders befall,
They will be for the best,
It must be confest,
Or no wonder can happen at all,

An EPIGRAM.

Occasioned by the Death of the late Lord Chancellor: Written before the Promotion of the present.

YOUR *Talbot* is gone,
When comes such a one?
To time, death insultingly cry'd:
Ne'er track of your gains,
While my *Philip* remains,
Old *Saturn* as briskly reply'd.

VERSES address'd to ALEXANDER WILSON, Esq; late Lord Provost of Edinburgh, on his Arrival from London.

HAIL! to thy land! hail, to thy friends
return'd! [mourn'd.
Belov'd when present, and when absent
But as when breaking thro' the veil of night,
The morn'to mortals gives the chearful light;
When you return, thus ev'ry bosom glows,
And from each heart a warm resentment flows;
See crowds on crowds with kind affections
meet,
To hail thee thro' thy own *Edina's* street.
BÛT WILSON! be those modest virtues thine,
That scorn ambition, and applause decline.
Thine be all virtue, ever calm and pure,
And bravely bear those ills you cannot cure.

SCOTICUS.

PROVERBS, Chap. vii. Ver. 6, &c.

WHEN sol in ocean sunk, and sable night
Hung o'er the streets, a giddy youth
I saw

Scouting each coast, in twilight covert wrap,
Steal to the harlot's door:—when lo, she comes!
Loose her attire, with glaring ornament
Emblazon'd round, of wanton lewd intent
Expressive; loud and turbulent her talk,
With wand'ring step unsettled, here and there;
Glooming on all, the darts contagious fire.
The youth the seiz'd enamour'd, and with
smiles,

Endearing smiles, the harlots certain bait;
Thus spake:— with me peace-offerings are;
this day [sought,

I've paid my vows, and therefore thee have
Prying each place, but haply find thee here.
My bed with rap'try splendid beauties deckt,
And linen fine, of *Agypt's* artift work
Embroider'd gay, and carvings elegant;
Perfum'd with odours, cassia sweet, and balm,
And cinnamon, *Arabia's* product rich,
Awaits my love: Far off my husband's gone
With gold rich laden, nor will yet return,
But stay his lotted time. Since thus, my dear,

Let's sojourn then ourselves, and toy away
In am'rous play the laughing hours, around
With darkness compass'd, free from human
fight.

She spake embracing, and familiar grown,
Her tongue dropp'd manna, and with accents
sweet,

Accents of love persuasive, lur'd to yield
Th' unguarded youth, who gayly rush'd along
T' eternal wee, of black's depending fate
And wrath divine unmindful. — As a bird
With wings expanded through the liquid air
Gladly pursues his flight, then sudden snaks
Into the fowler's snare —

Thus falls the unhappy youth; for ever lost.

But thou, my son, with willing ear attend
To wisdom's call; let reason be your guide;
Virtue thy law, and innocence thy love;
Lest thro' by wantons soft enticing arts
Deluded fall, where greater far have fell,
Swallow'd in death; in endless misery plung'd.

T. D.

On a SPIDER.

ARTIST, who underneath my table
Thy curious texture hast display'd;
Who, if we may believe the fable,
Wer't once a curious, blooming maid;
Insidious, restless, watchful spider,
Fear no officious damsel's broom;
Extend thy artful fabrick wider,
And spread thy banner round my room.
Swept from the rich man's costly ceiling,
Thou'rt welcome to my homely roof;
Here may'st thou find a peaceful dwelling,
And undisturb'd attend thy woof:
Whilst I thy wondrous fabrick stare at,
And think on hapless poet's fate,
Like thee confin'd to lonely garret,
And rudely banish'd rooms of state.
And as from out thy tortur'd body,
Thou draw'st thy slender string with pain;
So does he labour, like a noddy,
To spin materials from his brain.
He for some fluttering, tawdry creature,
That spreads her charms before his eye;
And that's a conquest little better
Than thine o'er gaudy butterfly.
Thus far 'tis plain we both agree:
Perhaps our deaths may plainly show it;
'Tis ten to one but penury
Ends both the spider and the poet.

The Debates in Parliament being very large for this Month, we were oblig'd to contract our Poetical Article, &c. which we doubt not but our Readers and Correspondents will excuse.

The unfavoury Pudding, and several other Pieces we have receiv'd, shall be inserted our next.

THE Monthly Chronologer.



His Majesty's most gracious Answer to the Address of the University of Oxford, was as followeth

I thank you for your Congratulation upon the Birth of a Princess. The Assurances you give me of insilling into the Youth committed to your Charge, Principles of Piety towards God, of Duty and Affection to me and my Government, and of Zeal for the Protestant Succession in my Family, cannot but be very agreeable to me, and will always entitle you to my Favour and Protection.

To that of the University of Cambridge.

I take very kindly this dutiful and loyal Address, and thank you for the Congratulation upon the Birth of a Princess. Your constant Zeal and Affection for me and my Government, you may be assur'd, will continue to you, in the fullest Extent, my Favour, Protection, and Encouragement.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's Answer to the Congratulation from the University of Oxford.

Gentlemen,

It is a great Addition to my Joy to see the Share you take in the augmenting and strengthening of the King's Family.

I return you my Thanks for the good Opinion you have of me, and shall try in all Times to deserve it by my hearty Zeal for the Good of the Publick, and by my Wishes for the Welfare of your learned Body.

FRIDAY, September 2.

About 2 a-Clock this Morning, a Fire broke out at Mr. Tranter's, the Swan Ale-house at Holborn-bridge, which consum'd the said House, and burnt some Chambers at the Swan Inn. Mrs. Tranter and the Servant-Maid peris'd in the Flames; and Mr. Tranter, his two Daughters, and the rest of the Family escap'd with the utmost Difficulty.

WEDNESDAY, 7.

His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, arriv'd in that Kingdom.

This Day a most shocking Affair happen'd in the Temple. Mr. Lewings, a Barrister at Law, aged about 70, liv'd up 3 Pair of Stairs, and with him a Maid Servant; and in an adjoining Chamber was Mr. Lewings aged about 33; a distant Relation of the old Gentleman (who had for some Time been disorder'd in his Senses.) A little before one at

Noon, he went into the old Gentleman's Chamber, seiz'd upon the Maid Servant, and cut her Throat in a horrid butcherly Manner, with a Razor, so that her Head was almost cut off, and she died immediately. The old Gentleman taking his Servant's Part, was cut quite across the Face and Nose, under his Throat, and across the Tendons of his Hand; but struggling, he got away into another Chamber, and so escaped down Stairs, and cryed Murder, which brought several People to his Assistance; but before they came, young Mr. Lewings had cut his own Throat in a terrible Manner; but not his Windpipe, and had got to the Window next to *Harro Court*, and flung out 3 Notes, one of 400*l.* and the other two of 25*l.* each; and then shewing his cut Throat, cry'd out that they were murdering him for his Money; two Porters entering the Room, and seizing him, he forced one of his Hands loose from them, and tore out his Windpipe, and then dropp'd down dead. The Coroner's Inquest brought in their Verdict on *Ursula Moore* (the Servant) *wilful Murder*, done by Mr. Lewings; and on Mr. Lewings, *Non compos mentis*. Among the Papers he flung out, was one, sign'd *Ursula*, purporting that he was not marry'd to her (*viz.* the deceas'd.) He was very much out of Order that Morning, the Landlady hearing him walk about the Room, and crying out, *he was unwell and could not bear it; that the Bailiffs and Jesuits were taking for him, &c.*

FRIDAY, 9.

The Sessions ended at the *Old-Buiy*, when seven Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz.* *John Totterdale* for the Murder of his Wife; *Richard Franklyn* and *Dorrel Small* for Burglary, *John Cotton* for a Robbery on the Highway, *William Clerk* for robbing a Person of a Silver Watch, *John Hickman* for forging a Note of Hand, and *William Jones* for stealing a Silver Watch. Col. *Fowler* was tried for the Murder of *Corporal Cliff*, and acquitted.

Two Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death at *Bristol*, one of whom was a Boy for the Murder of a Child about 20 Months old, by throwing it into the Tide.

WEDNESDAY, 21.

About 3 in the Morning, a Fire broke out at the 3 Tuns Tavern, the Corner of *Sherard-Street* near *Golden-Square*, which entirely consum'd the said House; and Mr. Kirby the Master of the House was burnt to Death.

Inscription on the Pedestal of the Statue of Sir Hans Sloane, in the Physick Garden at Chelsea.

Sir Hans Sloane, Bart.
Physician to his Majesty,
President

Of the Royal College of Physicians,
And Royal Society;

Who, that the Knowledge of Plants
Might be preserved and improved,
Gave this Ground

In the Year of our Lord 1721,
To the Company of Apothecaries, London,
To be a Physick Garden for ever.

They

Being sensible how necessary
That Branch of Science is,
To the faithful discharging the Duty
Of their Profession,
With grateful Hearts,
And general Consent,

Ordered this Statue to be erected

In the Year of our Lord 1733,
That their Successors and Posterity

May never forget
Their common Benefactor.

THURSDAY, 22.

Was held a general Court of the Bank of England, when a Dividend was agreed to of 2 3-4ths per Cent. for Interest and Profits for the half Year ending at *Michaemas* next.

The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen waited upon their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princes of Wales at *Carlton House* near *Pallmall*; when Mr. Baron *Thomson*, the Recorder, made their Compliments to the Prince, as follows.

May it please your Royal Highness,

THE Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of London, having early paid their Duty to their Royal Sovereign, and to her Majesty, upon the Birth of the Princess; if it had been convenient, they would then have humbly begg'd Leave to congratulate your Royal Highness upon so happy an Occasion. (See p. 454. 455.)

They now, by your Royal Highness's Permission, presume to express their joyful Sentiments on so fortunate an Event: Fortunate! not only as it has given your Royal Highness this your first-born Princess, but as it yields most probable Hopes of many more Descendants from such illustrious Parents, and a most agreeable Prospect to all his Majesty's Subjects, of the Continuance of those many Blessings, which they have so long enjoyed under the Influence and Protection of your Royal House.

Your Royal Highness having done the highest Honour to the City of London, by most graciously condescending to become a Member of that Body, and having on many

Occasions given evident Marks of your Royal Highness's good Will towards them;

The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen beg Leave to take this Opportunity of renewing their most grateful Acknowledgments; assuring your Royal Highness of their hearty Wishes for your Royal Highness's Welfare and Prosperity, and that they are devoted to your Royal Highness's true Interest and Service, being sincerely attached to the Protestant Succession in your Royal Highness and your Royal Family.

Then to her Royal Highness, as follows,

May it please your Royal Highness,

THE Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen humbly beg Leave to address themselves to your Royal Highness with their most hearty Congratulations upon your safe Delivery, on the Birth of the Princess, and the Re-establishment of your Health. Your Royal Issue, Madam, will ever be dear to these his Majesty's most faithful Subjects: They now entertain the pleasing Hopes, that many amiable Qualities, Graces, and Virtues, derived to the Princess from your Royal Highness, will make her in due Time an Ornament to a Throne, and a Blessing to the World. They presume to add their most ardent Wishes, that your Royal Highness may prove the glorious Instrument of Providence, by yielding a numerous Progeny, to be the Supporters of the Protestant Religion and British Liberty:

And that your Royal Highness may always find in Life, true Joy, lasting Comfort, and solid Happiness.

To which his Royal Highness made the following Answer.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

I return you my Thanks, and those of the Princess, for the Share you take in this Increase of the King's Family; and assure you, that whatsoever Children God may bless me with, I will infuse into them Sentiments agreeable to the Laws and Liberties of that Country they have the Happiness to be born in.

The City has always shown such Zeal for the King and his Family, that I think it highly incumbent upon me to assure you, that I will be in all Times an hearty Well-wisher for your Trade and Prosperity.

They all had the Honour to kiss their Royal Highnesses Hands.

WEDNESDAY, 28.

Sir George Champion, Alderman, and Thomas Ruffel, Esq; were sworn at *Guildhall* into the Office of Sheriffs of London and Middlesex for the Year ensuing; and on the 30th they were sworn in at *Westminster*.

THURSDAY, 29.

Sir John Barnard, Knight, the Alderman next the Chair, was elected Lord Mayor of London for the Year ensuing.

The Commissioners of the Excise have appointed *Tuesdays* and *Thursdays*, for trying all Offences against the Spirituous Liguor Act.

There have been this Year convicted before their Honours, 739 Persons, and fin'd 200*l.* each, for offending against that Act.

There now remain for Tryal 184 Persons, against whom Informations are lodg'd.

There have been convicted before the Justices within the Bills of Mortality 515 Persons, of whom 432 have been sent to the several *Bridewells*; and 83 have paid 10*l.* each to be excus'd from going to *Bridewell*.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

HON. *Charles Fielding*, Esq; Brother to the Earl of *Denbigh*, to the Lady *Bridges*, Relict of Sir *Brooks Bridges*, Bart.

Francis Annesley, of the Inner Temple Esq; to the Lady *Fowler*, Widow of Sir *Richard Fowler*, Bart.

Captain *Paul*, to the Lady *Ann Bentinck*, Sister to the Duke of *Portland*.

Rowland Courtenay, Esq; Member for *Truro*, *Cornwall*, to the Hon. Miss *Montagu*, Sister to the Earl of *Sandwich*.

Jacob Spang, of *Chewys*, in *Bucks*, Esq; to Miss *Collens*, of *Alton*.

Samuel Jones, of *Stepney*, Esq; to Miss *Lake*, Daughter of Sir *Bibye Lake*, Bart.

William Harris, Esq; to Miss *Allen*, Mr. *W. Shaw*, of *Symond's-Ian*, to Miss *Peters*, of *Stannore*.

Sir *William Lemon*, of *North-Hall*, Bart. to Miss *Britt*, of *Bond-Street*.

William Newport, Esq; to Miss *Lane*, *James Watson*, Esq; to the Hon. Miss *Hop*, Daughter to the Right Hon. the Earl of *Hoptoun*.

Countess of *Gainsborough* safely deliver'd of a Daughter; as was likewise the Countess of *Cromarty*.

DEATHS.

IN *Scotland*, Rt. Hon. *James Earl of Hyndford*, Brig. Gen. of the Forces, and a Commissioner of Police.

Capt. *Chalmersley*, of the 2d Reg. of Foot Guards.

In *Dorsetshire*, Sir *John Davis*, Bart. Rev. Mr. *Whitburn*, Prebendary of *Exeter*.

Lyddell, Esq; only Son of Sir *Harry Lyddell*, Bart.

Mrs. *Spencer*, Necessary Woman to his Majesty, who enjoy'd that Place 50 Years.

Mr. *Benjamin Tomlinson*, Clerk of Old Spanish-Hall in *Blackwell Hall*, and many Years Deputy of *Castle-Baynard Ward*.

Counsellor *Butler*, at his Chambers in the Temple.

John Whetbam, Esq; one of the Commissioners of Excise.

Rev. Dr. *Wm. Bridge*, Senior Fellow of St. *John Baptist College* in *Oxford*.

Lady *Hill*, Relict of Sir *Roger Hill*, Bart. aged 92.

Joseph Sears, Esq; Lieutenant Governor of

In *Bloombury-Square*, the Lady *Talbot*.—

Mr. *Jeremiah Bailey*, Bookseller in *Pater-noster-Row*.—Mr. *James Greenwood*, Surveyor-Master of St. *Paul's School*.—*Edw. Warren*, Esq; at his Seat of *Poynton*, *Cheshire*.—Col. *John Bishop*, formerly Governor of *Gillingham Castle*.—Col. *James Allen*, at *Richmond*.

—Col. *Henry Hatton*.—Mr. *Benjamin Sprunt*, one of the Governors of St. *Thomas's Hospital*, formerly a Bookseller in *Little Britain*.

—Rev. Mr. *John Honeywood*, Vicar of *Peabam*, near *Canterbury*.—At *Kirby*, *Yorkshire*, Col. *Wilman* in the 97th Year of his Age.

—*William Chaplin Owen*, Esq;—Mr. *Theophilus Ridout*, an eminent Surgeon. — In the Minorities, Mr. *Towars*, reputed worth 10,000*l.*

—Of an *Asthma*, at *Bologna* in *France* (whither he had lately retired for his Health) Mr. *Nathaniel Misp*, Printer, very well known for the Weekly Paper published under his Name, afterwards called *Fog's Journal*.—

William Farrier, Esq; who served his Country in Parliament during the 3 last Reigns, and was well known from his being Chairman many Years of the Committee for *Ways and Means*.—At *Penhurst*, in *Kent*, the Rt. Hon. *John Earl of Leicester*, Constable of the Tower, Knight of the Bath, and Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum for the County of *Kent*.

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PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

Brigadier General *Scott* made Col. of the Reg. of Foot, lately commanded by Lieut. Gen. *Sutton*, decess'd.—Major *Legg*, Lieut. Col. of the 3d Reg. of Foot Guards, in his room.—Col. *Creamer*, first Major; and Col. *Skelton*, second Major of the said Regiment.—Lieut. *John Dillon* made Capt. of a Comp. in the Royal Scotch Fusiliers.—Lord *Delaware* made Col. and Capt. of the first Troop of Life Guards.—Duke of *Montagu* appointed Capt. of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.—Earl of *Bute* succeeds the late Earl of *Hynford*, as Commissioner of Police for *Scotland*.—Capt. *Tudor Trevor* succeeds the late *Joseph Soans*, Esq; as Lieut. Governor of *Greenwich Hospital*.—Capt. *Smith* made first Captain in Mr. *Trevor's* room; and, Capt. *Mann* second Capt. in the room of Capt. *Smith*.—Capt. *George Wilson* appointed Capt. in the Royal Reg. of Horse-Guards, Blue.—Col. *John Carter*, Capt. of an independent Company in *South Carolina*.—Lieut. *George Shingsby*, Capt. in General *Evan's* Reg. of Horse.—*Alured Popple*, Esq; made Governor of *Bermudas*.—*Tbo. Palbam*, jun. Esq; Secretary to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in his room.—*William Walmesley*, Esq; made Pay-Master of the Lotteries, in the room of the late *Thomas Spence*, Esq;—Mr. *Delany*, Clerk of the Green-Cloth, in the room of *Herbert Price*, Esq; decess'd.—*Robert Sutton*, Esq; made Deputy-Ranger of *Sherwood Forest*, in the room of his late Father, Lieut. Gen. *Sutton*.—Brig. Gen. *Neville* promoted to the Command of the Reg. of Dragoons, lately commanded by Sir *Adolphus Ougbren*, Bart.—

George Noale, Esq; made Captain in the Reg. of Foot commanded by Lieut. Gen. *Sutton*, decess'd.—*John Thomas*, Esq; made Captain of a Company in Brig. Gen. *Columbian's* Reg. of Foot.—Major Gen. *Tyrrel*, made Governor of *New York*, in the room of Lord *Delaware*, who resign'd.—Reverend Mr. *Charles chole* Sur-Master of *St. Paul's School*, in the room of Mr. *Greenwood*, decess'd.—Hon. *Charles Fane*, Esq; Member of Parl. for *Tewkesbury*, and his Majesty's Minister to the Court of *Florence*, appointed Ambassador to the Court of *Turin*, in the room of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Essex*.—Rt. Hon. *William Anne* Earl of *Albmarle*, made Governor of *Virginia*, in the room of *George Earl of Orkney*, decess'd.—Rt. Hon. *Abercromby* Earl of *Hertford*, made Governor of *Mimrica*, in the room of Brigadier General *Kane*, decess'd.—The Marquis de *Montandre*, made Governor of *Guernsey*, in the room of Lieut. General *Sutton*, decess'd.

Persons declared BANKRUPTS.

TH. *Newman*, of *Emsworth*, *Hants*, Shopkeeper and Chapman.—*Poynter Copping*, of *Norwich*, Worsted Weaver.—*Rob. Tinker*, of *Durham*, Merchant.—*Wm. Hannay*, of *Durby*, Chapman.—*Wm. Palmer*, of *Norwich*, Worsted Weaver and Chapman.—*Abdias Hall*, of *Choberton*, *Cambridgehire*, Maltster.—*Wm. Newland* and *William Clack*, of *Deptsford*, *Kent*, Distillers.—*Hewy Udall*, of *Fleet-street*, Victualler.—*Richard Gibbons*, of *St. George*, *Bloomsbury*, Carpenter and Chapman.—*Mary Stams*, of *Colchester*, *Essex*, Innholder and Vintner.—*Joseph Bayly*, of *Hoxton*, Merchant.—*Rich. Mitchell*, of *Covent-Garden*, Vintner.—*John Ashley*, Esq; of *London*, Merchant.

S T O C K S.

S. Sea nothing	<i>Afric</i> 14
—Bonds 4 15	<i>Royal Aff.</i> 109 $\frac{1}{2}$
—Annu. nothing	<i>Lon. ditto</i> 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ a 15
Bank 145 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 per C. An. 106 $\frac{1}{2}$
—Circ. 10s.	<i>Eng. Copper</i>
<i>Mil. Bank</i> 123 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Salt Palties</i> 1 a 5
<i>India</i> 176 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Emp. Loan</i> 113 $\frac{1}{2}$ a 14
—Bonds 6 16 a 15s.	<i>Equiv.</i> 112

The Course of EXCHANGE.

<i>Amst.</i> 35 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ a 34 11	<i>Bilboa</i> 40
<i>D. Sights</i> 34 9 a 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Leghorn</i> 49 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Rotter.</i> 35 a 1	<i>Genoa</i> 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Hamb.</i> 33 11 a 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Venice</i> 50 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>R. Sights</i> 32 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Lisb.</i> 5s 5d $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Bourdx.</i> 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>Oport.</i> 5s 5d $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Cadiz</i> 39 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Antw.</i> 35
<i>Madrid</i> 40 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Dublin</i> 9 a 8 $\frac{1}{2}$

Prices of Goods at Bear-Ky.

<i>Wheat</i> 28 34	<i>Oats</i> 10 13 6
<i>Rye</i> 12 18	<i>Tares</i> 22 24

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Aug. 23. to Sept. 27.

Christned	{ Males 852 } { Females 803 }	1655
Buried	{ Males 1885 } { Females 1914 }	3799
Died under 2 Years old		1406
Between 2 and 5		359
	5	10 143
	10	20 128
	20	30 316
	30	40 349
	40	50 338
	50	60 291
	60	70 235
	70	80 132
	80	90 86
	90 and upwards	16

AS we have with great Pains and Industry preserved the Peace and Tranquillity of Europe for many Years past, our Neighbours have all taken Advantage of the Favour we have done them, to improve their Trade, and to rival us in every one of our Manufactures. Among the rest, the King of Denmark has lately set up a Manufacture of Silks, *Woolen Cloth*, and of Silks and Worsted Stockings; for the Incouragement of which, he has lately made a Regulation which even we ourselves ought to imitate: He has by an Edict published the 15th of August last directed, that all such as receive any Salaries or Pensions from the Court, either Civil or Military, shall be obliged to contribute 10 *per Cent. per Annum*, out of their Pay or Salary, for the better Support of the Manufactures: Provided, nevertheless, that in a Year and a Half these Manufactures shall restore to each Person the Value of the Money paid in to the same, either in *Woolen Cloth*, *Woolen Stuffs*, Silks, Stockings, or other Things manufactured in that Country, according to every one's Fancy or Choice. And even all his Majesty's other Subjects, who are vested with any Dignity or Character, tho' they have no Salary or Pension, are to be obliged in like Manner to advance something for the Support and Incouragement of these Manufactures, in Proportion to each Person's Substance, and on the Conditions before-mentioned. Now as this Nation stands obliged at present to pay a Subsidy of near 60,000*l. per Annum* to his Danish Majesty, we may from thence reckon, that, according to this new Regulation, we contribute near 6000*l.* a Year to the Support and Incouragement of the Danish Silk and *Woolen Manufactures*.

Since our last we have received the following particular Account of the taking of *Orskow* by the *Russians*. That on the 13th of July, the Day on which the Place was taken by Assault, the *Muscovites* having perceived that the *Spaniards* of the Garrison had put their Horses in a Place between the City and the *Black Sea*, a strong Detachment of *Hussars* and *Cossacks* were ordered to attack that Part of the *Turkish* Intrenchments, in order to seize the Horses: Upon this the *Turks* sallied out of the Town in great Numbers, but were so warmly received by the *Hussars* and *Cossacks*, that they soon began to retire in Confusion; and Lieutenant General *Koib*, who then commanded 2000 Men in that Part of the *Muscovite* Trenches, observing the Confusion among the *Turks*, detached 1000 of his Men to assist the *Cossacks* in pursuing their Advantage, which increased the Confusion among the *Turks*; whereupon General *Koib* rightly judged that the Consternation the Garrison was then in was an Opportunity not to be lost; therefore he advanced with

itself, with such Vigour, that the *regular Troops*, *Hussars*, and *Cossacks*, not only entered the City, Sword in Hand, but cut off the Communication between the City and the *Turkish Gallies* which were then in the Road; to the Number of 18; so that the *Turkish Seraglio*, *Baharow*, and other chief Officers who commanded in the Place, were taken Prisoners as they were endeavouring to make their Escape on board the Gallies. Lieutenant General *Koib* received several Wounds in this Attack, but is since, we hear, pretty well recovered. He is Brother to the late *Earl Marshal of Scotland*, attainted for being in the Rebellion in 1715, who is now a General in *Spain*. Since the taking of this Place the *Muscovite Army* under Count *Munich* has undertaken nothing of any great Consequence, and are now encamped on the North Side of the River *Boz*, between *Orskow* and *Bender*, on a large Moor called *Borbasz*.

The *Muscovite Army* under Count *Lacy* has retired from the *Crim*, and repossessed the Sea by their Bridge of Boats, after having plundered and reduced to Ashes above 1000 Cities, Towns and Villages, without being able to bring the *Tartars* to a Battle, who continued in their strong Lines near *Precep*, notwithstanding the *Cham's* having there 70,000 *Tartars*, and 20,000 *Turkish Troops* under his Command.

Nothing very remarkable has happened since our last in any of the *German Armies*; Count *Seckendorff* being now upon his March with the grand Army towards *Bosnia*.

On the 27th of July the *Imperial, Muscovite* and *Turkish Plenipotentiaries* at *Nimirog* in *Poland*, opened the Congress for a Treaty of Peace: The *Turks* insist upon a Suspension of Arms before they begin to treat; the *Germans* and *Muscovites* insist that an *Ultimatum* shall be the Basis of the Treaty, and the *Muscovites* in particular insist that the *Turks* shall agree to the Surrender of *Anoff* previous to their entering into any Treaty; so that the Conference are at present at a Stand, till the Plenipotentiaries receive new Powers from their several Constitutions with regard to their respective Demands.

The Magistrates of *Genoa* having lately solicited the Affections of the People, by keeping up a larger standing Army, or Garrison, as they call it, than that little Republick had any occasion for, and several other Measures which were generally thought oppressive, the People at last made an Insurrection, and have turned out all their Magistrates and taken the Government of the City into their own Hands; upon which the old Magistrates, and many of their Friends and Relations have retired from the City with their best Effects.

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T H E

LONDON MAGAZINE.

OCTOBER, 1737.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *last* Session of PARLIAMENT, continued from Page 497.



THE Speakers in the Debate relating to the Army, which we gave in our last, were chiefly as follows, *viz.* Sir R—t W—le, Sir W—m A

T—gt, the Right Hon. H—y P—m, Esq; &c. for the Motion; and W—m P—y, Esq; Sir J—n B—d, S—l S—ys, T—s L—s, Esqrs; &c. against the Motion.

The next remarkable Affair that happened in the Committee of Supply was, when the Motion was made in the said Committee for resolving to grant 28,707*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* for *Chelsea* Hospital, (see p. 468.) Several Gentlemen upon that Occasion took Notice of the great Charge that Hospital was like to bring upon the Publick. They said they would not oppose the Motion then made; but they could not neglect that Opportunity of taking Notice, that notwithstanding its being a Time of Peace, the Charge of that Hospital seemed to be every Year increasing; for that last Year the Sum provided by Parliament for that Article was

but 24,518*l.* 10*s.* and the preceding Year it was but 18,850*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* so that the Sum then demanded was very near 10,000*l.* more than was found necessary for the same Service but *two* Years before. They would not, they said, pretend to suggest what were the particular Reasons for that great Increase; but there was one general Reason which would always hold, while we kept up such a large Number of regular Forces, and observed the same Rules with

B respect to admitting Persons into that Hospital. In Time of War there had been two Rules established for intitling Soldiers to the Benefit of that Hospital; one of which was, a Soldier's being wounded or maimed in the Service, and discharged by his Colonel, as unfit for further Service; and the other was, a Soldier's having been *twenty* Years in the Service; and reduced, or discharged by his Colonel, as an old and decrepid Soldier. While the War continued, no Man could claim a Title to the Hospital by either of these Rules, unless he was by his Age, or his Wounds, become actually unfit for Service; because, as Recruits were then hard to be got; no Colonel would discharge

charge a Soldier, as long as he was any Way fit for Service; and there were but very few who could ever claim the Benefit of the last Rule; because most of them were either killed or wounded before they could be discharged as a Soldier grown decrepid with Age: Whereas, now in Time of Peace, we had not, it was true, many Soldiers who could claim any Title from the first Rule; but the Numbers of those who might claim a Title from the Second would be increasing every Day; for as Recruits were now easily procured, the Officers were very apt to discharge an old Soldier, as often as they could find a clever, well-look'd young Fellow ready to list in his Stead, tho' the old Soldier might then be as fit for real Service, but not perhaps so proper for a Review, as the Man newly listed; and as none of our Soldiers were in Time of Peace in any great Danger of being killed, almost every Soldier in our Army would at last come to have a Title, by his having been *seventy* Years in the Service, to claim the Benefit of being admitted into *Chelsea* Hospital; and that at an Age perhaps when he might not only be fit for Service, but fit for gaining his Livelihood by any industrious Employment; for if a young Fellow listed when but *eighteen* Years of Age; at his Age of *eight and thirty*, if he could obtain a Discharge from his Officer, he would have a Title to claim being admitted into *Chelsea* Hospital; and by Means of a long Beard, a ragged Coat, and good Interest at the Board, he might even at that Age be admitted to a Share of that Charity, which was designed only for the Disabled and Decrepid. From hence they could not but suppose, that a peaceable Army would always furnish *Chelsea* with more Pensioners than a fighting Army of the same Number could be supposed to do; and the Pensioners drawn

from the former would live longer to enjoy their Pension, and to be a Burden upon their Country, than the Pensioners drawn from the latter.

These Things, they said, they took Notice of, not with any Design to oppose the Motion, but only to shew the many Disadvantages that attended the keeping up of a numerous Standing Army in Time of Peace; and at the same Time they hoped it would contribute towards making those concerned as careful as possible, not to admit any to the Benefit of that Hospital, but such as were truly Objects of Charity, and deserved to be supported at the Expence of their Country.

To this it was answered, That tho' the Nation, by Means of the wise Measures pursued by his Majesty and his Royal Predecessor, had been so fortunate as to remain for many Years in a State of Peace and Tranquillity, tho' that happy State should continue for many Years to come, yet it had always been, and they believed, would always be deemed necessary to keep up some regular Troops; and while they kept up any such Troops, it would be necessary to grant a Subsistence or Relief to those Soldiers who should grow old and decrepid in the Service; for a poor Man had no other Way to provide for the Infirmities of old Age, but by the Industry and Frugality of his Youth; and if a poor Man should in his Youth forsake every Sort of Business by which he might provide for the Infirmities of old Age, in order to make himself fit for serving his Country as a Soldier, and in order to be ready upon all Emergencies to venture his Life in the Cause of his Country, such a Man, tho' he partook of the Happiness of his Country, and passed thro' Life without Danger, yet he deserved as much to be provided for by his Country in his old Age,

as if he had been during his whole Life involved with his Country in Bloodshed and Danger; and in the former Case he would more probably stand in Need of it than in the latter; because in Time of Peace, a Soldier had nothing but his bare Pay, out of which it could not be supposed he could save any Thing as a Provision for old Age; whereas in Time of War, Soldiers were often allowed to plunder, and sometimes enriched themselves by the Spoils of their Enemies.

For this Reason, if the Pensioners in *Chelsea* College should become a little more numerous in Time of Peace than in Time of War, it was a Disadvantage which could not be prevented, but it was a Disadvantage that was sufficiently compensated by the many Advantages the Nation reaped from a State of Peace and Tranquillity; and the maintaining a sufficient Number of regular Troops had contributed, and would always contribute towards securing and prolonging the Enjoyment of those Advantages. However, they said, they could not admit that any Officer would be very apt to discharge a Soldier, as long as he was every Way fit, and properly qualified for the Service; because the Breeding of a young Fellow up to Discipline, and making him thorough Master of his Exercises, was always a great Trouble to the Officer; and if the Officer should discharge such a Man, the Board were not obliged to admit him to the Benefit of *Chelsea* Hospital, even though he had been twenty Years in the Service, unless he was some Way disabled, or grown very old and decrepid; at least if any such Man was admitted, he was immediately sent to the Regiment, or to some of the Companies, of Invalids, and by that Means was made to serve for that Subsistence which he received from his Country, as long as any Service could be expected

from him; so that they believed, there were few or no Soldiers upon the Establishment of *Chelsea* Hospital, but such as were real Objects of Charity; and they were very sure the Commissioners of that Board had been of late as careful as possible not to admit any Man upon that Establishment who was not every way intitled to the Benefit, as would fully appear if any Enquiry should be made into that Affair; and then the particular Reasons for the late Increase of the Charge of that Hospital would not only be made to appear, but would, they were convinced, be approved of by every Gentleman in that House.

This was the Substance of what was said of each Side upon this Occasion; after which the Question was put upon the Motion, and agreed to without a Division.

The next Affair upon which there was any considerable Debate in the Committee of Supply, was on *Wednesday* the 9th, and *Friday* the 11th of *March*, when the Motion was made for granting a *Million* to his Majesty, towards redeeming the like Sum of the increased Capital of the *South Sea* Company, commonly called *Old South Sea* Annuities, (see p. 468) But as this was a Sort of Resolution which had never before been moved for, or agreed to, in any Committee of Supply, we shall give our Readers an Account, how the Method of Proceeding came to be altered *last Session*, with respect to the paying off the National Debt, and the Application of the Sinking Fund for that Purpose.

As soon as the House had upon the said *March* 9th, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the Supply granted to his Majesty, Mr. C—r of the B—r stood up, and spoke of the following Effect, viz.

Sir, I have a Proposition to make

to the House, which I think will tend to the Advantage of the Publick, and against which there cannot, in my Opinion, be any Objection made, therefore I hope it will be agreed to without Opposition; but in order to make Gentlemen thoroughly comprehend the Advantage of what I am to propose, I must beg Leave to explain a little the present Circumstances of the Sinking Fund, and the Method hitherto observed with respect to the disposing of the Produce of that Fund.

We all know, Sir, that the whole Produce of the Sinking Fund must be regularly, as it arises, deposited in his Majesty's *Exchequer*, and there wait the future Disposition of Parliament, so that no Part of it can be applied to any Use but that to which it has been appropriated by some preceding Session; and the Method this House has generally taken for disposing of that Fund, has been, To resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the Application of the growing Produce of the Sinking Fund. This has always been the Method we have hitherto taken for applying that Fund towards paying off any Part of the National Debt; and as we seldom or never pay off under a *Million* at a Time, there is generally 5 or 600,000*l.* Part of the Produce of that Fund, which lies for several Months quite dead and useless in his Majesty's *Exchequer*; which we must look on as a great Disadvantage to the Publick, especially when we consider that the Government is during that Time obliged to borrow Money at Interest for answering the current Service of the Year.

This, Sir, has been the Case for several Years past, and must always be the Case for every Year to come, if the Proposition I am to make, or something like it, be not agreed to; for it is well known the Funds provided by Parliament for the current

Service of the Year do not immediately produce such Sums as are necessary for answering the Charges of the Government, and therefore his Majesty is every Year empowered to borrow Money for that Purpose upon the Credit of some of the Funds granted by Parliament for the current Service of that Year; for which he is obliged to pay an Interest of at least 3 *per Cent.* which is an annual Charge of 10, 15, or perhaps above 20,000*l.* a Year to the Publick, and a Charge which might, I think, be prevented, by enabling his Majesty to make use of the Produce of the Sinking Fund then lying dead in the *Exchequer*; and whatever Sums might be found necessary to be taken from the Sinking Fund for answering the immediate Service, might be replaced by the Produce of the annual Funds, before *Michaelmas*, the Time when the Produce of the Sinking Fund is generally to be issued by Direction of Parliament for paying off a Part of the National Debt; or if the Whole should not be replaced before that Time, a small Sum might then, and not till then, be borrow'd for making good the Deficiency; so that the Government would never be obliged to borrow so large a Sum, or for so long a Time, as they generally are, according to the present Method.

For Example, Sir, the Produce of the Sinking Fund is generally computed from *Michaelmas* to *Lady-Day*, and from *Lady-Day* to *Michaelmas*; and it is to be supposed this House will, in the present Session, order the Sum of *one Million*, being the growing Produce of that Fund from *Michaelmas* last till *Michaelmas* next, to be applied to the Paying off so much of the National Debt: This Payment cannot be made before *Michaelmas* next, and as the Produce of that Fund will bring into his Majesty's *Exchequer* by *Lady-Day* next, or soon after, 5 or 600,000*l.* that whole

whole Sum must, according to our former Method of ordering the Application of that Fund, lie dead in the *Exchequer*, without its being in the Power of the Publick, or the Government, to reap any Benefit from it; and in the mean time, as the Produce of the annual Funds cannot answer the immediate Occasions of the Government, his Majesty may probably be obliged at *Lady-Day* next, or soon after, to borrow 5 or 600,000*l.* at an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* upon the Credit, I shall suppose, of the *Malt Tax*, in order to answer those Demands which may occur before the Produce of that Tax can come in to satisfy them: Now if his Majesty were impowered to make use of the Produce of the Sinking Fund in the mean time, it would prevent his being under a Necessity of borrowing any Money at *Lady-Day* next, and whatever should be found necessary to be taken in the mean time from the Sinking Fund, might be replaced by the Produce of the *Malt Tax*, or some of the other Funds provided for the current Service of this next ensuing Year, before *Michaelmas* next, which is the soonest any Payment can be directed to be made out of the Produce of that Fund; or if the Whole should not then happen to be replaced, a small Sum might be then borrowed for a short Term, in order to make good the Deficiency, and to make that Payment to the publick Creditors, which, I suppose, will by this Session be directed to be made at *Michaelmas* next.

I hope, Sir, I have explained myself so as to be understood by every Gentleman that hears me, and if the House thinks fit to agree to what I propose, the proper Method of doing it will, in my Opinion, be, To come to a Resolution in this Committee, to grant his Majesty a *Million* towards redeeming the like Sum of some of the publick Debts; and then

when we take this Affair into our Consideration in the Committee of Ways and Means, we may resolve, That towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, there be issued and applied the Sum of *one Million* out of such Monies as have arisen, or shall or may arise of the Surplusses, Excesses, or overplus Monies, commonly called the Sinking Fund. This, Sir, I take to be the proper Method of carrying what I have proposed into Execution, and, if I find the House approves of it, I shall take the Liberty to rise up again, and make you such a Motion as, I think, ought to be agreed to in the Committee we are now in.

As this new Method of ordering the Application of the Sinking Fund was generally approved of, the same Gentleman stood up on the 11th, when the House had again resolved itself into the said Committee, and after a short Speech, moved, to resolve, That the Sum of *one Million* should be granted to his Majesty, towards redeeming the like Sum of the increased Capital of the *South-Sea Company*, as was then commonly called *Old South-Sea Annuities*.

But as many Gentlemen were of Opinion the said *Million* ought not to be applied towards redeeming any Part of the *South-Sea* Capital, but towards redeeming a Part of the *Bank* Capital, there ensued a long Debate, in which the Arguments for the Motion were to the Effect as followeth, *viz.*

Sir, As the Sinking Fund is one of the most useful Funds that ever was established in this Kingdom, as it is the only Fund from which we can expect a Diminution of our Taxes, and an Ease to ourselves or our Posterity, and as the Disposition of that Fund is left intirely to the Wisdom of Parliament, we ought to be extremely careful of applying it yearly to that Purpose from which the great-

est Benefit may redound to our native Country; and when we happen to be in Circumstances so lucky as to be able to apply the whole Produce towards discharging so much of the National Debt, the only two Questions that can fall under our Consideration, are, What Part of the publick Debts are most grievous to the Nation in general and, What Part may be paid off with the greatest Ease to those who are the Creditors of the Publick? The first Question deserves, and will certainly meet with our greatest Regard; but if it should appear, that the Interest of the Publick is no Way concerned, which Part of the National Debt shall be first paid off, the second Question will then deserve our Attention; because the greater Regard we shew to the Creditors of the Publick, the more we shall establish the publick Credit; and the more the Credit of the Nation is established, the more easy will it be for us to reduce the Interest now payable upon our publick Funds.

If there were any of our publick Debts that bore an Interest higher than the rest; that Debt would certainly be the most grievous to the Nation, and, consequently, ought to be the first to be paid off; but as the whole Debt of the Nation is now reduced to *4 per Cent.* or under, except about 1,600,000*l.* due to the Bank, which bears an Interest of *6 per Cent.* and which cannot be redeemed till their Term be expired; therefore, the Rate of Interest can be of no Weight in the present Question. With Regard to the Interest of the Publick, I can think of but three other Motives that can induce us to pay off any one of the publick Debts, or a Part of any one of the publick Debts, rather than a Part of any other: The first I shall take Notice of is, the Amount of the Sum due; for where several Debts are due to several different Persons, natural or political, that Debt which is the

largest is certainly the most grievous, and ought first to be paid off, or at least diminished so as to bring it upon a Par with others. The next Motive may be drawn from the Taxes which are mortgaged for paying the Interest; for those Creditors to whom the most burdensome Taxes are mortgaged, ought to be first paid off, in order that we may have it the sooner in our Power to free the Nation from those Taxes: And the third Motive depends upon the Nature of those Companies or Corporations, to whom our present Debts are owing; for a Company that is engaged in Trade, and is enabled to extend their Trade further than they could otherways do, by Means of that Interest which is payable to them from the Government, deserve better to have that Interest continued to them, than a Company, or Set of Men, who carry on no Trade, or whose Trade can receive no Increase, by means of the Debt due to them by the Publick; and, therefore, no Part of the Debt due to the former ought to be paid off, as long as there is any Thing due from the Publick to the latter.

Now, Sir, with respect to every one of these Motives, I think, they militate strongly in favour of the Motion now made to you. The Debt due to the *South Sea Company* is vastly larger than the Debt due to any other Company in the Kingdom, and, therefore, not only according to the Rules of Proportion, but according to that Rule which will always, I hope, be the chief Director of our Resolutions, I mean the Interest of the Nation in general, whatever Payments we are able to make ought to be generally applied towards diminishing the Debt due to that Company: Then as to the Taxes mortgaged for the Payment of our publick Debts, those which are mortgaged to the *South-Sea Company* are the most burdensome, as will appear to any Gentleman who examines into that Affair;

fair; and of the three great Companies who are the chief Creditors of the Publick, it must be granted, the *South Sea* Company carries on the least Trade, and is the least capable of extending their Trade, by means of that Interest or Annuity which is due to them from the Publick. Thus in every Light we can put it, if we have a proper Regard for the Interest of the Nation in general, we must conclude, that we ought to apply the Produce of the Sinking Fund towards paying off a Part of the Debt due to the *South-Sea* Company, rather than any other; and as the Debt due to them is now divided into three different Parts, I think, the next Payment ought to be applied to that Part now called *Old South-Sea* Annuities; because the Annuities ought to be all paid off, before we pay off any Part of their Trading Stock; and as the last Payment was made to the *New South Sea* Annuities, the next ought to be made to the *Old*.

But suppose, Sir, that the Interest of the Nation in general is no Way concerned, which Part of the publick Debt shall be first paid off; in that Case we ought to shew a Regard to the Ease and Advantage of the several publick Creditors, by making the next Payment to those who will suffer the least by such Payment's being made to them. It is now the good Fortune of this Nation to have its Credit so well established, that all our publick Funds sell at an advanced Price; so that it is a Disadvantage and Loss to every one of the publick Creditors to have any Part of the Debt due to him paid off; therefore, if the Interest of the Nation be quite unconcerned, we ought to direct the Payments, to be made to those who will suffer the least by having a Part of their Capital paid off; and of all the publick Creditors, the Proprietors of the *South-Sea* Annuities are certainly those that will suffer the least; because as there is a much larger Sum

due to them than to any other Set of publick Creditors, the Loss cannot fall so heavy upon each particular Person; and as the Fund they are in Possession of does not sell at a Price near so high as either the *Bank* or the *East-India* Stock, consequently the Proprietors of *South-Sea* Annuities cannot be such Losers as the Proprietors of *Bank* or *East-India* would be, in case the next Payment were directed to be made to either of them; for a Proprietor of *South-Sea* Annuities can lose but 12 or 13 *l.* by having 100 *l.* of his Capital paid off; whereas a Proprietor of *Bank* Stock would lose above 50 *l.* and a Proprietor of *East-India* Stock would lose near 80 *l.* by having 100 *l.* of his Capital paid off. From hence, Sir, it must appear, that if we have any Regard to the Creditors of the Publick, we must order the growing Produce of the Sinking Fund for this current Year to be applied to the paying off so much of the *South-Sea* Debt; and, therefore, I must conclude, that in Justice to the publick Creditors, as well as in Justice to the Nation, the Motion now made ought to be agreed to.

The Answer to this, and the Arguments made use of for shewing the Reasonableness of making the next Payment to the *Bank*, were in Substance thus, *viz.*

Sir, As to the Usefulness of the Sinking Fund, and the Advantages the Nation may reap from it, I entirely agree with the Hon. Gentleman who made you the Motion: I think it is one of the most useful Funds that was ever established in this Kingdom, I know it is the only Fund by which we or our Posterity can expect to get free from any of those Taxes which now lie so heavy upon our Trade in general, and upon our poor Labourers and Manufacturers in particular; but I cannot agree with that Hon. Gentleman in Opinion, That the Disposition of the

the Sinking Fund is left entirely to the Wisdom of Parliament. The contrary is, in my Opinion, evident from the very Words of those Acts of Parliament by which that Fund was established; for by them it is expressly appropriated to the paying off such of the publick Debts and Incumbrances as were incurred before the 25th of *December*, 1716, so that the only Disposition left entirely to the Wisdom of Parliament is, with respect to the Manner and Method of paying off those Debts: The Parliament may direct what Sum shall be paid off at any one Time, and at what Time such Payment shall be made; or it may direct which of those Debts any future Payment shall be applied to; but by the original Institution of that Fund, it was certainly designed not to leave it in the Power of Parliament to apply that sacred Fund to any other Purpose than that of paying off the National Debt contracted before the 25th of *December*, 1716; at least so far as any one Parliament can limit or restrain the Power of all future Parliaments. How far, or in what Case, any future Parliament may or ought to break thro' that Restraint, is a Question which, I hope, we shall have no Occasion to discuss in this Session: I am glad to find we have no such Intention at present; for the only Question now before us is, Which of the publick Debts contracted before the 25th of *December*, 1716, the next Payment ought to be applied to? And in considering that Question, I hope I shall be able to make it appear, that, if we regard the publick Good, and that impartial Justice which is due to all the publick Creditors, the next Payment ought not to be applied to the *South-Sea* Stock, or Annuities.

With respect to the publick Good, or the Interest of the Nation in general, it has been granted, Sir, that if any of our Debts bore a higher

Rate of Interest than the rest, that Debt would certainly be the most grievous to the Nation, and consequently ought to be the first paid off; and at the same Time it has been granted, that there is a Debt of 1,600,000*l.* due to the *Bank*, which bears an Interest of 6 *per Cent.* Is it not then evident that this Debt of 1,600,000*l.* ought to be the first to be paid off? But we are told, this Debt cannot be redeemed till the Expiration of their Term. I know it cannot; and I likewise know, we cannot come at the Redemption of this Mortgage, till after we have paid off the whole of the other Debts due to the *Bank*. Is not this a strong Reason, Sir, for our paying off as fast as possible all the other Debts due to the *Bank*, in order to come at the Redemption of this Mortgage of 1,600,000*l.* which is now the heaviest Mortgage this Nation groans under? And what still adds to the Weight of this Argument is, that by the Time we have paid off the other Debts due to the *Bank*, and for which they have only an Interest of 4 *per Cent.* their Term will be expired, so that we can then redeem this heavy Mortgage without further Delay; whereas, if we do not now begin to pay off the other Debts due to the *Bank*, we cannot, even when their Term is expired, have it in our Power to redeem this Mortgage, because, by Agreement, we cannot redeem it till we have paid off all the other Sums due by the Publick to that Company. Therefore, if we have any Regard to the publick Good, we ought to apply every future Payment to the *Bank* till they are entirely paid off, or at least till they agree to take 4 *per Cent.* for this 1,600,000*l.* as well as for the rest of their Fund, which would be a Saving of 32,000*l.* *per Annum* to the Publick, and a Saving that would greatly contribute towards enabling us to reduce all our publick Debts to 3 *per Cent.* Interest.

Now, Sir, with respect to the other Motives mentioned by the honourable Gentleman, for inducing us to pay off a Part of one Debt rather than a Part of any other, I shall readily admit, that it is more grievous to owe a large Debt than to owe a small Sum; but I cannot admit that, therefore, of two or more Debts the largest ought to be first paid off; or at least diminished, so as to bring it upon a Par with others; for in private Life it is always reckoned better for a Man to owe a large Sum to one Person, than to owe a Sum of equal Value to a great Number of different Persons; and for this Reason we often find Gentlemen of Estates borrowing a large Sum of Money from one Person, in order to pay off a great Number of small Creditors, tho' they seldom or never have or can obtain that Advantage which the Publick at present enjoys, of making partial Payments to that large Creditor. If a private Man owed 1000*l.* to one Man, and 4 or 5000*l.* to Ten or a Dozen different Persons, tho' he had a Privilege of making partial Payments to his large Creditor; yet, if he could save 500 or 1000*l.* a Year out of his Estate, he would certainly apply that Saving towards discharging his small Debts, rather than towards discharging yearly a Part of the large Debt. In like Manner with Regard to the Publick, it was formerly reckoned better to owe a large Sum to the *South Sea* Company, than to owe the same Sum to a great Number of private Persons; which was one Reason, among others, for inducing the Legislature to grant them a Power to take in by Purchase or Subscription, or pay off all the irredeemable and redeemable Debts then due by the Publick to a great Multitude of private Persons. This, I say, was then deemed to be a Benefit to the Publick; and will certainly appear to be such, as often as the Publick has any Pro-

position to make to its Creditors; so that the Largeness of the *South-Sea* Debt, in Comparison with the Debt due to any other Company, should rather be an Argument for making no partial Payments to them till all the other smaller Debts be first paid off.

But, Sir, there is another Advantage which will accrue to the Publick from paying off the Whole, or a great Part of the Debt, due to the other Companies, which will appear evident to every Gentleman, who considers, that a Trading Company possessed of an exclusive Privilege must always come to be a great Disadvantage to the Trade of every Country, where such a Company is established, and continued; for tho' in the Insanity of any particular Sort of Trade, it may be necessary to erect a Company for setting it up; yet, when the Trade comes to be sufficiently established, when great Numbers of our own People are well acquainted with it, and willing to carry it on in a private Way, the continuing of the Company, or at least the continuing of their exclusive Privilege, must be a Disadvantage to the Trade of our Country; because a Company can never carry on a Trade at so cheap a Rate as private Persons can do, and are therefore not so capable of preventing Foreigners from interfering with us in the Trade; for as they are always at a great Expence, they must have great Profits, and great Profits not only tempt, but enable Foreigners to interfere with us in any Trade. It is not now necessary to shew that the exclusive Privilege enjoyed by the *Bank* and *East-India* Company is a Disadvantage to the Trade of the Nation in general: It is sufficient at present to observe, that this exclusive Privilege cannot be taken from either of them, till every Shilling due to them by the Publick be paid off; so that the Expiration of the Term for which that Privilege has

been granted signifies nothing, as long as there is any Money due to them; and surely it would be an Advantage to the Publick, to have it in our Power to put an End to that Privilege as soon as the Term expires, in case it should then appear to be a Disadvantage to the Trade of the Nation; which Power we cannot acquire but by paying off, in the mean Time, a great Part of the Capital of each. This is an Advantage we cannot acquire by any Payment made to the *South-Sea* Company; because the exclusive Privilege granted to and enjoyed by that Company, is a Privilege granted to them for ever; and therefore the publick Good of the Nation is not so much concerned, nor can ever be so much concerned, in the paying off the whole Capital due to them, as it may be in paying off the whole Capital due to either of the other two.

From what I have said, Sir, in relation to Trading Companies with an exclusive Privilege, it must appear, that when the Trade is once generally known, and thoroughly established, if you can redeem and abolish their exclusive Privilege by the Redemption of the Annuity or Interest payable to them, you ought as soon as possible to redeem both the one and the other; because, by laying the Trade open you will increase rather than diminish the Trade of your Country. Indeed, if the Company has an exclusive Privilege which you cannot take from them, even after you have paid off the whole Debt due to them, the paying off such a Debt may be a Disadvantage to your Trade, because you may, by so doing, prevent the Company's being able to push their Trade so far as they might otherwise have done; and at the Time all private Adventurers are precluded from engaging in it by the Continuance of the Company's exclusive Privilege; therefore, it is inconsistent with the publick Good to pay off any such Debt, or any Part

of such a Debt, as long as there are any other publick Debts to be paid off; and does not every one see, that this is a good Argument against making any future Payments to the *South-Sea* Company? for the Interest payable upon their Annuities may contribute as much as the Interest payable upon their Stock, towards enabling them to extend their Trade; because, the only Way by which either can contribute towards enabling them to extend their Trade, is, by the Money's lying for some Time in their Hands, before they be obliged to issue it to the Proprietors; and the Interest Money of their Annuities lies as long in the Company's Hands before they be obliged to issue it for paying the half-yearly Annuities grown due to the Annuitants, as the Interest Money of their Stock can do, before they be obliged to issue it for paying the half-yearly Dividends grown due to the Proprietors of their Trading Stock.

As for the Taxes mortgaged to the *South-Sea* Company, or to any other Company, they can be of no Weight in the present Debate; for whenever we have a Mind to abolish any of our present heavy Taxes, we know, Sir, there is no Company, nor publick Creditor in *England*, but will be glad to consent to the abolishing of any such Tax, and to accept of an Annuity payable out of the Sinking Fund, in Lieu of the Annuity payable to them out of the Produce of that Tax. This we know by a late Experiment in the Case of the *Salt-Duty*, which was once by this House resolved to be the most grievous Tax in *England*, and was therefore abolished. In that Case we know, Sir, how readily the *South-Sea* and other Companies agreed to take Annuities payable out of the Sinking Fund, in Lieu of the Annuities payable to them out of the Produce of that Tax; but so variable are the Sentiments of some Gentlemen, that in 1190 Years Time, that very Tax was deemed

deemed not near so grievous as a *Shilling in the Pound* upon Land, and therefore it was re-established for *three* Years, and granted for supplying the current Service of the Year, in order to prevent our being obliged to lay an additional *Shilling in the Pound* but for *one* Year upon Land; and I think it has since been continued for *seven* Years longer, for the very same Reason and Purpose: Nay I'm afraid we are loaded with it for ever; for as it is a Tax that creates a great deal of Power, tho' it produces but little Money, I believe it will always be preferred by a certain Sort of Men to any Tax that may produce a much greater Revenue without propagating any Sort of Power. As for my own Part, I still continue to think it one of the most burdensom and dangerous Taxes we are subject to; and notwithstanding the low Interest paid for the Money due upon it, I should think, one of the best Uses we could convert the Sinking Fund to, would be, to apply it towards redeeming and abolishing of this Tax; because if we consider the Expences of collecting it, and add that Expence to the Interest paid for the Money borrowed upon it, we must conclude, the Nation pays a heavy Interest for that Money, besides the Danger our Liberties may be exposed to by continuing a Tax which creates so much Power and produces so small a Revenue, and besides the Danger our Trade may be exposed to by a Tax which enhances the Price of Labour in every Branch both of our Manufacture, Agriculture, and Navigation. Nor would the applying the Sinking Fund to such an Use be a new Perverting of it; for as this Tax was formerly one of the Taxes appropriated to the Payment of our Debts contracted before *December 25th, 1716*, the applying the Sinking Fund towards abolishing it, and then reviving it for supplying the

current Service of the Year, was the same Thing as if we had then taken such a Sum from the Sinking Fund, as would have been sufficient not only for supplying the current Service of the Year, but for redeeming the Tax we had then a Mind to abolish, for the Ease of our poor Labourers and Manufacturers. But as I have at present no Intention to make any Proposition for applying the Sinking Fund to such a Purpose, I shall insist no longer upon this Subject.

The proper Question now before us I take to be, Sir, Whether the next Payment from the Sinking Fund ought to be made to the *South-Sea* Company or the *Bank*? and as I set out with saying, that if we shew any Regard to the publick Good, or to that impartial Justice which is due to all the publick Creditors, we ought not to apply the next Payment to the *South-Sea* Company, I think I have shewn that, with respect to the publick Good, none of the Motives mentioned can induce us to apply the next Payment to that Company, but that on the contrary, every one of those Motives are strong Arguments for not making any future Payment to them, till all or most of our other Debts be entirely paid off. Now, Sir, with regard to that impartial Justice which we ought to shew to all our Creditors, I shall grant the Credit of the Nation is now so well established, that all our publick Funds sell at an advanced Price, and that therefore it is a Disadvantage to the publick Creditors to be paid a Part of what is due to them; but the only Way of preserving the Credit we now have, is to pay off our Debts as fast as possible without contracting any new Debt, and in making such Payments, to shew no Partiality or Favour to one Set of publick Creditors more than another. No Man can find Fault with us, or complain of Partia-

ality, on Account of our having a Regard to the publick Good, and paying off those Creditors first whose Debts, by reason of any Interest, Privilege, or Circumstance attending them, are most burdensom or inconvenient to the Nation in general; A but so far as our Creditors are upon an equal Footing with respect to the publick Good, as it is a Disadvantage to every one of them to receive Payment of the Whole, or any Part of the Debt due to him, we ought to regulate our Payments in such a B Manner as that the Disadvantage may fall upon all, exactly in Proportion to the Share each Man, or every Set of Men, have in those Debts.

According to this Proportion, Sir, we have already done Injustice to the C *South-Sea Company*; for to take the Capitals of the *South-Sea, Bank, and East-India*, as they stood in the Year 1727, when the great Reduction of publick Interest took Place, and to which national Advantage the *South-Sea Company* contributed a great deal more than its Share, we must D reckon that every *fourth* Payment at least ought to have been made to the *Bank*, and every *eleventh* or *twelfth* to the *East-India Company*; whereas we have already made five several Payments of a *Million* each to the *South-Sea Company*, and one of E 500,000*l.* without paying so much as one Shilling of the Capital either of the *Bank* or *East-India Company*; for tho' one *Million* has been paid to the *Bank*, yet Care was taken their Capital should not be thereby diminished, because the very next following F Year, a new Sum of 1,250,000*l.* was borrowed from them, which must be redeemed, as well as every other Shilling due to them, before the Nation can get free of their exclusive Privilege. Can this, Sir, be called impartial Justice, or can it be said we have shewn this partial Favour to the *Bank* and *East-India*, for the Sake of publick Good, and be-

cause it is for the Interest of the Nation to support these two Companies, and continue them in Possession of that exclusive Privilege they now enjoy, and by which they have for many Years made so great an Advantage? No, Sir, I have shewn that if the publick Good be engaged on either Side of the Question, it is on the Side of the *South-Sea Company*, both because the greatest Debt is due to them, and because we cannot redeem their exclusive Privilege by the Redemption of their Capital, which we may do with respect to the other two.

But, Sir, we are told we ought to shew a Regard to the private Interest of the publick Creditors, by directing all future Payments to be made to those who will suffer the least by having a Part of their Capital paid off. With all my Heart, Sir, let us shew as much Regard to the private Interest of our Creditors as the publick Interest will admit; but do not let us shew a partial Regard to any one of them, or to any Set of them. We have already shewn a partial Regard to the *Bank* and *East-India Company*, we have already done Injustice to the *South-Sea Company*. This is the chief Reason for their Annuities selling at so low a Price; and from this which is the Effect of our former Partiality and Injustice, an Argument is now drawn for continuing that Injustice in all Time to come. I say in all Time to come, at least till our Debts be all paid off, which must be a very long Time, if we are to form a Judgment of it from our Management for these *twenty* Years past; for if this Argument be now of any Force, it will every Year acquire new Vigour, because the Partiality we shew to our other Funds, will make them increase in their current Value from Year to Year. From hence we may see the Weakness of this Argument, and surely if we are

to shew a Favour to any of our Creditors, or a partial Regard to the private Interest of any Set of them, it ought to be to those who have made the least Advantage by lending their Money to the Government; consequently the *Bank* and *East-India* ought to be the first paid off, because the Proprietors of both these Companies have been for many Years receiving large additional Dividends from the Profits of their Trade; whereas the Proprietors of *South-Sea* Stock or Annuities have never received so large additional Dividends from the Profits of their Trade, nor have they received any such Dividend for so long a Time.

For this Reason, Sir, it must be granted, that tho' the Proprietors of *Bank* and *East-India* should really lose a little more than the Proprietors of *South-Sea* Annuities, the former will be much better able to bear that Loss than we can suppose the latter to be; because the more they have got by additional Dividends, the better able will they be to bear the Loss they may sustain by being paid off. But, Sir, I must upon this Occasion take Notice, that the *South-Sea* Annuities are not at so low a Price in Proportion to our other Funds as some Gentlemen may imagine, nor will the Difference between the Loss they may sustain by having this next Payment applied to them, and the Loss the *Bank* or *East-India* Proprietors might sustain by its being applied to them, be near so great as the honourable Gentleman has been pleased to represent. For *South-Sea* Annuities, in Proportion to their Dividend, are really at a higher Price than *Bank* Stock is at present; because, if 4 per Cent. per Annum; the Dividend upon these Annuities, gives 113 h their present Price, 5 ½ per Cent. per Annum, the Dividend upon *Bank* Stock, ought to give above 155 l. which is more than the present Price of *Bank* Stock; and with respect to

East-India Stock, the present Price of it is not, in Proportion to its Dividend, much above the present Price of *South-Sea* Annuities; for if 4 per Cent. per Annum give 113 l. 6 per Cent. per Annum, the present *East-India* Dividend, ought to give near 170 l. so that at 180 l. the present high Price, it is but 10 per Cent. above the Proportion, and this Advantage, we may believe, is in a great Measure owing to the Certainty the Proprietors have of not being obliged to receive any partial Payments for many Years to come.

Now, Sir, with respect to the Loss either of these Sets of publick Creditors may sustain by having the next Payment applied to them, it is certain the *South-Sea* Annuityants will lose the whole Advance Price, that is, every one of them will lose at the Rate of 13 l. per Cent. upon whatever Money he receives as his Share of that partial Payment; but we are not to suppose, that the Proprietors of *East-India* Stock will lose at the Rate of 80 l. per Cent. or that the Proprietors of *Bank* Stock will lose at the Rate of 50 l. per Cent. upon whatever Money any one of them shall receive as his Share of this next Payment, if it were to be made to either of them; because, tho' a proportional Part of the Annuity due from the Government will cease in every one of the three Cases, yet, in the Case of the *Bank* and *East-India* Company, the Proprietors have another Sort of Annuity, an additional Dividend, which arises from their Trade; and as the Trade of neither of them cannot either cease or be diminished by this next partial Payment's being made to them, by the Reduction of their Capital, this additional Dividend must of course increase upon the whole remaining Capital, and consequently, the current Price of the whole remaining Capital must rise a great deal above the present Market-Price.

To illustrate what I have said, Sir, by Figures, as far as the present Opportunity will permit, I shall suppose the Capital of the *South-Sea* Old Annuities not to exceed 10,000,000 *l.* the Capital of the *Bank* not to exceed the like Sum, and the Capital of *A* the *East-India* Company not to exceed 3,000,000 *l.* I know every one of these Capitals exceed the Sums I have mentioned, but in the present Case the Calculations will be the same, let their Capitals amount to what they will; and, I suppose these round Sums that my Calculations may be the more easily understood. Now, suppose the next Payment is to be made to *South-Sea* Old Annuities, as the Hon. Gentleman has proposed; in that Case a Proprietor of 1000 *l.* Capital will receive 100 *l.* of his Capital, and, consequently, will for the future, without a new Purchase, stand possessed of 900 *l.* Capital only; so that he will lose the advanced Price, being 13 *l.* upon the 100 *l.* paid off, no Part of which Loss can be replaced to him by any Advantage his remaining Capital will receive, by means of the Payment then made by the Publick. Let me next suppose the Payment now under our Consideration to be made to the *Bank*: In that Case a Proprietor of 1000 *l.* Capital *Bank* Stock will receive 100 *l.* consequently he must have 100 *l.* of his Capital annihilated, and will, therefore, for the future, without a new Purchase, stand possessed of 900 *l.* Capital only; so that he will lose the advanced Price, being 50 *l.* but I shall now shew that a great Part of this 50 *l.* will be replaced to him by an Advantage his remaining Capital must necessarily receive, by means of the Payment made by the Publick; for as the *Bank* make at present an additional Dividend of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. per *B* *Annun.* out of the Profits by their Trade, upon their whole Capital of 10,000,000 *l.* as that Capital will

then be reduced to *nine Millions*, and as no Part of the Profits by their Trade will cease or be diminished, because of the Payment thus made to them by the Publick, their whole Profits which were formerly divided upon *ten Millions* Capital, will for the future come to be divided upon *nine Millions* Capital only, which must necessarily increase their future Dividends, and consequently enhance the Price of every Man's remaining Stock: As the *Bank* divides at present $1\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. from the Profits of their Trade upon the supposed Capital of 10,000,000 *l.* we must reckon the net Profits of their Trade to amount to 150,000 *l.* per *Annun.* and as this 150,000 *l.* per *Annun.* will afterwards come to be divided upon *C* *nine Millions* Capital only, the additional Dividend from the Profits of their Trade will then amount to 1 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* per Cent. instead of 1 *l.* 10 *s.* therefore the future Dividends of the *Bank*, if this Payment be made to them, must necessarily be *D* 5 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* and if a Dividend of 5 *l.* 10 *s.* makes their Capital sell at 150 *l.* per Cent. a Dividend of 5 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* will make their remaining Capital, after a *Million* paid off, sell at 154 *l.* 10 *s.* and upwards; so that every Proprietor of 1000 *l.* Capital, will gain by the advanced Price of his remaining 900 *l.* Capital, very near 41 *l.* and, consequently, we must reckon, that no Proprietor of *Bank* Stock will lose more than at the Rate of about 9 *l.* per Cent. by this next publick Payment's being made to the *F* *Bank*; whereas every Proprietor of *South-Sea* Old Annuities will lose at the Rate of 13 *l.* per Cent. by its being made to them.

By the same Method of Calculation, Sir, we may find, that if a *Million* were to be paid at *Michaelmas* next to the *East-India* Company, and their Stock supposed not to exceed 3,000,000 *l.* the Proprietors would not lose above 20 *l.* per Cent. upon

upon the Stock annihilated by such Payment; because, as the whole Profits of their Trade would then come to be divided upon, *two Millions* Capital, instead of *three*, every Man's remaining Stock would rise in Proportion to the Increase of the Dividend, which Advantage upon his remaining Stock would atone for the far greatest Part of the Loss upon his annihilated Stock. But, as I do not intend at present to make any Proposition for applying the growing Produce of the Sinking Fund to the *East-India* Company, I shall not trouble you with the Particulars of the Calculation. I know it may be said, that as every Payment made by the Publick sends a great Number of Purchasers to Market, the Price of *South-Sea* Old Annuities will certainly rise by such Payments being made to them; but this I have taken no Notice of, because it is an Advantage will accrue equally to the three Companies, or to which ever of them the Payment shall be made to; and, therefore, can make little or no Difference with respect to the Loss the Proprietors of either of them may sustain by having a Part of their Capital paid off.

Thus, Sir, it must appear that, if we have a Mind to shew a proper and impartial Regard to the publick Creditors, we cannot order the present growing Produce of the Sinking Fund to be applied towards paying off any Part of the *South-Sea* Company's Capital; and if we have a Mind to direct this next Payment to be made to those who will suffer the least by having a Part of their Capital paid off, I have shewn that the Proprietors of the *Bank* will suffer the least, and therefore the next Payment ought to be made to them. But if we have a Mind to shew a partial Favour to any one Set of publick Creditors, certainly the *South-Sea* Old and New Annuitants deserve it more than any other; for upon Examination it will be found, there are a-

mong them more Creditors in Proportion for small Sums, than there are in any of our other publick Funds; and as a rich Man is better able to bear a Loss than a poor Man, that Fund which has the greatest Number of poor Men in it deserves surely most of our Compassion, and consequently most of our Favour. To this I shall add another Motive for shewing more Favour to the *South-Sea* Annuitants, than to any other Set of publick Creditors, which is this: It will, I believe, upon Examination appear that, among the *South-Sea* Annuitants, there is a much smaller Number of Foreigners in Proportion, than there is among the Proprietors of any other of our Funds; and I must think, that Fund deserves most Favour from a *British* Parliament, which is most generally possessed by *British* Subjects, or at least it deserves equal Favour, which is all I have Occasion for at present, for shewing that the next Payment ought not to be made to the *South-Sea* Company.

And now, Sir, I shall conclude with taking Notice of a Circumstance relating to the *Bank*, which ought I think to be a prevailing Argument for our resolving that the next Payment shall be made to that Company. I mean the Expiration of their Term which now draws pretty near; for upon the *first* of *August* 1743, we may upon giving proper Notice pay off all that shall then remain due to that Company, and so put an End to their subsisting as a Corporation, unless they obtain from Parliament a Renewal of their Term, which certainly will not be granted without a very valuable Consideration. While the Debt due to them continues as large as it is at present, they need be under no Uneasiness, were their Term to expire To-morrow; because they know the Parliament cannot pay them off in *two* or *three* Years; and while they

are under no Uneasiness it is certain they will not be so fond of renewing, nor will they offer so large a Consideration. For this Reason I think it is absolutely necessary to begin now to pay them off; in order that we may have it in our Power, at the End of their Term, or soon after, to pay off the Whole, in Case we should then find it necessary to put an End to the Corporation, or in Case they should refuse to give such a Consideration for a Renewal as may be then thought just and reasonable.

I hope, Sir, I have now shewn that it is absolutely inconsistent with the publick Good, and with that impartial Justice which is due to all the Creditors of the Publick, to apply the present growing Produce of the Sinking Fund towards paying off any Part of the South-Sea Company's Capital; and that by applying it towards paying off the Annuities of that Company, we do an Injustice to those who are best intitled to our Compassion and Favour. On the other Hand I think I have shewn, that if we have any Regard for the publick Good, if we have a Mind to distribute Justice impartially to all our Creditors, if we have a Mind to shew a Regard to the private Interest of our Creditors, by applying the next Payment to those who will suffer the least by its being made to them, we ought to resolve, *That the Sum of one Million shall be granted to his Majesty, towards redeeming the like Sum of the increased Capital of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England.* Therefore I hope the Hon. Gentleman will amend his Motion by leaving out the Words, *of the South-Sea Company, as is now commonly called Old South-Sea Annuities,* and inserting in their stead, these Words, *of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England.*

To this it was replied in Substance as follows, *viz.*

Sir, As to the Power of Parliament over the Sinking Fund, I must still think it absolute and unlimited; notwithstanding all that has been now or formerly said to the contrary; and I have this Advantage, that I have several joint Resolutions of all the Branches of our Legislature in Favour of my Opinion. I cannot easily imagine the Parliament which established the Sinking Fund had any Intention to limit or restrain the Power of all future Parliaments, with respect to the Disposition of the Produce of that Fund: They knew it was an Intention they could not make effectual, and I cannot think the Wisdom of the Nation would propose or form to themselves an Intention which they knew they had no Power to make effectual; but this is not the Question now before us, and therefore I shall not take up your Time with expatiating upon the Subject.

If we could immediately redeem the original Fund of the Bank, which now bears an Interest of 6 per Cent. I must acknowledge, Sir, it would be a very good Argument for our applying this next Payment to that Company: Nay, it would be a good Argument for our borrowing Money at 4 per Cent. sufficient to pay off their whole Capital, in order to come at the Redemption of that Part of it which bears so high an Interest, in case they refused to comply with our Terms; but we know we cannot redeem or pay off that original Fund, till the Expiration of their Term, which has six Years to run from the first of August next; therefore, the high Interest upon that Part of their Capital can be no Reason for applying the present growing Produce of the Sinking Fund towards redeeming any other Part of their Fund, which bears the same Interest now payable upon almost all the publick Funds. We have at least five Years to think of Means for reducing the Interest payable

payable upon their original Fund, and, if at the End of that Term, it should be thought necessary to abolish that Company, or put an End to their exclusive Privilege, it will be then easy, more easy than at present, to find Money at 4 per Cent. for paying off their whole Capital, tho' not a Shilling of it should be paid off before that Time; for as the Number of Lenders upon publick Securities will be every Year increasing by the Payments made out of the Sinking Fund, let them be made to whom they will, it will of course become every Year more easy for the Publick to borrow Money at 4 per Cent. nay, perhaps, even at 3 per Cent. than it can be now, or in any preceding Year. On the other hand, if upon the Expiration of that Term, it should be thought proper to continue the Bank, and to continue them in the Possession of their present exclusive Privilege, the more Capital they are then possessed of, the more able will they be to pay a large Consideration to the Publick, for a new Term; and if they should refuse to comply with any reasonable Terms that may then be proposed by the Publick, I am convinced, the larger their Capital then is, the more easy will it be to find a new Company of Adventurers ready to accept of the Terms offered by the Publick, and willing to advance Money sufficient for paying off and abolishing the old Company; for every one knows, it must always be a great Advantage to a Banking Company to have a large Capital, and considerable Sums of ready Money coming in to them weekly from his Majesty's Exchequer.

I confess, Sir, I am a little surprized to hear it insinuated, that it would be more advantageous or convenient for the Publick, to owe a large Debt to any one Company, than to owe a Debt of equal Value to three or four different Companies.

If the whole Debt we now owe were in the Hands of any one Company, it would be in the Power of that Company to distress the Publick whenever they had a Mind; whereas, while that Debt is in the Hands of several Companies, if one should resolve to distress, the others would probably resolve to support, and by that Means the Publick can never be in Danger of being distressed by either. Likewise, while the Debt continues to be in the Hands of several Companies, and while it continues to be a Disadvantage to each of them to be paid off, as long as the Sinking Fund produces any Thing, it will be in the Power of the Publick to keep every one of them in Awe, and in some Manner to prescribe to each, by threatening to apply the Sinking Fund solely to that Company which shall refuse to comply with any reasonable Proposition that may be offered. In private Life, as well as publick, it is not so convenient to owe a large Debt to one Person, as to owe a Debt of equal Value, and at the same Interest, to several, provided the Debtor can be assured, that none of his Creditors will demand Payment till he is ready to offer it; for the Reason why Gentlemen of Estates generally borrow a large Sum from one Person, is because a Man of Estate can borrow a large Sum at a lower Rate of Interest than he can borrow small Sums; or because some one or other of his small Creditors is every Day teasing him for Payment, which keeps him in a constant State of Uneasiness and Trouble; but if a private Man owed 10,000*l.* to ten different Persons, neither of whom, he was sure, would ever ask Payment till he was ready to offer it, he would not surely, in common Prudence, offer to borrow 10,000*l.* at the same Interest from any one Person, in order to pay off these ten different Creditors; and if a Man had several Mortgages upon his Estate, and could

make partial Payments, without irritating his Creditor, I believe, common Prudence would direct him to apply all his partial Payments towards diminishing the largest Mortgage; because a Creditor for a large Sum has it always more in his Power to distress his Debtor, than a Creditor for a small Sum can have, unless the Debtor be a Man who has neither Fortune nor Credit. I shall grant it is better for the Publick to owe a large Debt to a Company, than to a great and divided Multitude of private Persons; because to such a Multitude the Publick can offer no new Terms, nor can it enter into any Treaty or Transaction with them; whereas a Multitude united in a Company is always governed by the Majority, and is in Effect but one Person, so that Means may always be found for getting them all to agree to any new and reasonable Terms that may be offered. This was a good Reason for the Legislature's enabling the *South-Sea* Company to purchase in, or pay off all our redeemable and irredeemable Debts; but this can be no Reason for saying, that it would be better to have the whole publick Debts placed in the Hands of one great Company, than to have it placed in the Hands of three or four different Corporations; because the Publick may treat with each, and will always be able to treat more upon the Par with each, than if it had only one powerful and numerous Body to deal with.

As for the Disadvantage which an exclusive Privilege may be of to the Trade of the Nation in general, it cannot be of any Weight in the present Debate; because, if at the End of the Term granted to the *Bank* or *East-India* Company, it should be found necessary to abolish the *Bank*, or not to renew the exclusive Privilege of either of the two, it will, I am certain, be in the Power of the Publick to borrow as much Money, at a moderate Interest, as will be suf-

ficient for redeeming either the one or the other, tho' not a Shilling should be paid to either of them before the Expiration of their Term; and, if it should be thought fit to continue them, and to renew their exclusive Privilege, it would be a Disadvantage to both, but especially the *Bank*, even with respect to their Trade, to have a great Part of their Capital paid off; in which Case the making of such Payments would certainly be an Injury done to the Trade of the Nation. But, tho' in most Sorts of Trade, an exclusive Privilege may be of bad Consequence, I am nevertheless of Opinion, that, with respect to the *Banking* Trade, and the Trade to the *East-Indies*, neither the one nor the other can be carried on with such Success, or in such an extensive Manner, by private Adventurers, as by a publick Company with such an exclusive Privilege as our present Companies have; and in this Opinion I am supported by the Example of our Neighbours the *Dutch*, who, I believe, understand Trade as well as most of their Neighbours, and, I may say, I hope, without giving any Offence, that they generally shew as disinterested a Regard for the Good of their Country, as any Nation now in *Europe*. The Circulating of *Bank* Bills, or Cash Notes, must certainly increase the current Cash of any Country, and must therefore be of great Use in Trade; consequently the more extensive and the more general such a Circulation is, the better will it be for the Inland Trade of that Country. 'Tis true, a private Man, or a Set of private Men, may, by a long Series of good Management, gain a very extensive Credit, but that Credit can never come to be so extensive, or near so general, as the Credit of a rich publick Company, that has supported itself with Honour for perhaps some Ages; because the Credit of a private Man always depends upon himself, so that when he dies,

his Credit, as to any future Circulation, generally dies with him; for it must require some Time before those who succeed can revive or regain it; whereas a publick Company never dies, nor can their Credit meet with any such Interruption; and as their Managers are always chosen annually by the Company, there is a greater Security for its being under good Management, than a private Bank, whose chief Managers are always appointed by the Chance of natural or legal Succession; therefore I shall always think it better for a Trading Country to have a publick Bank, than to trust entirely to private Bankers. Then as to the East-India Trade, 'tis certain that Trade could not be carried on by private Adventurers, unless the Nation should be at the Expence of supporting the Settlements, Ports, and Factories now supported by the Company; and even in that Case, the Ships proper for the Trade are so large and expensive, and the Cargoes so rich, that I question much if it could be carried on by private Men trading separately. In short, Sir, we know how our Banking and East-India Trade have prospered under their present Regulation, but we cannot certainly judge how they would prosper in the Hands of private and separate Adventurers; therefore, I must think, it would be a dangerous Experiment to dissolve the Companies, and I am of Opinion neither of them can subsist without such an exclusive Privilege as they now enjoy. However, we have now no Occasion for determining this Question; for, as I have said, whatever Way it may be determined, when the Opportunity offers, it can be of no Weight in the present Debate; at least if it is of any Weight, it must be in Favour of the Motion; because if we should once pay off any Part of the Capital of Bank or East-India, we cannot replace it, but by contracting a new

Debt, (which, I hope we never shall) even tho' we should afterwards resolve to grant the Company a new Term.

With respect to the Trade carried on by our three great Companies, it must be granted, Sir, that the South-Sea Company has hitherto been far from carrying on such a Trade as either of the other two; and altho' I am convinced, a Diminution of the Capital of the Bank or East-India would be a Disadvantage to their Trade, yet I am far from being of Opinion, that the Diminution of the South-Sea Capital would be a Disadvantage to any Sort of Trade they can be supposed to carry on in any Time to come; for their Capital is so large, that tho' the greatest Part of it were paid off, they would, I think, have sufficient remaining for enabling them to push their Trade as far as the Nature of it will admit of. But supposing, that by some extraordinary and unforeseen Accident it should happen otherwise, supposing the South-Sea Company should become one of the most flourishing Trading Companies in the World, (which I should be extremely glad to see) where any present Measure is to be taken, I shall always think it much safer to form a Judgment upon the Experience of what's past, than upon any Conjecture of what may happen in Time to come; and if we are now to be directed by the Experience of what's past, I am sure it will be very easy to determine which of the three Capitals we may diminish, without running any Risk of injuring the Trade of the Company by such Diminution.

Then, Sir, with respect to the Taxes mortgaged to the several Companies, it seems to be admitted that the Taxes mortgaged to the South-Sea Company are the most grievous; and if so, it would certainly be much better for the Parliament to have an absolute Power of abolishing

abolishing all those Taxes, than to have only a conditional Power subject to the Controul of any Company in *England*; for tho' it may be probable that their Consent will always be readily obtained, by offering them a Security upon the Sinking Fund, for an Annuity equal to the yearly Produce of the Tax so to be abolished, yet the obtaining of such a Consent is what we cannot pretend to be infallibly sure of; and therefore I must think it most prudent for us to proceed as fast as possible in the Redemption of those Taxes which are allowed to be the most burdenson to the Nation in general. As for what has been said with regard to the *Salt-Duty*, it can have no Relation to the present Question, therefore I shall not take much Notice of it; but I must declare I am far from thinking it near so burdenson or inconvenient as the Hon. Gentleman was pleased to represent, nor did I ever think it so grievous as the *Land-Tax*. There is not a Man in the Kingdom that feels or complains of what he pays to the *Salt-Tax*, but most of the Land-holders in *England* severely feel every Shilling that is laid upon their Land, and most of them would complain if they were not convinced that the Parliament takes every Opportunity to relieve them. We must remember, that when the *Salt-Duty* was abolished, there was then no Competition in Parliament between it and the *Land-Tax*; if there had, I make no Doubt but that both Houses of Parliament would have been of the same Opinion they afterwards were, and would then, as well as afterwards, have determined that the *Land-Tax* was by far the most grievous of the two. But however grievous or dangerous the *Salt-Duty* may be, there can be no Occasion for applying the Produce of the Sinking Fund towards its Redemption; because in *seven or eight Years* it will of course

expire; and if any Attempt should hereafter be made for continuing or reviving it, the Hon. Gentleman may then give his Reasons against it, when I am persuaded they will have great Weight, as they always have with every Man that hears him.

I hope, Sir, I have now shewn that all the Arguments which can be drawn from the publick Good of the Nation in general, plead strongly for your applying the next Payment towards redeeming so much of the *South-Sea* Capital, and that there is no Weight in any Thing that has been said to the contrary. I shall next consider that impartial Justice which is due to all our Creditors, and the Regard we ought to have for the private Interest of every one. As for that Rule of Proportion which has been laid down, and according to which it has been said we ought to make all our future Payments, I cannot think it would be either just or impartial, or that it would shew a proper Regard for our Creditors in general; for as every Payment we make must be attended with a Loss to those to whom it is made, we ought to make our Payments in such a Manner as that the Loss may always fall upon the greatest Number of Persons: A Loss that falls upon 3 or 400 Persons may be almost insensible to every one, whereas if the same Loss be made to fall upon 100 Persons only, it will be severely felt by every one, and may in all Probability prove ruinous to a great many. For this Reason we ought to make all or most of our Payments to that Capital which is the largest, till such Time as it be reduced upon a Par, or near upon Par, with some one of the other Capitals; consequently the next Payment, and perhaps several future Payments, ought to be applied to the *South-Sea* Company, because their Capital is by much the largest, and their Proprietors by far the most numerous, and therefore the

Loss cannot fall so heavy upon those to whom the Payment is made.

'Tis true, Sir, there are, I believe, among the *South-Sea* Annuity-tants a great many Proprietors for small Sums, perhaps more in Proportion than in any of our other publick Funds; but such Proprietors have all something else to depend on, and therefore are not so much Objects of Compassion as the Hon. Gentlemen would represent. They are generally Persons concerned in some Sort of Trade or Business, and the small Sum of Money that will fall to each Person's Share, out of any Payment to be made by the Publick, will, or at least may be usefully employed by them in the Business they are engaged in. The greatest Objects of Compassion are the Proprietors for middling Sums, such as have 1000*l.* two, or three, in some one of the publick Funds, and have no Trade or Business, nor any Thing to depend on for a Subsistence, but the Annuity or Dividends they receive from the Company. By such Proprietors the Loss will be severely felt, because they can make no Use of the Money they receive, but by laying it out again upon the Purchase of Stock or Annuities at a very great Disadvantage, and many of them may perhaps be tempted to waste it in some Sort of Extravagance; but of such Proprietors there are, I believe, in Proportion, as many in our other Funds as in the *South-Sea* Annuities, and therefore the latter deserve no particular Favour upon that Account. As for Foreigners, I shall not take upon me to say which of our publick Funds are most generally possessed by them; but I am surpriz'd to hear it so much as insinuated, that we ought to shew any greater Favour to our own Subjects than to those Foreigners who have put such a Confidence in the Honour of this Nation, as to trust us with the whole or the greatest Part of their Fortunes: I hope I

shall never see any such Doctrine established, because I am of Opinion it would tend both to the Dishonour and Discredit of the Nation, and might be of the most dangerous Consequence, if ever this Nation should again be plunged in a War as expensive as the last. I wish it had not been mentioned; but since it has, I think it one of the strongest Arguments can be made use of for inducing us to agree to the Motion, in order to convince the whole World, that this House will never give the least Countenance to such a Doctrine. I must now, Sir, beg Leave to consider the Calculations that have been made for shewing that the *South-Sea* Annuity-tants will sustain a greater Loss by the next Payment's being made to them, than the Proprietors of *Bank* Stock would sustain, if the next Payment should be applied to them. The Calculations I must confess are ingenious enough, but they are all founded upon two Suppositions, neither of which, I am afraid, will hold. They are all founded upon these two Suppositions, that neither the Trade of the *Bank* or *East-India* Company will be in the least diminished by our paying off a Part of their Capital, and that the remaining Stock will rise in its Value according to the Increase of the future Dividends. As to the first of these Suppositions, I am convinced it will not hold, especially with respect to the *Bank*; for by paying a *Million* to them, we shall make them lose near 800*l.* a Week, which is now coming in to them weekly from the *Exchequer*, as a Supply for the ready Specie they find it necessary to keep always by them, in order to circulate the Cash Notes or *Bank* Bills they have out; therefore, upon the ceasing of that weekly Supply, they must either diminish the Number of Notes they now have in Circulation, or they must keep a greater Stock of ready Specie by them; by

either of which they must necessarily diminish the Profits of their Trade, and consequently this Supposition must appear not to be well founded. Then as to the other Supposition, I do not think there is the least Foundation for it, because we know, the Price of any Sort of Stock depends as much upon the particular Whim or Humour that may happen to prevail, as the Price of any Commodity whatever. It neither depends upon the Dividend to be made, nor upon the Certainty or Probability that the Dividend will be increased or continued. Of this the present Market Prices of our Stocks is a convincing Proof; for if one were to judge from common Sense, or the Reason of Things, it is certain the Price of *Bank* Stock ought to be higher in Proportion to its Dividend than the Price of any other publick Fund in *England*, and yet we find it is lower than either *East-India* Stock or *South-Sea* Annuities; therefore to suppose that any Stock will rise in Proportion to the Increase of its Dividend, must be a very uncertain and deceitful Foundation for any Calculation. On the contrary, our directing the next Payment to be made to the *Bank* would, I believe, possess the Generality of Mankind with an Opinion, that we were resolved to abolish the Company at the End of their Term, which would of course run the Price of their Stock down to very near Par, and consequently I think it most reasonable to believe, that the Proprietors of *Bank* Stock would not only lose at the Rate of 50 *l. per Cent.* upon their Stock annihilated, but very near 50 *l. per Cent.* upon all their remaining Stock, in Case we now resolve that the next Payment shall be made to them.

For these Reasons, Sir, and a great many others, which I shall wave troubling you with at present, I am still of Opinion, notwithstanding what has been said by the Hon. Gentlemen

on the other Side of the Question, that if we have a Mind to shew a proper Regard to the publick Good, and to the private Interest of our publick Creditors in general, we ought to apply the present growing Produce of the Sinking Fund towards redeeming the like Sum of the *South-Sea* Company's Capital; and that, considering the great Amount of that Company's Capital, considering how far it exceeds the Capital of any other Company, neither our having applied so many successive Payments towards the reducing of that Capital, nor our applying this next Payment to the same Purpose, can be charged with any Injustice or Partiality; therefore, I am for agreeing to the Motion as it now stands, and, I hope, the House will join with me in Opinion.

After this Debate, the Question was put upon the Motion, and carried in the Affirmative without a Division.

The Speakers for the Motion were, Sir R—*W—le*, T—*W—n*, Esq; J—*B—ce*, Esq; S—*H—n*, Esq; Sir W—*m T—ge*, Mr. A—*H—te*, and the L—*d S—n*; and the Speakers against the Motion were, Sir J—*B—rd*, W—*m P—y*, Esq; Sir W—*m W—m*, Sir J—*H—d C—n*, Sir J—*n R—t*, Sir T—*S—n*, the L—*d B—rd*, S—*S—ys*, Esq; and the M—*r* of the R—*lls*.

On Monday the 14th this Resolution was reported to the House, and agreed to without any formed Debate; but upon that Occasion, Sir J—*B—rd*, and some others, spoke to the Effect as follows, *viz.*

Sir, I shall not now oppose our agreeing to the Resolution of the Committee; but the only Argument made use of in the Committee in favour of the Motion, which to me seemed to have any Weight, was, That at the End of the Term last granted to the *Bank*, and which ex-

pires in August 1743, it would be easy for the Government to raise Money at 4 *per Cent.* sufficient to pay them off, in case it should be thought fit to abolish the Company, or put an End to their exclusive Privilege; or in case the present Company should refuse the Terms offered for renewing their exclusive Privilege. I confess, Sir, this Argument had very little Weight with me; because, in my Opinion, it will be impossible for the Government to raise 10,000,000 *l.* Sterling at once, at 4 *per Cent.* or any other Interest, especially when we have such a powerful and rich Company to oppose it, as the present *Bank* is, who, by the Indulgence that has been of late Years shewed them, are in some Measure become Masters of the publick Credit of the Nation, and who will certainly oppose, with all their Might, a Scheme concerted for the Ruin of their Company, and for making every particular Man in it lose at least 50 *l.* *per Cent.* of what he may then call himself worth: This, I say, appears to me impossible; and if we judge from the Experience of past Times, I am sure we must conclude it will be impossible; but such seems to be the Fatality of some Gentlemen, that when the Experience of what's past ought to persuade us to take any particular Measure for the publick Good, they then judge from very improbable Conjectures of what may happen in Time to come; and when probable Conjectures of what may happen ought to prevail with us to take any particular Measure for the publick Good, they then determine themselves by the Experience of past Times, tho' the Circumstances are very far from being the same.

This, Sir, is the very Case, with respect to their Method of judging about the future Price of *Bank* Stock. 'Tis true, while a Spirit of Stock-jobbing prevailed in this Kingdom, while that Spirit was encouraged by

those who ought to have behaved in a quite different Manner, the Price of Stock very much depended upon what was called the Whim or Humour of *'Change-Alley*, which was never governed by Reason, but by Art and fraudulent Practices; but since that Spirit has subsided; and the chief Method of keeping it up has been abolished by Act of Parliament, People now begin to judge reasonably, and, therefore, the Price of Stock now depends very much upon the Dividend made, and the Probability that the same Dividend will be continued, or perhaps increased. For this very Reason *Bank* Stock does now sell, and ought to sell, at a lower Price in Proportion than *South-Sea* Annuities; because People know that the *Bank's* Term is near expiring, that a large Sum of Money must soon be paid for a Renewal, and that that Sum must be taken from the Capitals they have or may have in *Bank* Stock, or from the future Dividends they may expect from such Capitals. This I was aware of when I made my Calculation, and, therefore, I founded it upon the present low Price of *Bank* Stock, and not upon that Price it ought to bear in Proportion to *South-Sea* Annuities; and by our doing Justice to the other publick Creditors, no Man can be induced to believe we will do Injustice to the *Bank*, by paying them off sooner than any of the other publick Creditors; for if the *Bank* be willing to pay a just Price for the Continuance of their Company, and if that Continuance be no Detriment to the Publick, it would be unjust to make any more than proportional Payments to them; so that by our resolving that the next Payment should be made to the *Bank*, the Proprietors could take no Alarm, unless they either think that the Continuance of their Privilege would be a Detriment to the Publick, or are resolved not to pay a proper Consideration for it; in either

either of which Cases it would be a just Alarm, an Alarm we ought not to prevent; because it would be better the Loss should fall upon them by Degrees, than that it should fall all at once, as in either of these Cases it must do at the End of their present Term. As to the Profits the *Bank* makes, or may make by its Trade, I shall only take Notice, that the Quantity of ready Specie they are obliged to keep by them, depends but very little on the Value of Notes they have out, but upon the Extent of their Credit, and the Circumstances of publick Affairs at the Time: A *Bank* newly set up, or of a very small Capital, must keep a greater Quantity of Specie by them in Proportion to the Notes they have out, than a *Bank* of established Credit, or of a larger Capital than their Trade can possibly require, which is the Case of our present *Bank*; and when publick Affairs are in a variable and unsettled Condition, every *Bank* ought to keep a greater Quantity of Specie by them in Proportion to the Notes they have in Circulation, than when the Sky is clear and every Thing appears serene: Therefore the paying them off a *Million*, I am convinced, would neither diminish their Circulation, nor oblige them to keep a greater Quantity of Specie by them, than they do at present, and consequently could no Way diminish their Trade.

Thus, Sir, I could shew there is no Weight in any one Argument that has been made use of for preventing our making the next Payment to the *Bank*; but this I did not rise up for, nor should I have taken any Notice of the chief Argument made use of, but that I think, if there be any Thing at all in the Argument, it must be of great Weight with respect to what I am to propose, and, therefore, I hope I shall have the Concurrence of all those who thought it a good Argument, and particularly of

the Hon. Gentleman who made use of it. Sir, if we are now in such Circumstances as that we may any Way expect in 6 Years Time to be able to raise 10,000,000 *l.* at once, and that in Spite of the most opulent Company in *England*, I am sure we may now begin to think of reducing the Interest payable to the publick Creditors, and may begin to take some Measures for that Purpose. I wish some such Proposition had come from the other Side of the House; for some Gentlemen seem to be resolved not to approve of any Proposition or Scheme but what comes from themselves, and, to return the Compliment, their Reasons are so weighty, that they generally prevail. As for my own Part, if my Reasons have any Weight with those that hear me, I am sure I have but seldom been heard by the Majority of this House, ever since I had the Honour to sit in Parliament, and yet I have always raised my Voice as much as I could. This has always made me shy of making any Proposition to the House, or of offering any Scheme, which I thought might tend to the Good of my Country; but the pleasing Prospect the Hon. Gentlemen have given us of the flourishing and happy State of our Country 6 Years hence, emboldens me now to make you a Proposition, because from what they have said, I cannot but expect their Concurrence, and from thence I have good Reason to expect Success.

Tho' my Hopes are not quite so sanguine, tho' I am of Opinion we can never be in such Circumstances as to be able to raise 10,000,000 *l.* at once, in Spite of the *Bank*, yet, Sir, I am convinced, it is now high Time for us to think of reducing the Interest payable to our publick Creditors; and my Reason for thinking so is neither founded upon past Experience, nor upon future Conjecture, but upon our present Circumstances: I mean, Sir, the present high Price of all our publick

publick Funds, and in particular the high Price of our publick Securities, which bear an Interest only of *three per Cent.* When such Securities are at *five or six per Cent.* above Par, it is a certain Proof that the natural Interest of Money, upon publick Securities at least, is below *4 per Cent.* that many of the publick Creditors would be glad to accept of an Interest of *3 per Cent.* rather than be paid off, and that the Government might borrow some Money, I shall not pretend now to ascertain the Sum, at *3 per Cent.* in order to pay off a Part of those publick Creditors, who should not appear willing to accept of so low an Interest.

I say, Sir, I shall not now pretend to determine what Sum we might be able to borrow at *3 per Cent.* I believe it would be but small, because, I believe, the *Bank* would refuse to concur with the Government in any such Undertaking, and will always refuse as long as the Interest payable to them is at *4 per Cent.* For this Reason, among others, I was for our resolving that the next Payment should be made to the *Bank*; because such a Resolution would have enabled us to bring the Interest payable upon the whole *Bank* Capital down to *3 per Cent.* in 2 or 3 Years. If we had ordered a *Million* to be paid to them at *Michaelmas* next, we might, without doing any Injustice, have ordered that no Part of that Payment should have been applied towards such of the Proprietors of the *Bank* as were willing to accept of an Interest of *3 per Cent.* upon that Part of the Capital which belonged to them; but that the Whole should have been applied towards diminishing the Capital of those who were not willing to accept of such an Interest; and for this Purpose the Government might have been impowered to open Books of Subscription for the *Bank* Proprietors to come in and subscribe for that Part of the Capital which belonged to each of them: And further, as an

of the *Bank* to come in and subscribe, it might have been ordered that no future Payment should have been applied towards paying off any Part of the Capital so subscribed, as long as there had been any Part of the *Bank* Capital unsubscribed. By this Means, I do not know but we might, even at *Michaelmas* next, have brought the whole Capital of the *Bank*, at least all that Part of it which can be paid off before the End of their Term, down to *3 per Cent.* In which Case, as no Money could then have been issued from the Sinking Fund at *Michaelmas* next, we would have had above *two Millions* to have disposed of next Session of Parliament; and with above *two Millions* in ready Money, and what we might then have borrowed, with the Assistance of the *Bank*, at *3 per Cent.* I do not know but it would have been in our Power, to have brought the whole publick Debt to *3 per Cent.* at the very next *Michaelmas* following; for if the Interest payable to the *Bank* should once be reduced to *3 per Cent.* it is certain they would then assist us as much as they could, to bring all our other Debts down to the same Rate of Interest; and tho' I am far from thinking we shall in 5 or 6 Years be able to borrow 10,000,000 *l.* at once, even at *4 per Cent.* in Spite of the *Bank*, yet I am convinced that at present, with their Assistance, we might be able to borrow *eight or ten Millions* at once at *3 per Cent.* especially if the Proprietors of our Funds were enabled to subscribe their respective Capitals, with an Assurance that no Part of the Capital so subscribed should be paid off for a certain Term of Years.

This Proposition, Sir, would certainly have had the greatest and the most useful Effect, if upon these Terms the next Payment had been ordered to be made to the *Bank*; but even suppose we should agree with our Committee, suppose we should resolve that a *Million* be granted to

his Majesty, towards redeeming the like Sum of the increased Capital of the *South-Sea* Company, as is now commonly called *Old South-Sea* Annuities, the same Proposition may, I think, be applied to them, and may have a very good Effect, at least I am sure it can be attended with no bad Consequence; for as the delaying to pay off any Part of our publick Debts is now a Favour, it is both just and reasonable that Favour should be bestowed upon those who are willing to accept of an Interest of 3 per Cent. instead of 4. Therefore my Proposition now is, that in order to see which or how many of the *Old South-Sea* Annuitants are willing to accept of 3 per Cent. for a certain Term of Years, rather than be paid off any Part of their present Capital, the Government, or the Commissioners of the Treasury, should be impowered to open Books of Subscription for such of the *Old South-Sea* Annuitants as are willing to accept of an Interest of 3 per Cent. for 14 Years certain, rather than be paid off any Part of their present Capital at *Michaelmas* next, or at any other Time during that Term; and that it should be ordered, that no Part of the *Million* to be paid at *Michaelmas* next shall be applied towards paying off any Part of the Capital so subscribed, but that the Whole shall be divided and applied *pro rata* towards diminishing the Capital of such of the *Old South-Sea* Annuitants as shall not subscribe before *Michaelmas* next. If all the *Old South-Sea* Annuitants should subscribe, the Consequence will be, that no Part of the *Million* can then be issued from the Sinking Fund at *Michaelmas* next; in which Case we shall have *two Millions* to dispose of in next Session of Parliament, and with these *two Millions*, we may, I am confident, be able to reduce the Capital of the *Bank* likewise to 3 per Cent. at the very next *Michaelmas* following; after which we shall have no Difficulty to reduce the *New South-*

lick Funds to the same Rate of Interest. As a Resolution seems now to be formed, that none of our other Creditors shall have a Shilling paid to them, till all the *South-Sea* Annuities be paid off, I shall shew that it is no very unreasonable Supposition to suppose, that all the *Old South-Sea* Annuitants would subscribe before *Michaelmas* next; for which Purpose I shall suppose *Old* and *New South-Sea* Annuities to amount to 25,000,000*l.* and that neither of them will ever sell for any Price above or under 113*l.* per Cent. In this Case, if a *Million* should be paid to them yearly, it will amount to 4 per Cent. the first Year; so that every one of the Proprietors will have 4 per Cent. of his Capital annihilated, which at 113*l.* per Cent. is worth about 4*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* and therefore, as he receives only 4*l.* in Money, he must lose, the very first Year, 10*s.* 5*d.* which Loss, by the yearly Diminution of the Capital, and the yearly Increase of the Sinking Fund, will increase every Year so fast, that in *five* or *six* Years, I reckon, every Proprietor will lose 1 per Cent. upon the Capital he is possessed of, by every Payment made by the Publick; for which Reason every Proprietor of *South-Sea* Annuities, if he understands his own Interest, would certainly chuse to accept of 3 per Cent. for 14 Years certain, rather than remain subject to the Annihilation of so much of his Capital yearly, and the Trouble of receiving such partial Payments, and of replacing those Payments some Way at Interest, or investing them in some Sort of Trade or Business.

I have made the Calculation, Sir, upon *Old* and *New South-Sea* Annuities taken together, for the Sake of Ease and Perspicuity; but it will come out the same, if we make the Calculation upon the two, separately; and, therefore, I think there is a great Probability in supposing that all the *Old South-Sea* Annuitants will become Subscribers for accepting 3

per Cent. upon their Capital, for 14 Years certain, before *Michaelmas* next, if we give them an Opportunity of so doing; because if any Number of them should subscribe, the Loss will fall extremely heavy upon those who do not, which will of course be a prevailing Argument with the most obstinate. But suppose no one of them does come in to subscribe, it can be attended with no bad Consequence; the Government will then have nothing to do but to issue the *Million* at *Michaelmas* next, and it will be distributed *pro rata* among the *Old South-Sea* Annuities, according to the Direction of Parliament.

Before I conclude, Sir, I must take Notice, that we ought to endeavour, as much as possible, to reduce the Rate of Interest, especially upon the Debt due to the *Bank*, before we come to any Agreement about granting them a new Term; for if we do not, the Reduction of their Interest to *3 per Cent.* will be look'd on, perhaps, as a full Consideration for that new Term; whereas if it should be reduced before that Time, the Consideration must be paid wholly in ready Money, which will enable us to pay off any Debts that may be still standing out at *4 per Cent.*

Thus, Sir, I have laid before you a Proposition, which, I am sure, may tend greatly to the Benefit of the Publick, and can be attended with no bad Consequence, nor with the least Danger of any bad Consequence; yet, nevertheless, I should not, I believe, have had the Courage to offer it, if the great Hopes given us by some Hon. Gentlemen in the Committee, of our being able to do Wonders 5 or 6 Years hence, had not made me imagine, that I should certainly have their Concurrence. Whether we can now properly take this Affair into our Consideration, I do not know; but if it should be thought we cannot, I think we ought to resolve ourselves into a Committee of

the whole House, to consider of the National Debt, or into some such Committee, in order to take this or any other Proposition of the same Nature that may then be offered into our Consideration; for surely we ought not to sit here and see *3 per Cent.* Securities selling at a *Premium*, without endeavouring to take some Advantage of that favourable Conjunction, for lowering the Interest of these National Debts which now bear an Interest of *4 per Cent.*

Upon this it was said by Sir *R—t W—le*, and some others, That publick Credit was a Thing of such a ticklish Nature, it was dangerous to meddle with it at any Rate, but much more, to make any Step which might affect it, without the most mature Consideration. That in a very few Years we might, perhaps, be able to reduce the Whole, or the greatest Part of the publick Debts to an Interest of *3 per Cent.* but they were afraid it was not yet Time to make any such Attempt. That to make any such Attempt without Success, would certainly be attended with bad Consequences; for as publick Credit depended intirely upon the Opinion of the Generality of Mankind, a vain and unsuccessful Attempt to reduce the Interest payable upon any of our publick Funds, would be attended at least with this bad Consequence, that it would give many People a mean Opinion of the Wisdom and Prudence of the Government; and no Man would trust, or continue to trust his Fortune in the Hands of those whose Wisdom and Prudence he had no good Opinion of; so that the attempting to reduce the Interest might give a much greater Check to publick Credit than some Gentlemen seemed to be aware of, and might put it out of their Power to reduce the Interest payable upon any of the publick Funds, for a much longer Time than it would have been, if no such unseasonable Attempt had been made.

However, they said, they were not against going into such a Committee as had been proposed; because Gentlemen would then have Time to consider of what they were about; and if any feasible Scheme should be there proposed for reducing the Interest now payable upon any of the publick Funds, they should most readily agree to it. Whereupon, the Resolution of the Committee of Supply was agreed to without a Division; and then 'twas resolved, That the House would, upon that Day Se'nnight, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the National Debt; after which 'twas ordered, that a State of the National Debt, as it was the *first* of Feb. last, should be laid before the House.

This State was accordingly laid before the House on *March* 18. (See the following Schemes.)

During the Time this Affair relating to the Disposition of the Sink-

ing Fund, was depending in the House of Commons, the great Affair relating to the Murder of Cap. Porteous, by the Mob at *Edinburgh*, was resumed in the House of Lords; for that House having ordered several Persons to attend on *March* 10. as mentioned in our *Magazine* for *June*, Pages 284 and 300; and the several Persons having attended accordingly, and the several Papers called for being laid before the House, their Lordships, on that Day, began their Inquiry into that famous Affair; but as it took up the whole remaining Part of the Session, being one of the last Things that was done in either House, we shall defer it till towards the End of our *Journal*, when our Readers may expect a full and regular Account of that important Affair, and not such incoherent Scraps, or such blundering pretended Extracts of Speeches, as have been published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

[This Journal to be continued in our next.]

An Account of the Produce of the Sinking Fund in the Year 1736, and to the Payment of what Debts contracted before December 25, 1716, the said Fund has been applied.

	l.	s.	d.	q.	Dr.	Per Contra.	Cr.					
The Excheq. to Cash of S. Fund on Dec. 31, 1735, is	697996	15	9		137730	13	10	By Money issued towards discharging the National Debt between Dec. 31, 1735, and Dec. 31, 1736.				
To the Produce of S. Fund between Dec. 31, 1735, and Dec. 31, 1736, viz.												
On the aggregate Fund.												
General Fund.	381616	13	11					To the S. S. Comp. in Discharge of so much of their Capital Stock of New Annuities.	1000000	l.	4	
S. S. Comp. Fund.	123834	9	9	2	1203447	19	6	To Geo. Lord Middleton, & aliii, for a Debt on the Bankers Annuities, the Money reserv'd for the Payment of the said Ann. being carried to the S. F. by an Act 13 G.		2439	16	11
								To complete the 1000000 l. granted for the Year 1735.		57984	16	9
								To make good the Deficiencies of Lottery Annuities in 1732, at Christmas 1735.		10043	3	10
								To pay Interest on the Loan on the Salt Duty further continued, 1735.		10000		
					1341178	13	4	To pay the Annuities on 600000 l. at 3 p. Ct. granted 1736, due at Christmas 1736.		9000		

A State of the National Debt, provided or unprovided for by Parliament, as it stood December 31, 1735, and December 31, 1736.

	Amount of the National Debt upon Dec. 31, 1735.			Increased between Dec. 31, 1735, and Dec. 31, 1736.	Paid off within the said Time.	Amount of the National Debt upon Dec. 31, 1736.				
	l.	s.	d. q.			l.	h.	s. d. q.		
EXCHEQUER.										
A Nauties for long Terms, being the Remainder of the original Sum contributed and unsubscribed to the S. S. Comp. } 1836275 17 10 3								1836275 17 10 3		
Ditto for Lives, with Benefit of Survivorship, being the original Sum contributed. } 108100 0 0								108100		
Ditto payable on 2 or 3 Lives, being the Sum remaining after what is fallen in by Deaths. } 127899 8 0 3					1700			126199 8 0 3		
Annuities at 9l. p. Ct. p. Ann. } 161108 6 8								161108 6 8		
Ditto on Lottery 1710. } 109290 0 0								109290		
Annuities on the Plate Act } 312000								312000		
6 <i>Georgii primi Regis.</i> } 37821 5 1 1								37821 5 1 1		
Ditto on <i>Nevis</i> and <i>St. Cbristopher's</i> Debentures at 3l. p. Ct. } 400000								400000		
Annuities at 3l. 10s. per Cent. for the Year 1731. } 481400								481400		
Exchequer Bills on the Vic-tuallers Act Anno 1726. } 2200								2200		
Ditto made out for Interest on old Bills exchanged. } 950000				500000	160000			790000		
Duties on Salt continued Anno 1734. } 600000								500000		
Duties on Salt continued Anno 1735. } 600000								600000		
The Land-Tax and Duties on Malt being annual Grants, are not charged in this Account, nor the 100000l. charg'd on the Deductions of 6d. per Pound.										
EAST-INDIA Company.										
By two Acts of Parliament 9 <i>Will. Regis.</i> and two other Acts 6 & 10 <i>Annæ Reginae.</i> } 3200000								3200000		
BANK OF ENGLAND.										
On their original Fund at 6l. per Cent. } 1600000								1600000		
For cancelling Exchequer-Bills Anno 3 <i>Georgii primi.</i> } 1500000								1500000		
Purchased of the <i>South-Sea Company.</i> } 4000000								4000000		
Annuities at 4l. per Cent. charged on the Duty of Coals since <i>Lady-Day</i> 1719. } 1750000								1750000		
Ditto charged on the Surplusses of the Funds for Lottery 1714. } 1250000								1250000		
Ditto for Lottery 1731. } 800000								800000		
SOUTH-SEA Company.										
On their Capital Stock and Annuities 9 <i>Georgii primi Regis.</i> } 29302203 5 6 3					1000000			28302203 5 6 3		
	47928298	3	3	2	1100000	1161700	47866598	3	3	2

As the Christian, the Gentleman and the Friend, appear in a strong Light in the following Letter, we doubt not but it will be acceptable; as every Thing must be that proceeded from that excellent Author.

Weekly Miscellany, Sept. 30. N^o 249.

A LETTER written by the late excellent Archbishop TILLOTSON to CHARLES Earl of Shrewsbury.

My LORD,

IT was a great Satisfaction to me to be any Ways instrumental in the gaining your Lordship to our Religion, which I am really persuaded to be the Truth. But I am and always was more concern'd that your Lordship would continue a virtuous and good Man, than become a Protestant, being assured that the Ignorance and Errors of Mens Understanding will find a much easier Forgiveness with God than the Faults of the Will. I remember that your Lordship once told me, that you would endeavour to justify the Sincerity of your Change, by a conscientious Regard to all other Parts and Actions of your Life. I am sure you cannot more effectually condemn your own Act than by being a worse Man after your Profession to have embraced a better Religion. I will certainly be one of the last to believe any Thing of your Lordship that is not good; but I always feared I should be one of the first that should hear it. The Time I last waited upon your Lordship, I had heard something that afflicted me very sensibly; but I hoped it was not true, and was therefore loth to trouble your Lordship about it: But having heard the same from those, who, I believe bear no Ill will to your Lordship, I now think it my Duty to acquaint you with it. To speak plainly, I have been told that your Lordship is of late fallen into a Conver-

sation dangerous both to your Reputation and Virtue, two of the tenderest and dearest Things in the World. I believe your Lordship to have a great Command and Conduct of yourself; but I am very sensible of human Frailty, and of the dangerous Temptations to which Youth is exposed in this dissolute Age. Therefore I earnestly beseech your Lordship to consider, besides the high Provocation of Almighty God, and the Hazard of your Soul, whenever you engage in a bad Course, what a Blemish you will bring upon a fair and unspotted Reputation; what Uneasiness and Trouble you will create to yourself, from the severe Reflections of a guilty Conscience, and how great a Violence you will offer to your good Principles, your Nature and your Education, and to a Mind the best made for virtuous and worthy Things: And do not imagine you can stop when you please. Experience shews us the contrary, and that nothing is more vain than for Men to think they can set Bounds to themselves in any Thing that is bad. I hope in God no Temptation has yet prevailed on your Lordship so far as to be guilty of any loose Act: If it has, as you love your Soul let it not proceed to an Habit: The Retreat is yet easy and open, but will every Day become more difficult and obstructed. God is so merciful, that upon your Repentance and Resolution of Amendment, he is not only ready to forgive what is past, but to assist us by his Grace to do better for the future. But I need not enforce these Considerations upon a Mind so capable of and easy to receive good Counsel. I shall only desire your Lordship to think again and again how great a Point of Wisdom it is in all our Actions to consult the Peace of our Minds, and to have no Quarrel with the constant and inseparable Companion of our Lives: If others dis-

please us, we may quit their Company; but he that is displeas'd with himself is unavoidably unhappy, because he has no Way to get rid of himself.

My Lord,

For God's Sake and your own think of being happy, and resolve by all Means to save yourself from this untoward Generation. Determine rather upon a speedy Change of your Condition, than to gratify the Inclinations of your Youth in any Thing but what is lawful and honourable, and let me have the Satisfaction to be assured from your Lordship, either that there has been no Ground for this Report, or that there shall be none for the future, which will be the welcomest News to me in the World. I have only to beg of your Lordship to believe that I have not done this to satisfy the Formality of my Profession, but that it proceeds from the truest Affection and good Will that one Man can possibly bear to another. I pray to God every Day for your Lordship with the same Constancy and Fervour as for myself, and do now most earnestly beg that this Counsel may be acceptable and effectual.

I am, &c.

Craftsman, Oct. 1. N^o 586.

POLITICAL MONEY-DROPPERS.

A MONGST all the indirect Means of getting Money, none hath been more practis'd amongst us than what is call'd *Money-dropping*, or cheating ignorant People, by throwing a little Piece of Money in their Way, and crying *Halves*; which gives the *Artist* an Opportunity of getting into their Company, under Pretence of spending the Money they have found, and picking their Pockets at *Cards, Dice, &c.* This is not only a Trick of long standing in *England*, but seems to be peculiar to us.

There is, indeed, another illegal Method of getting Money, and not very different from it, which is common to all Nations, and hath been practis'd with wonderful Success; few what is all *Bribery* and *Corruption* but a Sort of *Money-dropping*, with this Aggravation; that, in *one Case*, Particulars only are hurt; whereas, in the *other*, the whole Community may be Sufferers in Points of the highest Importance?

B In former Times, even Ministers of State were not ashamed to turn *Money-droppers*, nor afraid of playing their infamous Game upon *Parliaments* themselves. I mean in the Reign of King *Charles II.* before which Time the very Name of *Pensions* was hardly known in our Language; and yet, in the Course of a few Years, it became so common, that almost the whole Nation was compos'd of nothing besides this Sort of *Money-droppers* and their *Creatures*; but the late happy Revolution hath put such an intire Stop to that dangerous Practice, in high Life, that were it not for the Practices of a few low Wretches, the Phrase would soon grow obsolete again. The *Court* is now so far from any Design of corrupting the *Parliament*, and the *Parliament* so clear from any Suspicion of being corrupted, that *both* together exhibit to us the noblest Pattern of *publick Virtue*; which is render'd still more compleat by the exemplary Piety of my Lords the *Bishops*, and the unspotted Integrity of all Men in Office, whether Civil, Ecclesiastical or Military. Yet notwithstanding all these burning and shining Lights, it must be confess'd, as the *learned Gazetteers* have often observed, that *Luxury, Corruption, and Debauchery* still prevail amongst the *People*, in so deplorable a Manner, as quite to invalidate the Truth of that old Observation,

REGIS ad Exemplum totius componitur Orbis.

But this must be imputed to the Nature of *Virtue* itself, which is a Plant of a much slower Growth than *Vice*, and requires a great deal of Time to be brought to such Perfection as to spread its Influence amongst the *common People*. However, it is to be hoped that the late *Gin-Act*, the *Smuggling-Act*, and the *Playhouse-Act*, amongst other reasonable Provisions of the Legislature, will reform them by Degrees, and make the *govern'd Part of the Nation* as remarkable for *Virtue* and *Morality* as their *Governors* are at present. But let us now proceed to the Methods of another Country, with Regard to getting or keeping of *Money*.

In *Germany*, when any Man is ask'd for what he owes, it is a common Practice to pick a Quarrel with his *Creditor*, and resent it as an Affront, that the *other* should call his Honour so far in Question as to demand his *Due*. This, I say, is so common a Practice, that *Querelle Almaine* is grown a Proverb in *France* for all Quarrels, which arise about *Money Matters*; and it hath been sometimes imitated in *England*, tho' not hitherto in such a Manner, or with such Success, as to become a *national Custom*.

§. Next follows Mr. D'Anvers's Account of the late Case of the Craftsman. (See p. 502)

ON Wednesday, July 13, about 10 at Night, no less than 7 Persons enter'd the Printing-House in *Bow-street*; 3 of whom rush'd up Stairs, and coming into the *Composing-Room*, one of them spoke to Mr. *Haines*, commanding him immediately to desist from working, and go with them. He ask'd them, *who* they were, and by *what Authority* they behaved in such a Manner; to which they answer'd, that he should know presently, and order'd him (being in a working Dress) to put on his Cloaths, and go with them directly. They then

separated, and went into divers Parts of the *Printing-Office*, rummaging every Place they could find for *Papers*, &c. leaving *Haines* and one of the *Workmen* in the *Composing-Room* by themselves; upon which *Haines* desir'd the *Workman* to shut them out, imagining them to be either *Bailiffs*, or *Thieves*; but, upon this, Mr. *Cornal*, one of the *Messengers*, burst open the Door with such Violence, that it knock'd the Man down that had bolted it, then enter'd the Room with a *Pistol* in his Hand, and swore by G—d he would shoot the said *Haines* and *Workman* thro' the Head, if they offer'd to make the least Resistance; and then said, but not till then, they were the *King's Messengers*, and had Authority from his *Majesty* for what they did. They now went down Stairs, and broke open 2 or 3 Doors, that were lock'd; then came into the lower Floor, where Mr. *Wiggs* being in the back Parlour, with several other Persons, rummaging for *Papers*, &c. took the *Shop-Book*, *Advertisements-Book*, and other *Books of Account*, lapp'd them up in Paper, and in Company with Mr. *Hutchins* seal'd them up with their own *Seals*, and took them away. They told Mr. *Haines* that he might take Care of the Door himself, if he had the Key; but *Haines* not having it, he spoke to a Neighbour's Maid to keep an Eye upon the House. The *Messengers* took away all the People they found there, amongst whom was another *Printer's* Servant, who came that Week to assist Mr. *Haines*, and kept him ten Days in Custody. *Haines* was confined a Fortnight, before Examination, in a very close Manner; and, after Examination, not suffer'd to come out of the Room, in which he was confined, but once for a Fortnight; and the *Messenger*, under Pretence of securing him the better, tho' lock'd up in his *strong Room*, lay in the Bed with him during the whole Time, except 3 Nights.

The *Messengers* kept a strict Guard on the House, for several Days after, to see who went into it, and to take them up; and *two Persons* being at Work in the House on *Thursday* the 14th, the *Messengers* having got Intelligence of it, and coming to the *Printing-House Door*, they found it shut, and not only attempted to break it open themselves, but actually offer'd a *Smith* Money to do it for them; which the *Smith* refused, and told them that he had had Trouble enough already for a Thing of the same Nature.

Tho' I was therefore mistaken in one Particular of my former Account, concerning the *Messengers locking up the Door*, I leave the World to judge whether their racking and rending, in such a Manner, taking up all they could meet, watching the House for several Days, dogging every Body that went in and out, and other Ways of intimidating the poor Men, did not amount to almost the same Thing.

On *Thursday, Sept. 1, two Messengers*, with their Assistants, went to the House of Mr. *Francklin's Father*, about six in the Morning, and having shewn their *Greybonds*, search'd the House, and took away *Sarah Stephens* formerly Servant to Mr. *Francklin, junior*. On the *Tuesday* following, *four Persons* came to the same Place, and about the same Time in the Morning. *Two of them* went up to the *old Man's Room*, who was then ill in Bed, and demanded Entrance; which being refused, they went down again to their Associates below for their Advice, who bad them break open the Door, which they did accordingly with such Violence, that the Door flew off the Hinges and fell upon the *old Man's Bed*. They then went up two Pair of Stairs, and broke open the Door of that likewise, and search'd the whole House, without taking any Body away, and without giving any Reason, or shewing any Authority for so doing.

They likewise went to the Houses of several other Persons, who are utterly unconcern'd in this Paper, and actually search'd some of them. Nay, they were either so ignorant of their Duty, or so regardless of it, (if they really acted under any Authority) that they seized *two Gentlemen* in the Street, (one of whom was a *Clergyman*) and were dragging them away; but upon discovering their Mistake, which could be owing only to Negligence, or most exorbitant Influence, they let them go again, and took to their Heels. In short, whoever they were, they acted, in several Respects, more like *Russians* than *legal Officers*; and therefore I cannot suppose that they had any Authority for so doing, or that they will be supported in it.

The Case of Mr. *Amburst*, who surrender'd himself, is now put upon so honourable a Footing, by mutual Consent, that he hath no Reason to complain of any Hardship, besides his being confined for *ten Days*, and being at last obliged to take out a Writ of *Habeas Corpus* before he could regain his Liberty, unless he would give Security for his good Behaviour, as well as Appearance.

Sarah Stephens, the Servant-Maid, having been kept above a Fortnight in Custody, without any Examination, was likewise brought by *Habeas Corpus*, at a considerable Expence, before Mr. *Baron Thompson*, who admitted her to Bail upon Appearance only; tho' it had been elsewhere refused to several others. It does not become me to give any Account of what pass'd before his Lordship, upon that Occasion; nor is it proper to take Notice of several other Particulars, which, being cognizable by Law, ought not to be explain'd any where except in a Court of Justice. I shall therefore only add, that several of the *Workmen* are still in Custody, and God knows when any of them will be discharged, without an *Habeas Corpus* for so doing.

very one of them, as well as *Bail*, which must be very expensive, as well as troublesome.

This, with what I have said already, is sufficient to convince any reasonable Man whether there is not something extraordinary in the whole *Affair*; and whether much more could have been done, even in a Case of *High-Treason*.

Common Sense, O^R. 3. N^o 36.

Of the Ministerial Writers.

SOMEbody told the late Regent of *France*, that a very silly Parish Priest had abus'd him in the Pulpit; to which the Regent, who was above resenting the Insults of Fools, answer'd coolly, *Why does the Blockhead meddle with me? I am not of his Parish.*

In this Manner I reply to all the Indignation which the grave Mr. *Osborne*, and the facetious Sir *A. B. C.* have express'd against me.—Can't they let me alone? I'm sure they have nothing to do with *Common Sense*. Nay, I even return them Good for Evil, and do for 'em, what I believe No body in the Kingdom does but myself, for I take in their Papers at my own Expence. 'Tis true, I find my Account in it; for the *Gazetteer* makes me laugh, and the *London Journal* makes me sleep: I take the former in the Morning, and the latter at Night. Sir *A. B. C.*, and his Associates, have such an absurd Pertness, and so inimitable an *Alacrity in Sinking*, that it is impossible not to laugh at first, tho' I confess they are below it, and that it is a little ill-natur'd into the Bargain. But one can no more help it, than one can help laughing at an awkward Fellow, who going to sit down, misses his Chair, and falls ridiculous-ly upon his Breech; tho' to be sure, there's no Joke in't, and very probably the poor Man has hurt himself too. Mr. *Osborne* has a quite differ-

ent Effect upon me; his solid, uniform Dulness, is the surest Soporific I have met with; and every *Saturday Night*, as soon as I'm in Bed, my Man constantly asks me, *Does your Honour take your London Journal to Night?* I never refuse his Offer, and, to do him Justice, he reads with a slow Monotony, so well adapted to the Performance, that one would think he was the Author of it himself.

Thus, after taking these two Authors regularly, Night and Morning, they are carefully laid by in a little Closet, where I ultimately take 'em, as they happen to lie next my Hand.

I have lately heard, with Concern, that I shall soon be depriv'd of these Benefits, and that my two favourite Authors will withdraw their Weekly and Daily Labours, in order to exhibit themselves in other Shapes. Mr. *Osborne*, I am told, has engag'd to supply the Stage with Tragedies, and Sir *A. B. C.* with Comedies, that it may not be said, that the late Act has prevented the Production of excellent Dramatick Performances, as some Male-contents pretended it would. Tho' this will disturb the present regular Course of my Sleep and Laughter, which I must afterwards take by the Lump, and in Twelve-penny Doses, yet I must acknowledge 'em to be the properest Authors to answer the true Intendment of the Bill: For I will defy the most inveterate, and ingenious Malice, even that of the *Craftsman*, to apply any Thing out of their Writings. With what Impatience do I long to see the Tragick Scenes of our Laureat disgrac'd and eclips'd by *Osborne's* solid *Drama!* Yes, *Osborne* shall snatch the Poppies from *C—r's* Brow, and plant 'em on his own.

I condole with the ingenious Author of *Love in a Hollow Tree*, who must, indisputably, resign the Comick Scenes to Sir *A. B. C.*

As I am persuaded these two young Writers will have the Stage entirely to themselves, I most humbly represent it to the Lord C——n, as a Piece of Justice, to have their Labours equally divided between the Managers of the two only Theatres now subsisting. The Comedy, I believe, must belong to Mr. Rich; for, I presume, Sir A. B. C. after the distinguish'd Zeal he has manifested for the Protestant Religion, in Opposition to the Attempts of Mr. Ward (see Vol. IV. p. 7.) would, by no Means, aid and abet a Person of Mr. Fleetwood's Principles of Religion.

Having said thus much to my two Friends, to whom I give my Word I will never say any Thing more, I cannot conclude, without addressing myself a little to their Patron and Paymaster. He has certainly Parts, a pretty Turn to Waggery, a little coarse indeed, but yet not without Salt; and one must allow him to be, what Tully allow'd Nævius, *Scurra non parum factus*. I therefore cannot imagine why he will suffer, much less pay such Blockheads to write for him. I know he'll say, they are the best he can get. I admit it, I dare say they are: But then why will he have any? He had much better have none. Sylla bought off a Dunce, who would be writing for him; and Augustus paid a bad Poet, in bad Verses, as the surest Way to prevent any more. If these Fellows are to be paid for their Zeal, let the Hon. Person oblige them to throw him their Silence into the Bargain. Formerly, a Right Rev. or two us'd to draw their Pens in his Defence, but of late we have seen nothing from that Quarter neither; whether those Rev. Persons have too much Wit, or too much Bishoprick to go on, I can't tell; but this Piece of Advice I'll give him, whenever he can get another of that Kind to write for him, not to translate him too soon.

This certainly never happen'd un-

der any Administration before; for, excepting a late Imitation of *Horace*, by Mr. Pope, who but seldom meddles with publick Matters, I challenge the ministerial Advocates to produce one Line of *Sense*, or *English* written on their Side of the Question for these last seven Years. In all former Reigns, the Wits were of the Side of the Ministers; the *Osbornes*, and the *A. B. C's* against them. And how would the *Godolphins*, the *Somers's*, the *Halesfax's*, and the *Dorsets* have blush'd, to have been the *Mæceas's* of such wretched Scribblers?

As this Cause is really compassionate in itself, and particularly hard upon us anti-ministerial Writers, as we are call'd, who cannot possibly answer what we don't understand; I will offer what Expedients occur to me, for our mutual Relief.

I should think Mr. Wreatsbeck and Mr. Justice (Vol. V. p. 276, 277.) who are both happily returned from Transportation, might be of singular Use in this Distress. The experienc'd Knowledge of the former, in the useful Parts of the Law, and the known Skill of the latter in Books of all Sorts, must qualify them excellently well for Political Writers: And, if they clubb'd their Talents, they would amply repair the Loss of the deceas'd *Francis Walsingham*, Esq; or, at least, they would infinitely exceed any now extant. But if this can't be brought about; and that the Avocations of these two Gentlemen will not allow them the Leisure to turn Authors, the last Shift I can think of, and which seems to me the most likely to be put in Practice, is for the A——n to employ their A——n of A——n of P——n.

Fog's Journal, Oct. 8. N° 19.

G *Case of the Londonderry and Inniskilling Men.*

ONE daily sees and hears by far too much of Cruelty and Ingra-

Ingratitude: But I shall here only produce a most glaring Instance of the latter, accompanied with a strong Tincture of the former, and which I can never think on without Indignation and Repentment.

From the Notion of Regard and Love of one's Country, all wise States have ever been more than ordinary careful to reward and encourage the brave Adventurers for the Relief, Safety, or Glory of the Commonwealth.

The People of *England* seem to have had as clear a View of this Maxim as any in History; and besides being just and politic in such Cases, have shewed a Generosity, and Largeness of Heart, to such as have well-deserved of their State, even beyond most others. I shall just make some few Observations on two great and not very far distant Events; I mean the *Restoration* and the *Revolution*.

Whatever some may think of King *Charles I.* and his Catastrophe, I could never read the Trial and Sufferings of that unhappy Prince with dry Eyes; nor yet without a sensible Satisfaction to find, to his latest Moments, such a singular Fortitude in his brave Defence of the Fundamentals of our Constitution, and that under such odd and shocking Circumstances as I believe never occurred to any Prince,

Had he survived that shameful Trial, till the Distemper of his People had gone off, and they had come again to judge rightly, they could not but have acknowledg'd it utterly impossible to make him Amends, or to atone for their Crimes. But as it happened quite otherwise, and when their Remorse could not possibly reach him (which undoubtedly doubled their Pain) they could only ease their Minds by restoring his Son.

Besides, the fresh Remembrance of the Usurper's lawless Administration, raised in their Breasts such a full

Tide of Joy and Gratitude, at the Thoughts of being again blessed with a lawful King, that it was likely to have overflowed its Banks. New Laws were instantly enacted, to enlarge and extend the King's Power, and the People seem'd to be grown weary of their own: Large Subsidies were cheerfully granted; and indeed, what not?

Again, in 1688, after the Constitution had been so much broken in upon, by *K. James II.* and his *Papish* Advisers, that it was not any longer to be indured, the true Patriots of their Country cast their Eyes upon the late *K. William* (then Prince of *Orange*) as the only Instrument, under *God*, to redress their Grievances. He came; he prospered; and the Constitution being re-established, the grateful, generous *English* thought they could not otherwise recompense him than by giving him the Crown. Nay, they looked upon their Danger to have been such, and their Relief so seasonable, that they never after could imagine themselves safe till, by his Advice, they had settled the Succession, as it now happily stands, in the present Royal Family.

Here are two shining Instances of this renowned Nation's Generosity and Gratitude: But now for the Instance I hinted at, wherein it so notoriously and so cruelly failed. Nor was it ever well known on whom the Blame might justly be lay'd.— But tho' all those good Things came upon these Realms by the Revolution, alas! who would ever have thought it? The poor *Londonderry* and *Innis-killing* Regiments, by whose unparallel'd Bravery that great Design was principally executed, who not only bore the Heat and Burden of the Day, but did the Work themselves, when no other Labourers could go to their Assistance and Relief, did not withstanding never receive *every Man his Penny*, I mean their Pay, answerably to their Commis-

which, all dated Feb. 1688-9, amounting to (and allowed over and over) 195,091*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* besides 138,349*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* for Horfes, Arms, Ammunition, &c. and the Damage done them by the Enemy, who took their All.

Very memorable, to this Purpose, is Part of a Speech made by a Great Man, in the House of Peers, in 1705, viz. 'At the Revolution, the Londonderry and Innisib killing Men were the Persons who made the first and noble Step to K. James in Ireland: And I myself have fed some of them at my Table when they were starving, with the greatest Commendations and Promises in their Pockets; which I have seen under K. William's own Hand.' I shall at present content myself with giving my Readers the particular Case of those brave and much-wronged Men's last Agent, Mr. William Hamill.

This gallant Gentleman was Brother and Heir of Col. Hugh Hamill, who was one of the Colonels of Londonderry (of about 1000*l.* per Annum Estate) by much the most active Man in that memorable Siege, and kept thereof a very exact Diary. He was deemed the Spring of their Actions, and the very Life of their Councils. When K. James sent to require some of their Chiefs to be sent out to treat with him, the Colonel, being the principal Person, was tempted with a Promise of 20,000*l.* if he would desert his Party; which Offer he generously refused, tho' his Estate was then deeply incumbered.

That great Affair being over, he was appointed Agent for all those Regiments; and when he came over to England, he was very handsomely received at Court, particularly by Q. Mary. He followed the Claims of those Sufferers with all imaginable Application: But the former Incumbrance on his Estate, with at least 3000*l.* Damage done by the Enemy to his Mills and Plantations, together with the Expence of Soliciting, and the Monies which, at different Times, he advanced to the indigent Officers, &c. did actually strip him of his whole Fortune; the Thoughts of which, added to the Disappointments he met with at Court, did first affect his Head, and soon after break his Heart.

This was Mr. Hamill deprived of a worthy and dearly-loved Brother, together with the Prospect of a fine Estate, to which he should have succeeded. However to the Agency he did succeed, at the earnest Desire of all concerned.

He likewise prosecuted their Claims, with all the Dexterity of a Man of Business, but with his Brother's ill Success and hard Fate. For, besides his Expences in soliciting for upwards of 20 Years, he was obliged; as Agent, to support many of the Officers, while living, and to be at the Charge of burying several of them, when they died in Want,

tho' he had consumed more than 4000*l.* which was his All; not in the least doubting but that a Debt of so much Merit, as that for which he was soliciting, would not only have been justly and honourably discharged, but also, that some singular Marks of the Nation's Gratitude would have been shewed to every one concerned therein.

Q. Anne was so sensible of the Hardships which this Solicitation had brought upon him, that, in 1707, she ordered him, as a present Supply, 200*l.* out of her Royal Bounty, and 1709, she gave him 100*l.* and 400*l.* more in 1710; at which Time, a Proposal was made by Lord Treasurer Godolphin of settling on him a Pension of 400*l.* per Annum; which he then durst not accept, lest his Principals should suspect, that he might thereupon desist from prosecuting their Demand.

After that, tho' his Difficulties were hourly increasing upon him, he could never obtain one Six-pence of Support from the Government, tho' he earnestly sought it, and almost with Tears; and in 1721, (when upwards of Sixty) he was inhumanly thrown into Jail, on Account of certain Debts which he had been forced to contract for bare Subsistence. I could never learn what became of him afterwards; very probably he was suffered to lie and rot in Prison, answerably to the laudable Custom of —

As to the rest, all I can further gather is, That, on seeing these two generous Brothers ruined in this Cause, none after them would undertake the Agency; and the Claimants were so utterly unable to do any Thing for themselves, in the usual expensive Way of Application, that (as one says who wrote concerning the Affairs) like expiring Men, they had just Strength left to groan out who they were who gave them the Wounds, which, they say, they received in the House of their Friends.

Crafisman, O&C. 8. N^o 587.

Paris, Aug. 15. N. S. 1737.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,

HAVING now almost compleated what is commonly call'd the grand Tour of France, I know you will expect to hear from me. A Traveller, who imagines he shall see in France a great many fine, regular, well-built, neat Cities and Towns, such as are to be met with in Holland, Flanders, and some Parts of Italy, will find himself much disappointed. Indeed if the French Voyage Writters are to be believed, there are no finer Cities and Towns in any Part of Europe. One is extremely neat, another extremely regular, the

the third vastly magnificent; but they generally omit extremely nasty, which is a Character that much more justly belongs to most of them than those Epithets they so freely make use of. It is true, the Country of *France* is in many Parts very fertile and delightful; the Air, especially in the Southern Provinces, pure and wholesome, and the Towns and Cities are often finely situated, but rarely well built, and more rarely kept in any tolerable Degree of Neatness.

But however defective *France* may be, with respect to Neatness and Elegance in the Cities and Towns, it appears to me the most thriving Nation in *Europe*. From the poor miserable Condition, in which it was about 24 Years since; (when you remember I resided in it for some Time) its Treasures exhausted, its Trade decay'd, the People greatly lessen'd, and the Marks of extreme Poverty appearing almost every where; from this poor miserable Condition, the Country is now become full of Inhabitants, Trade is exceedingly flourishing, a Face of Plenty appears in most considerable Places, the publick Treasury was never better manag'd, nor ever abounded more with Money. This great and almost sudden Change of Affairs in *France*, has not been brought about only by the natural Advantages that Kingdom enjoys, (which are very considerable) but also by the great Care taken to encourage all beneficial Branches of Trade, amongst which, such as interfere with the Interest of their once powerful Neighbours are most carefully cultivated.

France has at present a Minister at the Head of her Affairs, who knows that a Country can grow rich only by foreign Trade. He has, undoubtedly, taken Notice by what *Spain*, *England* and *Holland* are become to wealthy, and were enabled, not many Years since, to humble the grand Monarch of *France*; and having observed these Advantages attending foreign Commerce, he uses the most proper Methods to extend and increase that of *France* to the utmost. This is laying a solid Foundation of Power and Greatness.

The *French* are very sensible of the Advantages they enjoy under the present Administration; they find they grow rich, and feel themselves as happy as a Nation can well be, in an absolute Monarchy; the present *Prime Minister* is frequently the Subject of their Conversation; the Character they give of him is, that, with Regard to his own private Affairs, he is entirely disinterested; he neither heaps up Riches himself, nor will knowingly suffer others to do it unjustly, at the publick Expence; in Employments of State, he does not prefer his Relations, or immediate Dependents, because they are such; but chooses Men only for their Integrity and Capacity; he looks upon himself as the Ser-

vant of the Publick, and notwithstanding his great Age, applies with much Affiduity to publick Affairs, setting some Hours aside, three Days in a Week particularly, to examine Proposals made to him for the Benefit of Trade. He takes special Care to protect the Subjects of *France* against all Inroads from any foreign Power whatever. You do not hear of any *French Man* ill used or insulted in foreign Countries, nor any of their Ships being taken and confiscated, or stopp'd and plunder'd by Nations pretending to be at Peace with them; but a prompt and ample Satisfaction is immediately insisted on and obtain'd. This Protection and Security of Person and Property creates in the *French* a great Opinion both of their Governments and themselves, and causes them to look with the utmost Contempt on any Nation, who suffer themselves to be insulted and plunder'd by those, with whom they are not at War.

These People are of Opinion that there is a national as well as a personal Reputation, and that it behoves the Publick to be as careful of one, as a private Man should be of the other. In this I doubt not but you agree with them; for if a Nation once suffers any foreign Power to insult them with Impunity, they will soon find others will do the same, and in a little Time both their Trade and Possessions will become entirely precarious.

It is reported here, that a certain Nation, which not many Years since we heartily despised, and beat very soundly in another's Quarrel, does not only continue to do us all Manner of Injuries, but demands whole Provinces, to which they have no manner of Right. I hope, on this Occasion, we shall behave as we ought to do.

We are great Admirers of the *French*, in many Respects, and very apt to imitate them in their ridiculous Fashions and Customs. I heartily wish we were as ready to learn from them what is truly valuable and Praise-worthy. Pray how do you think the *French* would behave to any Nation, who insulted their Subjects, used them with the utmost Contempt and Cruelty, made Prize of their Ships, and demanded Provinces from them, to which they had no Right?

In a Conversation I had with some *French Gentlemen* at this Place, I ventured (knowing my Company) to say, that *France* was indebted to a single Person for its Happiness, which must be very precarious, as it depended upon the Life of one Man, and he so far in Years; whereas the Constitution of our Country, in a great Measure, secured the publick Happiness, and made it lasting. I added, that if a future Minister of *France* should prove ever so corrupt, or pursue Measures directly opposite to the Interest of *France*, they had no Parliament, that could call him to Account; and that where the Whole depended on the

the Will of a Prince, there could be no Security for the People. The Company, being Men of Sense, allow'd Part of what I advanced to be true; but at the same Time desired me to compare the Figure that—makes at present, both in foreign Negotiations, and other Respects, with that, which France makes; and as to a Minister, who might be corrupt, or pursued Measures destructive to his Country, being call'd to Account by P— they desired me to take a View

I am, &c.

Grubstreet Journal, Oct. 13. N^o 407.

A LETTER to good Mr. A. B. occasioned by his Letter to the good Citizens of London, concerning the putting the Law in Execution for suppressing the pernicious Custom of retailing Spirituous-Liquors.

S I R,

I Do admit, 'it is the Happiness of the People of England, that no Law can be made or alter'd, without their Consent.' But, Sir, there have been several Laws made, that the Generality of the People without Doors have highly complained against, and some have not passed even within Doors without great Opposition. I can't agree with you, that always 'the Execution of the Law, as far as relates to civil Matters, is in the Hands of the People; or that no Man can be tried or condemned without a Jury of his Countrymen and his Equals, upon their Oaths, finding him guilty; or that his Sentence cannot be pronounced by any other than a Judge learned in the Law;' unless you mean, that the worthy and Hon. Gentlemen the Commissioners of the Excise, are both the one and the other.

I agree with you, that 'every Englishman is concerned in preserving this Constitution.' But how far a Man is concerned in putting in Execution every penal Law, I shall not take upon me to say. Only I would remind you, that Empson and Dudley, in Henry VIIIth's Time, were famous for putting the penal Laws in Execution, and for retaining a Parcel of Informers in their Service, and also for erecting a private Jurisdiction, and condemning Men in their Houses, without trying them by Jurie. In Henry VIIIth's Reign, they justly met with their Reward, [by losing their Heads.] As for their Men, in those Days called Promoters, now known by the Name of Informers, they were set in the Pillory, and afterwards died of Shame in Newgate. Yet Empson, tho' he, with his Fellow, lost their Lives with the universal Consent of the Nation, told the Lords of the Council, upon their first being taken up, 'That the Accusation against them was of a very new and strange Nature, that usually

Men were prosecuted for acting against the Laws, or disobeying their Sovereign's Command; but for their Part they were accused by the People for executing the Law, of which they themselves were the Authors.'

I pass over the Trouble that the good People of England was under, thro' the Increase of Spirituous Liquors. For myself, I never was any great Lover of such Liquors: It is true, I am sometimes willing to take a cheerful Dram of good Nants or Ram as a Cordial. Being in Kent last Week, thro' the excessive Rains my Spirits were much flagg'd, as we term it. Then I should have been glad of a Glas (and even your solemn self, had you been with me, I believe, would have been glad of the like.) But alas! not one to be had at all the Inns or Apothecaries Shops; and had it not been for an honest Chib, it is likely I must have rid 22 Miles thro' Floods of Water in the highest Pain, before I could obtain what was of exceeding Service to me.

It is none of my Province to enquire into the Motives that induced the Legislature to pass the *Gi-AB* in the Manner it was done. It is sufficient for me and my Fellow-Citizens, as Englishmen, to submit to it. But I must tell you, Sir, that if a Man goes into any Inn or Coffee-house, and requests the People to assist him with a Dinner, under Pretence of being sick, and leaves Money for the same, and afterwards turns Informer, I consider that Parson, as the good People of England did the Understrappers to Empson and Dudley in Henry VIIIth's Time.

The Legislature, to be sure, made the Law for the restraining the excessive drinking of Spirituous Liquors with a laudable and good Design; and I agree, that the Drinking of those Liquors was got to a very great Height, and called for the Interposition of Parliament, to prevent the same being attended with pernicious Consequences. How far the Law, made for that Purpose, has answered the Intent; or how far the Trade of the British Distillery has been tun'd out of its former Channel, the Publick and the Taxers in that Branch are best Judges of.

I am surpris'd at your unfair Reflection on that Trade, in relation to their opposing the passing the *Gi-AB*. You must know then, Sir, what you seem to be ignorant of, that the Distillers Company in London, are a very ancient Corporation; and that there are many of them rich, generous, and worthy Citizens; and that they even saw, with Concern, the ill Use that was made of Spirituous Liquors by the common People, and would gladly have restrained the same, had it been in their Power. You likewise forget, Sir, that the British Distillery has been thought not unworthy of the Care and Encouragement of a British Parliament.

What you mean by the Arts that were

vised by those concerned in the Trade, to prevent the passing the Bill, I know not; tho' you seem to be ignorant of the Intention of printing the Vote. Was it unfair in the Distillers, when they found a Law going to be made, which they apprehended would hurt their Trade, humbly to remonstrate against it? — No, sure, — I suppose you was one of those that was angry with me and my Fellow Citizens for opposing the *Excise Scheme*. Had not a laudable Spirit then rose in the People, I shall not now tell you the Consequences that might have ensued. I can likewise assure you, that the Distillers in London not only disown the Paragraphs in the *News-Papers* you talk of, but also the *Hiring* any Person to oppose the Laws now in being, they having submitted thereto as becomes good Subjects.

St. We have the Honour to have Magistrates in the City of London, renowned for asserting the Cause of Liberty; and to have a Recorder, who adorns the high Stations he sustains in the Law, and who is ready to advise the weakness of my Fellow-Citizens against being unwarily drawn in to act contrary to the Law. Being thus governed, we see under none of those dismal Apprehensions you mention, of falling under the Calamity that lately attended the City of *Edinburgh*.

In short, we have no Threatening here, even among the meanness of our Citizens, to pull down the Houses of any of our worthy Magistrates, tho' Offenders against the Oath, when found out, are punished: But then our Magistrates consider the Nature of the Offence, and do not always punish with the utmost Rigour. Our Magistrates pass the Streets in Security, and are secure in their Houses; because they have all Honour and Respect shewn by the Citizens of all Denominations.

From what I have said I suppose you will begin to believe; that we, in this City, have no Occasion for your Advice. If Persons at your End of the Town are grown wicked, be so good as to address your next Letter to the Inhabitants of *Wapping*, and the County of *Middlesex*; and no Doubt but so learned a Pen as yours, joined with the Assistance of the *Middles* Justice of the Peace, either in the Army, or out of it, will reduce the Disorderly to Reason. When that is done, I hope there will be no more threatening to pull down the Houses of any of your worthy Justices: But that all may be good Subjects to a good King, and live peaceably under their Vines, is the hearty Wish of,

Your humble Servant,

London, Oct. 3, 1737.

J. G.

* The Bishop of *Amesbury*.

Common Sense, Oct. 15. N^o 37.

His Abyssinian Majesty's remarkable Life-Guard.

S I R,

I HAVE lately enjoy'd the agreeable Company of a learned Foreign^e Prelate, not long since arrived here from the *East*, who being only a Bishop-in-partibus *Infidelium*, and, by Consequence, not oblig'd to Residence, entertains himself with viewing other Courts, particularly those of *Asia*, and of *Africa*, of which he gives very wonderful Accounts.

But nothing so much strikes my Imagination, as what he recounts of the Court of that great Emperor, Lord of the Mountains of the Moon; and, except one, the highest Potentate upon Earth, the most illustrious Prætor *Joba of Abyssinia*. I shall confine myself to one Article, viz. the Choice of his Guard;

such a Choice, as denotes his great Acuteness in judging what may best serve both to the Glory and Safety of his Person, the most capable to strike an Awe into his Subjects, and therefore the properest Ornament of his Court. Not to keep you any longer in Suspense, I must inform you, that on each Side of the Presence-Chamber, at the Foot of the Throne of his Abyssinian Majesty, is ranged a Band of 30 living Lions. They are chained indeed,

but, within the Length of their Chains, as fierce as in their native Forests. What a pitiful Figure, in Comparison with this, does the most formidable Guard make here in Europe! Will the grimest *Haffer* in Germany pretend to match his Whiskers with theirs, tho' ever so martial? Or any *Beef-Eater* here, to measure his Halbert with the sharp Fangs of these bloody *Eaters of Men*? How much Respect and Dread must such an Appearance imprint on all who come nigh that awful Throne! I humbly conceive, that the boldest Patriot there would not venture to bring a Complaint of any Grievances before a Prince beset with such a Circle.

Let us suppose an Ambassador sent thither from England (And why may not our Love of Negotiating carry us there?) to settle the Balance of *Africa*, hire Troops, &c. Suppose him us'd to the soft Scene of a French Drawing Room, or, at worst, to nothing rougher than the Sight of an Assembly of the *States-Generals*; What an uneasy Satisfaction wou'd he feel, when introduced to his Audience, thro' the Roarings and Grinnings of 60 Lions? How wou'd he stumble with his Breeches! How wou'd he hesitate and stammer in his Speech! How very difficult wou'd he find it to sustain the intrepid Character of the Prince he represented!

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Solomon is said to have been the most magnificent, as well as the wisest King that ever reign'd, and yet how short did he fall of *Prophet Jahi*! For his Throne was only guarded with twelve Lions; and those but in Effigy; whereas this Monarch has no less than *Threecore*, all alive, and with Claws and Teeth that can be used upon Occasion, as they that anger him often find to their Cost.

I ask'd the Bishop, if the Kings of *Abyssinia* had been always thus guarded? He told me no; that, till about 80 Years ago, they had no Guard but the Affections of their People, and had made a Shift to rub on so for many Centuries; but that the Great-Grandfather of the King now reigning bred up two tame Lions in his Palace, which he sometimes plac'd on each Side of his Throne, where they did no Harm to any of his Subjects, but were consider'd as a Piece of Regal Pomp, which might help to draw the Respect of foreign Nations. It was also urg'd, that the known Affection of these Animals to all those of Royal Blood, and their natural Vigilance (as they never quite close their Eyes, even in Sleeping) made them very proper to watch before the Throne in a Time of Danger, as that happen'd to be. On these Pretences, this Guard was first established, and was, at first, neither dangerous, nor fear'd; but the Number of them was increasing in every Reign, till a complete *Standing Corps* of them was form'd, to the great Terror of the Nation.

Then, indeed, the States of the Kingdom took the Liberty to remonstrate against this Innovation, and humbly besought the King to reduce his Lions. But some Excuse was still found to keep them up, and, what was worse, the People made to feed them. Many a Bullock and Sheep are the poor Farmers oblig'd to bring to their insatiable Jaws, and glad when they escape so; for very frequently they are, themselves, snapp'd up by these Devourers. And as the Emperor has many Country Houses, there are so many different Sets of Lions kept for each of them, which, in the Absence of the Court, are quarter'd in the Villages, and neighbouring Towns, at the Charge of the Inhabitants. Nor does the Nobility itself stand less in Awe of them; for tho' they are chain'd, yet the *Grand Visir*, who is their Keeper, lets out their Chains, or contracts them as he pleases; and when any Nobleman, who is not in his Interest, presumes to come to the King without his Leave, it is a great Chance if he be not torn in Pieces before he gets three Steps beyond the Door.

I ask'd the Bishop, how his Majesty durst trust his Lions to any but himself? since, notwithstanding their Regard for the Blood Royal, they might, perhaps, be turn'd against him by a Minister, who knew how

to manage them, if he found it for his Interest.

Very true, Sir, said he; and for that Reason this politic Prince, tho' he leaves his other Affairs almost entirely to his Minister, takes this Province under his own Care; for he often reviews them, fills up Vacancies himself with proper Beasts, sees that they be all of the same Size and Colour; that they whisk their Tails, shake their Manes, and roar in Concert. In one Word, he knows his Lions, and is known to them; so that, if under him the *Visir* has any Influence, it can't be attended with any Danger to the Crown. And sure they can't be better managed; for as fierce as they are to other Men, they are so obedient to him and his Minister, that I have seen them, more than once, lick both their Breasts, and snaw upon them as if they had been so many Spanjels. Nay, I heard the present *Visir* declare in Publick, That if any of them durst presume to growl at him, or so much as look like Lions in his Presence, he would have them turned out of Court with a good Whipping, and sent to starve in the Woods from whence they came. (See p. 371.)

Nevertheless, added the Bishop, it is the Opinion of many People of good Sense in *Abyssinia*, that the *Visir* is over-confident of his Power; and that, as secure as he thinks himself amongst them, he had best not put his Head into their Mouths.

I suppose, said I, he takes Care that the Chains with which he holds these Beasts are very strong. O! Yes, replied he, they are all of beaten Gold; and when any prove more unruly than the rest, no Expence is spar'd to double their Chains, after which they become as gentle as Lambs; to their Keeper I mean: For it is observable of these Creatures, that the more tame they are to him, the more mischievous they are to every body else.

I have heard, said I, that the Lions of this Country are naturally tame the stoutest in the World. They have been counted so, answer'd he; but few of these have ever look'd a Tyger, or a Leopard in the Face. They came to Court *erant Whelps*, and since that Time, have only prey'd where they met with no Resistance; yet some among them have good Blood in their Veins, and would have Spirit, if they cou'd but break their Fetters.

As I always endeavour, out of all I see or hear, to draw some Benefit to my native Country, I have been considering how far it might be proper to imitate this *African* Magnificence in England: And tho' I am against bringing Lions to our Court, as it might be called setting up a foreign Force, and would therefore be justly opposed by a *British* Parliament; yet, I am sure, no Objection can

be made to a Guard of 60 or 100 *English* *Mastives*; which, if constantly tied up, wou'd be as fierce, and no less watchful, or loving to their Master. I prefer them to *Bull-Dogs*, because they look more terrible; and in these Matters, *Show* is a great Article.

IN our *Magazine* for March 1733, p. 125, Col. 1. we obliged the Publick with a Specimen of that great Poetical Genius, Mr. *Sylvanus Urban*, in Hopes the Favour we then did him, would have raised his Flight, and made him soar to the highest Pinnacle of *Parnassus*; and for the same Purpose we have lately dubb'd him a *Doctor*; but, to our great Surprise, we find he still grovels at the very Foot of that delicious Mountain, as the World may see from what follows.

In the *Grubstreet Journal* of Sept. 29th. was published the following Copy of Rimes; for we shall not put such an Affront upon Poetry as to call it a Poem, viz.

The Political State to the Gentleman's and London Magazines.

FOR five years I afforded your readers to live on
Choice matters, which rightly improv'd they
might thrive on:

They gave, as originals, my copy at large,
Except print and paper, not at the least
change;

I imputed no crimes to their whole-sale cap-
Nay, bogg'd their excuse, if I bank'd their
expecting.

But since they've succeeded to plow with my
(Howe'er I'm deceiv'd, I'm not a deceiver)
They forget their old state, and puff'd up
with pride,

As new-mounted beggars, they *Yebu*-like
They pilfer'd whate'er their light fingers could
touch,

And blam'd a poor stranger for not taking so
Yet if they suspect any copies their page,
They cry—*Pillage*,—*Impose*—forsooth! in a
rage.

'Gainst good sense and modesty, what wicked
But alas! they will die, as they live, more
book-sellers.

After which followed this N. B. *These*
Verbes were inserted on the proper Application
of an unknown Correspondent.

By the low Conceit and hobbling Verse of
these Rimes we immediately guessed from
whence they came, and were soon convinced
we had guessed truly; for in the very next
Grubstreet Journal, October 6th, was published
the following,

N. B. By altering a Copy of *Vases*, To
the London Magazine, and inserting them in
our last, we made a diverting Discovery, of
which we shall give some Account in our next.

Accordingly, in the *Grubstreet Journal* was
published the following Piece of secret Hi-
story, which we shall give our Readers, with
some Notes and Observations of our own.

Grubstreet Journal, Oct. 13, 1737.

From the Pegasus in Grubstreet.

ON this Day fortnight, Sept. 28. late in
the Evening, an odd-look'd, antiquat-
ed, lean, shabby Person, who seem'd to
have taken his Flight from *St. Yebu's Gate*,
Cherkwell ——— brought a Copy of rime-
tagg'd Lines to our Printer's Journey-man,
giving him Half a Crown, that they might
be inserted in our *Journal* of the 29th. The
Address was, *The Political State to the*
London Magazine: Which, together with the
Contents, giving us a Suspicion from what
Quarter they were pass'd; in order to make
a fuller Discovery, we enlarged the Address,
making it run, *The Political State to the*
Gentleman's and London Magazines. This
we were certain we might do with the strict-
est Justice; since the *Gentleman Magazines*
was the first piratical Pillager of the *Political*
State, and other Pamphlets and Papers, and
set the Example to the *London Magazines*:

E Who, as we have good Reason to believe,
having out-bid the *Gentleman Magazines* *,
got the primary Publication of those Speeches
which both he and they formerly stole from
the *Political State*; and which now the *Gentleman*
Magazines constantly steals, and the
Author of the *Political State*, by a just Re-
prisal, takes from them †.

According as we suspected, the grim Rime-
Carrier

* If this were true, it would only show that we spare neither Pains nor Expence to procure our Readers such Originals as may be worth their Acceptance; therefore we must first return our Thanks to our Brother *Grub*, for the intended Compliments, and then we shall assure him that we never had Occasion to out-bid the *Gentleman Magazines* for any Original, nor, we believe, ever shall; for the *Doctor* seems to have laid it down as a Maxim, never to apply to any Author, whose Productions may not be purchased for the common Price of a City Porter; and such we shall never either apply to or employ.

† In *Grubstreet* to the *Political State*, we think ourselves obliged to declare, that he shall al-ways be heartily welcome to copy any Thing he pleases from us. Even *Doctor Urban* himself might have proceeded without our Notice, had he behaved to his Benefactors with common Decency, and not shew'd in what he had stolen, with *Wx* took the first Opportunity, *Wz* gave a further Detail, *Wz* shall endeavour to give, and the like deceitful Preamble,

Carrier came next Morn'g to our Printer, and, with a stern squinting Look, a wide expanded Mouth, and in a clamorous incendiary Style, demanded his Half-Crown again. Which, not out of the least Apprehension of his Throats; but in mere Compassion to his meagre Countenance, his Thread-bare Coat, and postic'd Wig, was charitably return'd him; and which we hope his Principal will permit him to keep as a Porter, over and above the other * Half-Crown, which we suppose he might have paid him as a Post.

Craftsmen, Oct. 15. N^o 588.

A Proposal on Signor Balducci's renowned Invention.

Mr. D'ANVERS,

I HAVE always look'd on It as a laudable Inclination in my Countrymen, and therefore have been a constant Advocate for the Importation of Italian Operas and Singers, Dancing-Posture-Balances-Masters, Turnblers, Rope-Dancers and Harlequins; all which I could prove to have been of so much Advantage to our most excellent M^{an}—y, and consequently so necessary to the Well-being of the Kingdom, that the annual Expence of them is a mere Trifle, in Comparison with the Benefits we reap from them. For Example, can any Thing be of more Use to a Plenipotentiary employ'd in making Treaties, than to observe how they manage at an Opera; where those Instruments, which are of too high a Tone, are lower'd, and those too low are screw'd up to a proper Pitch, till at length their prodigious Discord is soften'd into Harmony? Again, why may not a Minister, from observing the regular Motions of a French Dancing-Master, avoid taking a false Step; or from the well-poiz'd Performances of a Balance-Master gather Hints, which may be of singular Use to him, in his Profession of preserving the Balance of Power? A Tumbler, who takes that Leap which in French is call'd *le saut perilleux*, in English the *Somerfet*, and never fails to light on his Feet, may certainly instruct a Statesman to do the like, after having attempted a general Excise, or any other dangerous Project; and a Rope-Dancer must be a constant Memento to him not to fly too high, for Fear of his Neck. Harlequin's surprizing, and always-ready Expedients, by the Help of which he escapes the greatest Dangers, avoids the threaten'd Kickings of the Burgo-master, and clears his Passage to his intriguing Frow, must be a very useful Lesson to a Prime Minister, in the various Dangers, to which he necessarily exposes himself from the very Nature of his Office. There is one Stratagem, which I

have often seen Harlequin employ, with Success, in his utmost Extremity, after all his Tricks have fail'd him, and when he could be no longer secure even in the Shape of a Spanish Dog, and to no Purpose fawn'd upon one and p—s'd upon another. His Device was this. When he found himself very hotly pursued for his many flagrant Excesses, he hath got off by throwing amongst his Persecutors Handfuls of that Money, which he had pick'd out of other People's Pockets. This naturally causing a Scramble amongst them, he hath dextrously taken an Opportunity of running over their Backs, and making a clear Escape. I would humbly recommend this Hint to a certain great Man, and hope it may some Time be of Use to him, as well as of Advantage to the Nation. For which Reason, I apprehend, that when the Wisdom of our Legislators thought fit, by a late Act, to lay an Excise upon Wit, they laid it only upon articulate Wit, and left to Signor Harlequin the full Exercise of his faculties Agility, for the more effectual Instruction of his Betters.

I should be inexcusable, if I omitted making honourable Mention of the renowned Signor Balducci, as he very justly styles himself in an Advertisement publish'd by him, in which he tells the Publick that he hath brought over with him two wonderful mathematical Statues, which are altogether of a new Invention, and exquisite Workmanship; the one representing a Damsel, who from the Beak of a Pidgeon on her Head, treats the Company with red or white Wine, as they call for it; the other being the Figure of a Blackamoor, which is so artfully compos'd and fram'd on such Principles, that he turns himself any Way he is desired, and gives his Opinion upon Matters propounded to him, either in the Negative, by shaking his Head, or in the Affirmative, by striking a Bell, as commanded by his Master Signor Balducci, who influences his several Motions in so secret a Manner, that the most quick-sighted Spectator can by no Means perceive how it is done.

Now, for the Benefit of my Country, I propose that Application be immediately made to the renowned Signor Balducci to make 26 or 27 grave old formal Figures, in the same Manner with that of his Blackamoor, and contrived so as to turn any Way they are commanded. That nothing may be wanting in Point of Decency, and the goodly Appearance of these sage Figures, I would have them array'd in the same Pye-bald Habits as the Originale, with their Visages taken exactly from the Life, and double-brom'd by that ingenious Artift, who retains the Heads

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* If this meagre Post's Principal paid Half a Crown for these Rimes, he exceeded his usual Generosity; for we have good Reason to believe, that the Person to whom the pretended Prize of 40l. was allotted, had no more than five Shillings, both for his Poem, and for acknowledging the Receipt of the whole 40l.

of Plato, Socrates, Seneca, Cicero, &c. or if it should be thought that their Countenances, particularly their Noses, will come nearer the Originals, if made of Wax, I would recommend this Part to the celebrated Mrs. Salomon. As soon as they are thus compleatly finish'd, I would humbly propose that they should be placed, in due Rank and Order, upon the same Seats, of which their Originals are in Possession at present; and that each of them shall give his Proxy to the Figure intended to represent his Person. Instead of striking on a Bell, each of these Figures should signify his Consent by smiting a Cushion with his Right-hand, and his Non-Consent by extending an empty Purse in his Left, instead of shaking his Head.

The Benefits, which must arise from this Scheme, will be very great, and are so obvious, that they hardly want any Explanation; for by these Means the Originals will enjoy all their former Privileges, and at the same Time have more Opportunities of doing their Duty in another Capacity, which more properly belongs to them.

It cannot, indeed, be expected that the renown'd Signor should either be at the Trouble of framing 26 such Figures as these, or communicate his Secret in the Management of them, without a considerable Reward. But this Difficulty may be easily got over; for altho' the Civil List is in itself so scanty, as not fully to answer the Intention, for which it was granted; yet the Money may be easily raised by Way of Lottery. I would not, however, have the Adventurers lose quite 65 per Cent. as they do in the present *Bridge* Lottery; which I humbly apprehend is a little too much; and therefore I propose that their certain Loss may not be above 60 per Cent. only; in which Case, I think, there can be no Doubt that the Lottery will immediately fill. I am farther persuaded, that the Tickets will bear a considerable Premium; provided a proper Indulgence be granted to the *Jews*, and other worthy Adventurers of *Exchange Alley*, by which they may be enabled to make the most of the Lottery.

I am aware that some Cavillers may object against my Scheme, and allege that, at this Rate, the World would look upon these *Infamous* Persons as mere Tools and Machines, to be moved and actuated by the sole Pleasure of a Minister. But this, if rightly consider'd, can have no Weight in it, since evil Tongues will always abound; and there are not wanting Men, base enough to say so much of that learned Body, even in their present independent and uninfluenced Situation; yet were these bold Calumniators call'd upon to prove their Charge, they would find it very difficult, if not impossible, to do it to the Satisfaction of a well-chosen Jury. All they could say, in such a Case, would probably a-

mount to no more than a vehement Suspicion; and since this is the present Case, will it not be the same Thing, when my Scheme for artificial, instead of personal *Purses*, shall have taken Place? A ministerial Influence may be then, as it is now, suspected by some Men; but cannot be proved by any. It is now deny'd, and so it may be then, with as great Steadiness; and for my Part, I solemnly declare, that when Signor *Baldacci* exercis'd his Figures before me, (tho' I must freely own that I strongly suspected their Motions to be dependent on the Will and Pleasure of that renown'd Virtuoso) yet I could not, with all the Eyes I had, see in what Manner he influenced them; and consequently I cannot depose, on Oath, that he influenced them at all. What then becomes of this Objection? It plainly appears to be a downright Cavil, and as such deserves to be intirely disregarded.

Grave Court, Aug.
16, 1737.

Yours, &c.

PHILOMATH.

Common Sense, Oct. 22. N^o 38.

This Paper contains a Memorial of that great Statesman, Cecil, to Queen Elizabeth; in which is laid before her the Danger of being governed by any one Counsellor. I leave it to our ministerial Gentlemen (says Mr. Common Sense) to apply it in such Manner, as in their great Wisdoms they shall think fit, promising not to disturb them. (We shall give our Readers a few Extracts from it.)

A KING, by his royal Office, is the Father of his Country, whose Eye ought to watch over the Good of all and every one of his Subjects, in the just Execution of the Law, and the impartial Dispensation of Prerogative; in redressing Grievances, rewarding Virtue, punishing Vice, encouraging Industry, and the like. But Princes, tho' the Viceregerents of Heaven, being not endued with Omniscience, can only know these Grievances, Virtues, Vices, Industry, &c. of the People, and their several Exigencies, by the Eyes and Information of others: Nor can this be done by trusting to any one particular Favourite, who having no more, nor larger Qualifications than his Prince, can have no other Means of informing him aright, than what his Prince has without him; nay, it may very well be said, that he has not any Means so sure and infallible. For the Prince, if he consults his great Councils, and only adheres to their publick Decisions, cannot miss of knowing all that is necessary to be known for his own Glory, and his Peoples Good, which are inseparable; but the Favourite having private Designs to carry on, receives his Information from those who must represent Things to him as he would have

them, by that Means to make their Court, and secure that Success to their Wishes, for which they daily pay the Adoration of so much Flattery. But if by the wonderful Application and Perspicuity of the Favourite, he should attain a true Knowledge of the State of Things, of the Inclinations and Desires of the People, it is forty to one that these chaffing with his private Aims, he gives them another Face to the Prince, a Turn more agreeable to his separate Interest, tho' equally destructive of his Master's, and his Country's Good.

The only Way therefore for a Prince to govern with Satisfaction to his own Conscience, is to be the common Father of all his Country, to hear the Advice of all his Counsellors, and have an open Ear to all the Grievances and Necessities of all his People; which can never be done, while any one Man has the Luck to possess the Royal Favour so far, as to make his Advice an Over-balance to the whole Nation. They gain, by that Means, a Power which they extremely seldom, if ever, use for the Prince's Advantage, but most commonly, if not always, to the Destruction of both. There are Examples enough of this to alarm any wise and politic Prince. The Mayors of the Palace in France at last possess'd the Throne; and Domestic Instances may be given of those, who, by their excessive Power, have, if not themselves possess'd, yet deprived, and set whom they pleas'd on the Throne.

But omitting what your Majesty knows extremely well, I shall only give you a View of a great Favourite in the Reign of your Royal Father, a true Prospect of whose Practices and Ambition, may warn your Majesty against all those, who would engross not only your Majesty's Ear, but all the Gifts and Places your Majesty can bestow; so to be, if not in Name, yet in Effect, Kings of your People. I mean Cardinal *Walsley*. (*Of whom he proceeds to give an Account.*)

This Sort of Men are easily distinguish'd by their fawning Devices. They make it their Endeavour to study and find out the most powerful Inclination of their King, whether he be inclin'd to Pleasure, Tenderness, Pity, Cruelty, or Avarice; and having gain'd a Knowledge of this, they never want the Address to work and interweave it in all their Designs, to accomplish their own private Ends. And there are few who are not sooner won by an obsequious Flattery of their darling Inclinations, than by the honest Face of Truth, in Contradiction to those Inclinations.

A wise Prince said, *In a Multitude of Counsellors there is Safety*; from whence, by a natural Consequence it is plain, that in one there is Danger; Danger both to the Prince and the People, and often, very justly, Ruin to the Person who, by such Measures, hoped to gain Power and Felicity.

The Passions too much indulg'd, have always been the Source of Miseries and Misfortunes both private and publick. And it is impossible that any one can escape Pain, who will hear no other Advice. And I think it is too plain to need any Proof, that no Prince can be guided by any one Minister, but by a passionate Fondness, either for his imaginary Virtues, or agreeable Vices. And I think it is as plain, that such a Prince, and the Kingdom govern'd by him, must be miserable in the End; and for this Reason, all wise Statesmen agree, that a Prince, or State, ought to have no Passions, if they would prosper in Glory and Power.

Valour and Conduct in Armies, may shine in one Subject, Frugality and good Management in another; but till we can find one Man Master of all Knowledge, and all Virtues, it will never be safe or honourable to confide in one, exclusive of all others. For that Nation is in a lost Condition indeed, that can afford but one Man among all its Nobility and Gentry qualified to serve the Publick; Nay, it is an Argument both of Weakness and Depravity in a Prince, who, if he encourageth Virtue, would not want Numbers of Heads to assist him.

Craftsmen, Oct. 22. N^o 589.

Of the antient Egyptian Government.

THE antient Egyptians were not only famous for the Invention of Arts and Sciences, but are reported, by several Historians, to be the first who understood the true Nature of Government. *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that altho' their Government was monarchical and hereditary, it differ'd in several Respects from all other Monarchies, and that their Kings were more strictly oblig'd to obey the Laws.

Not only Slaves and Foreigners were prohibited to attend about their Persons; but Men of the most distinguish'd Birth, Education and Abilities were always chosen for that Office, in order to infuse generous Sentiments into their Minds, and check them in their Extravagancies; which little Upstarts could not take the Liberty of doing; for, as *M. Rollin* observes from the same Author, it seldom happens that Kings indulge themselves in any vicious Excesses, unless their Ministers, or Favourites, encourage them in their Irregularities and Passions.

The Kings of Egypt were so far from complaining of these Restraints upon them, that they did not look upon it as any Affront to be stinted both in Quality and Quantity of their Eatables and Drinkables. Nay, instead of being allow'd by Law, to range abroad, in Pursuit of unlawful Pleasures, even the Times of lying with their own Queens were prescribed

prescribed to them. How this nice Affair was regulated, does not appear, or whether it was always strictly observed by the Kings; but at the Declension of the Empire, this Law was grown so obsolete, that *Cleopatra* made no Scruple of conversing with another Woman's Husband, which proved the Ruin of them both.

However, these *Egyptian* Monarchs were allow'd a little Flattery, like other Kings; for it was the particular Business of the High Priest, in the Midst of their divine Service, not only to pray for his *Egyptian* Majesty, but likewise to enter into a long Detail of his royal Virtues; taking particular Notice that he was a most gracious and religious King; mild in his Government; just in all his Actions; a perfect Master of his Passions, &c.

But the High Priests of that Age were not so fulsome in their Panegyrics as some of modern Date; for tho' they paid these fine Compliments to all Princes, whether they deserved them or not, it was with a glorious Intention of exciting them to the Practice of Virtue, and in order to dissuade them from Vice. They took the Liberty of putting them in Mind, at the same Time, of the Faults and Miscarriages, which Kings are capable of committing. To do this with the more Decency, they always supposed that it was owing either to Ignorance, or Misinformation; denouncing Vengeance against all Ministers, who gave their royal Masters ill Advice, or conceal'd the Truth from them.

But amongst all the *Egyptian* Customs, the most remarkable were their Funeral Ceremonies. In most other Countries, and particularly in the present Age, it is grown a received Maxim, to speak nothing ill of the Dead; but in *Egypt* it was not allowed to praise them in the same indiscriminate Manner. They could not have that Honour, without the Approbation of the Publick. As soon as any Man died, he was brought to his Trial. There was an Officer appointed, on Purpose to accuse him. If it was proved that the Deceased had behaved in a scandalous, or corrupt Manner, his Memory was branded, and his Body deny'd Burial. On the contrary, if he was acquitted, he had all the Honours of Interment paid to him. This Law had such an Effect upon the Morals of the People, that every Body was afraid of disgracing his own Character, and the Reputation of his Family.

What was most surprizing, as *M. Rollin* observes, in this publick Court of Judicature upon the Dead, is, that the Crown itself was not exempted from it. The Kings were spared, during their Lives, for the Sake of the publick Good; but, when dead, were obliged to undergo the same strict Enquiry; and some of them have been actually deny'd the funeral Honours of their Country.

If the Judgment happen'd to prove in Favour of the Deceased, they gave him an honourable Burial, as I observed before, with a funeral Panegyrick; without taking any Notice of his Birth, or Rank in the World. All the People of *Egypt* were reputed noble, and did not look upon any Thing as true Praise, but what arose from personal Merit. For this Reason, they insisted only on the Prince's Justice, Generosity, Modesty, Affability, Sweetness of Temper, and other amiable Qualities, which not only secured him from Censure, but raised the most glorious and lasting Monument to his Memory.

WE have received the Letter dated October 17. relating to a late Election, and shall willingly comply with the Gentleman's Request, if he or his Friends will furnish us with the proper Materials, or recommend us where we may be provided with such; for as we never have given, nor ever intended to give, a full Account of the Proceedings and Debates upon any Election, we did not take Care, at the proper Time, to furnish ourselves with the necessary Materials for giving such an Account of the Election mentioned by our Friend and Correspondent.

We are sensible nothing can be of a more general Concern, than a just and impartial Determination of the Right of Election in general. Upon this the very Essence of our happy Constitution chiefly depends. But the Right of any particular Election is not of such a general Concern. The Friends and Neighbours of the two contending Parties in any Election, may be desirous, and even anxious, to see a full Account of the Proceedings and Debates upon that Occasion; but the People in every other Corner of the Kingdom are generally very little curious about them, and would perhaps complain of our filling up our *Magazines* with what concern'd private Persons only, and neglecting those Affairs which were of the most publick Concern. For this Reason, tho' the Publick may be consequentially concerned in determining the Right of every particular Election, yet we have always chosen to pass them over superficially, in order that we may have Room to give a more full and exact Account of those Affairs in which the Publick is immediately and apparently concerned.

However, if we can be provided with Materials, we shall take some Method or other, for satisfying our Friend and Correspondent in what he desires; and shall always be ready to oblige any Gentleman in the same Way, to the utmost of our Power, especially when he assists us with proper Materials, which any Gentleman may do, without letting any one know he does so, by directing them to *Mr. Apley* at the *Rose in St. Paul's Church-Yard*.

Part of the Fifteenth Chapter of EXODUS
paraphras'd by a School-Boy.

WHEN *Israel's* sons, led by the fav'ring
hand

Of God their guide, had left th' *Egyptian* land;
In words like these, their sacred Chief express'd
The heavenly raptures glowing in his breast.

To thee, O Lord, my joyful tongue I raise,
Do thou accept, who dost inspire my lays.
Thy praise for ever shall employ my breath;
My joy in life, my confidence in death.

How was thy mighty arm stretch'd forth to
shed

Vengeance divine on *Pharaoh's* guilty head!
How was thy nobler pow'r display'd to save
Thy fav'rite people from the watry grave!
To thee, our Strength, shall lofty altars rise,
And spicy frankincense perfume the skies:
A spacious tent thy sacred shrine infold
In waving purple and enliven'd gold.

Thy glories there, O! may thy servant see;
And dedicate the life thou gav'st, to thee.

Encompass'd round with death, when late
we pray'd,

And spread our trembling hands to God for aid,
He heard propitious; at his dread command
The rolling ocean's confluent waters stand
In heaps on heaps: the rising tides restrain
Their headlong course, nor hasten to the main.
Divide thou deep, he said; the waves obey,
And parting form between a dreadful way,
Wall'd in with waters; where the dolphins
play'd,

And o'er the spreading beds of coral stray'd;
Where golden sands appear in bright array;
And rip'ning shells their lucid folds display;
We march securely forth, led by his pow'r
Who form'd the seas, and taught them where
to roar.

We gain the distant land; the *Egyptian* train
With fierce pursuit, rush quick into the main.
Return thou deep, then said th' omnific word,
Nor added more; old Ocean heard his Lord.
As (if great things we may with small com-
pare)

When *Edom* sends her eager sons to war;
In strict array th' embattled warriors stand,
Press the strong courser close, and wait com-
mand:

Quick at the word they give the slacken'd rein,
Hang o'er the flying steeds, and sweep along
the plain.

Thus with impetuous force the waters flow,
And roll in mountains o'er the sinking foe.
Ah! what avails the painted chariot's pride,
Or courser's strength beneath the whirling tide?
Alike unable now to fight or fly,
O'erwhelm'd, confounded, lo! they droop,
they die;

And bury'd in one mighty ruin lie.
To thee, O God, what trophies shall we raise;
What lasting monuments to speak thy praise?

The well-fixt pillar, and the figur'd bust,
Sink down with age, and moulder into dust:
O! let our hearts the chosen marble be;
The living temple consecrate to thee:
Thy sacred name inscribe, *Yehovah*, there;
They'll feel the Characters of praise they bear.

A Speech of MENTOR, imitated from the
22d Book of TELEMACHUS.

HEAR, O *Telemachus*! and bear in mind
The words of *Mentor*. In a state, two
things

Are dangerous, dreadful, and most hard to
"The too great power and violence of kings
"A people drunk with luxury and pride."

When kings, forgetting or despising law,
Give up the rein to blind and headstrong
passion,

And bear no check on their unbounded wills,
What must ensue? precipitate they rush,
As wayward humour, or ambition leads,
To acts of power, oppression, or injustice:
And for the lust of doing what they will,
Lose the just power of doing what they ought.
As the strong bow, when rashly bent too far,
Breaks short, and wounds perhaps th' unwary
archer:

So regal power, when stretch'd beyond its
Destroys itself, and hurts the Publick too;
And who's the man shall dare to touch that
string?

Sooth'd by fond hopes, by no sound maxims led,
Hating the truth, and far above advice,
Head-long they plunge in error and misfortune.
Their friends, their ablest subjects, drove from
court,

Leave them, surrounded with a herd of slaves,
A venal cringing herd! that only vie
Who, most shall flatter every royal crime.
Lamented state! who to his prince's ear,
Thro' such a crowd, shall dare convey the
truth?

Who, nobly warm'd, shall, in his country's
Rise up to stem the tide of publick mischief?
Alas in vain! the truly great, the wise,
The bravely just, their patriot virtues scorn'd,
Hopeless, retire to peaceful silent shades,
And mourn in private o'er their country's ruin.

The other dangerous ill is luxury.
As too much power intoxicates a king,
So luxury enervates all the land.
This splendid vice is thought, indeed, fine
taste,

Politeness, grandeur, and the life of arts,
Till by degrees the most superfluous things
Are but esteem'd necessities of life;
And every day produces some improv'd
Luxurious new necessity, till all
The land becomes a race of shining beggars.
Each emulating fool absurdly vies
With those above him. All forsake their rank,
And live beyond their fortunes or condition:

Some, thro' vain pride, to make a show of wealth,

'Add some thro' shame to hide their poverty.
Nay, those who see the folly, and condemn,
Yet dare not be the first to stem the tide.

Thus the whole nation sinks and falls to ruin:
'All rank is lost, all order is confus'd.

The passion to support a proud expence,
In all the heights of pomp and luxury,
At once corrupts the purest, noblest mind,
And wastes and ruins the most ample fortune:
And as our greatest pride is to seem rich,
So nothing's infamous but poverty.

Are you superior even to all mankind
In wisdom, virtue, and in every art;
If poor — despis'd each useful talent lies,
Your worth, your virtues, bury'd and unknown.

All will be rich, at least will seem to be,
And to support that vain deceitful show,
Stoop down to mean, to venal prostitution,
And sell themselves to purchase infamy.

The BULL-FINCH and DAW. *A Fable.*

A Bull-finch, who his talents try'd
With good success, but more of pride,
As cobbling, strutting, turkey vain,
Each bird the mark of his disdain,

Admir'd, and fear'd, where-e'er he sung,
Perch'd near a daw, and thus begun;
'See! joys compleat on me bestow'd,
With pers'nal charms, and parts endow'd;
But feather'd sages sure agree

That nature nodded forming thee:
Aukward, alert, with whims thy head
Mercurial mounts, but drops in lead.
Thy shape, thy hue, our sight offends;
Thy short, shrill, accents who commends?
Not so absurd the hooting owl;
But gravely he, thou pertly dull.'

Abash'd the daw with satire stung,
Jabber'd and kaw'd, and bit his tongue;
'To hollow tree, his seat, withdrew
Still spurt'ring anger, as he flew.

With fickle wing soon chang'd his place,
A chimney cover'd his disgrace:

Here fix'd he scorns with headless ear
The sounds that reach his hollow sphere,
The titt'ring voice, or hasty calling,
Dog's snap abrupt, or puss's squalling,
Alternate fugues of scolding tongues,
Or sem-briefs bray'd from asses lungs.
With better strains, at length, he heard
A pipe instruct a tutor'd bird,
Catching the song with tuneful throat,
And echoing back each rival note.

Thus charm'd, he from his dark abode
Invited tries the advent'rous road:
Down-right he flounders on; his sight
Is hid in momentary night.

But gloomy fears, and perils ending,
To spacious, lightsome room descending,
Rewarded with what glad surprize!
Imprison'd there the *finch* he spies,

Swinging betwixt the floor and ceiling,
A cage his pendent, airy dwelling.

A gilded ball thron'd o'er his head,
Thick wires, like rays, around him spread:
A turf, beneath his foot, was found,
In miniature, a verdant ground:

Seeds here conceal'd, there gorgeous seen,
There plantain stalks were wove between.
Water, with streaks of saffron dy'd,
Rich draughts from crystal fount supply'd:
A shew of bliss his state express'd,
Tho' splendid servitude at best.

But now what refuge, or relief
Can hide his shame, or sooth his grief?
While standing oft disclos'd before him,
With hateful form oft how'ring o'er him,
Clapping his sooty wings, his foe
Adds insult to the captive's woe.

'Where's now, cries he, thy scorn, or boast?
What's wit, or beauty, freedom lost?

Tho' gay thy prison, firm its hold,
And fetters gail, tho' made of gold.
Hence, warbling slave, be this thy strain,
Thy excellence but proves thy bane:
Whilst I in my defects am blest'd,
Thou still art wretched, tho' carest'd.
The meanest, thanks to nature owe;
And chance can bring the wainest low.'

The UNSAVOURY PUDDING; or, The
Baker best-t. *A Spick-and-span-new Bal-
lad. Compos'd by Miss-fucco-pigetta-diam-
nastifalutto-syocopus.*

[To the Tune of— King John and the Abbot
of Canterbury.

ILL tell you a story,—a story so fine,—
Of a *sweet, sober* wife of a learned divine:
O'er whom the full tankard more tears has
oft shed, [has led,

Than herself has e'er done, for the life, she
Derry down; down, down, derry down.

Dear priestess! don't say, — that, with
slanderous aim,

And malicious design, or unmerited shame,
My base, tattling muse you unrighteously

brands: [hands.
No;—good woman!—I had it from very good

Derry down, &c.

Besides,—the disclosure may do you more
good, [you blood;

Than the binding your head, or the letting
Or, the most grave advice, or severest re-
bukes, [looks,

Or, your husband's grimace, and dissatisfy'd
Derry down, &c.

Tho' at my new song, then, you chance
to be vex'd, [scorn;

Sweet lady! you know, I shou'd follow my
And now, by your leave, I'll make bold to
proceed,

To speak of the delicate, dsinty, fine deed.
Derry down, &c.

By your leave,—did I say so—there myself I forgot ;—
 But I care not a pin, if I have it, or not :
 Nor indeed has my muse any reason to case ;
 Since, the truth, and no more, she intends to declare. *Derry down, &c.*
 Know then,—this good-wife, by bad chance
 t'other day, [say :
 Sipp'd a little too deep ;— as some gossipers
 And, tho' privately 'twas, that she got almost
 drunk, [β—k.
 Yet, after (forsooth) she more publicly
Derry down, &c.
 Now,—strong liquor, we find,—in the body
 when pent, [want :
 As well as the barrel,—must somewhere have
 And, when store of good-ale in the stomach
 does lurk, [to work.
 'Tis accustom'd, or upwards, or downwards,
Derry down, &c.
 In the very same manner, with madam it
 far'd ;—
 As is, in the favoury sequel declar'd :
 Nay, and worse ;— for the spirit of barley,
 you'll find, [mind,
 Had possess'd both her body, and muddled her
Derry down, &c.
 Yet,—O vile disgrace, Sir !— as ill luck
 wou'd have it, [it ;)
 (The story's so sad, I've a great mind to wave
 O grievous misfortune !—it so came about,
 That, e'er she was quite in-far't, the vessel
 was out. *Derry down, &c.*
 However,—it seems,—what she took, was
 sufficient,— [cou'd e'en with on't ;)
 (Though she had not so much, as her heart
 I say,— as it happen'd,— the dose was so
 large, [discharge.
 As, in process of time, Sir, to make her—
Derry down, &c.
 The lady o'erload'd, was ready to tumble,
 Her guts sorely grip'd too, began now to
 grumble :
 Hopes of reaching, or privy, or pot, were
 quite past) [last.
 Her fixing *mixin-browns* now came on her so
Derry down, &c.
 To tell you the truth,—she was needy betw' 'em,
 Nor cou'd longer the filthy, foul matter retain :
 So, what came next to hand, she behind did
 apply ; [β.
 Then, at once,—and that lustily too,—she let
Derry down, &c.
 This good house-wife, it seems, had that
 same day been baking,
 When she was (poor, dear soul!) in this pitiful
 taking ; [am told,)
 And had snatch'd up a cup of such sort, (I
 As was us'd, in the oven, a padding to hold.
Derry down, &c.
 But mark, Sir, what came, at this juncture,
 to pass ;
 (For misfortune comes single but seldom also!)

Ah me!—she was ne'er so hard put to't, before :
 For lo!—*goady* (what's her name?)—knock'd
Derry down, &c.
 O damnable nonplus!—unlucky intrusion!—
 What a wild confutation,—what shame and
 confusion,
 Was madam now in!—(blese us!)—how she
 was hamper'd! [— and scamper'd!
 And star'd, like a mad thing!—and bustling
Derry down, &c.
 But ladies (you know) at *invention* are quick,
 And, when brought to a pinch, can come off
 with a trick :
 Thus madam, it seems, had that presence of
 mind, [fin'd.
 That she, *somewhat*, the way to the oven did
Derry down, &c.
 Here—(first, her impertinent goofs,—having
 damn'd.)—
 The posted *fir-rose*, she hastily cram'd :
 And, when thus, in a hurry, sh' 'ad care-
 fully hid, [the lid.
 What was hardly worth saying, she put up
Derry down, &c.
 She then stalk'd to the door,— and (with
 much ado) stood,— [she cou'd :)
 And bade her friend welcome ;— (as well as
 O!—*I'm most glad to see you!*—(I pray now,
 sit down ;)—
As glad, as so see'st at a neighbour in town.
Derry down, &c.
 I own, I'm not able to give a relation
 Of what pass'd in these people's polite conver-
 sation :
 But the lady had suck'd in so much good Oc-
 tober, [fober.
 I fancy, 'twas not of that sort, we call—
Derry down, &c.
 To make short of my story,—when *goady*
 was gone, [soup :
Madam went to the oven, and took down the
 For she's not *over-wise*, nor afraid of her
 hand ; [understand.
 As,— by what goes before,— you may well
Derry down, &c.
 Now bus'ness goes forward ;— she's now
 full of earnest
 Now she's able to see after household-affairs ;—
 Having well-nigh recover'd her senses again ;
 For when company's by, she can almost restrain
Derry down, &c.
 Yet, tho' *fober*, sh' 'ad got (still) a cup, Sir,
 too much :
 For, (poor creature!) her stoutness of man'y
 was such,
 That she quite had forgot her late fit of the
colic ; [drunken frolic ?
 But, what fool can remember each mad,
Derry down, &c.
 Looking into the oven, how each thing did
 look, [cabs :
 Her eyes were soon fix'd on the *fastest* *jaffron*-
 4 E

Why, Doll!—*our bars, Doll!*—*whose padding is this?*—

Pray, *dams, how shou'd I know, whose padding it is?*—*Derry down, &c.*

Why, *who put it in?* (says the mistress) *you jads?* [pert maid:]

None of us, *I can tell you;* (replies the)

Why then, *call your master, your braman-fac'd mix!* [thinks.]

Of the matter, *let's see, what my bed-fellow* *Derry down, &c.*

The husband was call'd then, his judgment to try; [pse:]

For he often will needs have a *finger i' th'* *But, sure, 'twas enough the divine, Sir, to* *puzzle;*— [quently goggle.

Tho' he sometimes will read,—but more fre- *Derry down, &c.*

Most persons love padding,—'tis commonly said; [his head:]

So he took good, large snuffs quets up into *And then,—at the mouth of the oven it stood* *in,—* [By-padding.

He thus gave his thoughts of this strange ba- *Derry down, &c.*

Neither *whose 'tis, nor what 'tis, can I,* *as yet, tell;*

But I'm certain, *it has no agreeable smell;*

Yes I'll taste;—*Out upon't!*—*sub!*—*I'll* *give you my word,* [t—d.]

Neither *sure 'tis, nor less than a cup full of* *Derry down, &c.*

As a man of true taste, we may now you *esteem;* [you scern:]

Nay,—*a witch, I' my conscience! O doctor,* *I knew, you'd sometimes on a beauty pore;* *But I ne'er, for a conjurer, took you before.* *Derry down, &c.*

All these, for some time, on each other *did stare;* [fak:]

Nor knew, what to think, of this *nasty af-* *fect judg'd k; how'er, an advisable way,* *Not a word of this wonderful padding to say.* *Derry down, &c.*

But *budges have ears;*—*ah!*—*and children* *have eyes;* [ling espies:]

And *strange things, sometimes, e'en on a strip-* *So it happen'd too, here,—by some ugly,* *foul chance,—* [trants.]

That unfortunate madam was seen in her *Derry down, &c.*

The child told the maid,—and the maid *told her spark,—* [the dark:]

Who soon brought to light what was done in *The neighbours all laugh'd, till their sides* *were e'en sore;* [hard, before.]

And some say,—*she's grown sober, who swill'd* *Derry down, &c.*

And now, to conclude,—*for, methinks, it* *is time,* [sublime:]

Since my pen is but blunt, the' my theme be *For abating your patience, your pardon I crave;* *But, too much of a good thing, we, surely,* *can't have.* *Derry down, &c.*

And yet, at the same time, I must not *deny,* [to chy:]

That things *sweet and luscious are loon up* *Wherefore, now, this rare, new-fashio'd* *padding I'll drop;* [can sup-]

Tho', my *mafe, (I profess, Sir!)* I hardly *Derry down, &c.*

But I'm fully resolv'd to conclude, in a *trice;* [vice]

And I think, it must be, with a *word of ad-* *To you,—dear, sweet lady!*—*who cook'd up* *the plot:—* [ex-]

That the subsequent *caution* may ne'er be for- *Derry down, &c.*

To complete your recover'y,—*keep still in* *your mind,* [sublim'd:]

What a *shameful, sad thing* lately happen'd *To be plain, (tipping madam;)*—*the thing,* *I advise,*

Is,—*that you still continue both sober, and wise.* *Derry down, &c.*

And, to this good intent, (love!)—*when-* *ever you brew,* [scatter snow:]

See, the *drink* ben't too strong,—*lest you* *For, O!*—(in good faith!)—*if you brew, as* *you bake,—* [ry make-]

You'll the publick *afraid,* at your cost, mer- *Derry down, &c.*

The QUESTION. *A Letter to SERENA.* *By the Author of Quintilian's Complaint.* *(See p. 268.)*

CAN you, *sublime Serena,* condescend, *To read the humble missive of a friend?*

And for a while those lofty pow'rs forget *That bounteous heav'n has in your bosom set.*

I know you can; your generous soul will bear, *With those in whom true friendship does ap-* *pear.*

Friendship *resin'd* is what you most approve, *And modern poets call Platonic love.*

A theme, in which a thousand beauties shine, *And much deserving better lays than mine.*

But when *Serena* bids, who wou'd not write, *And tho' not her, yet give himself delight?*

Calls from the *fair* the poet's breast inspire, *Provokes his gauds, and augment his fire.*

To please the *sex* with noble views we rise, *And all inferior arguments despise.*

But I, *Serena*, with strong doubts oppress, *That daily labour in my anxious breast;*

Doubts that I am not able to explain, *By dint of thought, or travail of the brain;*

To you apply for counsel, and advice, *Th' affair's too common, but the case is nice.*

Say, *learn'd fair,* for who likes you can tell? *In whom good sense, and piercing judgment dwell;*

Say, from what cause proceeds that *rightly mind* *Which still in most of human race we find?*

How few are easy in their present state, *Which choice has given, or is assign'd by fate?*

Has *heav'n* the means of true content deny'd, *To humble mortals, and correct their pride?*

Or, is it owing to some vain desire,
Of gaining something, which we can't acquire?
Have men a source of happiness within?
Or is't, to search it from without, a sin?
The rich, the wise, the learned, and the brave,
Are still in want of what they cannot have;
And something from without, that's unpossess,
Destroys their pleasure, and disturbs their rest.
Where lies the fatal spring of all this woe,
And how it may be stop'd, *Serena*, show?
Which if you can resolve, then you shall be
A future *Delphic oracle* to me.

To the Author of the LONDON MA-
GAZINE.

S I R,

THE following Imitation is from the famous PASTOR FIDO, or, *faithful Shepherd of Guarini*. The whole Poem was translated into *English*, above an hundred Years since, by Sir R. Fanshew, but not very much to the Author's Advantage; but one Scene of it was imitated very beautifully, by the late Earl of Roscommon, beginning thus, *Hail happy grove, dark and secure retreat, &c.* And had his Lordship done the Whole, the following Scene had, perhaps, never been attempted.

From SCENE IV. ACT I. of *Pastor Fido*.
By Mr. LOCKMAN.

The VIRGIN and the ROSE.

AS in some rural paradise, a ROSE,
(Which, veil'd by leaves, and hush'd in
calm repose,

Beneath the dusky mantle of the skies,
On its fair stalk, in sweet oblivion lies)
Wakes gently, soon as the first orient beam
Calls slumb'ring nature from its transient
dream;

To *Phœbus*, who its glowing form beholds,
A besom, rich with crimson hues, unfolds:
Whence the wing'd bee (soft-breathing amorous sighs)

Extracts the lucid nectar as he flies.
Blest flower! and yet if it ungather'd stay
Till *Sol*, high mounted, dart a scorching ray,
Pining, it droops with the declining light,
And all its glories glide away from fight.

Thus the young VIRGIN, whilst her mother's care,

From flatter'ing man, conceals the darling fair,
The fair includes love's ardours from her breast,
And the soft woes which break a maiden's rest.

But thou'd some *Tyriffs* dart a wanton eye,
And she attend to the sweet tempter's sigh,
Instant her heart its inmost folds displays,
And her, now love-sick soul, is on a blast.

Then, if or bashfulness or fear restrain
The melting nymph, and she disguise her pain,
To hasted silence doom'd, the weeping lies,
Eclips'd the lovely lustre of her eyes,
Her graces fade, and the untimely dies.

An Imitation of the 15th ODE of the 4th Book
of HORACE.

*Phœbus volentem prælia me loqui,
Vitas & urbes, &c.*

WHEN first I try'd, unskill'd in lofty
verse,

Battles and conquer'd cities to rehearse,
Apollo with his lyre my temples strook,
Enrag'd, and thus the potent godhead spoke:
Forbear, he cries, to swell thy empty note,
Nor on th' *Atlantic* trust a tott'ring boat.
Apollo thus; my trembl'ing muse forbore,
And sung of battles, and of war no more.

Thy reigo, auspicious *George*, below'd by
heav'n!

Has peace and plenty to *Britannia* giv'n;
No more the cannon's warlike roar alarms;
No more the brazen trumpet calls to arms;
Unbridled license is in chains confin'd,
And banish'd 'in relinquishes the mind.

The ancient arts lift up their awful head,
By which the *British* name o'er all the world
was spread;

By which old *Albion's* strength and fame en-
By which our pow'r was own'd from west
to east.

While god-like *George* directs *Britannia's*
No civil wars shall rage, no vengeful hate,
That whets the fatal sword, and calls to arms,
And with intestine broils whole towns alarms.

Not those that drink *Danubius' rapid stream*,
Nor great *Turks* shall *George's* laws contemn;
America his dictates shall obey,
And foreign pow'rs his mediation pray.

We happy *Britons*, his peculiar care,
In peace and freedom breathe our native air;
And on our festivals and holidays
All join to celebrate our monarch's praise.

Men, women, children, in the temple pray,
And with a thankful heart their joy display.
Then to sweet songs join musick's softest
sound;

Edward's, and *Henry's* † gallant acts resound;
Whilst ev'ry bard inspir'd by *Phœbus* sings
The best of mortals, and the best of kings.

ÆNIGMA. By M. T.

FROM the womb of the earth,
I challenge my birth,
From the ladies fair fingers my frame.

I vary as oft
As *Luna* aloft,
Yst always continue the same.

In winter I'm hot,
 In summer I'm not,
 Yet I find no great alteration;
 I play'd least in fight,
 As I very well might,
 At the time of the grand usurpation,
 I have flesh I must own,
 Without any bone;
 I have tongue, yet ne'er spoke any treason;
 I bear excellent fruit,
 Without any root,
 And always am best in my season.
 Both *Indies* do pay,
 By night and by day,
 Their just tribute into my cavern;
 In the ale-house I'm poor,
 As a garretted whore,
 But always am rich in a tavern.
 When scarce a day old,
 I grow clammy and cold,
 But when into a dungeon I'm turn'd,
 I never get sleep,
 But always do weep,
 For fear of my sides being burn'd.
 As soon as releas'd,
 I away to a feast,
 And drink some more wine e'er I die;
 Then straight disappear,
 And come no more there;
 What a whimsical creature am I?

ADAM'S FALL.

ONCE *Adam* trod the happy ground
 Of *Eden's* verdant plain;
 Perpetual pleasures smil'd around;
 Nor sin had threat'ned pain.
 The charms of nature dress the grove,
 There all her stores were laid;
 And nature's God bid *Adam* rove,
 Thro' each inviting glade.
 Satan, a keen inveterate foe,
 Assumes the serpent's hue,
 And bids the man attempt to know,
 More than his Maker knew.
 The tempter bid, and man comply'd,
 And pluck'd the teaching fruit;
 Knew more than if he had deny'd
 The subtle tempter's suit.
 The fatal purchase cost him dear,
 He knew both good and evil;
 He sin'd, and straight commenc'd an heir,
 And subject of the devil.
 Once he survey'd his Maker's face,
 And call'd the God his own:
 Now trembles to approach the place,
 Where he erects his throne.
 Rock'd with distress, the rebel tries
 To shun his Maker's sight;
 To 'scape the God's omniscient eyes,
 Aims a despairing flight.

ALPHRUS, *Ætæ.* 18.

Occasion'd by seeing a young Lady drop a small Pin from between her Fingers, just as she was going to fix it in the Poth of her Cap. By the same Hand.

HIGH o'er her head her twinkling fingers play,
 To perfect order ev'ry pleat they lay;
 Then drop the little pointed jav'lin down,
 Design'd to fix the cambrick to her crown.
 Oh fatal cross! the disappointed fair
 Gropes for the pin, and dislocates her hair;
 Completely vex'd she whines with peevish tone,
 And half-distracted mutters, I'm undone:
 With mimic art she aims, but aims in vain,
 And can't for life adjust the curl again.

The MORAL.

*Ten thousand disappointments wait our fate,
 Reflex we mourn for absent good too late:
 To day we smile, secure, no danger nigh;
 To-morrow droop, repine, look up, and die.*

The Description of *Richmond Gardens* we believe will be acceptable.

An ODE. By a Sea-Captain.

WITH gallant pomp and beauteous pride,
 The floating pile in harbour rode:
 Proud of her freight, the swelling tide
 Reluctant left the vessel's side,
 And rah'd it at the flow'd.

The waves, with eastern breezes curl'd,
 Had silver'd half the liquid plain;
 The anchors weigh'd, the sails uncurl'd,
 Slightly mov'd the wooden world,
 And stretch'd along the main.

The scaly natives of the deep
 Press to admire the vast machine;
 In sportive gambols round it keep,
 Or swimming low due distance keep,
 In homage to their queen.

Thus, as life glides in gentle gale,
 Pretending friendship waits on pow'r;
 But early quits the borrow'd veil,
 When severic fortune shifts the sail,
 And hastens to devour.

In vain we fly approaching ill,
 Danger can multiply its form:
 Expos'd we fly like *Jonas* still,
 And heaven, when 'tis heaven's will,
 O'ertakes us in a storm.

The distant surges foamy white
 Foretel the furious coming blast:
 Dreadful, tho' distant, was the sight!
 Confederate winds and waves unite,
 And menace every mast.

Winds, whistling thro' the shrouds, proclaim
 A fatal harvest on the deck.—
 Quick in pursuit as active flame,
 Too soon the rolling ruin came,
 And rush'd by the Google

Thus *Adam* smil'd with new-born grace,
Life's flame inspir'd by heavenly breath:
Thus the same breath sweeps off his rate,
Disorders nature's beauteous face,
And spreads disease and death.

Stripp'd of her pride the vessel rolls;
And, as by sympathy she knew
The secret anguish of our souls,
With inward, deeper groan's, consoles
The dangers of her crew.

Now, what avail'd it to be brave,
On liquid precipices hung,
Suspended on a breaking wave!
Beneath us yawn'd a sea-green grave,
And silenc'd ev'ry tongue.

The faithless flood forsook her keel,
And downward launch'd the lab'ring hull;
Stann'd, — she forgot a-while to reel,
And felt, or almost seem'd to feel,
A momentary lull.

Thus in the jaws of death we lay,
Nor fight, nor comfort found us there,
Lost in the gulf and floods of spray:
No sun to chear us, nor a ray
Of hope, but all despair.

The nearer shore the more despair,
While certain ruin waits on land,
Should we pursue our wishes there:
Soon we recant the fatal pray'r,
'And wish to shun the strand.

At length the Being, whose behest
Reduc'd this *Chaos* into form,
His goodness and his power express'd;
He spoke, — and as a God suppress'd
Our troubles, and the storm.

The SENATE-HOUSE.

THEY glory, *Rome*, when in thy highest seats,
Thou rais'd thy haughty front sublimes-ly great,

And the whole captive earth thine own didst
At once in wisdom, as in power supreme,
I sing advent'rous, may the verse aspire,
Nor sink below the theme for want of fire.

Say muse, what prince aspiring after fame,
First built the senate an auspicious frame?
Where those august directors of the state,
Might join in solemn council and debate.
Tullus Hostilius rear'd a stately dome,
Fit to contain the majesty of *Rome*:
Whence others with his great example fir'd,
And with the hopes of future fame inspir'd,
Pursu'd the glorious work which he began,
Till divers *Curia's* met the rising sun.
Here the great fathers both in peace and war
Made *Rome's* protection their unwear'd care;
Dispensed justice, wholesome laws ordain'd,
And with fet curbs each monstrous vice re-
strain'd.

Their seats were not the seats of rash youth,
Self-will'd, regarding neither right nor truth,

But such as plainly spake discerning age,
And prov'd th' ordainers steady, careful, sage;
Tho' wise, not vain; tho' peaceable, yet brave;
Great without pride, without sufferance's grave.

If by dispute a murmur chanc'd to spread,
And 'midst those ages raise his impious head;
They saw a venerable *Cato* rise,
Whose sacred wisdom spark'd from his eyes;
At his assuaging words confusion fled,
And balmy peace rear'd up her smiling head.

So when the stormy main begins to roar,
And angry billows beat against the shore,
If *Neptune* but appear he turns the scene,
The winds are hush, the raging sea serene;
Th' aspiring surges level at his nod,
Call back their waters, and confess the god.

But shall your *Curia*, *Pompey*, now appear,
And the unmiadful muse not drop a tear?
That fatal place where the great *Cæsar* fell;
Cæsar, whose mortal wound was meant too well;
Who after all his pains and anxious strife,
Answer'd his vast ambition with his life.
He, while he thought he firmly grasp'd a crown,
From his imagin'd height was tumbling down;
Inspir'd with rage th' avenging senate rose,
Their flaming ponyards instantly disclose;
And as they struck, with joyful rage o'ercome,
This, *Cæsar*, this, they cry'd, for liberty and
Rome.

On K. CHARLES II'd's Pension Parliament.
Handed about at that Time.

FOUR winter months our senate sits,
Four millions for to raise;
And all that time employ their wits
In finding means and ways.
Eight summer months our hero spends,
In doing what? you'll say.
Why, faith, in finding ways and means,
To squander it away.

The HUSBAND.

IF blest'd the marriage state, as some agree,
Such, for my blessing, let my husband be!
Not in th' imperfect bud, but bloom of youth,
His tongue all softness, and his heart all truth;
Gay without folly, learned without pride,
Of spotless honour, and of courage try'd;
Fond as he can, but from dull dotage free,
Nor marr his gen'rous love with jealousy;
Patience, to hear a woman's simple tongue,
Indulgent, to approve it — right or wrong;
Neither to rage, nor sullenness inclin'd,
But ever complaisant, and ever kind;
Making each act productive of delight,
The morn still happy, and still blest'd the night.
If such one be, my happiness to crown,
Kind heav'n, O! give me him — or give me none.

An EPITAPH.

HERE *Fanny* lies interr'd; ah! why,
Ye gods, was *Fanny* born to die?

A female *Fanny* was, 'tis true,
 But yet no female arts she knew,
 No visits she receiv'd, or paid,
 Nor ever stroll'd to masquerade;
 Court, opera, *Park*, and play and ball —
 The prudent *Fanny* scorn'd them all.

All those, who knew her, must confess,
 She never took a pride in dress;
 For one brown garment, coarse and plain,
 (& fence against the cold and rain)
 Was all the cloaths poor *Fanny* wore,
 Who never wish'd, or thought of more.

Void of all anxious care and strife,
 She pass'd, at ease, a country life;
 A virgin to her dying day;
 Was ever cheerful, ever gay;
 And such an even temper kept,
 She never laugh'd, nor never wept;
 So little given to offend,
 She got no foe, nor lost a friend:
 Nay, tho' a female (matter rare!)
 Was prais'd and honour'd by the fair.

Then, reader, if thou hast a tear,
 I prythee, stay and drop it here;
 But lest thy eyes too fast should flow,
 Methinks 'tis fair to let thee know,
 Tho' *Fanny*, true, is dead and gone,
 Poor *Fanny* was a harmless fawn.

THE MANTUA-MAKER.

YE powder'd wits,
 And dapper cits;
 Who rail at mouton-making!
 A female pen,
 Shall tell all men,
 How much you are mistaken.

Your girls of fire,
 That rhymes inspire,
 Much sprogier than a fiddle;
 We make divine,
 And dress so fine,
 By dint of thread and needle.

When little miss
 Desires to kiss,
 For ever and for aye, Sir:
 Oh! then she leaves
 Her hanging-sleeves;
 Our art we well display, Sir.

When age decays
 Fair beauty's blaze;
 Unto the mantua-maker
 The prude with care,
 She must repair,
 Or no kind man will take her.

Thus we contrive
 To keep alive,
 Th' expiring flame of passion:
 So all adore
 (Tho' full fourscore)

Our mouton dress lamb-fashion.

A BALLAD.

To the Tune of COLIN's Complaint.

BY the side of a glimmering fire
Milinda sat pensively down,
 Impatient of rural esquire,
 And vex'd to be absent from town.
 The cricket from under the grata,
 With a chirp to her sigh did reply,
 And the kitten, as grave as a cat,
 Sat mournfully purring hard by.

Alas! silly maid that I was,
 Thous sadly complaining the cry'd:
 When first I forsook that dear place,
 'Twas better by far I had dy'd!
 How gaily I pass'd the long day
 In a round of continued delights!
 Park, visits, assemblies, and play;
 And quadrille, to enliven the nights!

How foolish was I to believe
 Delusive poetical dreams;
 The flattering landscapes they give
 Of groves, meads and murmuring streams!
 Bleak mountains, and wild stirring rocks,
 Are the wretched result of my pains;
 The swains greater brutes than their flocks;
 The nymphs as polite as their swains.

What tho' I have skill to ensnare,
 Where smarts in bright circles abound;
 What tho' at St. James's at prayers
 Beasts ogle devoutly around?
 Fond virgin, thy power is lost
 On a race of rude *Hottentots* —
 What glory in being the toast
 Of noisy dull 'squires in boots!

And thou, my companion so dear;
 My all that is left of relief,
 Whatever I suffer, forbear,
 Forbear to dissuade me from grief.
 'Tis in vain, you say, to repine
 At ills which can't be redress'd:
 But in sorrows so pungent as mine,
 Be patient — alas! is a jest.

If further to sooth my distress,
 Thy tender compassion is led;
 Call *Fanny* to help me undress,
 And decently put me to bed.
 The last humble solace I wait,
 Wou'd heaven indulge me the boon!
 Some dream less unkind than my fate,
 In vision transport me to town!

Clarissa mean time weds a beau,
 Who decks her in golden array;
 The finest at ev'ry fine show;
 And flaunts it at the park and at play;
 While here we are left in the lurch,
 Forgot and secluded from view;
 Unless when some bumpkin at church,
 Stares wistfully over the pew.

We are sorry that Ay and No. The Progress
 of Learning, &c. came too late; and desire
 our Correspondents to send earlier in the Month.

T H E

Monthly Chronologer.



ON the 28th of last Month, the Stalls belonging to the Herb-Square in *Stock-Market* were pulled down; as on the next Day were likewise the Butchers Shambles, in the *Meat-Market*, in order to clear it for the building a Mansion-House for the future Lord-Mayors. And on the 30th the *Fleet-Market* was proclaimed a free Market, and opened accordingly.

MONDAY, *Oct. 3.*

Mr. *Richard Fendall*, of the *Grainings, Southwark*, had a Cart-Gelding died by an accidental Cut in his Knee with a Garden-Melon Bell-Glafs: Which Gelding he bought at *Usbridge-Fair* on *Michaelmas-Day, 1693*, and was his Horse 44 Years, never sick nor lame altho' that Time, and had within these 15 Years drew him and another in a Chaise 50 Miles in one Day.

TUESDAY, 4.

The Parliament of *Ireland* met on this Day, when his Grace the Duke of *Devonshire*, the Lord Lieutenant, went in State to the House of Peers, and being seated on the Throne, made the following Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Nothing could be more agreeable to me, than to receive his Majesty's Commands to meet you in Parliament. The Firmness and Zeal which you have shewn for the Support of the Protestant Religion, and your fidelity and constant Attachment to his Majesty's Royal Family, and Government, give me the Prospect of an easy Administration: And as his Majesty's Service and the Prosperity of this Kingdom are the only Points I have in View, I am fully persuaded that this Session cannot fail of proving to the Advantage of the Publick.

I observe, with great Pleasure, how much the Expectations of your Linnen Manufactures have increased of late Years; and assure you, that nothing shall be wanting on my Part, which may contribute to the improving and extending that valuable Branch of your Trade.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the proper Officers to prepare the several Accounts and Estimates to be laid before you, and have nothing in Command from his Majesty to ask, but the usual and necessary Supplies for the Support of the Establishment.

If any further Law could be fram'd to put an effectual Stop to that pernicious Practice of Running of Goods, the beneficial Consequences of it would be found in raising the publick Revenues, in lessening the National Debt, and in giving Encouragement to the fair and honest Trader.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is the peculiar Distinction of his Majesty's Subjects, that they have frequent Opportunities of preparing and offering such Laws as they think for the general Good of their Country. This Privilege can never be of greater Advantage than at this Time, when we have a Prince upon the Throne who considers the Interest of his Subjects as inseparable from his own, and is always ready to give his Royal Assent to every Act that may promote the Happiness of his People.

His Majesty by choosing a Princess of the most eminent Virtues and Accomplishments, and of an House foremost in the Protestant Cause, to be Consort to his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, hath given a Proof of his Royal and Paternal Care to continue the Blessings of his Reign to our latest Posterity; and the Earnest which we have already received from Providence, by the Birth of a Princess, opens to us a new Prospect of a lasting Succession in his Majesty's most illustrious Family.

You may depend upon my most hearty Inclinations, and best Assistance, to serve you in every Thing that may contribute to the Security and Welfare of *Ireland*; and from the full Enjoyment you have had of your Religious and Civil Rights, under his Majesty's mild and most gracious Government, I have no room to doubt but you will proceed, in all your Deliberations, with such Temper and Unanimity as may be expected from a People who have at all Times shewn themselves most affectionate and loyal Subjects.

WEDNESDAY, 5.

The six following Malefactors, *viz.* *John Tetterdale*, for the Murder of his Wife; *Robert Goswell*, alias *Bob the Butcher*, *John Colson*, *Robert Barrow*, alias *Ranwell*, *John Perdue*, and *John Richardson*, all convicted of Robberies on the Highway, were carried from *Newgate* about Half an Hour after Nine this Morning, and executed at *Tyburn*, pursuant to their Sentence. *Catherine Leuge*, condemn'd for Forgery of a Will, and the rest were repriev'd. (See p. 395, 515.)

THURSDAY, 13.

His Majesty's Proclamation was issued out for suppressing Riots and Tumults, committed by Finners and others in the County of *Cornwall*; and for apprehending and bringing to Justice the Persons who in *September* last were concerned in breaking open the Warehouses of *Mr. Claudius Guise* at *Powys*, and taking away the Corn therein: And his Majesty, for the better apprehending and bringing to Justice the said Person, has been pleas'd to promise his most gracious Pardon to any one of the Offenders who shall discover his Accomplices; with a Reward of 50*l.* on the Conviction of each.

Several Merchants, deputed by the rest of the Merchants trading to *America*, went to *Hampden-Court*, and being introduc'd to his Majesty, deliver'd to him the following Petition.

To the KING's most Excellent MAJESTY,

The humble Petition of the Merchants and Traders, in Behalf of themselves and others, trading to and interested in the British Colonies in *America*,

Sheweth,

THAT the fair and lawful Trade of your Majesty's Subjects to the *British* Plantations in *America*, hath been greedily interrupted, for many Years past, not only by their Ships having been frequently stopp'd and search'd, but also forcibly and arbitrarily seiz'd on the High Seas, by *Spanish* Ships fitted out to cruise under the plausible Pretences of guarding their own Coasts; that the *Commanders* thereof, with their Crews, have been inhumanly treated, and their Ships carried into some of the *Spanish* Ports, and there condemn'd with their Cargoes, in manifest Violation of the Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns.

That notwithstanding the many Instances made by your Majesty's Ministers at the Court of *Madrid*, against this injurious Treatment, the late and repeated Insults of the *Spaniards*, upon the Persons and Properties of your Majesty's Subjects, lay your Petitioners under the Necessity of applying again to your Majesty for Relief.

That by these violent and unjust Proceedings of the *Spaniards*, the Trade to your Majesty's Plantations in *America*, is rendered very precarious; and if any Nation be suffer'd thus to insult the Persons of your Majesty's Subjects, and plunder them of their Property, your Petitioners apprehend it will be attended with such an Obstruction of that valuable Branch of Commerce, as will be very fatal to the Interest of *Great-Britain*.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray your Majesty, that your Majesty will be graciously pleas'd to procure speedy and ample Satisfaction to your Subjects, for the Losses they have sustained; that no *British* Vessel be detain'd or search'd on the High Seas by any Nation, under any Pretence whatsoever; and that the Trade to *America* may be rendered free for the future, by such Means as your Majesty in your great Wisdom shall think fit.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

The Parliament, which stood prorog'd to *Oct. 20*, was about this Time further prorog'd to *Dec. 8* next.

We had the following remarkable Instance of Long Life, from *Lewes* in *Sussex*: A few Days ago died there *Mr. Henry Morgan*, aged 105 Years and a Half. He never made use of Spectacles; but work'd at his Trade as a Sieve-maker the Day before his Death. He never had a Day's Illness in his Life. The Morning he died he walked into his Garden, and when he returned sat down in his Chair, and died immediately, not so much as any of the Family perceiving any Difference in him.

SATURDAY, 15.

The Sessions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the six following Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz.* *Sarah Allen*, for the Murder of her Male Bastard Child, by throwing it out of Window, as soon as it was born: *Thomas Cair* and *Elinabeth Adams*, for robbing *Mr. Squarington* of 93 Guineas, a Diamond Ring, and some Silver: *Charlotte Grigg*, a Girl about 14 Years of Age, for stealing 17 Guineas, &c. in the House of one *Samy Howell*: *Alexander Radcliff*, for robbing and shooting *Mr. Gibson*, the Baker at *Hydegate*, about a Year ago: And *Thomas Weston*, for stealing Clothes, &c. in the House of *General Bethamley*, Esq; Twenty-four were cast for Transportation.

TUESDAY, 18.

The Merchants trading to *Yanooke*, and to his Majesty's Plantations and Colonies in *America*, attended a Committee of the Privy Council at the Cockpit, *Whitehall*, with authentic Vouchers, &c. of the Losses they have sustained by the *Spaniards*.

FRIDAY, 21.

Sir *John Barnard*, Lord Mayor Elect, was presented to the Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor,

collor, according to Custom, for his Lordship's Approbation.

SATURDAY, 22.

The Princess of Orange's Birth-Day was celebrated, when her Royal Highness enter'd the 29th Year of her Age.

SATURDAY, 29.

Sir John Barnard, Knight, the new Lord Mayor, was sworn into that high Office at Westminster, for the Year ensuing.

SUNDAY, 30.

This being the Anniversary of the King's Birth-Day, when his Majesty enter'd into the 55th Year of his Age, it was celebrated the next Day with the usual Compliments and Rejoicings.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

SAMUEL Edwards, Esq; Member for Great Wenlock, to the Relict of Colonel Baton.

Dr. Hughes of Oxford, to Miss Finch of Walsford.

James Moore of Berks, Esq; to Miss Lucy.

Thomas Sutton of Kensington, Esq; to Miss Nash of the same Place.

Thomas Drury, Esq; to Miss Tyrrell. Daughter of the late Sir John Tyrrell of Essex.

Joseph Townsend, Esq; to Miss Gore.

George Lee of Yorkshire, Esq; to the Relict of the late Robert Lloyd, Esq;

The Earl of Drogheda in Ireland, to Miss Southwell.

The Lady of Sir Maurice Gifford of Great Marlow, safely deliver'd of a Son and Heir.

The Lady Heriot Campbell, Wife of John Campbell, jun. of Shawsfield, Esq; — of a Son, at Edinburgh.

The Lady of William Piers, Member for Wells, — of a Son and Heir.

Lady Primrose — of a Son, at Edinburgh.

DEATHS.

AT Winchester, the Rev. Mr. Garret.

William Morrison, Esq; chief Clerk under Sir Thomas Read, in the Board of Green-Cloth.

At his House, at Chelsea, John Willey, Esq;

At Swafham, Norfolk, Capt. John Medlicott, formerly Commander of a Man of War.

At Edinburgh, Capt. James Douglas, of the Royal Regiment of Foot, commanded by the late Earl of Orkney.

Rev. Mr. George Pigot, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

Mr. John Thörn, General Surveyor of the London Excise.

At Tidmarsh, Berks, Samuel Lynn, Esq; Physician of the Pensioners, Officers Widows, &c. in the Reign of Q. Anne.

John Adlam, Esq; Clerk to the Weavers Company, and Clerk of the Securities to the Commissioners of Excise.

Rev. Mr. Ventris, Rector of Little Stokenham, Suffolk.

At Chirton, near North-Shields, in Northumberland, Roger Lawson, Esq;

Col. John Moody, Lieutenant Governor, and Captain of an Independent Company in the Island of Scilly.

Col. Winross, an experienced Officer on Half-pay.

At Drayton, near Uxbridge, Henry Maddox, Esq;

Anthony Posenby, Esq; formerly High Sheriff of Norfolk.

ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

MR. John Hume presented to the Rectory of Topesfield, Essex.

Mr. Thomas Winder, to the Living of Cockermouth, Lancaster.

Mr. Lake, of Clare-ball, Cambridge, appointed one of the Chaplains at Whitehall.

Mr. Samuel Ganning presented to the Rectory of Gadsby, Lincolnshire.

Mr. Barnard appointed first Chaplain of Chelsea Hospital in the room of the late Dr. Day.

Mr. Ashburnham succeeds Mr. Barnard as second Chaplain.

Mr. William Hill presented to the Rectory of Great Chart, in the Diocese of Canterbury.

Dr. Middleton, Rector of St. Peter's Cornhill, to the Rectory of Busby, in Hertfordshire.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

SIR William Irbys, Bart. appointed, by the Prince of Wales, House-keeper at Kew; Carlton-house, and Norfolk-house to St. James's-Square, which his Royal Highness has lately taken for his Town-Residence.

Thomas Salter, Esq; succeeds the late Mr. Mason, as Clerk of the Green Cloth.

Thomas Browne, Esq; succeeds the late Mr. James Green, as Blue-Mantle Pursuivant at Arms.

Mr. Williams appointed Surveyor of the Customs at Greenhithe, in the room of the late Mr. Crowley.

James Ogletorp, Esq; kissed his Majesty's Hand for the Command of a Regiment to be raised for the Service of the Plantations.

Lieut. Col. Cochran appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the same Regiment.

Major Cooke appointed Major of the same Regiment.

Nicholas Carpenter, Esq; appointed Capt. of a Troop, in General Evans's Regiment of Horse.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Essex made Constable of the Tower of London, in the room of the late Earl of Leicester.

The Duke of Manchester appointed Capt. of the Yeoman of the Guard, instead of the late Earl of Ashburnham.

Roger Mainwaring, Esq; made Treasurer of the Salt-Duties.

578 PROMOTIONS, BANKRUPTS, &c. 1737.

Daniel Fosterby, Esq; made a Capt. in the Royal Train of Artillery.

Alexander Heron, Richard Norbury, Hugh Mackay, Esqrs. made Captains of the Regiment of Foot to be commanded by Col. *James Ogilbore*, to be raised for the Service and Defence of the American Plantations; and *Albert Desbrisay*, Esq; made Captain Lieutenant.

Lieutenant *George Dillon* succeeds the late Capt. *Robinson* in his independent Company of Foot at *New York*.

The Right Hon. the Earl of *Rockingham* appointed Lord Lieutenant and Chief Re-tulorum of the County of *Kent*, in the room of the late Earl of *Litchfield*.

His Majesty has been pleased to grant to Sir *Charles Payne*, of the Island of *St. Christopher's*, Knt. the Dignity of a Baronet of Great Britain.

Thomas Hill, Esq; succeeds Mr. *Popple*, as Secretary to the Board of Trade.

Thomas Villiers, Esq; appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the King of *Poland*.

Saville Cust, Esq; appointed Secretary to the Duke of *Manchester*, as Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard.

William Aldinson, Esq; made Captain of a Company in the Regiment of Foot, commanded by General *Phillips*.

Benjamin Bloom, Esq; made Capt. of a Comp. in the Reg. of Foot, commanded by Brig. Gen. *Cope*.

His Majesty has been pleased to constitute and appoint Sir *John Stanley*, Sir *John Evelyn*, Barts. *John Campbell*, *Brian Fairfax*,

John Hill, *Gwyn Vaughan*, *George Ross*, *Wardell George Webb*, Esqrs. Sir *Robert Baylis*, Knt. Sir *Robert Corbet*, Barts. *Richard Chandler*, *Beaumont Hotbam*, *Richard Somers* and *Collin Campbell*, Esqrs. Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs; the Four last in the room of Sir *Charles Peers*, deceased; Sir *James Campbell*, Barts. *George Drummond* and *Edward Trelawney*, Esqrs. who resign'd.

James Gambier, Esq; made Solicitor of the Exche.

Persons declared BANKRUPTS.

JOHNSON *Davies*, of *Hawesford-West*, Mercer and Chapman. — *Jacob Whitfield*, of *Tarm*, in *Yorkshire*, Linen-draper and Chapman. — *Thomas Middleton*, of *Great Chelsea*, Apothecary. — *Edward Mickleburg*, of *Norwich*, Grocer. — *Blagrave Gregory*, of *Banbury*, Oxfordsh. Draper. — *Samuel Neathy*, of *St. Mary Magdalen Bermondsey*, Surrey, Felt-monger. — *James Barnes*, of *Rhode*, Somerset, Drugget-Maker. — *George Mawson*, of *Smock-Alley*, *Spittle-fields*, Dealer and Chapman. — *Edward Salisbury*, of *Long-Acre*, Coach-Maker, and Coach-Harness-Maker. — *Lancelot Keate*, of *Elbow*, in *Kent*, Calcico-Printer. — *Stephen Marshall*, and *Lancelot Keate*, of *Crayford*, in *Kent*, Partoers, Calcico-Printers, Dealers and Chapman. — *Thomas Farrer*, of *Kingston upon Hull*, Mercer. — *Joseph Ewitt*, late of *W. Ham*, in *Essex*, Hatter. — *William Wainson*, of *Chipping Wycombe*, Bucks, Malster.

S T O C K S.

<i>S. Sea</i> 101 1/4	<i>Afric.</i> 14
— Bonds 4 2 1/4	<i>Royal Aff.</i> 109 1/2 210
— Annu. 111 1/2 2 1/2	<i>Lon. ditto</i> 15
<i>Bank</i> 142 1/2	3 per C. An. 106 1/2
— Circ. 7 6 2 1/2	<i>Eng. Copper</i>
<i>Mil. Bank</i> 121 1/2	<i>Salt Tallies</i> 1 2 1/4
<i>India</i> 176 1/2 2 6	<i>Emp. Loan</i> 141 1/2
— Bonds 6 18 2 19	<i>Equiv.</i> 112

The Course of EXCHANGE.

<i>Ams.</i> 34 11 2 1/2 210	<i>Bilboa</i> 40
<i>D. Sight</i> 34 8	<i>Leghorn</i> 49 1/4
<i>Rotter.</i> 35 2 1/2	<i>Genoa</i> 52 1/2
<i>Hamb.</i> 33 10 2 1/2 11	<i>Venice</i> 50 1/2
<i>R. Sight</i> 32 1/2	<i>Lisb.</i> 52 5d 1/2
<i>Boardx.</i> 32 1/2	<i>Oport.</i> 52 6d 2 1/2
<i>Cadiz</i> 39 1/2	<i>Antw.</i> 35 1
<i>Madrid</i> 40 1/2	<i>Dublin</i> 8 1/2 2 1/2

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

<i>Wheat</i> 30 33	<i>Oates</i> 12 14
<i>Rye</i> 16 18	<i>Tares</i> 22 24
<i>Barley</i> 17 18	<i>Pease</i> 20 28
<i>H. Beans</i> 20 23	<i>H. Pease</i> 16 17
<i>R. Malt</i> 24 26	<i>B. Malt</i> 17 19

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Sept. 27. to Oct. 25.

Christned	{ Males 641 1/2	} 243
	{ Females 602	
Buried	{ Males 1210 1/2	} 246 1/2
	{ Females 1255 1/2	
Died under 2 Years old		911
Between 2 and 5		208
	5	80
	10	85
	20	213
	30	245
	40	219
	50	207
	60	139
	70	105
	80	45
	90 and upwards	6
		246 1/2

Hay 52 to 56, a Load.

FROM

FROM the *Imperial Archives in Hungary*, we have the following Account: That about the Beginning of September last, the *Turks* having assembled a considerable Army in *Moldavia* and *Wallachia*, General *Gbilani*, chief Commander of the *Imperial Troops* in those Provinces, found himself under a Necessity of abandoning the Posts he had possess'd in them, and retiring towards *Transylvania*. In his Retreat, the *Turks* came up with his rear Guard and attack'd it; but were so warmly resist'd, that they were soon oblig'd to retire in Confusion, leaving a great Number dead upon the Spot, and about 30 Prisoners.

On the other Hand, the *German Army* under Count *Sachsenhoff* having invested *Utzica* on Sept. 21. carried on the Attack with such Vigour, that the Garrison was oblig'd to surrender on Oct. 2. having obtained the same Terms of Capitulation, that were granted to the Garrison of *Nitra*.

But that Part of the *German Army* under the Command of Count *Khevenbüller*, which had been left to continue the Blockade of *Widdin*, being reduced to 5000 Men, by having sent off several Detachments, the *Turks* were, by the Smallness of their Number, encouraged to attack them. Accordingly having gathered together a Body of about 15 or 16000 Men, mostly consisting of their regular Troops lately arriv'd from *Asia*, they came and encamped on Sept. 27. at Night, at the Mouth of the *Timock*, near the *German Army*; and next Day Count *Khevenbüller* having perceived they intended to march and attack him in his Camp, resolv'd, notwithstanding the Smallness of his Numbers, to march out and meet him. For this Purpose he drew up his Army in Order of Battle about 1000 Paces from his Camp, and in that Order, march'd towards the Enemy, till he came near to a large Forest, or open Country, which he saw it would be dangerous for him to enter, because the *Turks* being much more numerous, might there have had Room to have surround'd his little Army, and so have attack'd him on all Sides; wherefore he made a Halt near the Forest, and took up his Ground so skillfully, that it was not in the Power of the *Turks* to surround him. Upon his Halting, the *Turks* march'd up to the Attack, in good Order, and with a slow Pace, contrary to their usual Custom. About 2 in the Afternoon they began the Attack in their usual Manner with general and horrible Shrieks; but met with such a smart Fire from the *German Cavalry*, Infantry, and Cannon, that they soon retreated in Confusion. However they returned several Times to the Charge, so that the Battle lasted till Night; when their whole Army retir'd over the *Timock*, leaving the *Germans* in Possession of the Field of Battle. The Count *Khevenbüller*

having so small a Number of Troops, could not leave any proper Guard in his Camp, which, during the Engagement, was attack'd by a Detachment of *Turkish Horse*, who massacred most of the sick Men they found in the Camp; but the Servants fled with all the Tents and Baggage to the Mountains, and the *Turkish Detachment* being attack'd in their Turn, by a Detachment from the *German Army* under Lieutenant General *Baibani*, were entirely put to the Rout; so that they carried off no Booty. In this Action the *Germans* lost but about 200 Men, besides the Sick killed in the Camp, but the *Turks* 'tis said, lost above 1500. However as Count *Khevenbüller* saw it was impossible for him to defend himself against such a superior Body of the Enemy, and at the same Time to block up *Widdin*, he retir'd next Morning, and march'd to *Priso-Polanka*, without having met with any considerable Loss in his Retreat, tho' often attack'd by the *Turks*.

The Operations of the Campaign between the *Moscovites* and *Turks* being over, Count *Mysich*, with the Body of the Army under his Command, retir'd towards the *Ukraine*, where they are to take up their Winter Quarters, and was expect'd to arrive at *Pereslawa*, Oct. 1. last. And General *Lacy*, with the Army under his Command, having retir'd out of the *Crim*, as mentioned in our last, arriv'd Sept. 14. at *Bachmutz*; from whence it seems not very possible, there can be any Truth in the Story we had lately from *France*, of his having been defeated and taken Prisoner by the *Turks*.

The *Moscovites* are making great Preparations for a vigorous and active Campaign next Summer; for which Purpose they have resolv'd to raise 4,000 Men additional Troops, which they propose to do by taking one out of every 125 Men fit for Service in that Empire; from whence we may compute, that notwithstanding the vast Extent of that Empire, almost equal to all the rest of Europe, they reckon in it but 500,000 Men fit to bear Arms. But the most diverting Part of this Resolution is, that even their *Prigis* and *Mouls* are not to be excepted; for out of every 125 *Prigis* and *Mouls*, one of them must take up the Weapons of the Faith, in order to fight against the Enemies of *Christianity*; and 'tis probable they may do more Service in this Way against the *Turks*, than they ever did in their spiritual Warfare against the *Devil*. However, it must be granted, this is a dangerous Precedent for the *Prigis* in all Countries; for so great Numbers of *Infidel Recruits* might be rais'd from among the *Clergy* of almost every Country, it is to be fear'd this Precedent may some Time or other be followed by other Nation.

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T H E
LONDON MAGAZINE.

NOVEMBER, 1737.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *last*
Session of PARLIAMENT, continued from Page 548.



N Monday, March 21, the House having (according to Order, as mentioned in our last, see p. 548) resolved itself into a Committee

of the whole House, to consider of the National Debt; and the State of the National Debt, which we gave in our last, having been referred to the said Committee, as soon as Sir Charles Turner had taken the Chair, Sir *J—n B—nd* stood up and made a Motion, for enabling his Majesty to raise Money either by the Sale of Annuities for Years or Lives, at such Rates as should be prescribed, or by borrowing at an Interest not exceeding 3 per Cent. to be applied towards redeeming of the Old and New *South-Sea* Annuities; and that such of the said Annuitants as should be inclined to subscribe their respective Annuities, should be preferred to all others.

Upon this Motion there were long Debates, so that the Committee did not come to any Resolution that Day; therefore, 'twas resolved, That the House would, upon *that Day Seven-night*, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider sur-

ther of the National Debt; and it having been much insisted on, in this Debate, that there was a great Part of the *South-Sea* Old and New Annuities in the Hands of Widows and Orphans, and Persons who were Proprietors for very small Sums, therefore, next Day 'twas ordered, That an Account should be laid before the House, of the Quantity of Old and New *South-Sea* Annuity Stock, and the Number of Annuitants who were intitled to any such Stock, not exceeding 1000 *l.* to each Annuitant; and also, 'twas ordered, That an Account should be laid before the House, of the Quantity of Old and New *South-Sea* Annuity Stock, holden by any Executors, Administrators, and Trustees, and the Number of such Trusts: Which Accounts were presented to the House by Mr. *John Briflow* on the *Friday* following; and on *Monday* the Order of the Day being read, and these Accounts referred to the Committee, the House resolved itself again into the said Committee, when the Debate upon the aforesaid Motion was resumed; in both which the Arguments for the Motion were in Substance as followeth, *viz.*

Sir, As some Things I mentioned

in the Committee of Supply, gave Rise to the House's resolving itself into this Committee, I think it incumbent upon me to rise up, in order to explain and enforce what I then mentioned but superficially, and to make you such a Proposition as I think may at this Juncture be made effectual, for reducing the Interest payable upon a Part of the National Debts, and for easing the People of a Part of that heavy Load of Taxes they now groan under. In the Committee of Supply I mentioned only the Application of the *Million*, to be paid at *Michaelmas* next, to such of the *South-Sea* Old Annuitants only, as are not willing to accept of an Interest of *3 per Cent.* for if there are any who are willing to accept of such an Interest, and I am convinced there are a great many, I must think it a very absurd Sort of Conduct in the Publick, to make any Payment to them, as long as there is any one publick Creditor who will not accept of such a low Interest: However, as this House seems to be of a contrary Opinion, I shall readily submit; but as the House then resolved upon the Committee we are now in, I thought myself obliged as a Member of this House, and as one who sincerely desires to see the Nation freed from its Debt, and the People freed from their perpetual Taxes, I mean such as are made perpetual by Parliament; I say, I thought myself obliged to turn my Thoughts that Way; and from considering our present Circumstances, and the present low Rate of Interest, I am of Opinion, that the Schemè for reducing the Interest of the publick Debts may be pushed further than I then proposèd or thought on.

Every one knows, Sir, that the Price of all our publick Funds is now at a higher Rate than ever it was before, upon any reasonable Foundation: Every one knows, that even those publick Securities, which bear

an Interest of *3 per Cent.* only, now sell at a Premium in *'Change Alley*; and I must be of Opinion, it would be an unpardonable Neglect in us, not to endeavour to take Advantage of that happy Circumstance, for the Benefit of the Publick. I am persuaded there are few or none, who are willing to give a Premium for any *3 per Cent.* Security, but would willingly lend his Money to the Government at the same Interest, if Books of Subscription were opened for that Purpose, with an Assurance that no Part of his Principal should be paid off for *14 Years*; and therefore, I think, we ought to have such Books always lying open at the *Exchequer*, or some other convenient Place, for taking in the Subscriptions of those who are willing to lend at *3 per Cent.* in order to pay off the sooner such of the publick Creditors as are not willing to accept of a lower Interest than *Four*. If this were done, it would convince all our publick Creditors, who are now intitled to an Interest of *4 per Cent.* that the Government is in earnest, and firmly resolved to pay them off as soon as possible; and as the only Contest among the publick Creditors now is, which of them shall be the last in being paid off, 'tis more than probable, the far greatest Part of them would come in and subscribe what is due to them respectively, at an Interest of *3 per Cent.* rather than run the Risk of being quickly paid off the whole, or the greatest Part of their Capital, by means of the *Sinking Fund*, and the Money-Subscriptions at *3 per Cent.*

That the Rate of Interest upon publick Securities, has always had, and always will have a great Influence upon the Rate of Interest between Man and Man, is what, I believe, Sir, no Gentleman will question; for as upon publick Securities a Man is always sure of having his Interest regularly paid, and may

have his Principal whenever he has a Mind, which are two Advantages he can never be assured of, in lending upon the most undoubted private Security, it is certain the natural Rate of Interest upon publick Securities will always be lower than the natural Rate of Interest upon private; therefore the only Method of reducing the latter, is, to reduce the former; and when you have reduced both, then, and not till then, you may safely venture to reduce the legal: And that a low Rate of Interest upon private Securities, is of great Advantage to every Nation where it can be brought about, is what can be as little questioned by those who have any Regard to Experience, or to the Nature of Things. But as this depends upon Speculations, and upon Facts which some Gentlemen may not perhaps be acquainted with, I shall beg Leave to enlarge a little upon the Subject.

'Tis certain, Sir, the Strength and Power of a Nation can be increased only by multiplying its Inhabitants, increasing its Trade, or improving its Lands; for Extent of Territory weakens, instead of strengthening a Nation, if that Territory lies desert and thinly inhabited; because the greater Frontier a Nation has to defend, the more they will be exposed to Insults and Incurfions, unless every Part of the Frontier be so well stock'd with People, that they are able to defend themselves against any sudden Invasion; and the Frontiers of every Country will always be worst stocked with People; for Mankind always retire from Danger, if they can; which is the Reason for the Heart or Middle Part of every Country's being generally the most populous. As to the multiplying or increasing the Number of Inhabitants in any Country, it must always proceed from the Increase of its Trade, or the Improvement of its Land; for let the People be as prolifick as possible, let

them be as prolifick as ever the Northern Parts of *Europe*, or of this very Island, have appeared to have been, if they cannot find Employment and Subsistence at home, they will wander abroad either in armed Bodies, or as single Adventurers, to seek for that in foreign Countries, which they cannot find in their own. It is therefore highly requisite for every Nation to take every possible Method for increasing its Trade, and improving its Land; and nothing can tend more to either of these Purposes, than a low Rate of Interest for the Use or Forbearance of the Payment of Money between Man and Man.

With respect to Trade, Sir, it is either foreign or domestick, and both depend in a great Measure upon the low Rate of Interest; for Mankind naturally pursue that which is their greatest Advantage, and but few Men will be either frugal, diligent, or industrious, if they can live otherwise; therefore, if a Man can live indolently upon the Interest of his Money, he will generally follow no Trade or Employment; and if he can make more of his Money by lending it at Interest, than he can make by employing it in Trade or the Improvement of Land, he will always chuse the former. For this Reason the People of a Country, where the Rate of Interest is high, will never carry on any Trade for so small a Profit, as the People of a Country will do where the Interest of Money is low; nor will the Persons engaged in Trade ever be so numerous or so rich in the former, as in the latter. Suppose, in this Country, a Man may make 5 or 4 per Cent. of his Money, by lending it at Interest upon a certain Security; we cannot, in that Case, suppose that any Man will take the Trouble of carrying on any Trade, by which he cannot make 8 or 10 per Cent. Profit: Whereas in *Holland*, where a Man can never get more than *Three*, and often not above 2 per Cent. by lending

ing his Money at Interest upon a certain Security, we must suppose that in that Country, a Man will be glad to engage in any Trade, by which he can make 6 or 4 *per Cent.* Profit; and an additional Advantage is, that in *Holland* a Man who has but 1000*l.* ^A or 2000*l.* Capital must necessarily engage in Trade, because he cannot live upon the legal Interest of his Money; whereas a Man of that Capital in this Country, may live comfortably in most Corners of the Kingdom upon the legal Interest of his ^B Money; so that more Men, and Men of greater Stocks, are necessarily drove into Trade in that Country than in this; and their People will willingly engage in a great many Branches of Traffick, which no ^C Man in this Kingdom will touch at; because he can make as much, or very near as much, by employing his Money in our Funds, as he could expect to make by that Traffick.

This, Sir, gives the *Dutch*, and the *French* too, a great Advantage over this Nation, in all Branches of ^D Trade which must be carried on at a small Profit, such as the *Carrying-Trade*, and the *Fishing-Trade*, but especially the last, which I hope some Gentlemen who hear me will take particular Notice of; and I shall add this other Observation, That in those ^E two Trades there are more Ships, and more Seamen employed in Proportion, than in any other; and the Seamen thus employed are more useful for the Defence of their Country, because they are always at ^F Hand upon any sudden Emergency; which I hope every Gentleman will take particular Notice of, who has any Regard to the Naval Power, or the Security of his Country.

All the Branches of foreign Trade, Sir, which any Nation does or can carry on, must consist either in the ^G *Carrying-Trade*, the *Fishing-Trade*, or the *exporting* their Manufactures and Produce to foreign Markets, and *importing* those foreign Commodities

which they have Use for at home. In the first *Two*, we are under such a Disadvantage, by the high Rate of Interest among us, and the small Profit to be expected by the Trade, that few or none of our People will engage in either; and in Fact we have but very little of either, and would have none at all, if it were not for the many natural Advantages we are blest'd with above any other Country upon the Face of the Globe. And as to our Trade of *importing* and *exporting* our own Commodities, and such foreign Commodities as we have Use for, it depends upon the Cheapness of our Navigation, and proper Laws for its Encouragement. As to the Cheapness of our Navigation, it will always depend upon our ^C People's employing their Money in that Way at a small Profit; so that in this too, our Neighbours have a great Advantage over us; for they will be glad to employ their Money in that Way, if they can make but 6 or 4 *per Cent.* Profit; whereas we cannot suppose any of our People, (except such as venture, or, as they call it, throw away a little Money for the Service of a Friend) will employ their Money in that Way, at a Profit less than 8 or 10 *per Cent.* so that both Ship-building, Ships, and ^E Freight, would be cheaper in our neighbouring Countries than in this, by at least 4 *per Cent.* if it were not for some natural Advantages we are likewise blessed with in this Particular, and the great Supply we now receive from our Colony of *New England*; but, notwithstanding all these natural Advantages, 4 *per Cent.* Difference is such a great Advantage in Favour of some of our Neighbours, that if it were not for the Navigation Act, and other Laws in Favour of our own Shipping, I am convinced we should see our Ports every Day full of *Dutch* Ships and ^G Seamen; and even as it is, we may observe that the Number of *Hamburg*, *Harbo-*

Harbours, Danish and Swedish Ships, is every Day increasing in the River *Thames*; and for what I know, in several other Ports of the Kingdom.

But, Sir, I need not insist so much upon the Prejudice a high Rate of Interest does to our Navigation, with respect to our Importation and Exportation; for if our present Rate of Interest, and our present Taxes continue for some Years longer, I'm afraid we shall have very little either of Manufactures, or home Produce, to export; and in that Case our Importation must likewise decrease in Proportion; because we shall not then be able to give either Money, or other valuable Consideration in return. With respect to our home Manufactures, it is certain the Exportation of them can proceed from nothing but our Merchants being able to sell them cheaper, or at least as cheap in foreign Markets, as any foreign Manufactures of the same Kind and Goodness can be sold. Let us then see how the Difference of Interest may affect this Branch of Trade. An *Englishman* will not invest his Money in the Carrying on of any Manufacture, unless he can make 8 or 10 *per Cent.* Profit; a *Dutch* or a *Frenchman* will gladly invest his Money in the Carrying on of a Manufacture, if he can make 4 or 6 *per Cent.* Profit; therefore, supposing all other Charges equal, a *Dutchman* or *Frenchman* will sell his Manufactures to the Merchant Exporter 4 *per Cent.* cheaper than the *Englishman* will do. Here is an Overload of 4 *per Cent.* upon our Manufactures at every foreign Market. Again, an *English* Merchant will not employ his Money in the Exportation and Sale of our Manufactures, unless he can make 8 or 10 *per Cent.* of his Money; a *Dutch* or a *French* Merchant will employ his Money in the Exportation and Sale of the Manufactures of his Country, if he can thereby make but 4, or 6 *per Cent.* of his Money: Here is an additional

Overload of 4 *per Cent.* upon our Manufactures at every foreign Market; so that all the Manufactures of this Kingdom, by means of the high Rate of Interest, carry with them to every foreign Market, a Load of 8 *per Cent. per Annum*, more than the *Dutch* or *French* Manufactures carry with them to the same Market, without mentioning the Difference of Freight, and several other additional Overloads, that naturally arise from the high Interest of Money in this Kingdom, above what it is among our Neighbours and Rivals.

This single Advantage, Sir, is of itself sufficient to exclude our Manufactures from every Market in the World, where our Rivals can come in Competition with us; but if we consider, what a heavy Load is added to the prime Cost of all our Manufactures, by the Taxes laid upon several Materials necessary for working them up, and by those Taxes which are laid upon many of the Necessaries of Life, we may have some Reason to be surprized there is at this Day a *Shilling's* worth of any Sort of Manufacture exported from *Great Britain*; for that we still do export great Quantities of Manufacture, is certain; and because this may be an Argument with some for concluding there is nothing in what I have said, I must beg Leave to consider some of the natural or acquired Advantages we still enjoy.

Before the Peace of *Utrecht*, we had no Rival in the Woollen Manufacture Trade but the *Dutch*, and over them we have many natural Advantages both as to our Situation, the Goodness of our Ports, and the principal constituent Materials of that Manufacture, all of which they are obliged to furnish themselves with at second Hand. To this I shall add, that when the Woollen Manufacture was first chiefly established in *England*, which was in the long and happy Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, the

the Interest of Money was pretty much the same in both Countries, and the *Dutch* were engaged in a bloody and dangerous War, and in establishing their Commonwealth and their *East-India* Trade, so that their People had not much Time to think of improving any Sort of Manufacture. By these Means we got ourselves riveted in the Possession of all the principal Marts for Woollen Manufacture both in *Asia* and *Europe*; and that Possession we in good Measure kept, till the Beginning of the last War with *France* and *Spain*, when we were so wise as to prohibit Trade with both. During that long Period, the People in *Turkey*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and even in *France* too, till the Revolution, became so accustomed to the wearing of *English* Cloths and Stuffs, that it was not easy to make them change their Merchant; for a long established Custom in any Country, especially in *Turkey*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, is not easily altered, nor are People apt to go to a new Shop, as long as they meet with tolerable Usage at the old. Thus by getting Possession of the Trade, and keeping that Possession for so long a Time, we acquired an Advantage, which could not easily nor speedily be taken from us; and this acquired Advantage is, I'm afraid, the chief Support of our present Exportation: But in a long Course of Time we may entirely lose this Advantage; and we are in the more Danger, because we have now got a Rival in the Woollen Manufacture Trade, much more formidable than the *Dutch*, and of much more dangerous Consequence.

Before our late happy Revolution, Sir, they had but few Manufactures of Woollen Cloth in *France*, and such as they had were of the coarsest Sort; so that they were furnished with all their fine Cloths either from *Holland* or *England*; but after the Revolution we found our selves, it seems, under a Necessity of prohi-

biting all Manner of Trade and Intercourse with that Kingdom. This prevented its being in their Power to have any Woollen Manufacture directly from *England*, which laid them under a Necessity, and at the same Time furnish'd them with the Means of improving what they had of their own; so that before the second War broke out, they had come some Length in the Manufacture of Woollen Cloths, especially Stuffs or Camblets; and by our prohibiting Trade with *Spain* as well as them, at the Beginning of that War, we furnished them not only with a new Opportunity of improving their Woollen Manufacture, but likewise with an Opportunity of introducing it by Degrees into the Kingdom of *Spain*; and the Peace of *Utrecht* confirmed their Manufacture in the Advantage it had reaped by the War.

Ever since that Time, Sir, they have enjoyed almost an uninterrupted State of Tranquillity, during which Time, it must be confessed, they have made the best Use of the Benefits we bestowed upon them; for they have now brought their Woollen Manufacture to such Perfection, that they make superfine Woollen Cloths almost as fine and as good as we can do, and sell them much cheaper; by which Means, they very much interfere with us in *Turkey* as well as *Spain*; in both which Places they as yet meet with some Difficulty, by reason of the Attachment the People in general have to the Manufactures of this Kingdom; but that Attachment will at last wear off, and then it will be out of our Power to preserve any Share of the Trade, unless we can sell all Sorts of Woollen Manufactures as cheap as the *French*, or any other Nation can possibly do.

Now, Sir, with respect to the Rivalship in this Trade between the *French* and us, it is very different from that between us and the *Dutch*. The Situation of the *French* is rather

more convenient for that Trade than ours, and their Ports are as good; then as to the Materials, the only Advantage we have over them, consists in our Wool; but they lie so convenient for stealing it away from us, that 'tis hardly possible to prevent it; and as to *Spanish Wool*, which is the chief Material in the Manufacture of all superfine Cloths, they lie more conveniently for having it, and may have it at a cheaper Rate than we can. From all which I must conclude, the chief Advantage we now enjoy in this Manufacture, is the superior Skill, Dexterity, and Numbers of our Workmen, and the old Attachment to the Woollen Manufactures of this Kingdom, something of which still remains in *Turkey, Spain, and Portugal*; but the latter will wear off by Degrees, if we cannot sell as cheap as any other Nation, and the *French* Workmen will be every Day improving and increasing. These, Sir, are our Circumstances with respect to the Woollen Manufacture, which is our chief Staple; and in such Circumstances I am sure every Gentleman that hears me, must conclude, it is high Time for us to look about us, and to neglect no Opportunity that may tend towards enabling, and in some Manner obliging our Merchants and Manufacturers, to sell their Goods as cheap as such Goods can be sold by any foreign Nation whatsoever.

Thus, Sir, I have shewn what bad Effects our present high Rate of Interest may have upon our foreign Trade, and our home Manufactures; and now let me shew the Advantages a Nation may reap from a low Rate of Interest with respect to the Improvement of their Lands, and maintaining a great Number of Inhabitants. For this Purpose, let me observe, that the Riches of a Nation properly consist in the aggregate Total of every Man's Riches in Particular; for a Nation where the Sub-

jects are all or generally rich, will be able to maintain an expensive War much longer than a Nation can do, whose Subjects are all or generally poor; because the Subjects of every Nation, if they are under a good Government, will contribute as much as they can towards a necessary War, and rich Subjects will always be able to contribute more or longer than Poor: But then these Riches of particular Men must be such as consist in Lands, Houses, Goods, ready Coin, Bullion or Jewels; they must not be such as consist in large Sums out at Interest among their Fellow-Subjects; for such Riches add nothing to the Riches of the Nation, nor would the Nation be one bit the poorer, if they should declare a Year of *Jubilee* by a publick Law: Whatever such Men may be able to contribute towards the publick Expence, must diminish the Power of others to contribute; and therefore it is against the Interest of every Nation to have a great Number of such Men, or to encourage the heaping up of such Riches among them.

Then, Sir, as to the Revenue of a Nation, it is to be computed, in the same Manner, from the aggregate Total of every Man's Revenue in particular; but then these particular Revenues must consist in such as come from Land, Trade, or Industry: They must not, for the same Reason, be such as come from Sums of Money lent out at Interest. And, lastly, I shall observe, that an Acre of Land without any Improvement, may not perhaps be sufficient to employ and subsist one Man; whereas the same Acre, with proper Improvements, may perhaps be made able to employ and subsist two or three. Now, Sir, Suppose a Gentleman of 1000 *l.* a Year Land Estate, has in a Course of Years saved 10,000 *l.* Suppose, upon looking over his Estate he finds, that by laying out this Money in Improvements, he could make his

Estate worth at least 1500 *l.* a Year: He would then naturally consider which was the most profitable Way of laying out his Money, whether to lay it out upon these Improvements, or to lay it out on a Purchase of another Estate, or to lend it upon a Mortgage? In this Case, if the Interest of Money were at 5 *per Cent.* he would certainly lay out his Money upon a Purchase or Mortgage, because he would have as much yearly Profit by laying out his Money in either of these Ways, as he could expect by laying it out in Improvements; and in either of these two Ways he would save himself all that Trouble and Fatigue, which the last would necessarily subject him to. Tho' this Gentleman, by laying out his Money in such a Manner, certainly improves his own Revenue, tho' he has added to the Riches of his Country by his Frugality, yet he adds nothing either to the Riches or the Revenue of his Country, by his Purchase or Mortgage; nor does he enable or make his Country fit for employing or maintaining any greater Number of Inhabitants. On the other hand, if the natural Interest of Money were at 3 *per Cent.* the Price of Lands would rise very near in Proportion; in which Case he would certainly lay his Money out in Improvements, because, in this Way, he would make near 200 *l.* a Year more of his Money than he could do by Purchase or Mortgages and by laying it out in such a Manner, he would not only add to the Riches and Revenue of his Country, as well as to his own, but he would make his Country capable of employing and maintaining a greater Number of Inhabitants than it could do before.

The Case, Sir, will be the same in small Sums as well as large. Suppose a Farmer has taken a 21 Years Lease of a small Tenement, and after stocking his Tenement has 20 *l.*

over: Suppose he finds that by laying that 20 *l.* out in improving his Tenement, he may improve its Value 20 *s.* a Year: While Money is at 5 *per Cent.* he will certainly chuse to lend out his Money at Interest, rather than lay it out upon such an Improvement; but if the Interest of Money were at 3 *per Cent.* only, he would certainly lay it out upon the Improvement; and by so doing would add to the Revenue of his Landlord, as well as to the Revenue of his Country. This, the Landed Gentlemen that hear me, will, I hope, have a particular Regard to; for from hence they may see how naturally a low Rate of Interest tends to the Improvement of their Estates, as well as raising their Price, and that a high Interest prevents both the one and the other.

I hope, Sir, I have now shewn, even to a Demonstration, that the Lowering of Interest must be attended with great Advantages to the Nation in general, and to the Landed Gentlemen in particular; and I have shewn, I hope, likewise to a Demonstration, that if the Interest of Money be continued for any Number of Years at the present Rate in this Kingdom, which is much higher than it is in those Countries which are our greatest and most formidable Rivals, both in Trade and naval Power, it must be attended with the gradual Decay of our Navigation, our foreign Trade, and our home Manufactures, which will at last bring irretrievable Ruin upon the whole Nation. Whoever is convinced of this, must have a Heart of Stone, he must have no Bowels towards his native Country, if for any selfish End he opposes, if in spite of every selfish View he does not promote any practicable Scheme, that may tend towards bringing the Interest of Money in this Country upon a Par with what it is in our neighbouring Countries, especially in those neighbouring Countries, which are our greatest

Rivals in Trade and naval Power. And, I am sure, no Gentleman will say, it is possible to bring down either the natural or the legal Interest of Money between Man and Man, till after we have reduced the Interest payable upon all our publick Securities; for by the long and regular Payment of the Interest upon such Securities, and by the growing Provision we have made for paying off the Principal by Degrees, they are got into such Credit, that no Man will lend upon a private Security for the same Interest he can have upon a publick; except a very few Persons who have large Sums, which they are willing to lend at the same Interest upon Mortgages of Land only.

I shall not pretend, Sir, it is in our Power, or in the Power of any Nation, to make what Regulations they have a Mind, with Regard to the legal Interest of Money. The natural Interest of Money is always the Standard by which the legal ought to be regulated; and the natural Interest of Money does not depend upon the Regulations of Men, but upon natural and sometimes very accidental Events: But this I will say, that by a prudent and circumspect Administration of the publick Affairs of any Country, such Measures may be taken as must necessarily contribute towards reducing the natural Interest of Money; and when such Measures are observed to have taken Effect, the legal Interest of Money ought then to be reduced; for the legal ought always to be kept at a Rate equal to, or but a very little above the natural; because a great deal of Money is in every Country borrowed by the young and extravagant, in order to support their Luxury and Extravagance; and as such Persons are apt, and generally obliged, to pay a higher Interest for it, than those who borrow, in order to employ it in Trade, one of the most effectual Ways to prevent their Lux-

ury and Extravagance, (which every Government ought to prevent as much as possible) is, to make it dangerous for Men to endeavour to reap great Profits, by supplying them with the proper Medium for supporting their Luxury and Extravagance.

Even in this Country, Sir, if the Supplies of the Year had been duly raised within the Year, and the *Sinking Fund* wholly and regularly applied to the Discharge of our Publick Debts, ever since its first Establishment, I will be bold to say, the Interest upon any publick Funds we had remaining, would not now have been above 2 and a $\frac{1}{2}$, nor would the natural Interest of Money between Man and Man, where there was any tolerable Security, have been above 3; for the natural Interest of Money must always depend upon the Proportion between the Quantity of Money ready to be lent at Interest, and the Quantity wanted to be borrowed; so that publick Loans of all Kinds, must tend towards enhancing the natural Interest of Money, and publick Payments must as necessarily tend towards its Reduction. Therefore, from the present low Rate of Interest upon publick Securities, notwithstanding our being now very near as much in Debt as we were at the End of the War, I am sure I may venture to say, the natural Interest upon all Sorts of Securities would have been at or below 3 *per Cent.* if we had paid off the greatest Part of our old without contracting any new Debt: And if we had done so, I am convinced, the Trade of this Kingdom would have been in a much more flourishing State than it is at present, and the Nation much better able to support its Friends or avenge itself of its Enemies.

These, 'tis true Sir, are but melancholy Reflections, however they may serve for making us more circumspect in Time to come, and for making every Man contribute with

the greater Alacrity towards whatever Sums may hereafter be thought necessary for the current Supplies, in order that the *Sinking Fund* may for the future be applied wholly to discharge the national Debt, and to relieve the People from those heavy Taxes they now groan under; for either of which Purposes it will be made much more effectual by a Reduction of the Interest payable to the *South-Sea* Old and New Annuitants, from 4 to 3 per Cent. if such a Thing can be brought about without any Danger to publick Credit, or Breach of publick Faith; and that this may in all Probability be done, is what I shall now endeavour to demonstrate. That there are in this Kingdom large Sums ready to be lent at an Interest of 3 per Cent. is evident, from the ready Access the Government has for some Time had, to the Borrowing of Money at that Interest for the yearly Supplies, and upon every new Fund that has been lately established. But this is still more evident from the high Premium now daily given for those publick Securities, that bear an Interest only of 3 per Cent. Therefore, I think, it is reasonable to believe, that, if Books of Subscriptions should be opened, the Money-Subscriptions would amount at least to two Millions, and the whole Million to be paid to the *South-Sea* Old Annuitants at *Michaelmas* next, would, I believe, be subscribed into this new Fund; so that soon after *Michaelmas* next, the Publick would have a Fund of three Millions in ready Money, to pay off a Part of those Annuities, whose Proprietors should not appear willing to accept of an Interest for 14 Years certain, at the Rate of 3 per Cent.

Now, Sir, as there is one Million to be paid off at *Michaelmas* next, the Total of the remaining Annuities, will amount to about 23,600,000*l.* and if the whole three Millions, raised by Money-Subscriptions, together

with a Million from the *Sinking Fund*, were to be applied at the *Michaelmas* following, towards paying off the like Sum of Old and New *South-Sea* Annuities, which for Calculation's Sake I shall suppose to be 24 Millions full, it would amount to 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per Cent. That is to say, every Proprietor would have so much per Cent. of his Stock annihilated, so that he would lose the whole advanced Price upon that 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Stock so annihilated, which at the present advanced Price, (being 13 per Cent.) would be above 2*l.* per Cent. entirely lost; and if the present advanced Price of Stocks should rise, every Proprietor's Loss, by such a Payment, would rise in Proportion. To avoid this immediate Loss, we may suppose, that some of the present Proprietors of *South-Sea* Annuities would subscribe their respective Shares in those Annuities, and would be willing to accept of the 3 per Cent. for 14 Years irredeemable: Suppose these Subscriptions amounted in the Whole but to 3 Millions, this would make the first Loss fall still heavier upon the Obfitate; because the 4 Millions in Money would then come to be divided upon 21 Millions Capital, instead of 24 Millions Capital, which would make their Loss, by the Payment of 4 Millions at once, amount to very near 2 and a $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. But suppose they continued obstinate, let us inquire what they would gain by their Obstinacy. The whole Capital of Old and New *South-Sea* Annuities remaining at 4 per Cent. after *Michaelmas* come a Twelvemonth, would be but 17 Millions; to the Discharge of which we must suppose the *Sinking Fund* afterwards wholly and regularly applied; in which Case, we must suppose that a Sum of at least 1,300,000*l.* would be yearly applied to the Discharge and Annihilation of the like Sum of that Capital: Therefore suppose the advanced Price of

those Annuities should rise no higher than it is at present, it will appear by Calculation, that upon the very first Payment, which would be at *Michaelmas* 1739, every one of the Proprietors of this 17 Millions would have above 7*l.* per Cent. of this Stock annihilated, and would thereby lose 19*s.* 10*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$; at the next *Michaelmas* following, every such Proprietor would have above 8 per Cent. of his Stock annihilated, and would consequently lose above 1 per Cent. and this Loss will increase yearly, in Proportion as the *Sinking Fund* increases, and the Capital to which it is to be applied diminishes, if the advanced Price should continue as high as it is at present; and no Man can reasonably expect the Price of any of our Stocks will fall lower than they are at present, as long as Peace continues, and the *Sinking Fund* is regularly applied.

From these Calculations it must appear, Sir, that, if Books were opened for taking in Subscriptions either in Annuities or Money, with a Right of Preference to the former, a Subscription of 2 Millions in Money, and 3 Millions in Annuities, any Time before next *Michaelmas*, with the Money-Subscriptions that might then be expected from the Million to be paid off, would make it the immediate Interest of all the rest of the Annuity-holders to come in and subscribe their respective Annuities at an Interest of 3 per Cent. for 14 Years irredeemable, rather than continue them at 4 per Cent. subject to the Trouble and Loss of having a Part of their Capital every Year annihilated, by means of Payments from the *Sinking Fund*. That 3 Millions of Annuities would be immediately subscribed, I make no Question; because even suppose Things stand upon their present Footing, every Annuity-holder must lose above a half per Cent. by the yearly Payments to be made; and I am sure the Trouble of replacing their par-

tial Payments is by many thought worth the other half per Cent. at least. Then as to the 2 Millions in Money, I am confident, that is the least Sum that would be subscribed, if there should be Occasion for it; for I am sure the 3 per Cent. Funds could not bear so high a Premium, if there were not a great deal of Money in the Nation ready to be lent at that Interest; but I am in some Doubt, whether or no there would be Occasion for accepting of any Money-Subscriptions at all: Because every Man may, from the general Circumstances of our Affairs, find Reason to believe, and I have particular Reasons to believe, that a great Number of our Annuity-holders are uneasy in their present Situation, and would be glad to accept of 3 per Cent. if they were assured of not being obliged to receive any Payment for 14 Years to come; and if one Third of them, or any Number above one Third, should readily come in, it would make it the immediate Interest of all the rest to come in and subscribe; because they would lose above 1 per Cent. yearly by the future Payments to be made from the *Sinking Fund*; besides the Trouble they will be annually put to, in receiving and replacing the partial Payments which would be made them from that Fund only; and besides the Danger they would be in, of having the whole soon paid them by a large Money-Subscription.

From what I have said, Sir, and the easy and obvious Calculations I have made, it is evident, that we may in all Probability before *Michaelmas* next, or very soon after, reduce the Interest upon all the *South-Sea* Annuities, both New and Old, from 4 to 3 per Cent. Interest, without any Danger to publick Credit, or Breach of publick Faith, which would make the *Sinking Fund* amount from thenceforth to above 1,400,000*l.* per Annum, to be applied only towards redeeming the Capital of our several

trading Companies. This would bring every one of them so much within our Power, that I am convinced we could then get every one of them to accept of 3 per Cent. Interest upon any reasonable Terms we had a Mind to propose, which would be a new Addition to the *Sinking Fund*, of above 170,000 *l.* a Year: From which Time the *Sinking Fund* would amount to about 1,600,000 *l.* per Ann. and then we might venture to annihilate above *one half* of it, by freeing the People from the Taxes upon *Coals, Candles, Soap, Leather,* and such other Taxes as now lie heavy upon our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, and thereby inance their Wages in every Part of the Kingdom; but especially in the City of *London*; by which the prime Cost of all our Manufactures is so much inanced, that it is impossible for our Merchants to sell them in foreign Markets so cheap, as Manufactures of the same Kind and Goodness are sold by the Merchants, even of those Countries, where the Interest of Money is as high as it is in this.

The remaining Part of the *Sinking Fund* might then, Sir, be applied towards paying off those Annuities and publick Debts which now bear an Interest of 3 per Cent. only, and after that, towards diminishing the Capitals of our several trading Companies, till the Expiration of the Term of 14 Years to be granted to the Annuityants; at which Time the *Sinking Fund* would again amount to above a *Million* yearly, which would be sufficient for paying them off, and freeing the Nation entirely from all its publick Debts, in a short Time; for if the People should be immediately relieved from Taxes to the net Amount of 800,000 *l.* or a *Million* per Annum, it would have, I am convinced, such a happy Influence upon all the Branches of our Trade and Manufactures, especially if it should be attended with the Reduction of the natural Interest of Money be-

tween Man and Man, which it necessarily would, that the net Produce of every one of our remaining Taxes would increase, in Proportion to the Increase of our Trade; whereas if our People continue subject to all their present Taxes, and the present high Rate of Interest continues, it is, I think, evident, to a Demonstration, that our Trade and Manufactures must yearly decrease, and consequently the Number of our People will be diminished yearly, and the Rents of all our Land Estates will sink gradually, from whence must necessarily ensue a gradual Decrease in the Produce of every one of our present Taxes; and when the People in general come to feel these melancholy Effects, I am afraid, all Regard for publick Credit and national Faith will then be swallowed up in the Ruins of the Publick, and *Salus Populi est Suprema Lex* will become the general and the only Cry.

I am very sensible, Sir, that the Reduction of Interest upon all publick Securities, from 4 to 3 per Cent. will fall heavy upon, and will be grievously felt by those who have but small Capitals, and who have nothing else to trust to for a Subsistence, but that Annuity or Interest they have from our publick Funds. I have as great a Compassion for all such Persons as any Gentleman of this House can, or ought to have; for there can hardly be any publick Mischief but what must contribute to the Advantage, perhaps to the Subsistence of some private Men, nor can there be any Measure taken for the publick Benefit but what may be attended with a Loss to some private Men. But when we are considering what may tend to the Good of the Nation in general, we must lay aside all Compassion for particular Persons, so far as it happens to be inconsistent with the publick Good. The only Regard we ought in such Cases to have, is, not to do a real Injury

to any private Person; and surely it cannot be said to be doing an Injury to any of the publick Creditors, to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* in order to pay what is due to those who are not willing to accept of a less Interest than 4; nor can it be said to be doing an Injury to any Set of publick Creditors, to pay those off first, who are not willing to accept of such a low Interest as the rest are willing to accept of.

Compassion therefore, Sir, can be of no Weight in the present Question; but if it could, it must fall with its greatest Weight upon that Side where the Sufferers are the most numerous, and the Sufferings the most grievous: By continuing the present Taxes and high Rate of Interest, every Merchant, every Tradesman, every Labourer, in short, every Person in the Kingdom, will suffer severely; and by the Decay of our Trade many will, in every succeeding Year, be utterly undone; whereas, by the Reduction of Interest from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* no Merchant, no Tradesman, no Labourer, as such, will suffer, no Man will be utterly undone: The only great Sufferers will be those who can very well bear it, I mean our overgrown rich Stockholders, most of whom do not near spend their yearly Income from the Funds; and even as to those who have but small Capitals, and have nothing else to trust to for a Subsistence, no one of them can be utterly undone; for many of them will, without Doubt, take their Money and turn it into some Trade or Business, which will be an Advantage to the Nation in general; and those who are grown too old for entering into any Trade or Business, can be exposed to no other Suffering, except that of being obliged to contract their yearly Expence, which they may the more easily do, because upon abolishing some of our most heavy Taxes, all the Necessaries, as

well as all the Conveniencies of Life must necessarily become a great deal cheaper than they are at present. From whence I must conclude, that by the Reduction of Interest, a few *Thousands* will suffer, or think they suffer, by their not being able to heap up Riches so fast, or to live so luxuriously or conveniently, as they might otherwise have done; but by continuing our Taxes, and the present high Rate of Interest, *Millions* will suffer, and *Hundreds of Thousands* will at last be utterly undone; and from this, which is certainly the true State of the Case, I leave to every Gentleman that hears me, to consider, upon which Side of the Question, our Compassion, even with respect to private Men, ought to fall with its greatest Weight.

But, Sir, that every Sort of Distress may be prevented as much as possible, and at the same Time, that the Publick may be enabled to take every possible Method to raise Money for reducing the Interest of the publick Funds, or paying off those who will not accept of a less Interest than they have at present, I think Books of Subscription should likewise be opened for the Sale of Annuities for Terms of Years to all Sorts of Persons, or for Life to such Persons as are not Foreigners, nor under the Age of 4 or 5 and 40, at such Rates as this House shall deem reasonable, supposing the Rate of Interest not to be above 3 *per Cent.* As the Circumstances, Humours, and Inclinations of Mankind are various and very different, there may be some Persons who would chuse to purchase such Annuities, rather than to lend their Money at 3 *per Cent.* therefore the Publick would certainly reap some Benefit from this Alternative; and a great many of those Annuitants who have but small Capitals, and are too far advanced in Years, for engaging in any Sort of Trade or Business, would have an Opportunity of in-

creasing, instead of diminishing their present yearly Income.

I have now, Sir, explained, as fully as I am able, the Scheme I have thought of for an immediate Reduction of Interest upon all the *South-Sea* Annuities, and I have given you my Reasons for thinking it practicable; but suppose I should be disappointed; suppose that, upon opening such Books of Subscription as I have mentioned, no Man should come in to subscribe either Stock or Money at an Interest of 3 per Cent. what Harm can ensue either to the Publick or to any private Man? The Annuitants will remain upon the same Footing they were on before this Proposition was mentioned, or the Scheme attempted: They will continue to enjoy their 4 per Cent. Interest till the Parliament can pay them off; and if it be an Advantage not to be soon paid off, the Price of their Annuities will rather rise than fall, upon its being made apparent to the World, by an Experiment, that the Parliament has no Way of paying them off but by the regular Application of the *Sinking Fund*. Then as to the Publick, I cannot so much as suggest to myself any Prejudice that can ensue from the total Misgiving of this Scheme; for surely no Man can have the worse Opinion of our Management, on account of our endeavouring to borrow Money at 3 per Cent. in order to pay off those Debts for which we pay 4; but on the contrary, if we should make no such Attempt, when there is such a Probability of our meeting at least with some Success, it will, in my Opinion, make the whole World conceive a bad Opinion of our Conduct, which can no Way add to our Credit; and it will make the whole Nation believe, that the Interest of the publick Creditors in particular has got, by some unjustifiable Means, a greater Influence in this House, than the Interest of the

Nation in general: If such an Opinion should prevail, the Consequences might be fatal to the Principal as well as the Interest of our publick Debts; for from such an Opinion the People would naturally conclude, that they must forever be loaded with heavy Taxes, in order that the publick Creditors might enjoy a high Interest, and that either the Nation or the publick Creditors must be utterly undone. In such a Dilemma it is easy to see which Side the People would chuse; and an enraged People have seldom any great Regard either to publick Credit or publick Faith.

This is a Consequence, Sir, which I dread to mention, which I dread to think of; but it is a Consequence which, in my Opinion, is unavoidable, unless some Measures be speedily taken for reducing the Interest, and for easing the People of some of those heavy Taxes of which they have so long in vain complained. There are many of the publick Creditors, I know, who seem highly displeas'd with me, for making any Sort of Proposition towards reducing the Interest payable upon any of the publick Funds; but I can with the utmost Sincerity declare, that my turning my Thoughts this Way, proceeded from a Regard for them, as well as from a Regard for my Country; and if the Scheme I have now proposed, or some such a one, be not speedily put in Execution, I am fully convinced they will in a few Years have Reason to wish my Scheme had met with Success, and will then acknowledge their being obliged to me for having endeavour'd to prevent their impending Ruin. At present I am very easy about what some of them may say or think; for I shall always direct my Conduct in this House by that which, in my own Conscience, I think just and right, without any Regard to the false Glosses which some People, from selfish Motives, or mistaken Notions,

may put upon it. Truth will always at last appear in its full Splendor; and as I am convinced what I have now explained to you, will contribute towards the Good of the Publick, and consequently towards the true Interest of the Creditors of the Publick, at least of such of them as are Natives of *Great Britain*, and for that Reason must have an Interest in, and may, I hope, be supposed to have a Regard for, every Thing that can contribute to the Happiness of *Great Britain*; therefore I shall conclude with making you this Motion, *That, &c.* (see p. 581.)

To this it was answered in Substance as follows, viz.

Sir, I am extremely sorry to find myself under a Necessity of opposing the Scheme now laid before you. I am persuaded the honourable Gentleman would neither have thought of it, nor proposed it, if he had not imagined it would contribute both to the Good of the Publick, and the Good of the Creditors; but as I think it will tend to the Prejudice of both, I am therefore, for the same Reasons, obliged to oppose it. I wish with all my Heart we were in a Condition to pay off, honourably and fairly, all the Debts due by the Publick, and to give the People an immediate Relief from all those Taxes which are appropriated to the Payment of Principal and Interest; but as it is impossible to do this at once, as there is no Way of paying off our Debts, or abolishing our Taxes, but by Degrees, by Means of the Sinking Fund; and as this is a certain Way of paying off, in a few Years, all our Debts, and freeing the People from almost all those Taxes, which have been made perpetual by Parliament, I shall always be fearful of coming into any Scheme which may disturb, and perhaps entirely disappoint that certain and regular Method we are now in, whatever plausible

Appearances it may have at first View.

To reduce the Interest payable upon all, or any Part of our publick Debts, and thereby to add to the yearly Produce of the Sinking Fund, or to enable us to annihilate a Part of it, by abolishing some of our most heavy Taxes, is a Project, Sir, which at first View seems mighty alluring. In private Life, a Gentleman who had a large Mortgage upon his Estate, would think himself highly obliged to a Man who should offer to put him in a Way of reducing the Interest payable upon that Mortgage, in order to enable him to live better than he did before, or to pay off the Mortgage, and clear his Estate sooner than he could otherwise do; but if upon examining this Project, he should find Reason to believe, he might be disappointed as to the Raising of a sufficient Sum at a less Interest, and that the Attempt would certainly exasperate all his old Creditors, and excite every one of them to file Bills of Foreclosure against him, by which his Estate might be brought to immediate Sale at a bad Market, and he and his Family brought to utter Perdition; he might, perhaps, thank his Friend for his kind Offer, but surely he would be a Madman, if he should embrace it, or openly attempt to carry the Project into Execution. This I take to be our Case at present; but before I endeavour to shew the Probability, or the Danger of our being disappointed, I shall beg Leave to consider a little what the Hon. Gentleman has said about the Interest of Money, and the Influence it has upon our Trade, Manufactures, and Navigation, and upon the Improvement of our Land Estates.

I shall agree with him, Sir, That in a Country where the Interest of Money is at too high a Rate, there can be little or no Trade, or Improvement of Land; because it is a certain

certain Sign, there is little or no Money in that Country, and without Money no Sort of Trade can be carried on, nor any Land Improvements made: But, I hope, it will likewise be granted, that the Interest of Money may be too low as well as too high; A Trade for those who have more Money than they can employ in any Trade or Business, ought to be allowed to make some Profit by lending it; in order to tempt them not to hoard, or to hide their Talents in the Earth, but to lend them to those who can B employ them to Advantage in some Sort of Trade or Business; and the Hopes of getting a moderate Interest or Profit for Money, will always be a great Incitement to Men of all Ranks and Conditions, to get and to save as much as they can. What C do Men engage in Trade for? what do they toil and fatigue, and save for, during the greatest Part of their Lives, but to provide a comfortable and easy Subsistence and Relief for the Infirmities of old Age? And after they have done so, what D do they continue their Toil and their Saving for, but to satisfy their Ambition by establishing and enriching their Families? If they could make little or no Use of their Money after they have got it and saved it, no Man would toil, no Man would E carry on any Trade or Manufacture farther than was absolutely necessary for his daily and immediate Subsistence. Therefore to encourage Men to engage in Trade, or to lend their Money to those that will, to encourage Men to get and to save F Money, it is absolutely necessary to leave them in a Condition of receiving some Profit or Benefit from their Money after they have got it and saved it; and this Profit must be great or small according to the Circumstances of the Country where G they are, and according to the Humour and Inclinations of the People, among whom that Profit is to be settled or regulated.

A very low Rate of Interest for Money, Sir, is so far from being the Origin or first Cause of a flourishing Trade, that a flourishing Trade is always the Cause of a low Rate of Interest; and in every Country, their Trade must have flourished for some considerable Time before the Rate of Interest in that Country can be brought very low. The first Origin of Trade in every Country is owing to a well-regulated Constitution, and a prudent Administration of publick B Affairs, which Advantages may be very much improved by concurring Accidents. In this Country, before the Reign of *Henry VII.* tho' our Constitution had a Face of Liberty, yet that Liberty was almost entirely confined to the noble and great Families, under whom most of the C Commons lived in a Sort of Bondage or Dependance; so that our Constitution, tho' free, was not very well adapted to the Encouragement of Trade; and the continual Wars we were engaged in from the Conquest till that Time, made the Spirit of the Nation run more upon the Arts of War than of Peace; but that wise King having very much broke the Power and the Influence of our noble Families, and established the Rights and Privileges of the Commons, our Trade began even in his Reign to rear its Head; and the wise and long Reign of Q *Elizabeth* established what her Father and Grandfather had begun; for in her Reign, which upon this Occasion ought to be particularly remarked, our Trade flourished more, and increased faster, than it ever did in any the like Period before or since, tho' the Interest of Money was then at 10 *per Cent.* at which Rate it continued till the 21st of *James I.* when it was brought down to 8; and at that Rate it continued till after the Restoration, when it was reduced to 6 *per Cent.* from whence 'tis plain the Establishment and Prosperity of Trade do not proceed from a low Rate of Interest,

Interest, but that a low Rate of Interest proceeds from the Establishment and Prosperity of Trade; and the common Rate of Interest having ever since been upon the Decline, is to me a convincing Proof, that our Trade has been ever since that Time in a flourishing Condition, and increasing daily rather than decreasing.

For this Reason, Sir, I must think it a little odd to hear some Gentlemen pretend, our Trade is now, and has been for some Years, in a declining State, and yet at the same Time insist, that within these 10 Years the Interest of Money has sunk from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* for I must observe that this pretended Fall of Interest is greater in Proportion than what happened in that long and for the most Part happy Period of Time, from the 37th of *Henry VIII.* to the 21st of *James I.* the former being *one fourth*, whereas the latter was but *one fifth*. Surely if our Trade had been upon the Decline, our national Stock of ready Money would have diminished in Proportion; and if our Stock of ready Money had been diminished, the certain Consequence would have been, an Increase of the natural Interest of Money. Therefore, either our Trade is in a flourishing Condition, or the natural Interest of Money must be higher than it was 10 Years ago. If our Trade be in a flourishing Condition, it would be dangerous, and consequently imprudent, to take any new Measure for rendering it more flourishing, lest that new Measure should have a contrary Effect; and if the natural Interest of Money be higher than it was 10 Years ago, it will be impossible for us to reduce the Interest payable upon any of the publick Funds, without Fraud or Compulsion; neither of which we can make use of, without a Breach of National Honour and Parliamentary Faith.

But I am convinced, Sir, our

Trade is still in a flourishing Condition, and I am of Opinion a further Reduction of Interest, unless the Circumstances of the Nation should very much alter, will tend towards a thorough Change, rather than Improvement of that Condition. The present Rate of Interest is so low, it can no Way injure our Trade; for in this Country, as well as every other, most Men will cheerfully engage in and carry on any Branch of Trade, if they can make but 1 or 2 *per Cent.* net Profit of their Money in that Trade, more than they can make by lending their Money out at Interest. We are not to presume, People put a higher Value upon their Labour and their Trouble in this Country, than they do in *Holland*, because the Rate of Interest is higher here than there; if there is any Difference, it must proceed from the different Nature of the People, and not from the Difference of Interest; and as the Difference of Interest is not above 1 *per Cent.* it can give them no Advantage in Trade, at least not such an Advantage as can be equal to the many Advantages we have in other Respects over them.

I am therefore of Opinion, Sir, that our present Rate of Interest can no Way injure our Trade; but, on the contrary, that it is no more than what seems necessary in this Kingdom, for prompting our People to engage in Trade and to be industrious; because by so doing they may probably get such a Sum of Money as may, by being laid out at Interest, afford them a comfortable Subsistence, when they are old and passed their Labour; which is what very few could expect, if the Interest of Money were much lower than it is at present; and if a Man should in his Youth despair of ever being able to provide a comfortable Subsistence for old Age, he would never think of saving, he would think only of getting as much as was necessary for his

daily Subsistence, and would never engage either in Labour or Trade further than he found absolutely necessary for that Purpose, according to the frugal or extravagant Manner he chose to live in.

To this I must add another Consideration, for shewing that the Interest of Money may be too low, and that is, the great Encouragement which is thereby given to Luxury and Extravagance; for as too high an Interest encourages the Luxury and Extravagance of the Lender, too low an Interest will always encourage the Luxury and Extravagance of those who have either Credit or Pledge upon which they can borrow. Therefore, I must think it is not a very low Interest, but a moderate Interest, that is the Parent both of Industry and Frugality; and what ought to be called a moderate Interest in any Country, must depend upon the Circumstances, the Humours, and the Inclinations of the People.

From these Considerations I am of Opinion, that the Lowering of Interest would be hurtful instead of being beneficial to our Trade; and I may, I think, declare my Opinion the more boldly, because, I find, the famous Mr. Locke was of the same Opinion, and was therefore against the Lowering of Interest in his Time, tho' it was then at 6 per Cent. For a Project having been offered in the Year 1691 for reducing the national Interest, in order to enable the Government to borrow Money at an easier Rate for the Expences of the War, that great Man wrote a Pamphlet against it, which is still extant, and reprinted with his other Works. But as the low Rate of Interest in Holland has been much insisted on, and represented as a great Advantage they have over us in Trade, it lays me under a Necessity of considering the Difference between what may be called a moderate Interest in one Country, and that which may be

called a moderate Interest in another; which, as I have said, depends not only on the Circumstances, but the Humours and Inclinations of the People.

In Holland they have little or no Land, their chief Fund is Money; and as their rich Men have little or no other Riches but Money, there can be few or no Borrowers among them, but such as have a Mind to employ it in Trade; for a rich extravagant Man, whose Riches consist only in Money, can have no Occasion to borrow; as long as his Money lasts, he makes use of it for supplying his Extravagance, and when his Money is gone, he has neither Pledge nor Credit whereon to borrow; therefore no extravagant Men can be Borrowers in Holland, and a Man who borrows Money to be employed in Trade, neither can nor will give a high Interest for it. On the other Hand, in this Country, our chief Fund is Land, which must always be the Occasion of our having a great Number of Borrowers, who borrow Money only for supplying their own Extravagance, or for atoning for the Extravagance of their Ancestors; for every landed Man who is extravagant, or who succeeds to an extravagant Ancestor, is long a Borrower, and perhaps for large Sums, before he becomes a Seller. From hence we may see, that the natural Interest of Money in this Kingdom must always exceed that in Holland, till such Time as the total Value of our Money Estates exceeds the total Value of our Land Estates, as far as the former exceeds the latter in Holland. Therefore, from this Difference in our Circumstances, 4 per Cent. may be a very moderate Rate of Interest in this Kingdom, and yet 3 per Cent. may be an extravagant Rate in Holland.

Then, Sir, as to the Humours and Inclinations of the People, it must be granted, that our People neither

do,

do, nor can live so penuriously, as the Generality of the People of *Holland* do; therefore a *Dutchman* may live, as he may think, comfortably, upon 3 per Cent. for his Money, whereas no Man of this Country would propose to live upon such a Sum, unless he could have 4 per Cent. for it at least. For this Reason an Interest of 3 per Cent. in *Holland* may be sufficient for prompting their People to engage in Trade, and to get and save as much as they can by their Industry, in order to provide for old Age and Infirmities; and yet 4 per Cent. may be the least that is necessary for the same Purposes, with respect to the People of this Country. And with Regard to those who are apt to borrow, in order to supply their Extravagancies, I have already shewn there can be few or none such in *Holland*; therefore, with them there is in this Way no Danger to be apprehended from the Lowness of their Interest; but in this Country, we have in this Way a great deal to apprehend, if we should ever reduce our Interest too low. Thus it must appear, that if Lowness of Interest be an Advantage in Trade, it is a natural Advantage the *Dutch* have from the Circumstances of their Country, and from the Nature of their People; and that it is an Advantage we cannot take from them, without doing ourselves an Injury of a worse Consequence in another Way; but for this very Reason we have many Advantages over them, and such as greatly over-balance this one Advantage they have of us. From our Lands we have, or may have, Provisions sufficient for all our Workmen, and almost all the Materials necessary for any Sort of Manufacture, from the first Production of Nature to the utmost Perfection of Art; whereas they have within themselves neither the Materials for any Manufacture, nor Provisions for any of their Workmen, so that both must

come dearer to them, by at least the Freight, and other Charges of transporting them from one Country to another: And from the Nature of our People, we have likewise an Advantage; for as our People live better, they work with greater Spirit, and more Alacrity than their People can do, and, consequently, must do a great deal of more Work in a Day's Time. Let us, therefore, think of improving those Advantages Nature has given us; for if we neglect them, in order to catch at those which Nature has given to others, we shall lose the Bird in Hand, by endeavouring to catch at that in the Bush.

As to our Neighbours the *French*, I am surprized to hear it said they have any Advantage over us, with Regard to the Interest of Money. The legal Rate of Interest in that Country is as high as it is in this; and the natural Interest of Money, at least upon their publick Securities, is, I am sure, much higher. Nor have they any natural Advantage in Trade over us worth mentioning, except that of the frugal and penurious Temper of their People, especially their Labourers and Manufacturers; for the Freight of a Ship from any Port in *England* to *Spain* or *Turkey*, is very near as cheap as from any Port of *France*, at least the Difference can have no Influence upon a rich Cargo; and if it could, the Expence of carrying their Goods to their Port for Export, is generally much higher in *France* than in *England*, which will more than atone for any Difference there may be in the Freight: And for the same Reason a Quantity of *Spanish* Wool may always come cheaper to the Manufacturer in *England*, than the same Quantity can come to the Manufacturer in *France*. But then, as to the Advantages we have over them, they are innumerable, and the single one of our Wool, is such a one as we may, by proper Care and Diligence, make insurmountable;

mountable; for the more careful and diligent we are in preventing its Exportation, the greater the Risk of exporting it will be, and the greater the Risk, the higher its Price will be in *France*; so that at last we may raise its Price so high, as to make it impossible for their Manufacturers to work it up with any Advantage.

Now, Sir, with Regard to our Taxes, as I have said before, I wish we could immediately get free of them, but they must all be continued, or our Debts must remain unpaid; the more of them we abolish, before all our Debts are paid, the longer we must remain under those that are not abolished. I do not know but some of the Materials for Manufacture, and some of the Provisions necessary for Life, may, by Means of our Taxes, be rendered dearer than they would otherwise be. However, it cannot be said, that either the *Dutch* or the *French* have in this the Advantage of us; for in both these Countries their Taxes are as numerous and as heavy as they are in this, and in *France*, 'tis certain, the Method of collecting them is much more grievous; therefore, if Provisions, Wages, or Labour, be dearer in this Country than in *France* or *Holland*, it must proceed from there being a greater Plenty of Money in this Country than in either of the other two: This, I believe, is really the Case, with respect to all the Counties near *London*; and as for our remote Counties, I believe, Provisions, Wages, and Labour, are as cheap in them as in any Part of *France*, and much cheaper than in any Part of the *United Provinces*. From all which, I must conclude, that neither the *Dutch* nor the *French* have any Advantage of us in Trade; but on the contrary, that we have, upon the Balance, a great Advantage of both; and from hence, as well as from the present low Rate of Interest, I think I have Reason to believe our Trade is now as extensive as ever it

was; tho' it neither does nor can now increase so fast as it did in its Infancy, nor can the Profits from any Branch of Trade be now so great as when that Channel was first opened. It is not now, indeed, so easy, for a Man to get into a Method of growing rich, or to heap up Riches so fast, by Trade, as it was 50 or a 100 Years ago; but this proceeds from the Nature and certain Consequences of Things, and not from any Decay of Trade; yet this is, I believe, the chief Ground of all our Complaints, and the sole Reason most People have for imagining our Trade in general to be upon the Decline.

I hope, Sir, I have now made it appear, that the present low Rate of Interest can have no bad Influence upon our Trade, and that therefore it would be imprudent and dangerous for us to take any extraordinary Measures for reducing it, but that we ought to let Things go on in their natural and present Course, till the total Value of our moneyed Estates has begun to exceed that of our Lands; and then I make no Doubt but the Interest of Money, upon all Sorts of Securities, will fall of itself, and without our taking any extraordinary Measures to enforce it. I shall next examine what Effect a Reduction of Interest would have on our Lands; and here I must observe, our Landed Gentlemen are extremely mistaken, if they think the Price of their Lands will always rise in Proportion to the Fall of Interest. If Land sells for 20 Years Purchase when Interest is at 5 per Cent. he would find himself very far out in his Calculation, who should imagine that if Interest could be reduced to 1 per Cent. he might get 100 Years Purchase for his Land: But suppose he did, what the better would he be? For if he sold his Estate, he would then become a money'd Man, and the 100 Years Purchase in Money at 1

per Cent. would produce no more than the 20 Years Purchase would have produced when Money was at *5 per Cent.* Then as to the Improvement of a Land Estate, if Money should become so plenty as to yield but *1 per Cent.* Interest, the Price of Labour, and all Sorts of Materials proper or necessary for Improvement, would rise in Proportion; so that any Improvement of an Estate would then cost *five* Times as much as when Money bore an Interest of *5 per Cent.* from whence we must conclude, that a low Interest of Money can no Way contribute to the Improving of any Estate; and as no Man would toil or labour for the Sake of saving any Money, if he could get little or nothing by it after he had saved it, we cannot suppose, that any Gentleman or Farmer would get Hands enow to assist him in any such Improvement; so that the Reducing of Interest too low, would, in my Opinion, rather prevent than encourage Improvements of every Kind.

Thus it appears, Sir, that a further Reduction of Interest, till the Circumstances of the Nation, and the Humours of the People, be very much altered, would neither tend to the Increase of our Trade, nor to the Improvement of our Lands, but might probably contribute to the Ruin of both. And as to the more speedy Payment of our Debts, the Difference is not so great as ought to induce us to run a Risk of disabling ourselves from ever paying any Part of our Debts, in order to pay them off a little sooner; for if we should annihilate no Part of the Sinking Fund upon the Reduction of Interest proposed, supposing it to extend to the Whole of our Debts, it would be near 22 Years before we could pay off all our Debts, by means of the Sinking Fund so increased; and as our Affairs stand at present, we can pay them all off in less than 25 Years; so that all we get by bringing so many

Families into great Distress, and running the Risk of losing our Trade, is to get rid of our Debts about 3 Years sooner than we could otherwise have done. But if we should annihilate any Part of the Sinking Fund, if we should annihilate only that Part added to it by the Reduction of Interest, it will be very near 27 Years and a half before we can pay off all our Debts; so that we shall be 2 Years and a half longer in Debt than we need be, if Things stand as they are at present.

I have now considered the publick Benefits which, it is pretended, would arise from a Reduction of Interest, and have shewn the great Reason there is for apprehending a quite contrary Effect; but, Sir, if we consider the private Disadvantages and Inconveniencies which must necessarily from thence ensue, they are numerous, and would affect Men of every Rank and Degree. The Landed Gentlemen, and all our noble and great Families, would either soon be undone, or their younger Children, both Sons and Daughters, especially the latter, must be left in a State of Beggary. 5000*l.* may now be a suitable Fortune for the younger Son or the Daughter of a noble Family; but if Interest should be reduced much lower than it is, it would hardly enable them to keep Company with their elder Brother's Cook or his Coachman; and to charge a Land Estate with a greater Sum to each of the younger Children, would very much encumber the Heir, and might probably ruin the Family. Merchants, Shop-keepers, and Tradesmen, would be in no better Condition; for every Branch of Trade and Business is already overstock'd, and the Reduction of Interest would bring such Numbers of new Adventurers into Trade, that they would all be ruined by under-selling and under-working one another: Even those who might have the good Luck

to escape the general Shipwreck, and to get a little Money by the utmost Care, Industry, and Penuriousness, could never expect to get so much as would enable them to pass their old Days in Quietness and Security. Our present Set of Farmers would mostly be turned out of their Farms, and obliged to turn Cottagers; because our Farms, upon the Expiration of the present Leases, would mostly be let to Gentlemens younger Sons, or Persons of much greater Stock or Fortune than our present Farmers are possessed of. But the most unfortunate of all would be our Widows and Orphans, who now have their Money in the Funds, or upon Land Security, and have nothing else to trust to for a Subsistence, but the Interest payable yearly or half yearly upon that Money: Such Persons could not engage in Trade, or turn their Money to any other Use; because Orphans cannot raise it till they come of Age, and Widows generally have the Interest only settled upon them during their Lives: Nay, they could not so much as take the Benefit of that hard Alternative proposed to be offered, of purchasing Annuities for Term of Years or Life. In short, Sir, it would, in my Opinion, bring such a Deluge of Distress upon all Ranks of People, that the Consequences might be fatal to our present happy Establishment and Constitution; so that if we are not moved with Compassion for the Distresses of others, we ought at least to have a Regard for ourselves and our own Families.

But in particular, Sir, I must take Notice of the great Prejudice this Scheme would do to the Landlords of Houses, the Shop keepers, the Tradesmen, and all Persons concerned in the Retail Trade, within the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and the Counties next adjacent. Many of our Stockholders and Annuitants being rendered unable to live in or

near the City of *London*, would, of course, retire to the remote and cheap Counties; by which Means their Houses would be left empty in the Hands of their respective Landlords, and the Butchers, Bakers, Chandlers of all Sorts, Grocers, and other Tradesmen and Shop-keepers they used to deal with, would for ever lose their Custom. Even those Stockholders and Annuitants who might continue in *London*, or near to it, would every one be obliged to contract their Expence, which would be an additional Loss to the Shop-keepers and Tradesmen in *London* and *Westminster*, and the Counties adjacent; and this double Loss would likewise considerably affect the Custom these Shop-keepers and Tradesmen have from one another. This Consequence of the Scheme proposed is so obvious, that I must say I am surprized to find it patronized by some of those Gentlemen who have always shewn a particular Regard for the Citizens of *London*. I am sure they do not view it in the same Light I do; for if they did, they would certainly have been so far from patronizing it, that they would have opposed it to the utmost of their Power.

These, Sir, are some of the Dangers, which I think are justly to be apprehended from the Scheme now before us, supposing it should succeed; but I have the Comfort to think it would fail in the Execution, tho' every Branch of the Legislature should agree to it, and I shall beg Leave to give you some of my Reasons for thinking so; after which I shall take the Liberty to shew you some of the bad Consequences such a fruitless Attempt may be attended with. But I must first make an Observation upon the two Ends proposed by the Scheme, which are, that we may the sooner get rid of our Debts, and immediately relieve the People from some of their burdensome Taxes. These two Ends are, I confess, mighty plausible,

ble, but the Misfortune is, that they are, as I think, absolutely incompatible. It is impossible to relieve the People from any of the Taxes appropriated for the Payment of our Debts, without prolonging that Payment; and tho' our Taxes are certainly very burdensome, yet Experience has shewn they are not altogether insupportable. In this Case therefore the first Question that occurs is, Whether it be more for the Advantage of the Nation in general to continue our Taxes till the Nation be quite free, or very near free from Debt, and then abolish them all at once, which may be done in a small Number of Years, if the Sinking Fund be duly and regularly applied? Or whether we ought now to abolish some of the Taxes, which we may do without reducing the Interest or ruining any of the publick Creditors, and thereby leave the Nation incumbered with a large Debt for a much longer Time? If this were to be a Question, I should, according to my present Sentiments, be for the first Method; because I think it is not only the most advantageous to the Nation, but the most just with respect to our Creditors. I think it is our Business, before all Things, to rid the Nation of Debt; for till then we can never propose to act with such Vigour as we have formerly done, either in assisting our Allies or avenging ourselves of our Enemies; and I cannot think it absolutely just with respect to our Creditors, to annihilate any Part of the Sinking Fund, till they are all paid; because by the express Words of the Law by which it was established, and by many Laws since that Time, it stands appropriated to the Payment of those Debts which were contracted before the Year 1716. This was always my Opinion, and was formerly the Opinion of some Gentlemen in this House, who seem to be great Lovers of the Scheme now before us, and

with whom I have generally joined in Opinion ever since I have had the Honour to sit here; but when they change their Opinion, I shall not think myself any Way bound to join with them, unless they give me some better Reasons than I have yet heard, for such a Change.

Now, Sir, to come to my Reasons for thinking the Scheme impracticable as well as incompatible. There may, I grant, be some People in this Nation, who are willing to lend their Money at 3 per Cent. that there are such is evident from the Sums that have lately been borrowed at that Interest, and the Premium such Securities are sold at; but I am convinced, we should find ourselves vastly mistaken, if we should expect to borrow 2 Millions or half a one at that Interest; for with respect to the Sums lent for the current Supplies, they are lent by such Persons as cannot lie out of their Money for any Term of Years; and with respect to the Premium upon 3 per Cent. publick Securities, it proceeds entirely from the small Quantity of such Securities that are or can be in the Market. Those who lend upon such Securities are generally Men of vast Fortunes, and who do not intend to be chopping and changing, so that few or none of them are ever in the Market; therefore a very small Sum of Money brought to Market, in order to be laid out upon such Securities, raises their Price above Par: Even such a small Sum as 50,000*l.* brought to Market at any Time, more than sufficient to purchase all that are then to be sold, would raise them to a Premium higher than that they are now sold for; and being once got to a Premium, they must continue at it, because few or none of those who are possessed of such Securities, are ever under a Necessity of Selling. And as for *East-India* Bonds, and such like Securities, they are always bought up by those who

do not think proper to let their Wealth be known, or by such as must always have those Securities which they can turn into Money upon an Hour's Warning. From hence we may see, Sir, that none of those who lend Money for the current Supplies, or who become Purchasers of Bonds at 3 *per Cent.* would become Subscribers upon this new Scheme; and if you should open such Books as are proposed, your other Securities at 3 *per Cent.* would soon come to sell under Par; because many of the present Proprietors would chuse to sell out of the Old, in order to become Subscribers to the New, on account of their being made irredeemable for 14 Years; which would bring such a Glut of the Old to Market, as would certainly bring them under Par, and this would of course put a Stop to any Man's coming to subscribe for any new Security at that Interest.

There may likewise be some few of the overgrown rich Annuitants, especially such as live at a Distance from London, who would rather accept of 3 *per Cent.* for 14 Years irredeemable, than be at the Trouble of receiving yearly, or every 2 Years, a partial Payment, and replacing that Payment in Stock or Annuities; but the Number of such Persons is so small, that I am convinced their Subscriptions would not amount to half a Million, and much less to 3 Millions. I am afraid the Hopes Gentlemen have of great Subscriptions in Money and Annuities, are founded chiefly upon a wrong Supposition. From the Premium given for our 3 *per Cent.* they suppose the natural Interest of Money is now at 3 *per Cent.* but that this is a Mistake, is, I think, evident from the Price of all our other Funds; for if the natural Interest of Money were no higher than 3 *per Cent.* our 4 *per Cent.* Annuities ought to sell at 133 and one Third; Bank Stock at 183 and

one Third; and East-India at 200 *per Cent.* which is very far from being the Case.

But, Sir, if the natural Interest of Money lent upon Pledges of Jewels or Plate, or upon good and undoubted Mortgages of Land, were at 3 *per Cent.* we are not from thence to infer, that the natural Interest of Money upon all Sorts of publick Securities, especially Annuities, could be no higher. Our Annuitants are far from being in as good a Condition as a Pledge of Jewels or Plate, or a Mortgage of Lands. If War or any other Accident should raise the natural Interest of Money, a Pledge or Mortgage could insist upon Payment, or a higher Interest, otherwise he would bring his Bill of Foreclosure, and have the Pledge or the mortgaged Lands sold, by which Means he would certainly recover his Principal and all Arrears of Interest, and would then get a higher Interest for it from some other Borrower. On the other hand, let the natural Interest of Money rise as high as it will, an Annuitant can neither insist upon Payment, nor can he bring a Bill of Foreclosure against the Publick; if he wanted his Money, he could recover it no Way but by Sale at the Market Price, which would certainly, in that Case, be much below Par; nay, perhaps he might find it impossible to meet with a Purchaser, and then he could have no other Resource, but to take his 3 *per Cent.* while the Government remained in a Condition to pay him; for even as to the Payment of his Annuity, he has no such absolute Certainty as a Pledge or Mortgage. For which Reason, if Money were now commonly lent upon Pledges or Mortgages at 3 *per Cent.* we could hardly expect Subscriptions for Annuities at 3; and, I must think it a little extravagant to expect any such, especially for such a large Sum; when 'tis well known, that the common Rate of Interest upon Pledges

Pledges or Mortgages is 5 per Cent. and the lowest 4.

For these Reasons, Sir, I must be of Opinion, that however plausible this Scheme may appear in Speculation, it will be found impracticable in the Execution; and the more so, because, it is to be expected, all the moneyed Men in the Kingdom will join in Measures for preventing its taking Effect. And now, Sir, with regard to the Consequences of our being disappointed in such an Attempt, they are various, and may be fatal. I shall begin with one which, I think, will be certain, whether the Scheme takes Effect or not. The very Attempt will make all Foreigners, especially the *Dutch*, draw their Money out of our Funds as fast as they can; for the chief Reason any Foreigner has for trusting his Money in our Funds, is, because he makes a greater Profit of it here than he can do in his own Country, upon any Security equally certain and good. It has been allowed, the *Dutch* may make 3 per Cent. of their Money at home; and if we examine into the Loss they are at by the partial Payments made upon our Funds, and the Expences they are at for Commission, Postage of Letters, and other incident Charges, we shall find they do not now make much above 3 per Cent. of their Money; so that if we should reduce 1 per Cent. of the Interest now paid them, they would not then make much above $2\frac{1}{2}$; for which Reason I think it is most justly to be apprehended, they would all at once draw their Money out of our Funds; and what a Shock the drawing of so much ready Cash out of the Kingdom at once must give to our publick Credit, to our Trade both Foreign and Domestick, and to the natural Interest of Money between Man and Man, I shall leave to Gentlemen to consider; only I must acquaint them, it is generally computed the *Dutch* have above 10

Millions Sterling in our several Funds.

The Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question pretend, the World will be apt to conceive a bad Opinion of our Conduct, if we should not endeavour to take Advantage of the present advanced Price of 3 per Cent. Securities; but I have shewn the Premium upon such Securities is by much too narrow a Foundation for us to build any Hopes on, of reducing all our Annuitants to 3 per Cent. and if we should fail in the Attempt, I am sure the World will have better Reason to suspect the Wisdom of our Conduct, or the Honesty of our Intentions. A Man who never attempts but what appears by the Event to be within his Reach, is certainly a wiser Man, tho' not perhaps a Man of so much Courage, as he who aims at extraordinary Heights, and falls headlong from the Precipice. By making such an Attempt, and failing in that Attempt, we may very probably be like those vapourish Ladies, who fancying themselves ill, swallow Draughts and Bolus's, till they have actually thrown themselves into a Distemper much worse than the imaginary.

Then, Sir, as to the Prejudice which may accrue to private Men, I am surprized to hear it said, that no such Thing can be apprehended; for, in my Opinion, it is inevitable, whether we succeed or not. If we succeed, the Annuitants will certainly lose 5 s. in the Pound, of their present Revenue; but it seems this Loss is to be made good to them by abolishing some of our Taxes. Are Gentlemen serious when they talk so? What would any Annuitant say to a Man who should tell him, Sir, we must take 5 s. in the Pound from your present Revenue, but in lieu of that, you shall have Candles an Half-penny or a Penny in the Pound cheaper than usual? Would not any Man take this as a Banter? Suppose again, which I think by much the most

probable, that we should not succeed; such an Attempt would certainly diminish publick Credit: It would make many, both Natives and Foreigners, resolve not to trust their Money longer in our Funds. It would make them begin to think of employing their Money somewhere else, in order that they might take the Benefit of selling out, before the Price should be diminished by the Reduction of Interest. This would of course lessen the advanced Price of every one of our Funds; and would not this be a Prejudice to every one of the present Proprietors, especially to such of them as have lately purchased? I do not now argue from Supposition only, I argue, Sir, from certain Fact, from present Experience: Do not we see that all our publick Funds have fallen in their Price since this Affair was first brought before us? And if an immediate Fall of Stocks has been the Effect of its being mentioned, what Consequence can we expect from its being agreed to?

I cannot conclude, Sir, without taking notice of the great Endeavours that have been used, both within Doors and without, to raise our Compassion, by representing the deplorable State of our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, and that the Reduction of Interest will enable us to give them an immediate Relief. For my Part, I cannot think their State near so deplorable as it has been represented; for we have no heavy Taxes upon any of the Necessaries of Life: All our heavy Taxes are laid upon the Luxuries of Life; and cannot therefore affect a poor Tradesman who has a Mind to live frugally, and not to indulge himself or his Family in the Use of Things, that are not absolutely necessary for their Subsistence; and the few small Taxes we have upon some of the Necessaries, or rather Conveniencies of Life, are such as our People have been

long accustomed to, and not so heavy, nor collected in a Manner so grievous, as such Taxes are in *France* or *Holland*. But supposing it were otherwise, I have shewn, that by a Reduction of Interest we could not abolish any of our present Taxes, without subjecting the Nation to a greater and more dangerous Inconvenience, I mean the putting off for a longer Term the entire Discharge of the national Debt; and if by a Reduction of Interest our Trade should be diminished, which may probably, as I have already shewn, be the Consequence, especially in and about the City of *London*; then many of our poor Labourers and Manufacturers would be ruined, instead of being relieved, by a Reduction of Interest; consequently all the Compassion that can be pleaded in the present Case, must operate strongly against a Reduction, and in Favour of the many poor Widows and Orphans, who certainly would be irretrievably undone by the great Reduction proposed.

I must confess, Sir, I cannot well comprehend the Meaning of that Distinction, usually made upon this Occasion, between the Publick and the Creditors of the Publick. By the Publick I always mean the collective Body of the People of this Nation; and as our Creditors are a Part of our own People, as those Foreigners who have trusted their Fortunes to our Faith, will, I hope, be always looked on as such, and treated in the same Manner with our native Creditors, therefore I shall always look upon the Creditors of the Publick to be a Part of the Publick, and shall always think, no Injury can be done to them, without injuring the Publick: I believe they cannot so much as be subjected to any Inconvenience, but what will at last prove to be an Inconvenience to the Publick as well as to them; and, I hope, it will be granted, that the taking *one fourth*

Part of their Revenue from them, would at least be a great Inconvenience; in my Opinion, it would be a great Injury to every one of them. We have had lately great Complaints of the Inequality of the Land Tax, and of the Injustice done to the Landholders, by subjecting them to that Burden for so many Years together; for which Reason one of those Taxes, which most certainly and most generally affect the Poor, was lately revived, in order to free the Landholders from a *Shilling in the Pound* for one Year only. The prevailing Doctrine then was, and it is but a few Years since, to impose such Taxes as might fall equally upon all; but now, it seems, we are to lay a Tax of *five Shillings in the Pound* upon that Part of our People, who have the Misfortune of being Creditors to the Publick, in order to free the Nation from some of those small Taxes it now pays, and has paid for many Years.

From all which, I think, Sir, it will appear, that the Proposition now before us will be of the most dangerous Consequence to our Trade, to our Landholders, to the Cities of London and Westminster, and to our People in general; that it can be attended with no considerable publick Advantage, and that it will be a great Injustice done to our publick Creditors; therefore, I shall think myself fully justified in giving my Negative to the Question.

The Reply was to the Effect as follows, viz.

Sir, I shall not suppose, that any of the Gentlemen who seem to be against this Question, are conscious of their being in the wrong; but, I must say, that with respect to some Arguments they have made use of, they treat us as those People generally do, who are conscious of their having the wrong Side of the Question. They state the Case quite different

from what it is, and then triumph in the Arguments or Authorities they bring against it. By this Means Mr. Locke has been brought into the present Debate, and brought in too as a Favourer of an Opinion against which he has expressly declared. Immediately after the Revolution, our Government began to borrow large Sums of Money for supporting the Expence of the War, which they found they could not procure but at a very high Interest. This gave Foundation for a Project in the Year 1691, for reducing the legal Rate of Interest at once, from 6 to 4 per Cent. in order, as it was vainly imagined, to enable the Government to borrow Money for the publick Service at a cheaper Rate than what they found they could otherwise do. As the natural Interest of Money was then greatly increased above what it had been for some Years before, by the large Sums borrowed for publick Service, every Man of Sense saw that this Project would prove abortive, and that it would very much disturb, if not entirely ruin, the Trade of the Nation; and Mr. Locke, among others, not only opposed, but wrote against it.

Is there now, Sir, any Question before us for reducing the legal Interest of Money? Is there any Thing in the Proposition that seems to have the least Tendency that Way? No, Sir, the only Question now before us is, Whether or no the Publick shall endeavour to take Advantage of the low Rate to which the natural, not the legal, Interest of Money has fallen; and one of the Arguments made use of in favour of this Question, is, That it would tend to the bringing the natural Interest of Money between Man and Man, in this Nation, down to a Par with what is in those Countries, which are our greatest Rivals in Trade and naval Power. Then, and not till then, it has been said you may safely venture

to bring down the legal; and it has been said, I think demonstrated, that the bringing down the natural Interest of Money between Man and Man, would be an Advantage to our Trade and Manufactures, and a certain Cause of great Improvements in our Land Estates. Mr. Locke is expressly of this Opinion. His Words in that very Treatise are, *All the Danger lies in this, That our Trade shall suffer, if your being behind-hand has made the natural Use so high, that your Tradesman cannot live upon his Labour, but that your rich Neighbours will so undersell you, that the Return you make will not amount to pay the Use, and afford a Livelihood. There is, says he, no Way to recover from this, but by a general Frugality and Industry; or by being Masters of the Trade of some Commodity, which the World must have from you at your Rate, because it cannot be elsewhere supplied.* These are his Words, Sir, and I appeal to every Man, whether he can think it Frugality in the Publick to pay 4 per Cent. when they can have Money at 3? Whether the giving a Man 4 per Cent. when he can live upon, and would be obliged to take 3, can make him more frugal, or promote a general Frugality? And whether the enabling a great Number, even of your meaner Sort of Subjects, to live idly upon the Interest of their Money, can be a proper Method for introducing, or restoring a general Industry?

Fear, Sir, may be extravagant and ridiculous, as well as Courage, and such I should think that Fear to be which should prevent a Man from borrowing, or attempting to borrow Money at 3 per Cent. for clearing himself of a Mortgage at 4; especially when he is certain, that should he be disappointed in the Attempt, his old Mortgagee would be glad to continue his Money upon the Mortgage at 4, because he could not have so high an Interest, or so good Security,

any where else. If a Man had 20 Mortgages upon his Estate of 1000*l.* each, at 4 per Cent. and a Gentleman should offer to lend him 1000*l.* at 3, could he in Prudence refuse it? Would not common Prudence direct him to make use of that Offer, for reducing every one of his old Mortgages to 3 per Cent. and applying it at last to the redeeming of him who should appear the most stubborn? Could there be any Danger in this, if he were certain that none of his Mortgagees, or not above one of them, could employ his Money to a better Use upon any Security equally certain. This, Sir, is our Case at present. The Reduction of Interest may, perhaps, force some People into Trade, or to lend upon private Security; but I am certain there is now a much greater Sum ready to be lent at 3 per Cent. than would be sufficient for replacing all that could be that Way drawn out of our publick Funds; because no extraordinary Profits can be made by any Trade, and a very small Sum would bring the Rate of Interest upon any certain private Security down to 3 per Cent. And we have this further Security for encouraging us to try the Experiment, that, should I be mistaken in my Opinion, all our present Creditors would be glad to continue their Money in our Funds at 4 per Cent. as we may with the greatest Certainty conclude from the advanced Price of all our Funds.

If I did not know, Sir, how much the Generality of Mankind are blinded by what they think their private Interest, if I did not know how often they are by private Interest misled in their Judgments about what they take to be the publick Interest, I should be surprized to hear it questioned, that the lower the Interest of Money is in any Country, the more their Trade will thrive, the more their Lands will be improved. It is a Maxim so long established, and so generally

generally acknowledged, that I cannot think there is much Occasion for adding to what has been said upon that Subject; but that no Man may be misled, I must beg Leave to answer, in as brief a Manner as I can, what has been said in Support of the contrary Opinion. Low Interest, I shall grant, is not the Cause, but the Effect of a flourishing Trade; and the Trade of a Country may prosper and increase, tho' their Rate of Interest be high, with respect to what it is in this Kingdom at present, providing their Rate of Interest be no higher than it is in those Countries which are their Rivals in Trade; but this I will say, that the Trade of no Country can thrive or continue, if the natural Interest of Money among them be higher than it is in those Countries which are their Rivals, unless those Rivals forcibly expel their Trade by some ridiculous publick Measures. The Trade of *Flanders* was once in the most flourishing State of any in *Europe*, and then the natural Rate of Interest was certainly lower among them, than it was in this Kingdom; but the Sovereign of that Country began at last to lay such heavy Taxes upon their Manufactures and People, a Rock we should take Care not to split on, that many of their rich Merchants and most skilful Manufacturers came over and settled in *England*, which gave the first Rise to the Trade and Manufactures of this Kingdom. This Advantage was greatly improved indeed, by the wise Conduct of *Henry VII.* *Henry VIII.* and *Q. Elizabeth*, especially the latter, and was at last fully established by the ridiculous Conduct of the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*; so that our Trade owes its Origin, not so much to the Beauty of our Constitution, or the Wisdom of our Conduct, as to the ridiculous and oppressive Measures of our Neighbours; for it is always with Regret, that Merchants or

Tradesmen leave their own Country; indeed when they are forced to it, they will certainly retire to that Country, where they are surest of being free from that Oppression or Uneasiness, which made them fly from their native Land; and our Happiness at that Time was, to have a peaceable Country, and a wise Administration, which made them chuse to take Refuge here, rather than in any neighbouring Country.

This, Sir, would of course have brought down the natural Interest of Money in this Kingdom, long before the End of *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign; but in the mean Time our People began to trade to the *East-Indies*, and to make Settlements in the *West-Indies*; by both which the Profits were so great, that vast Numbers were tempted to engage in the Trade, and to borrow Money at any Rate, to be employed in those Branches of Trade, not only in this Kingdom, but in all the other Trading Parts of *Europe*; so that, tho' the Interest of Money here was then high, in respect to what it is at present, yet it could not then be called high, because it was no higher than it was among our Rivals in Trade, and could not, therefore, lay our People under a Disadvantage in carrying on any Branch of Trade or Manufacture.

Thus, Sir, we may see, that a great Prosperity of Trade may be the Cause of keeping up for some Time the Rate of Interest; because there is then a great Demand for Money at Interest, in order to be employed in Trade; and for the same Reason, the Declension of Trade may, for some Time, be the Cause of sinking or lowering the Rate of Interest; because, when the Trade of any Country, by Accident or bad Measures, is laid under such Disadvantages, that their Merchants and Tradesmen cannot carry it on to a reasonable Advantage, no Man borrows Money to trade with; but, on

the contrary, those Merchants and Tradesmen who have got any sufficient Sum to live on, draw their Money out of Trade, in order to lend it at Interest, or to employ it in the Purchase of Land; which lowers the natural Interest of Money, by increasing the Demand for Lending, and lessening the Demand for Borrowing; and it likewise raises the Price of Land, by augmenting the Demand for Purchases. But these two Effects have very different Consequences; for in the first Case, the Stock of ready Money in the Country being every Day increasing by the Prosperity of Trade, the natural Interest of Money will soon begin to fall, and will at last come to be extremely low; whereas, in the last Case, the Decay of their Trade and Manufactures will certainly at last cure the Balance of Trade against them, and from that Time their Stock of ready Money will begin to decay insensibly, the natural Rate of Interest will rise by Degrees, the Rents of their Estates, and Price of their Lands will fall, the Numbers of their People will diminish daily, either by their going abroad, or starving at home; and unless they change their Measures, there will at last come to be little or no Money left among them; nothing will remain but Barter and Paper Credit, and the Nation will in the End be certainly undone. From hence it appears, that the natural Rate of Interest, considered by itself only, is a very bad Rule for judging of the Trade of a Country; because, like a consumptive Person; a Nation may look well to all outward Appearance; the natural Interest of Money may be lower than ever it was, and may continue so for some Time, and yet that Nation may be in a galloping Consumption, which I wish may not be our Case at present.

I am surprized, Sir, to hear it said, that the View of getting a

high Interest, or any Interest, for Money, is what makes a poor Man labour and fatigue more than is necessary for his daily Subsistence. What makes a Labourer, or a Journeyman do so, is the Hopes of getting and saving as much as may set himself up as a Master; then he gets and saves Money, in order to enable him to extend his Trade, and to carry it on with the more Ease; he never thinks of lending his Money at Interest, until he has got more than he can employ in his Trade, or as much as may maintain him without any Care or Trouble; and in both Cases, he is forced to take what Interest he can get for it. Then as to our Merchants and Shop-keepers, who generally begin with a little Money, they engage in Trade generally because they cannot live upon what Interest they can get for their Money, or at least cannot live as they would desire; and as their Stock increases, they increase their Trade; they never think of lending Money at Interest, till they have got more than they can employ in Trade, or as much as may maintain them in an idle and indolent Way, and then they, as well as others, are obliged to take what Interest they can get.

But suppose, Sir, the getting of a high Interest for Money, and subsisting upon that Interest in their old Age, was the only Motive for Peoples labouring, or engaging in Trade, are there any Bounds to be set to Peoples Hopes? Do not we know that every Man hopes to get more by any Trade or Project than he generally meets with, often more than he can reasonably expect? And shall we say that a Man in his Youth, when Hopes are most sanguine, may expect to get 3000*l.* or 300*l.* but cannot expect to get 4000*l.* or 400*l.* and will therefore despair of being ever able to get what he may think a comfortable Support for old Age? This is so much contrary to the Nature

ture of Mankind, that 'tis in vain to think of building any Argument upon it. On the contrary, as every Man must get a larger Sum before he can retire to live upon the Interest of his Money, when Interest is low, than when it is high, every Man will labour with the more Ardor and Assiduity, and Numbers of People must be bred up to Trade, and must engage in it, when Interest is low, who would be bred up, or would chuse to live, like Drones in the Society, upon the Interest of their Money, if the common Rate of Interest were high; and the greater Stock of Money a Man has to trade with, the less Profit he may sell at, and consequently the more able will he be to undersell Foreigners, and to improve the Trade of his Country. To this we must add, that a rich Merchant or Tradesman may retire much sooner from Business, in order to live upon the Interest of his Money, when Interest is high, than he can do when Interest is low; for I must observe, it is seldom or ever Necessity but Choice, that makes a rich Man retire from Business: No Man can grow rich by the mere Labour of his Hands, at least not so rich as to be able to live upon the Interest of his Money; a Man must be a Merchant or Master Tradesman, before he can get so much Money, let Interest be as high as it will; and as such Business is carried on by the Labour of the Head only, the common Infirmities of old Age never render a Man incapable of carrying it on; quite otherwise, by his Knowledge and Experience he probably becomes more capable than he was when young and healthful. Therefore we must conclude, that a high Interest for Money not only prevents the youthful Rich from engaging in Trade, but makes the wealthy Old leave it off; both which must be hurtful to the Trade of any Country.

To tell us, Sir, that the Dutch being by Nature more penurious than our People, therefore a less Interest may encourage their People to labour, and engage in Trade, is certainly mistaking the Effect for the Cause; for one of the principal Causes of the Penuriousness as well as Industry of their People, is the Lowness of their Interest. Mankind are by Nature generally the same; a Dutchman, by his Make or Constitution, has nothing can make him more penurious than an Englishman. It is by Laws and Customs, the Humours and Inclinations of a People are formed, and it is the Business of every wise Nation to invent or adopt such Laws and Customs as may propagate Virtue, Industry, and Frugality among the People. The penurious Nature of the Dutch is therefore an Argument in Favour of what is proposed, instead of being an Argument against it; and the Circumstances of that Country, with respect to the Proportion between their Money and Land Estates, will appear to be an Argument of the same Sort. I shall admit we have a much greater Demand for borrowing Money at Interest upon Land Estates, than they have in Holland; but is it not therefore our Business to take all possible Methods to diminish that Demand, or increase the Demand for lending Money upon such Securities? If we can reduce the Interest payable upon the publick Funds, we shall be able to abolish some of the Taxes which eat up the Landed Gentleman's Estate, by increasing the Expence of his Family; or we shall be able to pay off our Debts sooner; if we take the former of these Methods, we shall diminish the Demand for borrowing Money upon such Securities; if we take the latter, we shall more quickly increase the Demand for lending Money upon such Securities; and as soon as the Proportion between these two Demands comes

to be the same in this Country with what it is now, or may then be, in *Holland*, will not our Circumstances be in that Respect the same?

Now, Sir, with respect to Extravagance, 'tis true, the Extravagance of some few Men may be increased, or longer supported, in a Country where Interest is low; but in such a Country there cannot be such a Number of extravagant Men in Proportion, as in a Country where Interest is high, because Extravagance generally proceeds from an idle Education; and as there cannot be such a Number of Persons bred up to Idleness, in the former, as in the latter, therefore we may depend on it, the Extravagant will be much less numerous, and consequently more despised, in the one, than in the other; and the Contempt these People meet with, will be a much more effectual Curb upon their Extravagance, than the highest Rate of Interest could be; from whence, I think 'tis certain, the Reducing of Interest is one of the most effectual Methods for restraining the Luxury and Extravagance of the People in general; and my Argument is confirmed by Experience, for in Countries where the Interest of Money is high, their People generally live either in the utmost Penury and Want, or in the Height of Luxury and Extravagance.

The only tolerable Plea, Sir, for that Distinction, which Gentlemen have been pleased to make between a too high and a too low Interest, is, that if Men cannot get what the Gentlemen have been pleased to call a moderate Interest for their Money, they will lock it up in Chests, or hide it in the Earth. This is an Argument which has often been made use of, but in my Opinion without any Foundation; for in peaceable Times we know that no private Man will keep his Money by him, but will rather lodge it in some Bank or Bank-

er's Hands without any Interest; because in such Hands it is secured against Pilferers, Thieves, and Robbers, which it cannot be in his own Habitation. Indeed, in Times of Civil War, many Men may perhaps hide their Money in the Earth, because it cannot then be secure, either in the House of any private Man or publick Bank; but such an extraordinary Case can be of no Weight in the present Debate; and if much larger Sums should be lodged in the Hands of any Banker than he had use for in Circulation, he would certainly lend it at *1 per Cent.* nay at a $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* if he could no Way turn it securely to any better Account; either of which is lower than the natural Interest of Money ever yet fell to in any Country. However, for Argument's Sake, I shall suppose Money become so plenty in a Country, that none of their own People will give any Thing for the Use of it: In this Case, 'tis certain, their Bankers would fall upon some Way of lending it to Foreigners, which would be an annual Advantage to the Nation; and if even this were found to be impossible, if every Man had as much Money at Command as he had use for in his Trade or Business, what Harm could ensue to the Nation, if all the rest of their Money were lock'd up, and the Owners obliged to pay Warehouse Room for it, as they do for any other useless and unvendible Commodity.

From what I have said, Sir, I think I may justly conclude, there is no such Thing as a too low natural Interest of Money; and therefore, with respect to the natural Interest of Money in general, there can be no such Thing as a moderate Rate. It is a Term to be made use of only when we talk of the common Interest in different Countries, or of the Interest paid by different private Men; and as that Man who has Money at the most moderate, that is to

say, the lowest Rate of Interest, is the happiest and most thriving Man, so that Country where the common Interest is at the most moderate, or lowest Rate, is the happiest and most thriving Country. Therefore, every Nation ought to endeavour as much as possible to bring down the common Rate, I mean the natural, not the legal Rate of Interest, among them, in order, as Mr. Locke has well observed, *that their Rich Neighbours may not be able to undersell them; which they certainly can and will do, if they can borrow Money at a less Interest; as was, I think, fully demonstrated by my worthy Friend in the Beginning of this Debate; and the Supposition he then made, that a Man will always expect to make by any Trade double what he pays, he may have; by way of Interest for the Money employed in that Trade, was so far from being extravagant, that I rather think it was too modest; for in carrying on any Trade or Business in Partnership, where one contributes only his Skill and Industry, and the other the whole Stock necessary for carrying it on, there is nothing now common than an Agreement to divide the Profits between them; tho' he who furnishes the Stock generally runs the whole Risk; therefore I think it is but reasonable, that a Man who borrows Money at Interest for carrying on any Trade or Business by his sole Skill and Industry, should have as great a Share of the Profits as he who lends his Money without running any Risk for in such Cases, the Lender has always the Borrower's Obligations, and sometimes a Pledge, or some other collateral Assurance, for securing the Repayment of the Money with a certain Profit, come of the Trade what will. And if a Man employs his own Money as well as his Skill and Industry, he will certainly expect, besides the common Rate of Interest for his Mo-*

ney, as great a Reward at least for his Skill and Industry, as he who has no Money could expect; for we always find that the richer a Man is, the greater Value he puts upon his Skill and Industry. From which Considerations I must conclude, that 8 per Cent. per Annum is the least Overcharge we can reckon upon our Manufactures at every foreign Market, above those of the same Kind and Goodness, which are carried thither from Holland, or even from France.

With respect to the latter, 'tis true, Sir, the legal Interest is there as high as in this Country, but the natural Interest of Money between Man and Man, is, by the best Information I can have, at a much lower Rate. In France they have the bad of the good Fortune not to have much publick Credit. Their publick Funds are below Par, even reckoning the Interest at 5 per Cent. and the Government can never borrow at that Rate; but if I am rightly informed, there is great Plenty of Money to be lent upon private Credit, and even upon personal Security; inso much that the Brokers or Scriveners in that Country are continually employed by the Lenders to seek out for the Borrowers, the Consequence of which is, that a Merchant or Manufacturer may there borrow Money for a long Term below the legal Interest, and upon his personal Security, or perhaps getting another to join with him, and Bills are often discounted at the Rate of 3 per Cent. both which are a great Advantage to the Trade of that Kingdom, especially the former, because it encourages Merchants and Manufacturers to launch out upon any Project of Trade, much beyond their own proper Stock of ready Money. In this Country it is quite otherwise. Our publick Credit is much better than our private; for if we except the Discounting of Bills, which is trans-

acted between Merchant and Merchant, or between a Merchant and his Banker, there is hardly any private Credit, properly speaking, in the Nation: I say, properly speaking, because when a Mortgage or Pledge is given, there is, properly no Credit given to the Borrower. We have hardly any such Thing, especially here about London, as Money lent for a long Term upon personal Security at 5 per Cent. and even most Bills, I am afraid, are discounted at a Premium much above that Rate. I believe I may appeal to all the Bookers and Scriveners about London, if they are ever applied to by any Lender of Money, to find them out a Person who will borrow their Money upon personal Security at the legal Interest. This makes it impossible for any Man to launch out upon the most hopeful Project, farther than his own Stock of ready Money will reach; because, if he should, by good Luck, find a Friend to lend him Money at the Beginning, that Friend may die, or may have Occasion for the Money before he can spare it from the Trade he has undertaken; in which Case he must be entirely ruined; unless he can meet with such another Friend, which is scarce to be had.

By this we may see the great Advantage the French have even us by means of the low natural Rate of Interest, and great Plenty of private Credit in that Country. This, I believe, is the Advantage this Way is not believed equal in France to what it is in Holland; but in France it is reckoned equal to 4 per Cent. per Annum at least, which is sufficient to destroy every Branch of our Trade in which they can rival us. And as to the Convenience of their Ports, I am surpris'd to hear it said we can carry on our Trade in the Mediterranean so cheap or so easily, as the French can do at their Ports of Marseilles and Toulon; or that we

can carry on our Trade with Portugal, or any Part of Spain without the Straights, so cheap as the French can do from their Ports on the Bay of Biscay. There is no our own Wool, I wish with all my Heart we could render the Exportation of it impracticable; but I believe the only effectual Way of doing so is to enable our Manufacturers and Merchants to work it up at home, and sell it so wrought up in foreign Markets as cheap as such Manufactures can be sold by any of our Neighbour; for if we should once lose the Sale of such Manufactures at foreign Markets, we cannot make use of all our Wool in working up Manufactures for Home Consumption; and if we cannot work it all up at Home, it will like Spanish Gold and Silver find its Way out, in spite of the severest Laws and the greatest Care we can take for preventing it. Our Laws will then serve only for running down the Rate upon the Farmer, for as he must sell if he cannot find a Buyer at home, he must take what Price he can get from the smuggling Exporter; who in that Case will be sure to make the Farmer pay for the Risk he runs in Exporting.

Now, Sir, as to Taxes, I shall repeat the Taxes both in France and Holland are extremely heavy. But I doubt not, that they are so heavy upon us, as is inconvenient to Trade in either of these Countries; as in this, I know it is generally thought the Dutch have great Taxes upon Trade, and heavy Excises but, properly speaking, they have neither the one nor the other. Their Taxes are all upon the Consumption, and are generally raised, not at the Time of Importation, but upon their being carried to Market and sold for Retail or Consumption in the Country, as every Residence, and every City or Town, in a Sort of Sovereignty within itself, and raises, as well as

imposed, most of the Taxes and Duties paid by the People, Goods, upon Importation, pay but very small Duties or rather Fees; the high Duties are all paid upon their being brought into any of their Cities or Villages for Retail or Consumption; and the Nature of their Country makes it easy for them to raise those Duties without sending Officers into every Retailer's Shop, or subjecting their People to what we call the Laws of Excise. I need not descend further into Particulars, it will be easy from what I have said, to see that the Taxes in *Holland* cannot be so troublesome or expensive to the Merchant-Importer, or to the Retailer, as the Taxes in this Country; and if we examine into the Taxes imposed by their several little Sovereignities, we shall find, great Care has been taken not to impose any Tax which may inance the Price of their Manufactures. In *France* again they are subject to great Inconveniencies, with respect to Smuggling, as well as we; but, except their *Taille*, I do not know that they have any Tax so troublesome to the People as our Excise are. Their *Taille*, indeed, is suited to the Nature of their Monarchy, it is arbitrary; but then their Gentlemen are not subject to it, nor have they any Land Tax, but in Time of War, and even then it is but *two Shillings in the Pound*. As for their other Taxes, there are, I believe, none of them, except that upon Salt, so high as the like Taxes in this Country; nor have they so many of them: They have no Tax upon Light, Heat, or Air; I mean, they have no Tax upon Candles, upon Firing, or upon Windows, so far as I have ever heard; nor have they any Tax upon Soap, because they know it is a Material necessary for every Sort of Manufacture. Even upon Wine they have no Tax, unless it be brought into some City for Sale; and there-

fore, in Villages and Country Places, their People may drink the best of *French Wines*; as cheap as our People can drink common Beer; and small Wines they may have almost as cheap as our People can have small Beer.

But, Sir, without taking any Notice of such Particulars, we may be assured, that the People of this Kingdom are more heavily taxed, than the People of *France*, only by comparing the total Amount of the publick Revenues in *France* with the total Amount of the publick Revenues here at home. In *France*, the total yearly Amount of the publick Revenue, is computed to be about *200 Millions of Livres*, which is but a little more than *nine Millions Sterling*; and let any Man look back upon the annual Resolutions of our Committed of Supply, and add to that the real Produce of the Civil List Revenue, and the Produce of that Revenue which is appropriated to pay the Interest and Principal of our Debts, he will find, that in *Britain* alone, I say, in *England* alone, we have for many Years raised above *five Millions* yearly; and often above *seven*; which is above *two Thirds* of what is raised in *France* yearly; and, I am sure, no Man will say, that in the whole Kingdom of *France*, there is but *sub. This* more People than in *England* alone. From hence, Sir, proceeds the Dearness of Labour, and of Provisions in *England*; it is not from our having a greater Plenty of ready Money; for if ready Money were more plentiful in this Country, than in *France*, the natural Interest of Money would be lower here than it is there.

When I consider these Things, Sir, and when I compare the present State of the Trade of *Europe* with what it was *forty Years ago*, I am really astonished to hear it pretended, that the Trade of this Nation is in as flourishing a Condition as ever it was. *Forty Years ago*, we had no

Rival in the *East-India* Trade: but the *Dutch*; now there is hardly a Nation in *Europe* but interferes with us in that Trade: Then, the *French* had little or no Trade in *Turkey*, *Spain*, or *Portugal*; nor exported any Woollen Manufactures to either; now, they greatly interfere with us in every one of them, and export to each great Quantities of Woollen Manufactures. Then, we had no Rivals in the *Sugar* Trade; now, the *French* not only interfere with us, but, I am afraid, have out-done us: It is not every Country in *Europe* now setting up Manufactures of all Kinds; and, consequently, can we say it is possible for us now to find such a Sale for our Manufactures as we found at that Time? In short, Sir, if it were not for our Colonies and Plantations in the *West Indies*, and the Exports we are enabled to make by their Means, I am convinced, the general Balance of Trade would be entirely against us; and if that should ever come to be our Case, as we have no Mines of Gold or Silver, we would soon have very little of either of these Metals amongst us; the Consequence of which would be, a Stagnation of all Sorts of Trade and Manufacture, and the Departure of most of our Mechanicks and Tradesmen.

It is with Regret, Sir, I have taken so much Notice of our Circumstances, and the melancholy Consequences they may be attended with; but some People are so apt to ascribe every Thing that has happened, or may happen, to the Luxury, Extravagance, and Idleness of our People, that I thought myself obliged, in Justice to my Countrymen and Fellow Subjects, to shew that, if any notable Misfortune does happen to us, it will not proceed from their Luxury, Extravagance, or Idleness, but from the Difficulties they are exposed to, by Means of the Interest of Money's being higher, and the

Taxes heavier, in this Country, than in those which are our Rivals in Trade and naval Power; and as I have done it with the sole View of shewing the propriety and the only Methods for extricating ourselves out of these Difficulties, I hope every Man who has a true Regard for his Country will excuse me.

That the Lowering of Interest raises the Price, and encourages the Improvement of Lands, is a Maxim so generally received, and was so clearly demonstrated by my worthy Friend in the Beginning of this Debate, that I am almost ashamed to add any Thing further upon the Subject; but, Sir, I must beg Leave to answer some of the Objections made against it. As to the Price of Lands, it must necessarily fall or rise, very near in Proportion as the Interest of Money rises or falls; because, if a Man can make a great deal more annual Profit by purchasing Lands, than by lending Money, every Man will purchase, no Man will lend; which must of course raise the Price of Lands; as well as the natural Interest of Money, till they come near upon a Par with one another. And surely the Raising the Value of a Man's Estate must add to his Riches; for no Man sells in order to employ his Money at Interest, unless upon a sudden Rise of the natural Interest of Money, as happened to be the Case, immediately after the Revolution, occasioned by the great Sums then borrowed at a high Interest by the Publick. What makes a Man sell, is generally to pay off a Mortgage, or in order to divide his Estate among his Children; in either of which Cases he has a great Advantage by the Rise of the common Price of Lands. A Man who has 10,000*l.* Mortgage upon 1000*l.* a Year Estate, must sell a Moiety of his Estate to pay off that Mortgage, when Interest is at 5 per Cent. and Lands sell at 20 Years Purchase; but if Interest should fall

to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. and Lands should of Consequence come to sell at 40 Years Purchase, which I am told is now the common Price in some Parts of Italy, the Landed Gentleman might then clear his Estate of the Mortgage, by the Sale of *one Fourth* Part of it. A And if a Man sells his Estate to divide it, I shall suppose, among four Children; surely a Son in Trade with 10,000*l.* or a Daughter with 10,000*l.* and married to a Merchant, may push any Trade further, and consequently be more beneficial to themselves as well as to their Country, than if they had but 5000*l.* each. Nay, if it be necessary, that Gentlemen in England must always be called, or deserve the Name of *Idlemen*, as they are called in *Holland*, such a Gentleman will have the same Revenue out of 10,000*l.* when Interest is at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. as he could have in the same idle Way from 5000*l.* at 5 per Cent. Interest.

As to the Improvement of Land, the only Objection that has been made to it, is, that the Price of Labour and Materials, fit for Improvement, will rise in Proportion to the Fall of Interest; but this, Sir, will not hold; for the Price of nothing that can be imported will rise in Proportion to the Fall of Interest; the only Reason why the Price of Lands rises in that Proportion, being, because they cannot be imported. As to Labour, whenever its Price begins to rise, Workmen and Labourers of all Kinds will flock in upon you from Countries where Labour is cheap and as to all Sorts of Materials and Provisions, since they may be imported from other Countries, your home Produce can never sell for more than such Commodities can be imported and sold for; unless you should prohibit, or load with Duties, the Impostation of those Materials or Provisions, which are necessary for the Improvement of your Lands, or the Subsistence of your

Poor; which no Nation, surely, will ever be mad enough to do.

After having heard such established Maxims in Trade controverted, I hardly believed the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question would have admitted say Thing in this Debate; but, I find, Sir, they do admit, that by the Reduction proposed, the Nation may get rid of Debt *three* Years sooner, or may abolish some of our most heavy Taxes, and yet get entirely rid of Debt almost as soon. However, they have endeavoured to vilify this Advantage as much as possible, and, therefore, I must give you the Trouble to hear it stated in its true Light. In order to do this, I must observe, that every Tax laid upon any Commodity, raises the Price of that Commodity a great deal higher than the Value of the Tax laid upon it; because the Merchant or Retailer must be paid for the Risk and Interest of that Money which he pays for the Tax, as well as of that Money which he pays for the prime Cost of the Commodity: And I must likewise observe, that the Expences of collecting every Tax are all paid by the People: so that upon all our Customs and Excises in general, I may compute, the People pay about *one Third* more than the net Produce brought in to the Publick. Now as the Interest now paid yearly upon all our publick Debts, and the Sinking Fund together, amount to above *three Millions* yearly, I must reckon, that towards raising this net Sum, the People pay yearly *four Millions*; so that if by reducing the Interest upon all our publick Funds to 3 per Cent. and continuing all our Taxes till the Whole be paid off, the Nation do get entirely rid of Debt *three* Years sooner than we can do if the Interest be continued at *four*, our People will save the Value of this Annuity for *three* Years; and as an Annuity of *four Millions* for *three* Years at 4 per Cent. Compound Interest

terest amounts to 12,486,400*l.* we must reckon, that by this Reduction, the People of this Nation will save that whole Sum; a Saving which, I hope, will not appear inconsiderable, however trifling the *three Years* Difference, as to the Time of getting entirely rid of our Debts may appear.

But suppose, Sir, that upon the Reduction of Interest, we should abolish Taxes equal in yearly Amount to that annual Saving. As the Amount or yearly Produce of the Taxes upon *Soap* and *Candles* comes nearest to this Saving, I shall suppose them to be abolished. These two Taxes produced in the Year ending at *Midsummer* last, about 365000*l.* net; so that, including the Expenses of Management, I reckon there was about 400,000*l.* raised upon the People; and as the advanced Price upon both these Commodities is reckoned near double the Value of the Tax laid upon them, I am sure, I may reckon, the People pay at least 600,000*l.* a Year, on Account of these two Taxes; which is an Annuity they are to get free from by this Reduction 25 Years sooner than they can do, if Interest be continued at 4 per Cent. But an Annuity of 600,000*l.* a Year for 25 Years, at 4 per Cent. Compound Interest, amounts to 24,987,540*l.* In this Case, as the Nation will continue in Debt *two Years and a half* longer than if Things should continue upon their present Footing, we must deduct from this Sum the Annuity which the People are to pay for that Time; which Annuity will consist of the present Sinking Fund, being about 1,150,000*l.* and the Interest upon our present Debt at 3 per Cent. being about 1,440,000*l.* supposing our Debts to amount to 48 Millions. These two Sums added together make 2,590,000*l.* to which add a Third more, and it makes above 3,450,000*l.* which is the Annuity the People are to pay for *two Years*

and a half longer than they would otherwise do; therefore, as I have said, this Annuity for that Time at 3 per Cent. Compound Interest, being near 8,730,000*l.* must be deducted from 24,987,540*l.* and the remaining Sum, which is above 16,250,000*l.* is the Sum our People will save by a Reduction of Interest, and immediately abolishing the Taxes upon *Soap* and *Candles*; and this Saving will, I hope, be looked on as a sufficient Attonement for our continuing *two Years and a half* longer in Debt.

I beg Pardon, Sir, for making so much use of Calculation, but upon this Subject it is impossible to argue without Figures; and as there is nothing mysterious or uncommon in the Calculations I have made use of, I hope Gentlemen will forgive me; for from these Calculations the Advantage the Nation will reap from the Reduction only, is made manifest beyond Contradiction; and now I shall examine the pretended Disadvantages. In the first Place, we are told, our noble Families and Landed Gentlemen must raise their Estates, in order to provide for their younger Children; as if it were absolutely necessary the younger Children of all Landed Gentlemen should be bred up to Idleness, in order to live like fine Gentlemen and Ladies upon the Interest of their Money. Sir, this is so far from being necessary, that we certainly ought to prevent it, if possible; and the only Way of preventing it is, to lower the common Rate of Interest: The younger Son of the best Nobleman in the Kingdom may make as good a Figure, and, I am sure may be much more serviceable to his Country, by being bred up a Merchant, than by being bred up to follow Plays and Operas in Town, or Fox-hounds and Horse-matches in the Country. But, suppose that every Landed Gentleman should be obliged to give his younger Children greater Fortunes; if he is

frugal, and has a Mind to provide for them by a narrow Way of Living, he will save a great deal more yearly in the Expence of his Family, by the Abolishing of some of our most heavy Taxes, by which he will be enabled to give them greater Fortunes. If he has a Mind to leave them a Mortgage upon his Estate, a proportionable Addition to their Fortunes, will be no additional Burden upon his Estate; for as the total Value of his Estate must increase in Proportion, and the yearly Value likewise may probably be much improved; a Mortgage of 20,000 *l.* for younger Childrens Portions, when Interest is reduced to 3 per Cent. and the Price of Lands raised to above 33 Years Purchase, will be no greater Burden upon an Estate, as to the total Value, than 12,000 *l.* is, now that Interest is at 5 per Cent. and the Price of Lands at 20 Years Purchase; and as to the Interest Money, surely 600 *l.* a Year, the Interest of 20,000 *l.* at 3 per Cent. can be no greater Charge upon the improved Rent of an Estate, than 600 *l.* a Year, the Interest of 12,000 *l.* at 5 per Cent. upon the present Rent of the same Estate without any Improvement.

To pretend, Sir, that all Branches of Trade are, or can be overstock'd, is a very great Mistake, and a very dangerous Mistake, if it should ever obtain so much Credit as to influence the publick Measures of a Country; for no Sort of Trade or Business relating to the Exports of a Country can be overstocked; but on the contrary, the more there are of every such Trade or Business, the cheaper the Commodities they manufacture or deal in will be sold in foreign Markets, and the cheaper they are sold, the more of them will be sold, the more certainly will you prevent Foreigners from interfering with you in the Trade; which will always be a Benefit to the Nation in general,

tho' not so advantageous to the particular Persons concerned. I shall suppose, for Example's Sake only, that the original Materials of a Hat sold beyond Seas for a Guinea, do not cost above 7 *s.* and that the other 14 *s.* are divided between the Workmen for their Labour; the Master-Manufacturer for his Profit, and his Trouble in employing those Workmen; and the Merchant-Exporter, for his Profit, and Trouble in exporting: If you should, by increasing the Number of Workmen and Dealers in this Way, bring the Workmen to work for a 4th Part less Wages, and the Master-Manufacturer and Merchant-Exporter, to deal for a 4th Part less Profit, that Hat would then be sold in a foreign Market for 17 *s.* 6 *d.* and if by selling so cheap you should engross the Market, you would probably sell 1000 Hats for every one you now sell; so that for every Guinea now returned to the Nation, there would then be 35 *s.* returned, and double the Workmen employed; with this additional Advantage, that you would much more certainly preserve that Trade than you can do at present. Thus it appears that the Workmen and Dealers in any such Branch of Trade can never be too numerous, and therefore, the Trade can never be overstocked, unless we suppose it possible that one Nation might have more of such Dealers and Workmen than would be sufficient to serve the whole World. 'Tis true, all those Professions and Branches of Trade not any Way concerned in Export, may be overstocked; but even with respect to them, the more there are the better, and the cheaper our People will be served; and when they are very much overstocked, those who cannot live by the Business they were bred to, will seek for Employment in some other Way, and few or none of the rising Generation will be bred to that Sort of

Business; therefore the Publick has very little Concern about the Overstocking of any Branch of Trade; their Care ought to be to force as many of their People into Trade as possible, and then, like a good General of an Army, to take special Care that their Enemies or Rivals shall gain no accidental or artful Advantage of them, in any Branch of Trade in which they are or may be employed.

As to Farming, I believe, there is no great Danger that many of our Gentlemens Sons would betake themselves to that Sort of Business, let us reduce Interest to what we will; but if they should, it would not surely be a Disadvantage to our Landholders to have rich Tenants, or to have more Bidders for the Leases of their Farms. The richer the Tenants are, the more able will they be to improve their Farms, and the more punctually will the Rent be paid; and the more Bidders there are the more easily may the Landlord raise his Rent; so that this is one of the strongest Arguments for shewing that a low Interest will naturally improve the yearly Value of our Land Estates. Then as to the Widows and Orphans concerned in our Funds, and who have nothing else to depend on for a Subsistence; a Widow or Orphan who has 500 *l.* Annuity Stock, will after the Reduction have 15 *l.* a Year, and I cannot think any Person that has 15 *l.* a Year certain, without Labour or Toil, can be reckoned an Object of Compassion, because there are many Places in England where a single Person may live comfortably upon such an Income. But suppose 1000 *l.* Stock, which is double the Income, if we examine the Lists before us, we shall find many of the Persons in those Lists have something else to trust to; and if there were none such, the Number of them can bear no Proportion to the Millions of Poor that will be re-

lieved by abolishing any one of our heavy Taxes, nor ought it to be of any Weight in our Deliberations upon an Affair in which the Preservation of our Trade is so essentially concerned.

Lastly, Sir, I must take Notice of the great Disadvantage, which, is pretended, would accrue to the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Counties adjacent, by a Reduction of the Interest payable upon the publick Funds. If this Reduction should happen to be general upon all our Funds, it would amount to about 200,000 *l.* a Year, let us see now how this would affect the Trade of the Retailers, Farmers, Gardeners, and Tradesmen, in and about the City of London. First we must observe, there is at least one 4th Part of our Funds belongs to Persons who reside abroad; so that we must deduct at least 100,000 *l.* from this 200,000 *l.* and then there will remain but 100,000 *l.* Next we must observe, that a great Part, by far, I believe, the greatest Part of our Funds belong to Persons who do not spend any Time nor any of the Revenue they have from those Funds; and some Part of them belongs to Persons who reside for the whole or greatest Part of the Year in distant Counties; so that upon the whole, I believe, I may reckon there is not above 4 Part of this 100,000 *l.* actually spent yearly in or about London; therefore the most we can reckon is, that, by this Reduction, the Inhabitants in and about London will lose the taking of 100,000 *l.* a Year, which they now take yearly from our Stockholders for Wares purchased out of their Shops, Farms, or Gardens; or for Work done; but as many of the Wares purchased in their Shops either come from abroad, or from the distant Counties of Britain, therefore, I am sure, we may reckon the Inhabitants in and about London will not lose of real Profit or Wages above 50,000 *l.* a Year. And

as every Man who retrenches his Expence, begins with that which is the most superfluous, we may presume this Loss will fall chiefly upon our Plays, Operas, Consorts, and Masquerades; in which Case, the industrious and useful Part of the Inhabitants will suffer little or no Diminution in their present Custom or Business.

This, Sir, is the Charge, and now let me turn to the other Side of the Account, according as it will stand by the Proposition my worthy Friend has made to us. He proposes, that if this Reduction should take Place, the Duties upon *Candles, Soap, Coals and Leather* should be taken off, I shall suppose only the two first taken off; because these two alone will, I am sure, do much more than balance the Account. I have already shewn that the People of *England* pay at least 600,000 *l.* a Year for *Soap and Candles*, more than they would pay if there were no such Duties; therefore the taking off these Duties will be a yearly Profit of 600,000 *l.* a Year to the whole People of *England*; and as the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, Borough of *Southwark*, and Counties adjacent, consume more *Soap and Candles* than all the rest of the Kingdom, or at least pay more than half of the yearly Produce of the Duties, we must reckon that the taking off of these two Duties will be a yearly Saving, and consequently a yearly Profit, of 300,000 *l.* a Year to the Inhabitants in and about *London*, as an Atonement for the 50,000 *l.* a Year they are to lose by the Reduction of Intereft, and thereby lessening the yearly Revenue; and consequently the Expence of our Stockholders.

But, Sir, as this Saving may at first View appear a little extraordinary, I must trouble you with another Computation, to shew that it is far from being imaginary. Let me suppose then; that in *London, Westminster,*

and the Counties adjacent, there is but a *Million* of People; 300,000 *l.* a Year divided among a *Million* of Persons comes to 6 *s.* a Year to every Person, for his Share of what is paid on Account of the Duties on *Soap and Candles*; so that a Man who has six Persons in his Family, by this Computation, is presumed to pay but 36 *s.* a Year on Account of these two Duties; and considering that for every *Pound of Candles* he buys, there is 2 *d.* laid out on Account of the Duty; and for every *Pound of Soap* he buys, or is bought on his Account, there is at least 2 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ laid out on Account of the Duty; I believe this Computation will not appear extravagant; for it is supposing him to consume but 10 or 12 Dozen of *Candles*, and 6 or 7 Dozen of *Soap*, which I think is the least we can suppose to be consumed by our Shopkeepers and Tradesmen, one with another, in their Shops, Kitchens, Chambers; and working Houses. From hence it is evident, that the Inhabitants in and about the City of *London* would gain 250,000 *l.* a Year clear Profit by the Proposition now before us; and if to this we should add the yearly Saving, and consequently yearly Profit, that would accrue to them; by abolishing the Duties upon *Coals and Leather*, I am amazed how any Citizen of *London*, not deeply concerned in Stocks, can disapprove of such a Proposition; I am sure the honourable Gentleman who made it, deserves their Thanks in the most publick and the most grateful Manner.

The two Ends proposed by this Scheme are, 'tis true, Sir, either to enable us to pay our Debts off sooner than we can otherwise do, or to give an immediate Relief to our People; by abolishing some of our most heavy Taxes; but these two Ends are proposed separately, or rather disjunctively, and not jointly, as the Gentle-

men of the other Side of the Question have represented; and that it will not be incompatible but necessarily effectual for one or t'other of these Ends, according as we shall chuse, the Gentlemen themselves have acknowledged. When we have approved of the Scheme, in so far as it relates to the Reduction of Interest, it is then Time enough to chuse which of these Ends we shall apply the Saving to; but I cannot help now declaring my Opinion, that we ought to apply that Saving and something more, to the immediate Abolishing of some of our Taxes; not only, because the People will gain more by an immediate Relief from some of our most heavy Taxes, than they can gain by a total Discharge of our Debts 3 or 4 Years sooner or later, but because it is become absolutely necessary, if we have a Mind to preserve our Trade; to abolish some of our Taxes, as well as to reduce the natural Interest of Money.

I have always been, Sir, and still am against applying the Sinking Fund, or any Part of it, to the current Service; because I think such an Application directly contrary to the Intention of its Establishment, as well as inconsistent with that Justice which is due to our public Creditors. The ultimate End and Intention of its Establishment was, to free the People from some of those Taxes they were then subject to, and which were mortgaged for the Payment of those Debts contracted before Dec. 25, 1716, and the only Means of doing this was by paying off by degrees the Debts, for which those Taxes were mortgaged; but when you have paid off those Debts, you have it certainly in your Power, either to apply the Saving made by such Payment, to increase, for the future, the Sinking Fund, or you may apply that Saving to the ultimate End and Intention of the

Establishment of that Fund, I mean, the Freeing of the People from some Tax or other, whose yearly Produce does not exceed the Amount of the Saving you have made by such Payment. That this was the Opinion of Parliament appears from the almost unanimous Resolution with respect to abolishing the Salt-Duty; for I do not remember that any Gentleman then insisted upon the Creditors having an indefeasible Right, not only to the Sinking Fund as it then stood, but to all the Savings which might grow by the Payments made to the publick Creditors; and that none of those Taxes mortgaged for the Payment of our publick Debts could be taken off or abolished by Parliament, as long as there was a Shilling due of any of those Debts, for which the Taxes were mortgaged.

But suppose, Sir, this had been then, or any Time since, my Opinion, I am sure I have lately found very good Reasons for changing my Opinion; for I am now fully convinced, the Sinking Fund will never be duly and regularly applied, either to the Payment of those Debts contracted before the Year 1716, or to the Abolishing of any of the Taxes mortgaged for that Purpose: I am now by Experience fully convinced, it is a Fund which Ministers, in all Time coming will be nibbling at; and I do not think I have any great Reason to expect, that Parliaments will be less complaisant to Ministers in Time to come, than they have been in Time past. For this Reason, Sir, I am so far from desiring to see the Sinking Fund increased, that if any other possible Method can be contrived for paying our Debts honourably and fairly, I shall be for having it entirely abolished; because, I am afraid, it may hereafter prove a Fund for running the Nation into needless Expences, oftner than it will prove a Fund for discharging any Part of our

our Debt, or freeing the People from any of the heavy Taxes they now groan under. And as I think the Turning of a great Part of our Debts into Annuities for Life or Years, or the Sale of such Annuities, and applying the Purchase Money towards paying off our Debts as far as it will go, is the only Way of paying off our Debts honourably and fairly, and at the same Time annihilating the Whole or a great Part of the Sinking Fund; therefore, I most heartily join with my worthy Friend in that Part of his Scheme which relates to the opening Books of Subscription for the Sale of Annuities, upon the Terms he proposes; because these Annuities will cease of course, and as soon as a sufficient Number of them are sold, we may then order it so, that the Taxes shall cease of course, and in Proportion as the Annuities shall cease or determine: Whereas, if we continue upon the present Footing, I am afraid the Doctrine lately broached will prevail, that the Nation ought always to be kept under its present Load of Debts, and the People under their present Load of Taxes; and that the Sinking Fund will be generally diverted towards the current Service, or towards discharging some Debt lately contracted, in order to gain the false and empty Applause for future Ministers, that they have not laid any unnecessary Loads upon the People, or subjected them to any new and unheard of Taxes.

As for the Practicability of the Scheme, I believe, Sir, it will sufficiently appear, by setting the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question right, in a Mistake they have committed, with respect to the present natural Rate of Interest upon publick Securities. They have told us, that if the present Rate of Interest upon such Securities were at 3 per Cent. our Annuities at 4 per Cent. ought to sell at 133 $\frac{1}{3}$, Bank

Stock at 183 $\frac{1}{3}$, and *East-India* at 200l. per Cent. This Calculation, I suppose, they take from this Proportion, that if 3 per Cent. gives 100l. 4 per Cent. the present Dividend on 4 per Cent. Annuities, ought to give 133 $\frac{1}{3}$; and so for the rest in Proportion to their respective Dividends; but does not every Gentleman see the Error in this Method of Calculation? However, to make this Error manifest, I must observe, that the Price of every one of our Stocks at Par, is the Price of an Annuity to continue till the Principal be repaid; because the Publick stands obliged to pay them 100l. in Money, for every 100l. Stock they stand possessed of: But as to the advanced Price upon any of our Stocks, it is the Price of an Annuity to continue for a certain or uncertain Term of Years *à fond Perdu*, as the *French* call it; that is, upon the Ceasing of the Annuity the Principal is to be entirely lost; because, let that advanced Price rise as high as it will, the Publick stands obliged to pay them no more than 100l. in Money, for every 100l. Stock they stand possessed of.

Now, Sir, with respect to our Annuities at 4 per Cent. does not every one suppose we shall be able in 6 Years to reduce them to 3 per Cent. but supposing it should be 10 Years, then if the natural Interest of Money be no lower than 3 per Cent. our 4 per Cent. Annuities ought not to sell for above 108 $\frac{1}{3}$ per Cent. because in that Case, an Annuity of 3 per Cent. till the Principal be repaid, can be worth no more, nor can it sell for any more than 100l. and an Annuity of 1 per Cent. for 10 Years, at the End of which Time the Principal is to be sunk, as well as the Annuity to cease, is in present Value, at the same Rate of Interest, worth no more, nor can it sell for any more, than 8 $\frac{1}{2}$; so that according to the present Price of our 4 per Cent. Annuities, the natural Interest

of Money must be under 3 *per Cent.* because they sell for 113 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* which is 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* higher than they could sell for, if the natural Interest of Money were not under 3 *per Cent.*

Then as to the *Bank*, 'tis well known they divide but 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* that their Term expires in 6 Years, and that their Annuity cannot continue any longer than that Time; because if proper Measures be taken, they may be paid off in that Time, and if their Term of Banking be continued any longer, they ought to pay a valuable Consideration for it; from whence we must reckon, that their Stock, if the natural Interest of Money were no higher than 3 *per Cent.* ought not to sell for above 113 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 114 *per Cent.* at most, which is 100*l.* for the Annuity of 3 *per Cent.* till the Principal be repaid, and 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 14 for an Annuity of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* for 6 Years, the Principal to be then sunk. And lastly, as to *East-India* Stock, as they are now established a Company for ever, and their exclusive Privilege to continue till the Year 1769, and as they divide 6 *per Cent.* 2 *per Cent.* whereof is from the Profits of their Trade, suppose the natural Interest of Money no lower than 3 *per Cent.* their Stock ought not to sell for above 149 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* which is 100*l.* for the 3 *per Cent.* to continue till the Principal be repaid, 8 and some more than $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* for the 1 *per Cent.* Annuity, which 'tis supposed the Government must as yet pay for 10 Years, and near 41 *per Cent.* for an Annuity of 2 *per Cent.* to continue for 32 Years, being the Residue of the Term of their exclusive Privilege, at the End of which the Dividend of 2 *per Cent.* from the Profits of their Trade will probably cease; and the principal Money now paid for the Annuity proceeding from those Profits will be entirely sunk; so that supposing the natural Interest

of Money at 3 *per Cent.* the Premium upon *Bank* Stock, according to the Price it now sells for, is above 37 *per Cent.* and the Premium upon *East-India* Stock, is above 30 *per Cent.* both which are much higher than the Premium upon 3 *per Cent.* Securities, and is occasioned, I believe, by People's being generally of Opinion, that the exclusive Privilege will be continued to each of the Companies respectively, perhaps for many Generations, without their being ever obliged to pay a full and adequate Consideration to the Publick for the Renewal of their Term.

From hence it must appear, that the natural Rate of Interest upon all publick Securities is under 3 *per Cent.* and to insinuate, that the Creditors of the Publick are in a worse Condition than any Pledgee or Mortgagee, is really something very extraordinary, when all Mankind appear so evidently to be of a contrary Opinion; for tho' a War should happen, it will, I hope, rather lower than raise the natural Interest of Money, because, I hope, our Government will never again fall into that dangerous and deluding Method of borrowing Money for the Expences of the War, but will yearly raise as much as may be necessary for supporting the Expences of the War, and answering the whole annual publick Expence. And to pretend, that the Scheme may be rendered impracticable, by a Combination among our rich moneyed Men, is still more extraordinary; for a Conspiracy for distressing the Publick, in order to prevent us from being able to relieve the People from any of their Taxes, whatever it may be reckoned by our Lawyers, would, I am sure, be reckoned by the People a Sort of High Treason against the State, and would consequently make the People think themselves justified in any Measures, they might think proper to take, for relieving themselves from their Taxes

in the speediest and most effectual Manner; therefore, I hope, no publick Creditor, nor any moneyed Man in the Kingdom, will be so rash and imprudent as to enter into any such Combination or Conspiracy.

After what I have said, Sir, I believe the Arguments made use of for shewing the Impracticability of the Scheme, will entirely vanish; and the Dangers we are threatened with, either from its succeeding or not succeeding, will, upon Examination, appear as little substantial. That the Success of the Scheme, or even the Attempt, will make Foreigners, especially the *Dutch*, draw out their Money all at once, is a Misfortune we have been threatned with upon all intended Reductions; and I am convinced we shall now find those Threats as ill grounded as ever they were found upon any former Occasion. With respect to Foreigners, Sir, particularly the *Dutch*, there are two insurmountable Obstacles, which will prevent their drawing away their Money; one of which is, that it is impossible for them to find Purchasers at any Thing near the Value, if any great Number of them should resolve to sell; and the other is, that it is impossible for them to get 3 per Cent. for their Money any where else, upon any Security equally good; for the highest Interest at present in their own Country is but 3 per Cent. and the lowest in many Cases under 2; so that one Million Sterling only brought from England to be lent in Holland, would very probably run the natural Interest of Money down to 2, or perhaps to 1 per Cent. And as to our own People, some of them might probably draw out their Money, in order to lend it on Mortgages at 3 ½ per Cent. on good personal Security at 4, or on indifferent personal Security at 5; which is one of the great Advantages to be expected from the Scheme; but the Sum to be drawn

out for these Purposes could have no great Influence upon our publick Securities; because the Drawing out of any great Sum would bring the natural Interest of Money upon private Securities below the natural Interest upon publick; which can never happen as long as the Generality of Mankind have a much better Opinion of the latter, than they have of the former. And as to the present Fall of Stocks, we know it proceeds from the Practices in *Change-Alley*, where, we know, some People have been mighty industrious. I wish they had not been so; I wish their Behaviour at this Time may never be made use of as an Argument against all our publick Creditors in general; for when the Behaviour of some becomes a publick Nuisance, it may be made use of against the whole Body; as was lately the Case, with respect to the Distillers and Retailers of Spirituous Liquors.

I shall grant, Sir, the Reduction of Interest might very probably diminish the advanced Price upon our Funds; but I am convinced it would not bring them under Par, nor any Thing near to it; nay I do not know but the Benefit of not being obliged to receive any Part of their Principal, nor to have their Interest lessened for 14 Years to come, would raise the Price of all our Annuities above what they now sell for; I think I have good Reason to believe it would. However the advanced Price is what the Publick neither has, nor ought to have any Concern about; for to say we ought not to do or attempt any Thing that may tend to diminish the advanced Price our Stocks sell for, would be an Argument against ever paying them any Part of their Principal, as well as against reducing the Interest now payable to them; and now it is made use of against attempting to reduce their Interest, I hope it will have just as much Weight, and no more, than if it

had been made use of for our coming to a Resolution never to pay a *Shilling* more of the Principal of any of our Debts, but to turn the Sinking Fund to some other Use yearly, and continue to pay the same Annuity we now pay, forever: Which Resolution many Persons without Doors would be glad of, tho' I am certain no Gentleman within these Walls would ever agree to it.

There is, therefore, Sir, no Danger to be apprehended, either from the Success or Disappointment of the Scheme. To attempt it, is not climbing up a Precipice; it is only attempting to do that which we are in Duty bound to attempt, as often as there is the least Prospect of Success; and at present we shall most certainly meet with some. This the declared Enemies of the Scheme are sufficiently aware of; they would not have been so industrious in their Opposition, if they had not known it would certainly meet with great Success; and I am surprized to hear it said, the present loud and general Complaints are nothing but Vapours: Every Man in the Kingdom, who has not great and superfluous Sums coming in yearly from our Funds, or from some Post or Pension, is fully sensible of the National Distemper we are under; and I am sure no State Physician in the Kingdom can prescribe a better, or at least a more honourable Remedy, than that now in our Offer; if we do not apply it, I shall despair of ever seeing a Remedy applied, till we change both our Physicians and Nurses.

Has any Man said, has any Man pretended, Sir, that the Lots an Annuitant or Stockholder is to sustain by the Reduction, will be made good to him by abolishing the Duty upon *Candles*? This is treating the Subject more ludicrously than it deserves, or ought to be treated; but I will say, it is better for every Annuitant and Stockholder to take that

which is the natural Interest of Money in his Country, than to run the Risk of being soon deemed an Usurer, whereby he may come to lose both Principal and Interest. The Reducing of the Interest payable upon publick Securities to that, which we find to be the natural Interest upon such Securities, or paying those off who are not willing to take that Interest, is not laying any Tax upon our publick Creditors; but the continuing to pay them *4 per Cent.* when the natural Interest of Money is under *3*, is really making them a Present of *400,000 l. Sterling* a Year; and I am sure the Publick is in no Condition to make, nor can they pretend Merit enough to deserve, such a considerable Present. To pretend therefore, that the Reduction proposed would be laying a Tax of *5 s. in the Pound* upon them, must appear to be a very great Mistake; and to say, that in the present Case, there is no Distinction to be made between the publick Creditors and the Publick, because they are a Part of our own People, must appear to be as great a Mistake, if we consider that in all Cases, where the private Advantage of any Set of our own People comes to be inconsistent with the good of the Publick, a Distinction not only then may, but must be made, between that Set of our own People, and the Publick; and in all such Cases, I hope the good of the Publick will, I am sure it ought to be preferred. Is not this the Case now before us? It is for the private Advantage of our publick Creditors, to receive from the Publick yearly a Present of *400,000 l.* but I am sure it is inconsistent with the Good of the Publick to continue making them any such Present.

But of all the Arguments that have been made Use of against this Reduction, I think the hardest and most extraordinary is, to say, that, because our People have long paid,

and been accustomed to the paying of heavy Taxes, therefore there can be no Compassion in relieving them from any of those Taxes. This, I say, I must think very hard as well as extraordinary; and I am sure it is as extraordinary to say, we have no Taxes upon the Necessaries of Life. For my Part, I do not know any one Necessary of Life, upon which we have not some Tax or another, except Water; and we can put no Ingredient, I know of, into Water, in order to make it palatable and chearful, without paying a Tax. We pay a Tax for Air, and for the Light and Heat of the Sun in the Day Time, by Means of our Tax upon Windows; and for Light and Heat in the Night Time by Means of our Duties upon Coals and Candles; we pay a Tax upon Bread, Meat, Roots, and Herbs, of all Kinds, by Means of our Salt-Duty; we pay a Tax upon small Beer, by Means of the Malt Tax, and a heavy additional Tax upon strong Beer, by Way of Excise; nay we cannot have any clean Thing to put upon our Backs, either of Woollen or Linen, without paying a Tax, by Means of the Duty upon Soap: And tho' most of these Taxes may seem to be small and easy to a rich Stockholder, who has *Thousands* a Year coming in, yet to a poor Labourer or Manufacturer, who has not perhaps above 8*d.* or 1*s.* a Day, and himself and Family to maintain out of it, every one of them must seem grievous, and always will be severely felt; till he can prevail with his Master, on account of these Taxes, to raise his Wages; and then, by the Loss of Employment, he is brought into a worse Condition than he was before: Therefore, from the great Distress many such poor Families are in, and the infinite Multitude there are of such in the Kingdom, Compassion may be strongly pleaded in Favour of the Reduction, and can, in my Opinion,

have little or no Weight on the other Side of the Scale; for Gentlemen may talk what they will about Orphans, Widows, and other Ladies, but I believe the Reduction will bring few or none of them into pitifull Circumstances; it will only oblige some of them to betake themselves to Business instead of living idly, or to retire to the Country instead of living at *London*; and for this very Reason I am for the Reduction, because I love to see People employed; and as I am a Country Gentleman, and love the Company of the Ladies, I desire to have a few more of them in the Country with us.

I do not remember, Sir, any one Argument made use of against the Reduction, but what I have now either fully answered, or shewn to be an Argument in its Favour; and I hope what I have said upon this Subject will have the greater Weight, because every one that knows me, knows I have a very considerable Share in the publick Funds, and that therefore it is as much my immediate Interest to oppose a Reduction, as it can be the immediate Interest of most Men in the Kingdom; but I shall always consider my future Interest as well as my immediate Interest, and I hope I shall always be so wise as to prefer the publick Interest to both. I would not perhaps have been at so much Pains to shew my Zeal in Favour of the Question, if it had not been for the contrary Behaviour of some, who are in the same Circumstances with me; but when I observed some Practices made use of without Doors against the Question, which I do not think altogether justifiable, I thought it incumbent upon me to declare my Approbation of the Question in the most remarkable Manner; in order to convince Posterity, as much as lies in my Power, that such Practices ought not to be imputed to the publick Creditors in general; and I wish the Time

may never come, when the publick Creditors will have Reason to thank me for the Record I have left in their Favour.

Thus we have given the Substance of what was said in the two Days Debate upon the Motion made by Sir A Esq; stood up and made a short Speech, the Substance whereof we shall give in our next, because it produced an Alteration in the Motion, as our Readers will then see.

[This Journal to be continued in our next.]

LETTERS, in the Original, with the Translations, and MESSAGES, that passed between the King, Queen, Prince, and Princess of Wales; on Occasion of the Birth of the young Prince.

The Prince to the Queen at Richmond, by Lord North.

MADAME, *Kew, le 5 Juill. 1737.*
LE D^{eu} Hollings et Mrs. Cannon viennent de me dire, qu'il n'y a plus à douter de la grossesse de la Princesse. D'abord que j'ai en leur autorité, je n'ai pas voulu manquer d'en faire part à votre Majesté, et de La supplier d'en informer le Roi en même tems. Je suis avec tout le respect possible, Madame, de Votre Majesté le très humble et très obéissant fils et serviteur,

FREDERICK.

MADAM, *Kew, July 5, 1737.*
DR. Hollings and Mrs. Cannon have just told me, that there is no longer any Doubt of the Princess's being with Child. As soon as I had their Authority, I would not fail to acquaint your Majesty therewith, and to beg you to inform the King of it at the same Time. I am with all possible Respect, Madam, Your Majesty's most humble,

And most obedient Son and Servant,
 FREDERICK.

August 1, 1737. Lord Harrington and Sir Robert Walpole arriving at St. James's soon after the Delivery of the Princess, his Royal Highness was pleased to send for them to his Bed-chamber about 5 a-Clock in the Morning: When, among other Things, he said he did not know whether the Princess was come before her Time or not; that she had felt great Pains the Monday before, which being apprehended might prove her Labour (of which Opinion Lady Archibald Hamilton and Mrs. Payne declared themselves to be,) he brought her from Hampton-Court to St. James's; but the Physicians were then of another Opinion, and the Pains ceasing and going off, they returned to Hampton-Court again.

That on the Friday following, the Princess's Pains returning, the Prince carried her again to St. James's, when the Physicians, Dr. Hollings and Dr. Broxholme, and Mrs. Cannon were of Opinion it might prove her Labour, but those Pains likewise going off, they returned again to Hampton-Court on Saturday: That he should not have been at Hampton-Court on Sunday, but it being the publick Day, he feared it might be liable to some Constructions; that the Princess growing ill again on Sunday, he brought her away immediately, that she might be where proper Help and Assistance could be had.

N. B. The Prince of Wales had that Morning made Declarations to the same Effect, with some other Particulars, to the Queen and the two Princesses who were with her.

Message from the King at Hampton-Court, to the Prince at St. James's, by Lord Essex, August 3, 1737.

THE King has commanded me to acquaint your Royal Highness, That his Majesty most heartily rejoices at the safe Delivery of the Princess; but that your carrying away her Royal Highness from Hampton-Court, the then Residence of the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family, under the Pains and certain Indication of immediate Labour, to the imminent Danger and Hazard both of the Princess and her Child, and after sufficient Warnings for a Week before, to have made the necessary Preparations for this happy Event; without acquainting his Majesty, or the Queen with the Circumstances the Princess was in, or giving them the least Notice of your Departure; is looked upon by the King to be such a deliberate Indignity, offered to himself, and to the Queen, that he has commanded me to acquaint your Royal Highness, that he resents it to the highest Degree,

From the Prince at St. James's, to the King at Hampton-Court, by Lord Jersey, Aug. 3, 1737.

S I R E,

C'est avec toute la mortification possible, que je vois par le Message, que my Lord Essex m'a porté, que ma venue en ville, avec la Princesse, a eu le malheur de déplaire à V^{tre} Majesté. Permettez moi, Sire, de Vous représenter, que dans le cas pressant, où je me trouvai Dimanche, sans Sage-Femme ni aucune assistance, il m'étoit impossible, de m'arrêter un moment; Sans cela je n'aurois jamais manqué de venir moi-même, en faire part à V^{tre} Majesté; outre que la plus grande expédition du monde n'auroit jamais pu amener Mrs. Cannon, que deux ou trois heures après la Naissance de l'Enfant. Comme la Princesse avoit eu la Colique, pendant quelques jours, Mrs. Cannon, et les Docteurs Hollings et Brox-horn furent consultés plusieurs fois, qui m'assurèrent tous qu'Elle n'étoit pas si proche encore de son terme, ce que les deux Médecins étoient d'opinion encore la Dimanche à Midi; mais qu'en cas qu'Elle eût des pointes différentes de la Colique, on Lui dût donner un Cordial, et l'amener en ville, aussi-tôt qu'on pourroit. J'ai suivi ceci en tout point, et suis très affligé, qu'il est arrivé en ce cas, où ma tendresse pour la Princesse, pouvoit paroitre d'écartier un moment, la première pensée, que j'ai sans cela toujours, de montrer un dévouement envers V^{tre} Majesté. D'ailleurs, si j'ose dire, la Princesse m'a le plus instamment désiré dans ce moment de l'amener à Londres, où toute assistance Lui étoit plus proche, que je n'y pus résister; car je n'aurois jamais pu me pardonner, si en conséquence de mon refus, aucun malheur Lui fût arrivé. J'espère que tout ceci justifiera V^{tre} Majesté, & qu'Elle me permettra de me mettre à ses pieds demain à son lever; ce que je n'aurois pas manqué de faire Lundi passé, si la Reine ne m'avoit ordonné de ne le faire, que comme aujourd'hui. La seule chose qui m'en a empêché, est la peur que j'ai eu, depuis que j'ai vu my Lord Essex, de déplaire à V^{tre} Majesté, en me présentant devant Elle, avant d'avoir pris la liberté de Lui expliquer avec toute Soumission, l'unique & véritable motif, de la demandoir, dont Elle m'a parlé offusqué. Je suis avec tout le respect imaginable, Sire, de V^{tre} Majesté, le très humble

& très obéissant fils, serviteur, & sujet,
FREDERICK.

S I R,

IT is with all the Mortification imaginable, that I see by the Message my Lord Essex has brought me, that my coming to Town with the Princess has had the Misfortune to displeasè your Majesty. Permit me, Sir, to represent to you, that in the pressing Situation I was in on Sunday, without a Midwife or any Assistance, it was impossible for me to delay one Moment; otherwise I should not have failèd to have come myself to acquaint your Majesty with it. Besides which, the greatest Expedition in the World could never have brought Mrs. Cannon in less than two or three Hours after the Birth of the Child. As the Princess had had the Cholick for some Days, Mrs. Cannon, Dr. Hollings, and Dr. Broxholme, who were often consulted, all assurèd me she was not yet so near her Time, of which Opinion these two Physicians still were on Sunday at Noon; but in Case she had Pains different from the Cholick, that a Cordial should be given her, and that she should be brought to Town as soon as possible. This Advice I followed in every Point, and am very much concernèd that a Case should happen, in which my Tenderness for the Princess might seem one Moment to remove, what is otherwise first in my Thoughts, the Desire of shewing my Devotion to your Majesty. Besides this, if I may take the Liberty to say so, the Princess desired me so earnestly at that Time to carry her to London, where all Assistance was nearer at Hand, that I could not resist it: For I could never have forgiven myself, if in Consequence of my Refusal, any Accident had happenèd to her. I hope all this will move your Majesty, and that you will give me Leave to lay myself at your Feet To-morrow at your Lever, which I should not have failèd to have done last Monday, if the Queen had not orderèd me to defer it till this Day. The only Thing that has hindered me to Day, is the Fear I have had, since I have seen my Lord Essex, of displeasèing your Majesty, in Case I should come into your Presence before I took the Liberty to explain to you, with all Submission, the true and only Motive of the Step with which you seem offensèd. I am with the greatest Respect imaginable,

Sir, Your Majesty's most humble,
And most obedient Son, Servant and Subject,
FREDERICK.

From the Prince at St. James's, to the Queen at Hampton-Court, by Lord Jersey, Aug. 3, 1737.

M A D A M E,

VOUS ne s'aurois cru, comme le Message que my Lord Essex m'a apporté, m'a affligé. Je me flattois, que les raisons, que j'ai pris la liberté de donner à V^{tre} Majesté, quand Elle a eu la bonté de venir voir la Princesse, auroit justifié mon départ de Hampton-

M A D A M,

YOU cannot imagine how much the Message my Lord Essex brought me has afflicted me. I flatter'd myself that the Reasons I took the Liberty to give your Majesty, when you had the Goodness to come and see the Princess, would have justify'd my Depart-

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coeur auprès du Roi. Je prens la liberté de
les recapituler dans ma Lettre, que je me suis
donné l'honneur de Lui écrire sur ce sujet, me
flattant que V^{tre} Majesté aura la bonté de les
aprouer. Je suis avec beaucoup de respect,

Madame, V^{tre} très humble
& très obéissant fils & serviteur,
FREDERICK.

The Prince to the King, August 4, 1737, by Lord Carnarvon.

S I R E,

ME peronnez Vous de mettre ma douleur
devant Vos yeux, du refus que j'ai eu
hier au soir, de vous faire ma Cour aujourd'hui.
Je ne saurois exprimer, combien je souffre d'être
privé de ce bonheur, & de ne voir hors de
bons graces de V^{tre} Majesté. Et quelque
chose pourroit me consoler dans mon malheur,
c'est l'innocence de mes intentions, lesquels je sup-
plie V^{tre} Majesté de croire, ne peuvent jamais
être de vous offenser. Je ne prens point la li-
berté de recapituler les raisons, qui m'ont induits
à quitter Hampton-Court si subitement, mais je
me flate que V^{tre} Majesté m'accordera plus
facilement le pardon, que je Lui demande;
quand Elle v^{ra}ifiera à l'Etat, ou je me trouverai
alors, avec la pauvre Princesse, dans un temps,
qui ne m'auroit pas permis de m'arrêter au mo-
ment. J'aurois donc conjuré instantanément V^{tre}
Majesté de me rétablir dans Vos bonnes graces,
& de me permettre de Vous faire ma Cour de-
main à V^{tre} leu, jusqu'à quel temps je ne
saurais être en repos. Je suis avec toute la respect
imaginable,

Bien,
De V^{tre} Majesté le très humble

& très obéissant fils, serviteur & sujet,
St. James's, le 4. Août. 1737. FREDERICK.

Message from the King at Hampton-Court, to the Prince at St. James's, by Lord Duncore,
August 20, 1737.

IT being now near three Weeks since the Princess was brought to Bed, his Majesty hopes
there can be no Inconvenience to the Princess, if Monday the 20th Instant be appointed for
baptizing the Princess his Grand-daughter; and having determined, that his Majesty, the
Queen, and the Dutchess-Dowager of Saxe-Gotha shall be Godfather, and Godmother, he
will send his Lord Chamberlain to represent himself, and the Queen's Lady of the Bed-Chamber
to represent the Queen, and desires the Princess will order one of the Ladies of her Bed-
Chamber to stand for the Dutchess-Dowager of Saxe-Gotha, and the King will send to the
Archbishop of Canterbury to attend and perform the Ceremony.

The Prince to the King, August 20, 1737, by Lord Carnarvon.

S I R E,

LA Princesse & moi prenons la liberté de ve-
mercier très humblement V^{tre} Majesté de
l'honneur qu'Elle veut bien faire à notre fille
d'en être Parrain. Les ordres que my Lord
Dunmore m'a apporté sur ce sujet, seront exécu-
tés point par point. Je me contenterai bien
heureux si à cette occasion j'osois venir exprès
me mettre à vos pieds, rien ne m'en pourroit
empêcher que la seule défense de V^{tre} Majesté.
D'être privé de Vos bonnes graces, est la chose
du monde la plus affligeante pour moi, qui n'est
seulement Vous respecte, mais, si j'ose me servir

vous from Hampton-Court to the King, &
have taken the Liberty to recapitulate those
Reasons in the Letter I have done myself the
Honour to write to him upon that Subject;
flattering myself, your Majesty will be so
good to lend them your Assistance. I am
with great Respect,

Madam, Your most humble
And most obedient Son and Servant,
FREDERICK.

S I R,

WILL you permit me to lay at your
Feet, my Grief for the Refusal I re-
ceived last Night to make my Court to you
to Day; I cannot express how much I suffer
from being deprived of that Honour; and see-
ing myself out of your Majesty's Favour.
If any Thing could comfort me in that Mis-
fortune, it would be the Innocence of my In-
tentions, which I beg your Majesty to be-
lieve can never be to offend you. I do not
take the Liberty to recapitulate the Reasons
which induced me to leave Hampton-Court so
suddenly, but I flatter myself your Majesty
will more easily grant me that Pardon which
I ask, when you reflect on the Condition in
which I found myself with the poor Princess,
at a Time, when it was not fit for me to
delay a Moment. I take the Liberty then
most earnestly to conjure your Majesty to re-
store me to your Favour, and to permit me
to make my Court to you To-morrow at
your Levee, till which Time I cannot be at
Bed. I am with all the Respect imaginable,

Sir, Your Majesty's most humble,
And most obedient Son, Servant and Subject,
FREDERICK.

S I R,

THE Princess and I take the Liberty to
thank your Majesty most humbly for
the Honour you intend to do our Daughter in
standing Godfather to her; the Orders my
Lord Dunmore has brought shall be punctually
executed. I should think myself very happy
if upon that Occasion I might take the Li-
berty to come and throw myself at your Feet
Nothing could prevent me but the Prohibi-
tion I have received from your Majesty. To
be deprived of your Favour is the Thing in
the World the most mortifying to me, who

*de ce terme, Vous aime très tendrement. Me
permettrons vous encore une fois de vous supplier
très humblement de me pardonner une faute, dans
laquelle du moins l'intention n'avoit pas de part,
& de ma part de Vous refuser ma cour à
Vôtre loüé? J'ose Vous en conjurer instamment,
comme d'une chose qui me rendra le repos. Je
fais avec toute la soumission possible,*

*Sire, de Vôtre Majesté le très humble
& très obéissant fils, sujet, & serviteur,
FREDERICK.*

From the Prince at St. James's, to the Queen at Hampton-Court, by Lord Carnarvon, August 20, 1737.

MADAME,

PERMETTEZ moi de Vous remercier très humblement de l'honneur que Vous voulez bien faire à la Princesse & à moi d'être Marquis de notre fille. J'ai pris la liberté d'en faire mes remerciements au Roi par écrit. J'y ai ajouté mes douleurs, de la situation, où je me trouve. Je vous supplie encore une fois, Madams, de m'y assister de Vos bons offices, qui me peuvent jamais être employé dans un cas plus essentiel à Vôtre fille, qu' à la remettre dans la bonne grace de son Père. Je fais avec tout le respect possible,

*Madams, Vôtre très humble,
& très obéissant fils & serviteur,
FREDERICK.*

From the Prince at St. James's, to the King at Hampton-Court, by Lord North, August 30, 1737.

SIRE,

C'EST avec tout le respect possible que j'ose remercier encore une fois Vôtre Majesté de l'honneur qu' Elle a bien voulu faire à la Princesse & à moi d'être Parain de notre fille. Je ne saurois laisser passer cette occasion sans retourner ma demande du pardon, que Je Lui ai demandé si souvent. Je souhaiterois trouver des paroles qui pussent fléchir le cœur Paternel de Vôtre Majesté; & il y en avoient qui pussent marquer davantage ma douleur, & mon respect envers Vous, Je puis assurer très humblement Vôtre Majesté que je m'en servirois. Il ne me reste donc plus rien à dire, que de Vous conjurer encore une fois de me rétablir dans Vos bonnes Graces, & de Vous assurer que rien au monde ne changera le tendre respect que Je Vous dois, étant avec beaucoup de soumission,

*Sire, de Vôtre Majesté le très humble,
& très obéissant fils, sujet, & serviteur,
St. James's le 30 Août 1737. FREDERICK.*

From the Prince at St. James's, to the Queen at Hampton-Court, by Lord North, August 30, 1737.

MADAME,

JE crois être de mon devoir de Vous remercier encore une fois très humblement, de l'honneur que vous avez fait à la Princesse & à moi d'être Marquis de notre fille. Je suis très mortifié, que la défense du Roi m'empêche de le

faire

not only respect you, but (if I may make use of that Expression) most tenderly love you. Will you permit me once again humbly to beseech you to pardon a Fault in which at least the Intention had no Share, and to permit me again to make my Court to you at your Levee? I take the Liberty to conjure you to grant this Request as a Thing that will restore my Quiet. I am with all possible Submission,

*Sir, Your Majesty's most humble,
And most obedient Son, Subject and Servant,
FREDERICK.*

MADAM,

PERMIT me to thank you most humbly for the Honour you think fit to do the Princess and me in being Godmother to our Daughter. I have taken the Liberty to return the King my Thanks in Writing, I have added likewise my Grief for the Situation I am in. I beseech you once again, Madam, to assist me with your good Offices, which can never be employ'd for your Son in a more essential Point than in restoring him to his Father's Favour. I am with all possible Respect,

*Madam,
Your most humble,
And most obedient Son and Servant,
FREDERICK.*

SIR,

IT is with all possible Respect that I take the Liberty to thank your Majesty once more, for the Honour you have thought fit to do the Princess and me in being Godfather to our Daughter. I cannot let this Opportunity pass, without repeating my Petition for that Pardon which I have so often ask'd. I should be glad to find Words that could soften the paternal Heart of your Majesty; if there were any that could stronger mark my Grief and my Respect, I assure your Majesty I would make use of them. There remains then nothing more for me to say, but to conjure you once again to re-establish me in your Favour; and to assure you, that nothing in the World shall change the tender Respect I owe you, being with great Submission,

*Sir, Your Majesty's most humble,
And most obedient Son, Subject and Servant,
FREDERICK.*

MADAM,

I Think it my Duty to thank you once more most humbly for the Honour you have done the Princess and me in being Godmother to our Daughter. I am extremely mortify'd that the King's Prohibition hinders

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faire de bouche. Rien ni m'arrêteroit sans cela. Je me flatte que la continuation de Vos bons Offices, joints à la Lettre que je me suis donné l'honneur d'écrire au Roi sur ce sujet, m'en procureront la permission, & que j'aurai bientôt la satisfaction de reparoitre devant Vous. Je suis avec tout le respect imaginable,

*Madame, Vôtre très humble,
& très obéissant fils & serviteur,
St. James's le 30 Août 1737. FREDERICK.*

me from doing it by Word of Mouth; nothing else should stop me. I flatter myself that the Continuation of your good Offices, join'd to the Letter I have done myself the Honour to write to the King upon that Subject, will procure me that Permission; and that I shall soon have the Satisfaction to appear before you again. I am with all imaginable Respect, Madam, Your most humble,
And most obedient Son and Servant,

FREDERICK.

Message from the King at Hampton-Court, to the Prince at St. James's, by the Duke of Grafton, Duke of Richmond, and Lord Pembroke, Saturday Sept. 10, 1737.

GEORGE R.

THE Professions you have lately made in your Letters, of your particular Regard to me, are so contradictory to all your Actions, that I cannot suffer myself to be imposed upon by them.

You know very well you did not give the least Intimation to me or to the Queen, that the Princess was with Child or Breeding, until within less than a Month of the Birth of the young Princess: You removed the Princess twice in the Week immediately preceding the Day of her Delivery, from the Place of my Residence, in Expectation, as you have voluntarily declared, of her Labour; and both Times upon your Return, you industriously concealed from the Knowledge of me, and the Queen, every Circumstance relating to this important Affairs. And you at last, without giving any Notice to me, or to the Queen, precipitately hurried the Princess from Hampton-Court in a Condition not to be named. After having thus, in Execution of your own determin'd Measures, expos'd both the Princess and her Child to the greatest Perils, you now plead Surprise, and Tenderness for the Princess, as the only Motives that occasioned these repeated Indignities offer'd to me and to the Queen your Mother.

This extravagant and undutiful Behaviour, in so essential a Point as the Birth of an Heir to my Crown, is such an Evidence of your premeditated Defiance of me, and such a Contempt of my Authority, and of the natural Right belonging to your Parents, as cannot be excus'd by the pretended Innocence of your Intentions, nor palliated or disguis'd by specious Words only.

But the whole Tenour of your Conduct for a considerable Time has been so intirely void of all real Duty to me, that I have long had Reason to be highly offended with you.

And until you withdraw your Regard and Confidence from those by whose Instigation and Advice you are directed and encouraged in your unwarrantable Behaviour to me and to the Queen, and until you return to your Duty, you shall not reside in my Palace; which I will not suffer to be made the Resort of them, who under the Appearance of an Attachment to you, foment the Division which you have made in my Family, and thereby weaken the common Interest of the Whole.

In this Situation I will receive no Reply: But when your Actions manifest a just Sense of your Duty and Submission, That may induce me to pardon, what at present I most justly resent.

In the mean Time, it is my Pleasure that you leave St. James's with all your Family, when it can be done without Prejudice or Inconvenience to the Princess. I shall for the present leave to the Princess the Care of my Grand-daughter, until a proper Time calls upon me to consider of her Education.

Sign'd G. R.

Lord Baltimore to Lord Grantham.

My Lord,

London, Sept. 13, 1737.

I Have in my Hand a Letter from his Royal Highness to the Queen, which I am commanded to give or transmit to your Lordship; and as I am afraid it might be improper for me to wait on you at Hampton-Court, I must beg you will be so good as to let me know how, and in what Manner I may deliver, or send it to you. If I may presume to judge of my Royal Master's Sentiments, he does not conceive himself precluded by the King's Message from taking this, the only Means, of endeavouring, as far as he is able, to remove his Majesty's Displeasure. I am,

Your Lordship's very humble Servant, *Baltimore.*

Lord Grantham to Lord Baltimore.

My Lord,

September 15, 1737.

I Have laid your Lordship's Letter before the Queen, who has commanded me to return your Lordship the following Answer.

The Queen is very sorry, that the Prince's Behaviour has given the King such just Cause of Offence: But thinks herself restrain'd by the King's last Message to the Prince, from receiving any Application from the Prince upon that Subject. I am,

My Lord, Your Lordship's, &c.

Grantham.

The Princess from Kew, to the King at Hampton-Court. Sent by Sir William Irby to Lord Pembroke, and by Lord Pembroke delivered to the King, September 15, 1737.

S I R E,

C'EST avec tout le respect possible que je prens la liberté de remercier très humblement V^{re} Majesté de l'honneur qu'Elle a bien voulu me faire d'être Parain de ma Fille. Je n'aurois pas manqué de venir moy-même Vous rendre mes devoirs à Hampton Court pour vous en remercier de bouche, mais comme j'ai le malheur d'être privé de cet honneur à présent, j'espère que V^{re} Majesté ne trouvera pas mauvais que je prens la liberté de la faire par écrit. Ma Douleur est d'autant plus grande, que par la Tendresse du Prince je ne trouve la Cause innocente de sa Disgrace; et je me flatte que si j'avois eu la permission de me mettre aux pieds de V^{re} Majesté, j'aurois pu expliquer la Demarche du Prince d'une manière à adoucir le ressentiment de V^{re} Majesté. Que je suis à plaindre, Sire, quand une circonstance si flatteuse pour moy, et en même tems si agreable au Publicque, est malheureusement devenue le triste sujet d'une Division dans la Famille! Je n'importunerai pas davantage V^{re} Majesté que pour vous assurer que, comme je vous dois tout mon Bonheur, je me flatte que je vous devrai aussi bientôt le Repos de ma vie. Je suis avec tout le respect imaginable,

Sire, de V^{re} Majesté, la très humble
et très obéissante fille, sujette, et servante,
AUGUSTE.

S I R,

IT is with all possible Respect that I take the Liberty to thank your Majesty most humbly for the Honour you were pleased to do me in being Godfather to my Daughter. I should not have fail'd to come myself and pay my Duty to you at Hampton-Court to thank you by Word of Mouth, but as I have at present the Misfortune to be debarr'd that Honour, I hope your Majesty will not be displeas'd that I take the Liberty of doing it in Writing. It is a great Aggravation of my Sorrow upon this Occasion, to find, that by the Prince's Tenderness for me, I am the innocent Cause of his Disgrace; and I flatter myself, if I had had leave to throw myself at your Majesty's Feet, I could have explained the Prince's Conduct in a Manner that would have softened your Majesty's Resentment. How much am I to be pity'd, Sir, that an Incident so grateful to me, and at the same Time so agreeable to the Publick, should unfortunately become the unhappy Cause of a Division in the Family! I shall trouble your Majesty no farther than to assure you, that as it is to you I owe all my Happiness, so to you, I flatter myself, I shall likewise soon owe the Quiet of my Life. I am with all the Respect imaginable,

Sir, your Majesty's most humble,
And most obedient Daughter,
Subject and Servant,

AUGUSTA:

From the King at Hampton-Court to the Princess at Kew. September 18, 1737. Sent by Lord Pembroke to Sir William Irby, for the Princess.

JE suis faché, Madame, qu'il soit arrivé aucune chose à vous donner la moindre Inquietude. C'est un malheur pour Vous, mais qui ne vient pas de moy, que vous êtes impliquée dans les Consequences de la Conduite inexcusable de votre Mari. Je vous plains d'avoir été premièrement exposée au plus grand danger, en execution de ses Desseins, et puis d'avoir servi de pretexte pour un suite d'Indignités reiterées qui m'ont été faites. Je souhaiterois que quelques Insinuations dans votre Lettre eussent été omises, lesquelles cependant je ne vous impute pas, étant convaincu qu'elles ne viennent pas de vous.

G. R.

From the Princess at Kew, to the Queen at Hampton-Court, Sept. 17, 1737.

M A D A M E,

JE prens la liberté de remercier très humblement votre Majesté de l'honneur qu'Elle m'a fait deux fois de me venir voir, et aussi d'avoir bien voulu être Maraine de ma fille. Je suis très mortifié de ne pouvoir la faire en personne, comme j'aurois certainement fait, si par les Ordres du Roy, il ne m'en étoit défendu. Je suis étés affligé de la manière dont la conduite du Prince a été représentée à vos Majestés, & sur tout dans l'Article de deux Voyages que nous

fines

I Am sorry, Madam, that any Thing should happen to give you the least Uneasiness. It is a Misfortune to you, but not owing to me, that you are involved in the Consequences of your Husband's inexcusable Conduct: I pity you, to see you first exposed to the utmost Danger, in the Execution of his Designs, and then made the Plea for a Series of repeated Indignities offered to me. I wish some Insinuations in your Letter had been omitted, which however I do not impute to you, as I am convinced it is not from you they proceed.

G. R.

M A D A M,

I Take the Liberty most humbly to thank your Majesty for the Honour you did me in coming twice to see me, and also for having been pleased to be Godmother to my Daughter. I am extremely mortify'd that I could not do it in Person, as I certainly should have done, if the King's Orders had not put it out of my Power. I am extremely concern'd at the Manner in which the Conduct of the Prince has been represented to your

Majestés,

James de Hampton-Court à Londres la Semaine avant mes Couches. J'ose assurer votre Majesté, que les Medecins et la Sage-Femme furent alors de l'opinion, que je n'accoucherois pas avant le mois de Septembre, et que le Mal dont je me plaignois étoit seulement la Colique; et en effet, Madame, est-il croyable que si j'étois allée deux fois à Londres, dans le dessein et l'attente d'accoucher, je serois retournée à Hampton-Court? Je me flatte que le tems, et les bons offices de votre Majesté, apporteront un heureux changement, à une situation d'affaires d'autant plus douloureuse pour moi, que j'en suis la cause innocente. Je suis avec tout le respect imaginable,

*Madame, Votre très humble,
et très obéissante Fille et Servante,*

*Kew le 17
Sept. 1737.*

AUGUSTE,

Majesties, and especially in the Article respecting to our two Journeys from Hampton-Court to London the Week before I was brought to Bed, I can venture to assure your Majesty, that the Physicians and the Midwife were then of Opinion, that I should not lie in before the Month of September, and that the Pain I complain'd of was only the Cholick; and indeed, Madam, is it credible, that if I had gone twice to London with the Design and Expectation of being brought to Bed, I should have returned to Hampton-Court? I flatter myself, that Time and your Majesty's good Offices will procure a happy Change to the present Situation of Affairs, which must affect me so much more sensibly, as I look upon myself to be the innocent Cause of it. I am with all imaginable Respect,

*Madam, Your most humble,
And most obedient Daughter and Servant,
AUGUSTA*

From the Queen at Hampton-Court, to the Princess at Kew, Sept. 20, 1737.

JE suis ravi, me chere Princessé, de vous savoir parfaitement remis après vos Couches. Pour pouvez être assurés, comme vous n'avez jamais offensés ny le Roy ny moy, Je ne manqueray jamais de vous donner des Marques de mon Egard et de mon Affection. Je crois qu'il nous seroit mal-séant à toutes les deux, que j'entrasse en discussion avec vous sur les malheureux Differends entre le Roy et mon Fils. Quand vous serez informés au juste, des différentes Declarations qui ont été faites au sujet de vos Voyages de Hampton-Court, et par qui, et à qui, vous serez convaincus que la Conduite de votre Mary n'a été nullement mise dans un faux jour. J'espère que le tems et une mere Consideration porteront mon Fils à des justes Sentiments de son devoir envers son Pere. C'est la le seul moyen de procurer cet heureux changement, lequel vous ne scauriez souhaiter plus sincerement que je le fais.

CAROLINE,

I Am very glad, my dear Princess, to hear you are perfectly recovered of your Lying-in; you may assure yourself, as you have never offended either the King or me, I shall never fail to give you every Mark of my Regard and Affection. I think it would be unbecoming either of us to enter into a Discussion of the unhappy Division between the King and my Son; and when you are truly informed of the several Declarations that have been made relating to your Journeys from Hampton-Court, by whom, and to whom, they were made, you will be convinced, that the Conduct of your Husband has no Way been misrepresented. I hope Time and due Consideration will bring my Son to a just Sense of his Duty to his Father; which will be the only Means of procuring that happy Change, which you cannot more sincerely wish than I do,

CAROLINE,

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS and DISPUTES in this Month.

Universal Spectator, Oct. 29. N° 473.

Of Mothers suckling their Children.

AS I was riding out lately, I met with as agreeable a Sight as most I have seen; it was that of a Lady in a Chariot and Four, with a Child at her Breast: This was a Thing so unexpected, to see one of her Figure acting this indulgent and tender Part of a Mother, that I can scarce say whether my Surprise or my Pleasure was greater upon this Occasion.

If one was to enquire nicely into the Causes of the monstrous and detestable Custom which makes the Ladies neglect nursing their own

Children, I cannot help thinking, whatever was the Reason of beginning it, that Vanity and Pride are now the chief Supporters of it. It is now look'd upon as a Sign of Gentleness and fine Breeding not to nurse and suckle one's own Child, and it is almost Death to a modern Lady not to be in a Fashion, however ridiculous or unreasonable.

I am so far from thinking that suckling a Child does any Harm in general to the Constitution of the Mother, that I believe it contributes vastly to her Health. So vain is the general Pretence of Weakness and Inability for this Office, that I dare affirm that there is not one Woman in a hundred, upon a fair Calculation, but is either perfectly able to undertake

departs it, or would be better in her Health for overtasking it.

I have heard of a Gentleman marry'd to one of these needless Creatures, that use of too fine a Frame and Texture as he Nurses, who upon his Wife's refusing to nurse her first Child, swears he would never go to Bed to her again until she did it; he was one pretty resolute and positive in his Way, and the Lady thought best of it then to stand it out with him: She soon comply'd with his Desire, or his Threatning rather, and has since often own'd herself oblig'd to him for thus forcing her into the Province of being a nursing Mother to her own Children, whom she now loves with all the Tenderness and Affection imaginable, and thinks both herself and them much the better for the Care and Pains she has took in nursing them. I heartily wish this Gentleman's Argument was often us'd in this Case, and doubt not but it would be more effectual than any other that could be thought of.

There can be nothing more unnatural than to deny a Child that proper alimentary Provision it was intended to be supply'd with from the Body of its Mother. That Woman who has not the Heart to resist the natural Tenderness there is in a Mother to her new-born Child, will find that Tenderness every Day increas'd by her being a Nurse to that Child she has brought into the World. Many other Considerations might be made use of to expose the shameful Custom I am now writing against; particularly, the Danger of a Child's contracting violent and bad Tempers, as well as bodily Diseases, from the Person who is hir'd to nurse it; and the Want of a proper Care and Affection in many Nurses: by whose Negligence both the Healths and Lives of many Children are much endanger'd.

Crossman, Oct. 29. N^o 590.

Queries relating to Q. ELIZABETH.

THOSE, who gave themselves the Trouble of reading that learned and elaborate Discourse, publish'd by Piece-meal in the *Gazetter*, and intitled the *Memoirs of William Cecil Lord Burghley*, were at a Loss to guess for what Use it could be intended; but at length one Mr. R. C. of *Berry-Street*, who takes the Credit of it to himself, hath given us the Key, and tells us that it was design'd as a Parallel between Lord Burghley and Sir R. ———.

He is not content with drawing a Parallel between these two great Men, but hath likewise compar'd the *Times*, in which they lived, and undertakes to prove, if any Secretary of *Fashion* will call upon him for it, that the present Reign is at least equal to that of Q. Elizabeth, both as to our Prosperity at home, and our Honour abroad; say, that the present Administration have borne less from our Neighbours, than that of Q. Elizabeth.

I just now received the following *Queries*, concerning Q. Elizabeth's Reign, address'd to Mr. R. C. my Correspondent being very desirous, as he expresses himself, to see the Reign of R. C.'s Q. Elizabeth, and the Administration of his Lord Burghley vindicated from such gross Calumnies as have been fix'd upon them by some Writers. ——— The *Queries* are as follows.

1. Was it not Q. Elizabeth's Maxim to keep her Neighbours engaged in War, in order to preserve the Peace, and improve the Trade of her own Subjects?

2. Was ever Q. Elizabeth accused of having left her chief and best Ally in the Lurch?

3. Did France, or Spain, conquer any considerable Provinces in her Reign?

4. Was there ever any Officer punish'd, in her Reign, for vindicating the Honour of the English Flag?

5. Were any of her Ambassadors, or Envoys, reprimanded, for insisting too strenuously on the Rights of their Countrymen, at a foreign Court?

6. Were any of her Dominions ever attack'd, in Time of Peace, without a proper Reason?

7. Was there ever any English Ship plunder'd, or any Englishman's Ears cut off and sent to her, in Derision, without due Vengeance taken?

8. Did she ever send out a powerful Fleet, at a vast publick Expence, to persuade her Enemies to do her Justice?

9. Were her Measures at home supported by a numerous standing Army, in Time of Peace, against the loud and general Complaints of the whole Nation?

10. Did her Civil-Liſt ever amount to eleven or twelve hundred thousand Pounds a Year?

11. Was it ever found necessary to employ Regiments of Horse, or Dragoons, to enforce any of the Laws made in her Reign?

12. Were there any Laws pass'd, or attempted to be pass'd, in her Reign, for rendering the greatest Part of the People almost absolute Slaves to her Custom-House Officers and Excisemen?

13. Did she ever give her Minister Power to corrupt the Fountain of all Law and Justice, by Bribery without Doors, and Places and Professions within?

When Mr. R. C. or any of his ingenious Associates, have answer'd these *Queries*, to the Satisfaction of any reasonable Man, I may condescend to bestow another Paper upon them; but till then, adieu Messieurs *Gazetters*!

Daily Gazetteer, Nov. 5. N^o 730.

IN this Paper R. C. answers the above *Queries*, but we shall take Notice of only one of them. — The 10th Query is, (says he) Whether Q. Elizabeth's Civil Liſt did ever a-

mount to 11 or 1200000 *l.* a Year? I answer, that I do not believe either her's, or any other Prince's Civil List ever came near that Sum: I have before me an Account of *Q. Elizabeth's* annual Expence, Civil and Military, and I find it is as proportionable to her Revenue, as the stated Expence of the Crown at present to the Civil List Revenue granted by Parliament. In *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign there were 24 Men of War, some of which carried but 80, and others fewer Men. All the Ships belonging to *England* of upwards of 100 Tuns, were but 135, and all between 100 Tuns and 40 Tuns, were but 656. Will any reasonable Man say, that considering the mighty Growth of Wealth and Trade in *England* since then, the Expence of the Government ought not to be expected to rise in like Proportion? Or would any Man pretending to the Name of a Patriot, be willing to see the Power and Wealth of the Nation sink, in order to produce an Abatement in the Civil List Revenue. In political Parallels, all Circumstances are to be considered, otherwise no just Conclusion can be made; which shews how idle this Query is, wherein the present Revenue of the Crown is set several Hundred thousand Pounds above its just Value, and then compar'd with *Q. Elizabeth's*, when the Nation was in quite another Condition, and when all the Shipping belonging to it did not exceed what now belongs to some of our third Rate Ports.

Universal Spectator, Nov. 5. N^o 474.

A Correspondent, in this Paper, which is upon the Subject of receiving Advice, says: I know not but I may offend some of your marry'd Readers, in recommending to them a good Nature and ready Disposition to receive that Kind of Advice which goes under the Name of a *Curtain Lecture*; but I hope I shall be the more readily forgiven when I would not confine my Advice to any particular Sex, but have it mutually made use of by Ladies and Gentlemen as necessary Occasions may require.

If the receiving Matrimonial Advice, with any tolerable Temper and Reason, could be once made practicable, above half the Families in *Great Britain*, would have much more Ease and Content than they at present enjoy; therefore it is, that I think it prudent for every marry'd Couple to give one another a mutual *Curtain Lecture* before they rise; the Ladies I am pretty confident will not be at a Loss what to say on such Occasions, nor will the Gentlemen in their Turn want Opportunities to convey their goodly Admonitions. Bad Hours, ill Temper, Drinking, Neglect in Love, will be a very copious Theme for the fair Admonitors; while their Spouses will return the Charge with serious Invasives against Expences, Intrigues, Finery,

Plays, Masquerades and Quadrills: Such a Course of Lectures, if attended to with Candour and good Manners, would keep Masters and Mistresses of Families under a proper Regulation; the Men would all become industrious Husbands and grave Philosophers; the Women all frugal loving Wives, and notable Housewives.

Craftsman, Nov. 5. N^o 591.

Of the Spanish Depredations.

THE *Craftsman*, speaking of the mysterious and profound State of foreign Affairs at this Time, says: — But there is one Point, which I think full clear enough at present, and not above the Comprehension of any rational Man in the whole Kingdom; I mean the Depredations, Seizures, and Captures of our Ships, by the *Spanish Guarda Costas*, in the *West Indies* and other Seas; as well as their Cruelty towards the *Mariners*, and even Insult to the Government itself. This, indeed, is a Complaint of long standing, and we have had Warning enough what to expect from them, if some proper Methods were not taken to curb them in their Violence; but instead of receiving any Reparation, they have been profusely treated by some of their own Countrymen, as a lawless Band of Robbers and Pyrates; whilst the *Spaniards* have been suffer'd, I know not how, to go on with impunity, and proceed to such Excesses at last, that it hath rais'd a general Alarm not only amongst the immediate Sufferers, but all the mercantile Part of the Kingdom; and even those, who have so long endeavour'd to depreciate their Losses and Sufferings, are oblig'd to own that something ought to be done.

It cannot be so much as pretended, that this Flame hath been secretly blown up, with any seditious or sinister Design; for whoever puts his Head into the City, or enquires into the present Rate of Insurance upon Ships bound from any Part of the *West Indies*, will find they have too much Reason for their Complaints, and very far from wanting any other Justification. In short, if some Stop be not immediately put to these Depredations and Ravages, we may as well give up all our *Plantation-Trade*, and Right of Navigation in those Seas.

It is upon this Account that the *Merchants* lately presented an humble Petition to his Majesty for Redress; which his Majesty was pleas'd to receive very graciously, and appointed a Committee of his chief *Cabinet Counsellors* to hear the particular Matters of their Complaint. The *Merchants* have attended these great Persons several Times, and given such incontestable Evidence of their Losses and Grievances, that we cannot doubt of their soon receiving ample Satisfaction and Security for the future. (See p. 576.)

Common Sense, Nov. 12. N° 41.
The poor Comedian's Case.

S I R,

YOU must know, I have been of late in a great deal of Trouble: I wanted to consult the Lawyers; but my Friends advised me to save my Money to pay my Landlady, and to take Advice of *Common Sense*.

I therefore apply to you in *Forma Pauperis*, hoping you will be so kind to give your Advice, gratis, to a poor Brother Artist in Distress. I call you Brother, because you and I follow the same Trade, that is to say, we live by diverting the Publick.

I am Master of a little Company of Comedians, and I am doubtful whether I may venture to follow my Trade without Fear of being persecuted by those Blood-suckers call'd Informers, because of an Act pass'd the latter End of last Sessions. I hope you will be so good to set me right, for if I am so unfortunate to be disabled by this Act, this is the fourth Time I have been undone according to Law; first as a Coffee-Roaster, next as a Chocolate-Maker, then as a Gin-Seller, and now as a Comedian, with my two Comrades, my Bear and Monkey.

What adds to our Mortification, is, that we hear that Punch, with his Company, are to have a License. I am at a Loss how to account for this Partiality; every Body knows that Punch is a most notorious Corruptor of Youth, that he has been put into the Stocks a hundred Times, and that he is such an ungrateful Rascal he would abuse the very Workman that made him.

Is there any Comparison betwixt his Company and ours, either for the Justice of acting, or for Appearance? I went once to his Theatre, and happening to go in before the Play began, I found Punch and his whole Company hanging upon Pegs behind the Scenes; and when you are near them by Day-light, you would say, they are such a Pack of Ragamuffins as are not fit to come into any civil Company.

What makes this Partiality the more severe is, that Punch and his Company may get their Living another Way; the same Workmen who made them, may turn them into several Utensils; the Queen of Sheba may make a very good Handle for a Coffee-Pot; and King Solomon be turn'd into the Head of a Broomstick; Punch himself will be entertain'd by any Gardener as a Scare-Crow; his Wife and Son, with the rest of the Comedians of that Company, may be sent to adorn Merlin's Cave; or, lastly, they may be manufactured into very good Wooden Spoons; and let me tell you, Sir, if the Taxes hold, and the Court should enact a little more, Wooden Spoons may become a Fashion every where, except at Court.

I cannot think it very politic in a certain Great Man to make new Enemies; he has

more already than any wise Man would desire; and how is he sure that all the Bears, Bulls, Monkeys, Man-Tygers, Elephants, that are exhibited to the Publick, may not enter into an Alliance against him? nor is it impossible but they may draw in the Allies too, and so take from him the only Party that has hitherto been his Support.

A If it be resolv'd that there shall be no more than two Companies of Comedians, we must submit. Yet as we should be proud to live in the Favour of the M——, we should be very glad that the next Trade we venture upon, may be such, as it may be neither his Interest nor Inclination to destroy; for which Reasons, and because neither the Bear, the Monkey, or myself have ever misrepresented either him or his B——, we hope he will be so good to make us Excitemen.

VAN BRUIN.

Common Sense, Nov. 19. N° 42.
Of Leafing-Making.

I Have always admired the Sagacity of the North Britains, in their Law against Leafing-making; by which they understood misrepresenting the whole People, or any one Subject, to the King; or the King to the People. And these were separate Crimes; for they did not imagine that any Man could at the same Time be guilty of both. Neither do I find any Instance of this kind in their History, before the Union.

D We have nothing among our Laws so well contrived to prevent a Breach between a King and his People. This lays the AX to the Root of all Treason, and by punishing it he secures Thousands from the Slander of it. But then it bears so very hard upon the Sheet-Anchor the Court-Whisper, that I have often wonder'd how the Ministers in that Country could carry on Business with it. For altho' Leafing-Making be the Source of all Treason, it is frequently the Foundation of a Minister's Authority: Since no Prince will place absolute Confidence in one Man, until he is brought to believe, that he can no longer confide in his People.

F There are few Histories where we do not meet with frequent Instances of Ministers resisting themselves by Leafing-Making; and we may therefore conclude, that the North British Ministers might practise the same Arts to serve the same Purpose. But as few even of the greatest Statesmen can be supposed to arrive at that Pitch of Security, as to boast of their own Guilt; the Legislators in that Country might obtain the King's Consent to this Law, for punishing an Artifice which his Minister durst not avow, since it could be practis'd only upon the weakest Princes. Nay, it is not impossible but, as the Law made it criminal to misrepresent any one Subject, it might become an useful Tool in the Hands of

a Minister to destroy those who should presume to expose his Artifices; and the Legislature might be the less careful to provide against a Thing of this Nature, that the first Subject in their Country was about the reach of Ministerial Calumny.

By their Constitution which was *Gubick*, as ours once was, the Prince of Scotland enjoyed great Prerogatives, and an independent Revenue. As a Subject he shared the Privileges and the Grievances of the People; and as Prince he had a Right to inform the King of them. No Minister could remove him from the King's Presence; nor no Corruption induce him to abate the plundering a People, whose Riches were one Day to constitute his Power. As the Nation might therefore think themselves safe in the Constitutional Security of such a Subject, they had no Reason to suppose that the most sanguine Whifperer could hope to succeed in an Attempt of this Nature. The Father must look upon him as his most determined Enemy.—To make a Breach between him and his Son!—Lord have Mercy upon us!—a Victory to either must be a Destruction to both. Neither could he expect any Assistance from those who might otherwise support his Power by their Influence on the King. They must reject, with Detestation, the very Thought of persecuting a Brother or a Son.

Craftsman, Nov. 19. N° 593.

THE Treaty of 1667 not only establishes a free Trade between Great Britain and Spain, in all Places where it was at any Time allow'd, but likewise stipulates that in Case of any Injury, on either Side, Letters of Rapproval shall not be granted, until Justice had been demanded in the ordinary Course of Law; but if Satisfaction is not made within six Months after it is so demanded, then the Party injured is to be allow'd Letters of Rapproval.

It is farther declared, in the same Treaty, that no British Ships, or other Vessels, shall be visited or molest'd, in the King of Spain's Dominions, by the Judges of Contraband, or any other Persons, except two or three Custom-House Officers, until the said Ships or Vessels are unladen, but shall only be obliged to show their Pass-ports, or Sea-Letters; and if any prohibited Goods should be detected, the said Goods only are to be forfeited, and not the other Goods; neither is the Party offending to incur any other Punishment, unless he carries out of Great Britain the proper Coin, Wool, or Fuller's Earth, or any Gold and Silver out of the Spanish Dominions.

This Treaty is confirm'd by the American Treaty, in the Year 1670, with several considerable Improvements; particularly the Article, which acknowledges our Right to all Places in the West Indies, or in any Part of America, which were then in our Possession;

and in both these Treaties the Nature of contraband Goods is particularly explain'd, viz. all Sorts of Ammunition, and warlike Stores, bound to an Enemy's Port, as well as Gold, Silver, Fuller's Earth, and Wool. But I do not meet with one Word about Logwood, which grows in *Jamaica*, as well as in several other Parts of the *West-Indies*, not belonging to the Crown of Spain; and though Gold and Silver, both wrought and unwrought, are specifically excepted in the Treaties before-mention'd, they were afterwards allow'd by the *Affiento Contract*; so that if the South Sea Company bring any of these Goods to *Jamaica*, or any of our other Colonies, and our Merchant-Men can prove they came laden from thence, with proper Pass-ports and Sea-Letters, as I am inform'd most of them can, the Spaniards have not the least Pretence for making Prize of them.

Neither can I see any Right, which these Treaties give the Spaniards to what they call their Latitude; or for prohibiting the British Subjects from trading in any Part of the American Seas. On the contrary, it is expressly stipulated, that the Freedom of Navigation ought not to be in any Manner interrupted; and that whoever shall be guilty of any Depredations whatsoever, shall not only be punished criminally, but compell'd to make ample Restitution to the Party injured, requiring the same.

These Treaties were again confirm'd and renew'd, not only by the Treaty of Utrecht (with a particular Saving of all our former Privileges in Trade, whether by Right, Satisfaction, or Indulgence) but likewise by two or three other Treaties, in the Years 1715 and 1721.

It is therefore incumbent upon the Spaniards to prove some Detraction from these Treaties, since that Time; unless they will openly justify all their numberless Captures, Depredations, and Injuries by Rights of Arms, in Defiance of the most solemn Treaties.

Daily-Gazette, Nov. 21. N° 743.

THIS Paper contains a Vindication of the Conduct of the Ministers, in Relation to the Spanish Depredations; and concludes thus.—Is it right to take care of the South Sea Company's Interests, as well as of the West India Merchants? It is proper before any Thing is done, which may put a Stop to the whole Spanish, as well as Turkish and other Mediterranean Trade, most deliberately to consider the Consequences? Is it right, before we take a military Satisfaction, that we should be able to justify it to the whole World, and shew the indispensable Necessity of it? Ought we not to be guard against any Assistance the Spaniards may have? And ought not that to be first diligently sifted out and enquired after? Is it right to be

prepar'd and fortify'd against all Events, by Alliances, and acting in concert with another powerful Nation in the same Circumstances? Have the States of *Holland* acted otherwise than our Government has done? Or considering the Whole and every Part of the Case, have our Ministers acted as other wise and prudent People have acted or ought to act?

This is bringing a Matter to the Test of *Common Sense*; and the *A* I shall not say those Gentlemen of the Paper so called, *Common Sense*, yet I must say, that I never saw them in that Paper, being any Thing so to the Trial of it; but on the contrary, Things dress'd up, to common Passions, common *Weaknesses*, and *Vulgar Sense*.

Common Sense, Nov. 26. N^o 43.

Extracts from an Oration of Demosthenes against Philip King of Macedon.

ATHENIANS,

WHILE on one Side I take a View of the State of your Affairs, and on the other Side to the Discourses which are every Day deliver'd to you, I am not able to reconcile what I see with what I hear; for it has long been the Discourse in every Man's Mouth, that *Philip* ought to be chastis'd; and yet your Affairs are reduced to such a Point, by neglecting to put this in Execution, that all we can do now is to think of Methods to defend ourselves against new Insults.

As to our present State, you are sensible, that the Management of some very complaisant Orators amongst us has ruin'd our Affairs both Abroad and at Home. In order to put ourselves into a State of mending Matters, I shall propose something which perhaps may be treated as a Paradox, by many, yet I would not have you abash'd at it;—appoint new Magistrates to inspect and examine the Laws, but suffer them not to make any new; you have too many already; abridge and repeal those which are found a Grievance to you.

When you begin to reform these Abuses, and open a Way for better Counsels, you may then search for some Orator, who may, in Form, propose something that by the general Voice may be agreed upon, as conducing to the Publick Good:—And indeed I think you should exact it of the same Persons who made those Laws, to repeal them.

I know it is not only possible, but easy, for People to deceive themselves, because we are apt to believe what we like; but I should look upon it to be no less than a Prodigy, if he who had wast'd his Revenues in frivolous, idle, and unnecessary Expences, should be able to supply Expenses that are absolutely necessary out of Funds that are exhausted. In *G* *Age*, O Athenians! it would be no less than Madness to expect that those who had ruin'd you by their Waste of the Publick Treasure in Time of Peace, should offer any Advice to support you in Time of War.

Consider, therefore, what your present Situation demands;—does it become a People who have any Pretence to the Character of wise or brave, to suffer the last Indignities for Fear of going into a War? What will the World think, if those who were once so quick and ready to fly to Arms, upon the least Menace of Violence on the Part of the *Corinthians*, or *Macedonians*, should suffer *Philip* to run on for Years?

Craftsman, Nov. 26. N^o 594.

Of Ministers, and Court-Flatterers.

MY Lord *Coke* observes, that more Kings and Kingdoms have been overthrow'd by Means of Flattery, than by publick Hostility. He then enumerates the Flatterers and Seducers of Princes, for some Ages past, and the terrible Ends they met with, from our Parliament-Rolls, Records, and Histories, viz.

1. *Hubert de Burgo*, Chief Justice and Earl of *Kent*, who advis'd King *Henry III.* to burn *Magna Charta*.

2. *Piers de Gaveston*, the *Spencers* and others, who carried on the same Design, in the Reign of *Edward II.*

3. *Sir Robert Tresilian*, Chief Justice, and *Robert Vere*, Duke of *Ireland*, the Ministers and Favourites of *Richard II.*

4. *William de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and others, who plotted the Destruction of *Humphrey*, the good Duke of *Gloucester*, and Uncle of *Henry VI.* whom they deluded and govern'd.

5. *William Lord Hastings*, Chamberlain to *Edward IV.* and Captain of *Calais*.

6. *Sir John Catesby*, one of the Justices of the *Common-Plas*, and *Henry Duke of Buckingham*, Privy-Plotters and Counsellors with *Richard III.* for the most execrable Murder of his Nephew.

7. *Sir Richard Empson* and *Edmund Dudley*, those infamous Pillagers and Oppressors of the People, under *Henry VII.* in order to gratify his insatiable Lust of Riches.

8. *Cardinal Wolsey*, the insolent Favourite and Prime-Minister of *Henry VIII.*

All these, as my Lord *Coke* observes, came to fearful and unwelcome Ends. He then adds;

We will for some Causes descend no lower.

Qui inorum vestigiis insistant, eorum exitus perhorrescent; sed istos, who walk in their Paths, dread their Ends.— This seems to be pointed against *Villars*, Duke of *Buckingham*, the evil Counsellor and Flatterer of *K. James* and *Charles I.* whose Measures my Lord *Coke* oppos'd, and whose tragical End is well known. I wish I could say that even my Lord *Coke* himself was entirely free from this Guilt, of flattering the Court, and being sometimes the Instrument of their unjust Designs; particularly in the scandalous Prosecution of the brave and unfortunate *Sir Walter Raleigh*.

ADVICE to CHLOE.

CHLOE MONITAs

I.
DEAR *Chloe*, while thus beyond mea-
 sure,

You treat me with doubts and disdain,
 You rob all your youth of its pleasure,
 And heed up an old age of pain.
 Your maxim, that love is still founded
 On charms that will quickly decay;
 You'll find to be very ill grounded,
 When once you its dictates obey.

II.
 The love that from beauty is drawn,
 By kindness you ought to improve;
 Soft looks and gay smiles are the dawn,
 Friction's the fast-flime of love:
 And tho' the bright beams of your eyes
 Should be clouded, that now are so gay,
 And darkness possess all the skies,
 We ne'er can forget it was day.

III.
 Old *Darby*, with *Joan* by his side,
 You've often regarded with wonder,
 He's dropical, she is fore-ey'd,
 Yet they're ever unassay afunder.
 Together they totter about,
 Or sit in the sun at the door,
 And at night, when old *Darby's* pot's out,
 His *Joan* will not smoke a whiff more.

IV.
 No beauty nor wit they possess,
 Their several failings to smother;
 Then, what are the charms, can you guess,
 That make them to be fond of each other?
 'Tis the pleasing remembrance of youth,
 The endearments which youth did bestow;
 The thoughts of past pleasure and truth,
 The best of our blessings below.

V.
 These traces for ever will last;
 No sickness, or time can remove;
 For when youth and beauty are past,
 And age brings the winter of love:
 A friendship insensibly grows,
 By reviews of such raptures as these;
 The current of fondness still flows,
 Which decrepit old age cannot freeze.

I.
DUM *sese* me, *chere Chloe*, *fas* *prator* &
agnum,

Sabruis, & *reficit* *spe*, *cruciosque* *metu*,
Depardis, *lata* *quod* *amatum* *est* *omni* *Juvenator*;
Inque *semel* *entem* *triste* *repens* *opus*.
Forma *brouis*, *dicis*, *flor* *est* *atatis*, *amorque*
Robur, *quae* *perant*, *otus*, & *ipse* *peret*:
Hoc *tibi* *persuades*: *sed* *re* *modo* *dicta* *perbaris*,
Quam *mala* *persuades*, *experientis* *scies*.

II.
Ut *fit* *perpetuus*, *formae* *qui* *nascentis*, *ut* *fit*
Mantus, *officiis* *crefcere* *debet* *amor*.
Sunt *blandi* *risus* *primordia* *lucis*; *amore*,
Tum *modo*, *cum* *frui* *mur*, *fulget* *aperta* *diem*.
Si *tibi* *max* *tenebris* *litos* *oboclet* *ocellos*,
Qui *tam* *jucundum* *nunc* *utitumque* *mitant*;
Si *totum* *eripitur* *caelum* *caligine*, *quantum*,
Dicemus *memores*, *lux* *aliquando* *fuit*!

III.
Darbarum *en* *ut* *utrum* *utralis* *com* *conjugis*! *vitam*
Quam *placida* *infirmam* *par*, & *amorem* *agnum*!
Blas *illa* *est* *oculis*, & *crura* *hydropicus* *illo*
Vix *trahit*; *at* *nam* *uenter* *abesse* *potest*.
Griffibus *invalidis* *repat* *cum* *conjugis* *conjugis*;
Aut *simul* *apricam* *confidet* *ante* *foras*; [*Annus*,
Cum *quis* *ille* *extremum* *cyathi* *dismiserit* *haur*-
Deposuit, *certe* *de* *lege*, *Joanna* *tubum*.

IV.
Cum *nulle* *atrivis*, *quicquid* *delinquit* *utrovis*,
Corporis *excusant* *ingratus* *bona*;
Quae *est* *aut* *illi* *ueneris* *aut* *conjugis* *illi*?
Uade *fit*, *alterius* *tam* *fit* *ut* *alter* *amans*?
Dulce *recordari* *est* *alios* *feliciter* *amari*,
Quam *sensus* *ad* *canem* *confuturo* *fidem*;
Inde *facrum* *sedus*, *furquoque* *est* *capula* *noctis*;
Qui *malis* *tarris* *Dii* *tribuere* *nihil*.

V.
Langam *illa*, *in* *loquum* *qua* *nulle* *aboluerit* *etas*,
Nallaque *morborum* *vis*, *monumenta* *manent*:
Namque *decor* *simul* *amicis* *abest* & *gratia* *formae*;
Frigus, *quod* *atatis* *reficit*, *amoris* *homon*:
Crescit *amicitiae* *seuvis* *repentantibus* *ufus*,
Quam *vel* *adhuc* *grati* *practoris* *diu*.
Quaeque *retardari* *possunt* *per* *nulle* *semelle*
Frigora, *perpetuo* *gaude* *ante* *fluunt*.

AY and NO. A TALE from Dublin, done
 into Verse.

A T *Dublin's* high feast fat primete and
 dote, [clean.
 Both dress'd like divines, with hand and face
 Quoth *Hegs* of *Strang*, the mob is grown bold.
 Ay, ay, quoth the dean, the cause is old gold.
 No, no, quoth the prime—if causes we sit,
 This mischief arises from witty dean *Swift*.
 The smart one replied, there's no wit in the
 case;
 And nothing of that e'er troubl'd your grace.

The' with your state-have your own notions
 you split,

A Bolter by name is no bolter of wit.
 'Tis matter of weight, and a mass money job;
 But the lower the coin, the higher the mob.
 Go tell your friend *Bob*, and other guest folk,
 That finking the coin is a dangerous joke.
 The Irish dear joys have enough common sense
 To treat gold reduc'd like *Wood's* copper-panes.
 'Tis pity a prelate should die without law;
 But if I say the word—take care of *Strang*.

Paphi Hippocampo

THE PROGRESS OF LEARNING.

PHOEBUS, approach! and bring
 The vocal lyre,
 And warm my breast with thy poetic fire;
 Thy sacred gift I sing:
 And see, the godhead comes; new ardours
 roll [cious soul:
 Thro' ev'ry throbbing vein, and swell my con-
 By him inspir'd I dare the theme,
 With strength augmented upwards rise,
 And like a youthful eagle fecm
 Already tow'ring in the skies:
 Far down on earth I view
 The paths th' unthinking multitudes pursue:
 Lo! how they grovel on the ground,
 Resign'd to sense alone, and in soft pleasures
 drown'd.

When the creating Pow'r had breath'd a soul
 Into the lifeless clay,
 To animate the whole,
 Man rose, and blest his God, and hail'd the
 happy day:
 In paradise he reign'd, and all around
 Eternal pleasures bloom'd, and blissful Edes
 crown'd.

Yet not alone the sensual sweets
 Are that which his felicity compleats:
 No bounds his understanding knew;
 All nature open'd to his view:
 'Twas his delight the Deity to trace
 O'er the creation's ample face;
 The sublunary world he left, and up to heav'n
 he flew.

Yet ah! tremendous fall!
 Whilst he with wild-ambition fir'd,
 To be a god aspir'd, [all.
 At once his knowledge lost and innocence and
 Dire ignorance then rais'd her head,
 And with her gloomy veil the mind o'erspread:
 Then thou, bright science! fled,
 Leaving reluctant this terraqueous ball.
 Thee, goddess! thee mankind
 Since to regain have sought,
 And by long tedious rain of thought
 Lost knowledge strove to find,
 And the great prize with mighty labour bought:
 'Tis thou alone that can'st in part restore
 What our primeval father lost before.

Hail! sacred science, hail!
 What muse thy worth can fully sing!
 My strength unequal I bewail,
 Ev'n the bold *Trojan* swan, whose tow'ring
 wing
 Exalted many a hero to the skies,
 Would sink beneath the task, and strive in
 vain to rise.

Thy vast extensive pow'r
 Dose ev'ry age, and ev'ry land adore.
 In the first times, enthros'd,
 Thou sat'st in *Palatino*;
 The *Hebrew* race rever'd thy shining,

And thy blest influence own'd.
 Illustrious *Solomon*,
 Philosopher and monarch too!
 High in the orb of learning thone,
 Nature's recesses search'd, and ev'n her ef-
 fence knew.

Th' *Egyptians* thence of old
 Their learning sought; [brought;
 Thence deep philosophy *Caldassu* magi
 And mystic truths in mystic numbers told.
 Next thou to *Grace* didst wing thy flight,
 There thy resplendent seat to place,
 And o'er the happy land diffuse thy genial
 light;

The happy land did thee embrace:
 To thee ten thousand altars smok'd;
 Thy pow'r ten thousand votaries invoc'd;
 Whilst thou their genius didst refine,
 And arts and eloquence around them shiue.

The *Romans*, *Mars*' bold progeny,
 Fierce like their dreadful fire, submit to thee:
 Nor war's dire clangors, nor alarms
 Could interrupt the muse's charms;
 But thy lost arts they join'd with their victo-
 rious arms:

Where-e'er their conqu'ring eagles flew,
 Barbarity they did subdue,
 And introduce thy blissful state,
 While vanquish'd nations blest the prosp'rous
 turn of fate.

The golden times thus roll'd along,
 Times worthy an immortal song!
 'Till from the frozen north
 A barb'rous people issu'd forth;
 Rush'd o'er the earth, (swift like the rapid
 wind:

Horrid destruction stalk'd behind!
 Lands once polite, alas! became their prey,
 Borne by the torrent down with unresist'd
 sway:

Arts banish'd fled, and universal night
 Drove from th' horizon thy all-cheering light.
 Immers'd in ignorance thus *Europe* lay,
 Till circling time nine centuries had run;

At last a balmy ray begun
 Thy dawning to display,
 Gladd'ning the world with hopes of sweet re-
 turning day.

To thy deserted fanes they bring
 Perpetual incense, and loud psalms sing;
 The neighb'ring hills with joyous echoes ring.

Then native *Albion*'s isle
 Sought thee, nor sought in vain:
 Her tuneful vows thou didst not then disdain,
 But soon on her serenely smile;
 On her thy beamy glories shed;
 All o'er her happy fell thy wings incumbent
 spread.

Her grateful sons, by thee belov'd,
 And high enroll'd in fame,
 Have ev'ry useful art improv'd,
 And to succeeding times transmitted down thy
 name.

Here, silence! sit thy throne, and hence
 With hand profane dispart
 Thy sacred influence
 To all who thy transcendent virtues own,
 And let thier own thy genial presence crown
 Touch, goddess! touch my breast;
 Teach me to scorn all vain delusive toys,
 Mankind's imaginary joys,
 Sufficiently in thy fraction blest.
 Then solely to thy praise
 I'll dedicate my grateful lays,
 And whilst thy bright æthereal fire
 Does my distord soul inspire,
 The world shall thy perfections view, and
 viewing shall admire.

Upon the Earl of Carlisle's PICTURE, done
 by Mr. Phillips. By the Rev. Mr. Pin-
 det of Yorkshire.

PHILLIPS! with wonder all allow,
 Thy hand has shown what art can do;
 Great Carlisle's form, by thee express'd,
 Lives in thy finish'd lines confest;
 There light and shade so justly strike,
 The more we view, the more we like.
 Thy mimic paint assumes each grace,
 That fits in triumph on his face;
 Thy pencil's magic power calls forth
 His inmost soul's distinguish'd worth;
 And all that's great, and good, and wise
 Flow from thy strokes, as from his eyes.
 There justice shines, and honour clear,
 The smile indulgent and sincere;
 Here breathes his great exalted mind,
 And there his bounteous unobtain'd.

Let others boast the skill to trace
 Some faint resemblances of a face;
 'Tis thine, rare artist, to impart
 The beauties, that adorn the heart!
 Oh! might my colours glow like thine,
 And equal thus the great design!
 Then would my grateful muse aspire
 To sing thine virtues all admire;
 But who, alas! can vainly hope
 To rival thee; or sing like Pope.

Upon Lady Mary Howard's PICTURE, done
 by Mr. Phillips. By the same Hand.

To form'd graces for a piece complete,
 Each Grecian beauty to Apollis site;
 In this one face more perfect charms we view
 Than Greece e'er boasted, or Apollis drew.

Upon Lady Irwin's PICTURE, done by
 Mr. Phillips. By the same Hand.

PALLAS in wisdom, Juno in her mien,
 In beauty both represent the Paphian
 queen;
 The different charms, that old and goddess
 are here united in a single face:
 Bright Irwin whilst the reigns with Juno's air,
 Is wise as Pallas, and as Venus fair.

These Plays were observed by a Gentleman's
 being ask'd how he liked Miss B.—bb.

HAD Venus only deck'd her face,
 With earth bewitching air and grace,
 Guarded perhaps against those charms
 My heart had ne'er felt love's alarms.

But when with Venus Pallas join'd
 And equally adorn'd her mind,
 Nay when Apollo lent his aid,
 To finish and complete the maid;

Taught her to touch the trembling string,
 And with the softest notes to sing,
 Could I withstand such heav'nly power,
 And not their fav'rite maid adore?

To a Lady with some Tickets in the PLATE
 LOTTERY.

Dante dignior.

POETS and painters all agree
 In representing fortune blind;
 For once (methinks) I'd have her see
 And be to MERT only kind.

My expectations may be lost,
 As well as others that adore her,
 They might not meet with much success,
 Nor I, if we appear'd before her:

But could the fair my Cause know
 Off'd long these notions at her door,
 Thy claim the goddess would allow
 And thy thimble's offer'd throne.

Birmingham, Nov. 26, 1797.

Modern Life, or the Conquest in Persia.

Nulla fore causa est in qua non Fœmina litet
 Mourit ———— Vigil.

ELATED with her charms, wife takes her
 rout,
 And throws her random sights of spleen,
 But, on her supple train she casts a glance,
 To lead the powder'd *esper* in smiling dance;
 By ogling brit'd, the mimic ape essay,
 Their modish fœces of foppery to play;
 One tips his sleek-box with restless prey,
 Another heightens chat with fine grimace;
 A third displays the gold *repartee's* charade,
 And vows a diamond ring, in whiter, warmer,
 Harangues on world's state of slender sick,
 And swears, in sight of dumfry came; the sick.
 But while she togs, on folly's wings, ascends,
 The jilt, with ease, buffoons them in the end,
 By one gallanting air of active fun,
 She *blat*ing engine confounds every man.
 Ye fair, the cry, behold the cringing crew!
 These are the geogues, that expose ribbines;
 Their *ambition* prett has *hug*er every bar,
 'Tis novelty alone, shall conquer here;
 I own, I hate a *cup*'d *thou*der *bar* take,
 'Tis *gay* *ch* *thy* *l* *wholly* *qu* *th*

But stay, presumptive creature, take advice,
And, in thy willing choice, be wise and free;
Thou know'st, what hazards can bepan the
 throng,

Art skill'd in all the frauds of eyes and tongue,
Ducok's the business of each eye's heart,
And things, in artifice, mislead the start,
Exact its force, let female cunning side,
Above all triflers, wear the coaking guise;
At balls take place, be rank'd among the Selves,
And to'r it e'er a tribe of *Begonia*.

For who would ask the *prude* in all her ways,
Must be well ver'd in calumny and praise,
To flattery and show bend all her thoughts,
And screen her own, by some'sing other's faults;
Whole floods of arrogance and self-conceit
Must drown her reason to enhance her wit;
Know, when affected smiles or frowns, to seize,
And may all the casts of thy disdain;
The dame's *coquetry* fier, in private, show,
In publick, by a nod, disdain'd a show;
Ne'er crouch beneath an overwomming look,
Nor be abash'd, at any harsh rebuke;
With ev'ry new admirer, must be full,
To please th' insipid and provoke the dull,
And have the wearing of a female soul
Made without bias, like a *miscin* bowl.

Since whim and caprice sway the gadding sex,
Let affection have some standard fix.
Adora, with gifts superior, we behold,
Foremost, among the daisy crew, unswell'd;
Adora, in whom all female's judiciously meet;
Myra, who seems to be esteem'd discreet.
The whistling of each fustianick air,
Was form'd a modish pattern for the fair;
Probably ceasing life and wealth away,
Still breathing follies, as her charms decay.

BOLUS.

English OAK, w the Spanish SCOURGE.

FROM a small acorn for the *Qæd acis*
Sapiently tall, and to'ring in the skies!
Queen of the groves her stately head she rears,
Her bulk increasing with the length of years;
We've plough'd the fate, a warlike gallant ship,
While in her womb destructive thunder sleeps:
Hence Britain's bonks her wide extended reign,
And by th' expanded acorn rules the main.

On the Operation perform'd on the late Majesty. An Epigram. By Mr. Phillips. In Imitation of Martial.

WHILE *Caroline*, with soul severely great,
 [her face]
Waits for the wound, and from the wound
While all her looks, and words, and actions
 prove,

Métrocal fondness, and essential love:
She sees th' indulgent King upper'd with care,
Heave the fond sigh, and shed the silent tear;
For us, she cries, Oh! cease for us to grieve,
Nor let me torture from thy *love* receive;

Wounds I with ease, with this oft death
 sustain,
Of thy fond grief yet cannot bear the pain;
But for thy grief, I would not breathe a sigh,
Alike resign'd to live, prepar'd to die:
If then through all the future scenes of woe,
Through the last trial *astore* e'er can know,
If I see sign of anguish should reveal,
'Tis not for what I bear, but what you feel!

The TIPLING PHILOSOPHER.

TO M, *judicious*, all the morning thinks,
And all the afternoon he drinks:
A dry way sure is his of thinking,
Which can require less after drinking.

An EPIGRAM.

A Rev'rend sage esteem'd for knowledge,
By all the fellows of the college,
To gaping clowns blabb'd out his notion,
That nothing's in perpetual motion:
Says *Will*, an honest heart, alack!
Sir, you ne'er heard our *Jenny's* clack.

RUSTICUS.

On the DEATH of the QUEEN.

IF that one moment's short subsance can be,
From the pure joys of immortality;
If the triumphant *felicitas* can know,
Or what we say, or what we act below,
Hear all their glorious names of life approv'd,
Their death between'd, their memory below'd:
O *Carolina!* from thy heav'nly throne,
On *Britain's* empire look with pleasure down;
Wile as thy empire did extend, farvey
The grateful tribute that thy people pay;
Love without flattery, favour without art,
Each tongue impartial, and sincere each heart:
Amidst their grief they with fond praise proclaim,
How clear thy honour, and how just thy fame;
With glory how distinguish'd was thy *job*,
Nobly to scorn imperial crowns for trash:
And when, as heav'n's gift, a crown you wore,
That none deserv'd it, none adorn'd it more:
Behov'd and honour'd thro' each various *sub*,
As friend, as wife, as mother, and as queen:
Thy life, of all the learned the *gloria*,
The mild's example, and the matron's *virtus*:
Thy death the *consolatio* and comfort of the *wis*,
Religion's honour, and great virtue's price:
Thus while, O royal shade! thy *Breton* tell,
How much you did in life and death excel;
How fair the circle of your fame compass,
With the same lustre that you rise you set:
While they with unfeign'd grief your loss
 deplore,

No age, nor empire e'er cou'd boast of more;
For never yet in any age was seen
More true a people, or more lov'd a queen.

N. B. We have several Pieces from our Correspondents by us: But as our Magazine for this Month is so taken up with Affairs of great Importance, we hope they will excuse our deferring these Pieces to another Time. The Request never comy to Hand.

THE Monthly Chronologer.

TUESDAY, Nov. 1.



R. Secretary *Walpole* inform'd the *First House* of Commons, that he was commended, by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, to acquaint the House, that his Majesty had been pleas'd to return a most gra-

cious Answer to the Address of this House Which he read in his Place, and after deliver'd at the Table, and the same was again read by Mr. Speaker, and is as followeth,

GEORGE R.

HIS Majesty receiv'd with great Pleasure the Address of the House of Commons, and the repeated Assurances of their Zeal and Attachment to his Person and Government. His Majesty is fully persuad'd, that his faithful Commons will cheerfully grant the necessary Supplies for the Support of his Government: And they may be assur'd of the Continuance of his Majesty's Favour and Protection, and of the Concern which he has always shew'd for the Welfare and Happiness of his People of Ireland.

WEDNESDAY, 9.

This Day the Poll began for the Election of an Alderman for the Ward of *Farringdon Within*, and ended the next Day, when *Henry Marshall*, Esq; was declar'd to have a Majority of 56; whereupon a Scrutiny was demand'd in Favour of Mr. *Selwyn*, and granted; but before the Day appointed for it came, he gave it up.

MONDAY, 14.

This Day the Bridge Lottery began to be drawn at *Stationers Hall*.

SUNDAY, 20.

This Night at Eleven o'Clock died of a Mortification of the Bowels, Her Majesty **WILHELMINA CAROLINA**, Queen Consort of Great Britain, &c. aged 54 Years, & 8 Months, and 20 Days. She was Daughter of *John Frederick*, Marguis of *Brandenburg-Anspach*, by *Eleanor Erdmuth-Louisa*, his second Wife. (Daughter to *John George*, Duke of *Saxe-Eysenach*.) This most excellent Princess was born *March 1, 1682-3*, and was married at *Hanover*, *Aug. 22, 1705*. She was Crowned with his Majesty *Oct. 11, 1727*, had Issue by his Majesty 4 Sons, and 5 Daughters; *viz. Frederick Lewis*, Prince of *Wales*, born *Jan. 20, 1706*; *Anne*, Princess of *Orange*, born *Oct. 22, 1709*; the Princess *Amelia Sophia*, born *May 30, 1711*; the Princess *Caroline-Eliabeth*, born *May 30, 1713*; *William Augustus*, Duke of *Cumberland*, born *April 15, 1721*; the Princess *Mary*, born *Feb. 22, 1723*; the Princess *Louisa*, born *Dec. 7, 1724*; which are

all living: A Prince, dead born, *Nov. 9, 1716*; and *George William*, Duke of *Gloucester*, born *Nov. 2, 1717*, who died *Feb. 6*, following. Her Majesty was taken ill on *Wednesday* the 9th Instant, after she had breakfasted at her Library in the Park. The following Character was given of her in the *General Evening Post*.

The World has not as any Time produc'd an Example of greater Distinction in the several Relations of Life, whether we consider **HIS MAJESTY** as a Queen, a Wife, a Mother, a Mistress, or a Friend.

Tho' her Illness was severe and obnoxious above Measure, and attended with great Pains to herself, it has been the Means of giving us the most exalted Idea of her Virtues, which enabled her to go thro' such a Trial, not only with Submission to the Divine Will; but with a Composure of Temper, and Magnanimity of Spirit, which amazed All that were about her. Every Interval of Ease from her Sufferings, was employ'd in Acts of Devotion; in giving new Proofs of her Tenderness to Those that were most dear to her; in shewing her kindest Regards to her Servants, and manifesting her Zeal for the Welfare of the Publick.

Her Manner of Thinking and Speaking on the many interesting Subjects that possess'd her Soul, and her whole Behaviour from the beginning of her Illness to the fatal Moment in which she expired, was so full of Dignity and Innocence, and withal so natural and unaffected, that 'tis hard to say whether her great Abilities, and all the amiable Qualities which adorn'd her Life, have done more Honour to her Character, than the Circumstances which preceded her Death.

Many Particulars might here be added with the *strictest Truth*, which would give our Readers the most lively Sense of the irreparable Loss these Kingdoms have sustain'd by her Death. But we choose to avoid any Thing that may heighten the real Concern, which appears in all Ranks of People, on this affecting Occasion.

His Majesty a few Days after was graciously pleas'd to sign an Order, that all such Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ladies, as well as Dissenters, that had any Place of Honour or Profit under her late Majesty, should enjoy their respective Salaries, &c. as formerly.

THURSDAY, 24.

Orders were issued from the Lord Chamberlain's Office, for all Peers and Peeresses to appear in Mourning on *Sunday, Dec. 4*: the Ladies to wear Black Bombastinet, plain Cambric Lints, Crisp Hoops, Shanny Shoes

and Gloves, and Craps Fans; and for their Underts dark *Norwich* Craps. The Men to wear Black Cloth, without Buttons on the Sleeves and Pockets, plain Cambrick Cravats and Wespens, Shamy Shoes and Gloves, Craps Hatbands, and black Swords and Bockles.

The Lord Marshal also gave Notice, that it is expected, that all Persons, upon the present Occasion of the Death of her late Majesty, do put themselves into the deepest Mourning (long Cloaks only excepted) and that as well all Lords as Privy Counsellors, and Officers of his Majesty's and her late Majesty's Household, do cover their Coaches, Chariots, and Chaires, and cloath their Livery Servants with Black Cloth.

MONDAY, 28.

Henry Marshall, Esq; was declared Alderman of the Ward of *Farringdon Within*.

MARRIAGES.

SIR *Cordell Firebrace*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for *Suffolk*, to Mrs. *Ewars*, of *Ipswich*, a Widow Lady.

Edward Treloway, Esq; Governor of *Jamaica*, to Miss *Crowford*, Niece to the Countess of *Dartmouth*.

Lord *Cornbury*, to the Hon. Miss *Lee*, Daughter to the Earl of *Litchfield*.

William Fortescue, of *Althorpe*, *Northamptonshire*, Esq; to Miss *Shirley*.

William Tyley, of the *Dominions*, *Wicks*, Esq; to Miss *Christian Arbutnot*, Niece to the Lord *Arbutnot*, of *Scotland*.

DEATHS.

CAPT. *Richard Bolton*, formerly one of the Directors of the *East India* Company, and Commander of one of their Ships.

Rev. Mr. *Walburns*, Sub-Dean of *St. Paul's*.

Louis Barlow, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Oxford* in *Suffolk*.

In the *West Indies*, July 12, the Hon. *John Forrester*, Captain of the *King's* Man of War, Actioned there.

At *Chester*, *John Williams*, sen. Esq;

At *Bristol*, *Henry Walter*, Esq; Alderman of that City.

Robert Tate, Esq; Colonel of the Militia, and Senior Alderman of the said City.

Colonel *John Allen*, of *Barbados*.

Edward Chalmers of *Gisborough*, *Yorkshire*, Esq;

At *Geneva*, *John Bayshaw*, Esq; the *British* Consul there.

Rev. Mr. *Lampugh*, Rector of *Alton* and *Sutton Mandewille*, *Wilts*, and Prebendary of *York* and *Lincoln*.

Robert Brifrow, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Wincoburn*, and Clerk Comptroller to his Majesty's Board of Green Cloth.

The Lady of Sir *Isaac Sbard*, Knt.

Mr. *Joseph Bosby*, Senior General Surveyor of the Exchequer.

William Clarke, Esq; one of the Chief

Clerks of the Crown Office in the Court of *King's-Bench*.

William East, Esq; Member in the last Parliament for *St. Maw's* in *Cornwall*.

Sir *Richard Brocas*, Knt. and Alderman of *Farringdon Within*; who was Lord Mayor

in 1729.—Captain *Peter Douglas*, formerly Commander of the *Deal-Castle* Man of War.

—*Josiah Dixon*, Esq; formerly Member of Parliament for the *Dominions*, *Wicks*, and a Director of the *Bank* and *East-India* Company.

—In *Jamaica*, Captain *James Cornwall*, Commander of a Man of War on the *Guiney* Station, and Member of Parliament for *Wobley*, *Hertfordshire*.

—Rev. Mr. *Scrivens*, Rector of *Church-Lawford* in *Warwickshire*.

—At his Seat at *Milner* in *Suffolk*, *Jacob Bryant*, Esq;—At *Oxford*, the Rev. Mr. *Hodges*, of *Oriel College*, Rector of *Sbington-Mallet* in *Gloucestershire*.

—Rev. Mr. *Aldridge*, of *Henley upon Thames*.

—Rev. Mr. *Edward de Anargus*, Rector of Great *Halingbury* in *Essex*.

—Mr. *Willday*, Master of the great Toyshop near *St. Paul's* Church.

—In *Chesham*, Mr. *Needham*, Linen-Draper to his Majesty.

—Mr. *Poster*, an eminent Linen-Draper in *Newgate-Street*.

—At his Seat near *Ringwood*, in *Hants*, *John Knott Herbert*, Esq;—Right Hon. the Countess of *Bradford*, Relict of *Richard* Earl of *Bradford*, and Mother of the present Earl.

—In *Red-Lion-Street*, *Clerkenwell*, Mr. *Graves*, a noted Builder.

—Rev. Mr. *Frampton*, Fellow of *Clare-Hall*, *Cambridge*.

—The Relict of the Lord *William Poulett*.

—Capt. *William Watson*, formerly in the Service of the *South-Sea* Company.

—Colonel *Broadrip*, one of the Principal Registers of the Prerogative Courts, *Canterbury*, Son-in-Law of the late Archbishop.

—At his Seat near *Croydon*, Sir *John Leigh*, Knt.

—Capt. *Richard Harle*, an eminent Italian Merchant.

—At *Plymouth*, Sir *Nicholas Trounion*, Commissioner of the *Navy*.

—At *Chesham*, in *Oxfordshire*, *George Trevor*, Esq;—Rev. Mr. *Livington*, Vicar of *Muckwell*, *Essex*.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Thomas Gibson* presented to the Vicarage of *Dover* *Caust*, with the Chapel of *Harwich*, *Essex*.

—Mr. *Richard Roberts*, to the Rectory of *Fenchurch*, *Hertfordshire*.

—Mr. *Joseph Key*, to the Vicarage of *Austrup*, in the Diocese of *Litchfield*.

—Mr. *Bourdillon*, to the Rectory of *Pitlerden* in the Diocese of *Bristol*.

—Mr. *Charles Clarke*, to the Rectory of *Bramfield*, *Suffolk*.

—Mr. *Edward Lye*, to the Rectory of *Yardley Huggings*, *Northamptonshire*.

—Mr. *Edward Ward*, to the Living of *Bradfield*, *Suffolk*.

—Mr. *Boney*, appointed Afternoon Preacher at *Berwick-Street* Chapel.

—Mr. *William Nicolls*, presented to the Vicarage of *Swindon*, *Wilts*.

—Mr. *John Head*, to the Rectory of *Burmarsh*, *Kent*.

—Mr. *Richard Clucas*, to the Vicarage of *Bowdley*, *Suffolk*.

646 PROMOTIONS, BANKRUPTS, &c. 1737.

Hawkins, appointed Rector of *St. Mary Hill*, on the Resignation of the Rev. Dr. *Snaph*. — Mr. *John Upton*, presented to the Living of *Woodcuborough*, near *Sandwich*. — Mr. *John Billingsley*, to the Living of *Newington*, near *Oxford*. — Mr. *John Smith*, to the Vicarage of *Sutton*, *Lincolnshire*. — Mr. *George Barnard*, to the Rectory of *Nibbich*, *Hertfordshire*.

Mr. *Treuer*, appointed his Majesty's *Master* at the Court of *Vinona*. — Captain *Forde* made a Captain in the Royal Regiment of Foot commanded by Colonel *St. Clara*. — *Lieut. William Cole* made a Captain in Brigadier General *Anstruther's* Regiment of Foot. — *Sir Seymour Pile*, Bart. made Captain of a Troop in the Royal Regiment of Dragoons.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

GEOURGE Jackson, Esq; made Consul at *Geneva*, in the room of the late *John Bagshaw*, Esq; — Rev. Mr. *Patrick Comming*, appointed King's Professor of Divinity and Church-History in the University of *Edinburgh*, in the room of the late Mr. *Matthew Crawford*. — *William Sands*, Esq; appointed a Captain in the Royal Regiment of Horse, Red, commanded by the Right Hon. the Earl of *Pembroke*. — Dr. *Richardson*, chosen Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*. — *Thomas Wilson*, Esq; appointed one of the chief Clerks of the Privy-Seal, and Court of Requests. — *Monf. Bilderbeck*, appointed chief Secretary of State for *Hanover*, in the room of the late Baron *Hartoff*. — And *Monf. Meyer*, also appointed Secretary of War, in the room of the said Baron. — The Lord *Onslow*, appointed Custos Rotulorum for *Surrey*, in the room of the late Earl of *Berkeley*. — Hon. *Charles Fans*, Esq; appointed to succeed the Earl of *Essex*, as Ambassador to the Court of *Turin*. — Hon.

Persons declared BANKRUPTS.

JOHN Carr, of *St. Clement Dunes, Middlesex*, Druggist. — *Josiah Johnson*, of *St. Ann's Lime-boufe*, Dealer in Pitch, Tar, and Turpentine. — *Wales Curry*, of *Old Southampton Buildings*, Broker and Chapman. — *Joseph Croser* the Elder, of *Water Lane, London*, Victualler and Chapman. — *Edward Davin*, late of *Abingbury, Kentshire*, leaseholder. — *David Brown*, of *London*, Merchant. — *William Newland* and *William Glack*, of *Dapford*, Malt Distillers and Partners. — *Joseph Graving*, of *Bourton on the Hill*, in the County of *Gloucester*, Chapman. — *Abraham Lindberg*, of *Goodman's Fields*, Merchant. — *Edward Butt*, of *Whitechapel*, Grocer and Chapman. — *Jam. Panny*, late of *St. James Westminster*, Brandy-Merchant. — *John Dickinson*, of *Piccadilly*, Linendraper. — *Thomas Thorood*, of *Bedford Street* in *Covent-Garden*, Laceman. — *John Beate*, late of *Whitehall*, Vintner. — *Anthony Kibberville*, late of *Bristol*, Merchant. — *Robert Hamond*, of *Roff Greenwich*, Lime-Merchant and Chapman.

Prices of Stocks, &c. towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 101 $\frac{1}{2}$	Afric. 14
— Bonds 3 10	Royal Aff. 110 $\frac{1}{2}$
— Annu. 111 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$	Lon. ditto 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
Bank 142 $\frac{1}{2}$ a 3	3 per C. An. 106 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
— Circ. 10 a 12 6	Eng. Copper
Mil. Bank 121 $\frac{1}{2}$	Salt Talties 1 a 4
India 176 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$	Emp. Loan 110 $\frac{1}{2}$
— Bonds 6 17 a 7	Equiv. 112

The Courfe of EXCHANGE.

Ams. 35 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Bilboa 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ a 39
D. Sigs 34 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	Legborn 49 $\frac{1}{2}$ a 4
Rotter. 35 1	Genoa 52 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hamb. 34 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Venice 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
P. Sigs 32 $\frac{1}{2}$	Lisb. 55 5d $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
Bourdx. 32	Oport. 55 5d $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
Cadiz 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$	Antw. 35 3
Madrid 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$	Dublin 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat 29 32	Oates 12 14
Rye 13 17	Tares 29 24
Barley 14 18	Pease 20 28
H. Beans 20 24	H. Pease 16 17
P. Malt 20 24	B. Malt 17 18

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Oct. 25. to Nov. 22.

Christned	Males 606	} 1209	
	Females 603		
Buried	Males 1150	} 2400	
	Females 1250		
Died under 2 Years old		790	
Between 2 and 5		166	
	5	10	84
	10	20	68
	20	30	220
	30	40	253
	40	50	272
	50	60	219
	60	70	156
	70	80	114
	80	90	54
	90 and upwards		7

Hay 48 to 54 a Load.

On the 6th of August last the *Grand Seigneur's* Master of the Horse, arrived in the Camp of the *Grand Ottoman Army* near *Syabın* on the North Side of the *Danube*; and soon after his Arrival, he delivered to the *Prime Vizier* the *Grand Seigneur's* Order for diverting him of his Office; after which he went and summoned the *Divan*, consisting of the *Aga* of the *Janissaries* and the *Babawis* who were then with the Army. About 5 o' Clock in the Evening the *Kiaja* was sent for; and upon his Arrival the Master of the Horse pulled another Order out of his Bosom, whereby the *Grand Seigneur* appointed the *Aga* of the *Janissaries*, *Kaimacan*, and committed all Affairs to his Discretion, till the Arrival of a new *Prime Vizier*. Then addressing himself to the *Kiaja*, ask'd him several Questions, the last of which was, whether he had always obeyed the *Grand Seigneur's* Orders? To which the other answering, very well, replied the Master of the Horse, and taking a Paper out of his Bosom, said, obey then this Order also, which I now deliver to you. The *Kiaja* received it with Respect, and kissed it after the Manner of the *Turks*, then reading it, found it to be an Order from the *Grand Seigneur* for his Execution in the most reproachful Manner, viz. To have his Head cut off without his being first Strangled, and in open View before the Executioner's Tent where the common Criminals are usually executed. The *Kiaja* could not dispute his being put to Death, but as he was a *Janissary*, he insisted upon their Privileges, which were granted; and accordingly he was carried under a Tent, where he fell upon his Knees, took his furred Coat off himself, and put the Bowstring about his Neck with his own Hands, which two Men pulled at each End till he was strangled: After he was dead, the Skin of his Head was stripped off, in order to be pickled and stuffed with Cotton, and then to be sent to *Constantinople* and put up over the *Seraglio*. All his Domesticks were immediately seized and imprisoned, and all his Estate and Effects confiscated for the Use of the *Grand Seigneur*; so that this Man who was in the Morning one of the greatest and happiest Men in the *Ottoman* Empire, was before Night tried, condemned, executed, and his Estate forfeited; and all this perhaps, without his having been guilty of any extraordinary Crime; except that of having disoblighed an extraordinary Favourite at Court; for in absolute Monarchies, this is the only Crime for which a great Man can be punished.

About the Beginning of last Month we had Accounts from *Santa Cruz* in *Barbary*, that a bloody Battle has been lately fought between *Muley Abdalla* and *Muley Laribba*, the two contending Emperors of *Morocco*, in which the former obtained a complete Victory, and

has thereby, 'tis thought, established himself in the Throne of that Empire, which has been for several Years exposed to all the Misfortunes and Cruelties of a Civil War; the usual and almost never failing Consequence of the Demise of every Sovereign, in those Monarchies where no fixed Rule of Succession is established.

Since our last we have had Accounts of several Advantages gained by the *Turks* over the *Germans* in *Hungary*; the most considerable of which are, that a Battalion of *Wolfenbuttle*, which was in Garrison in a Fort near *Orsova*, has been cut in Pieces by the *Turks*, after having bravely sustained three successive Attacks; that another Body of near 2000 *Germans* in *Wallachia*, were intercepted upon their March, and defeated by a Body of 5000 *Turks*, and that *Nissa* has been retaken by the *Turks* as easily as it was taken from them the Beginning of this Summer by the *Germans*. These Successes have raised the Courage of the *Ottomans* so much, that they have recalled their Plenipotentiaries from *Nimrow*; so that the Congress at that Place is entirely broke up; and the *Muscovite* Army being retired to Winter Quarters, the *Turks* begin to talk of laying Siege to *Ochakov*, notwithstanding its being now the Winter Season; for which Purpose a Body of 30,000 Men, 20,000 whereof are *Janissaries*, began their March the 30th. of September from *Bender* towards *Ochakov*; and on Oct. 4. Count *Bonneval*, who is to command the Siege, arrived at *Bender*, where he was received with great Marks of Honour by the *Babaw*, and with the general Acclamations of the People and Army, who seem to put a great Confidence in his Conduct, which is generally a sure Step towards Victory; for this Confidence generally makes an Army despise their Enemy, and such an Army, commanded by a General who never does so, seldom fails of Success.

A few Days after Count *Sachsen* arrived at *Vienna*, from the *Imperial* Army he had commanded last Summer in *Hungary*. Certain Articles of Misconduct were exhibited against him, to which his Answer not having been thought sufficient, he was confined to his House; and a grand Council of War, at which the Emperor was present, having been held Oct. 23. it was therein resolved to lay the Count under a more strict and secure Confinement; whereupon a Guard of Soldiers was put into his House, an Officer ordered to be always in the Room with him, and three Centries with their Bayonets screwed placed in the Antichamber; with Orders not to allow him to speak to any Person but in the Presence of the Officer; only his Lady is allowed to keep him Company, on Condition she shall not stir out of the Room, or converse with any other Person.

HISTORICAL.

1. THE History and Antiquities of the Jews in England. By D. Tovey, L. L. D. Oxford, Printed for J. Fletcher, and sold by C. Rivington, 4to, pr. 12s. few'd.
2. An Historio Geographical Description of the North and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia. With an entire new Polygot Table of the Dialects of 32 Tartarian Nations. Adorn'd with Variety of Cuts. Translated into English. Printed for Mess. Inys and Manby, Brotherton, Hansard, Meadows, Cox, Aspley, Austen, Gilliver, and Corbet, 4to, price 15s.
3. The ancient History of the Egyptians, &c. By M. Rollin. Vol. XI. Printed for Mess. Knappes, 8vo, price 5s.
4. The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope. The 2d Edition. Printed for Mess. Inys and Manby, price 10s.

LAW.

5. Cases adjudg'd in the Court of King's Bench, from the 2d Year of K. William III. to the End of his Reign. Printed for H. Lintot, Folio, price 1l. 10s.
6. Ld. C. J. Coke's Commentary upon Littleton. Printed for R. Gosling and H. Lintot, Folio, price 1l. 10s.
7. An Historical View of the Exchequer. Printed for T. Waller, 8vo, price 3s. 6d.
8. The New Returns Brevium. The 3d Edition. Printed for T. Waller, 8vo, pr. 5s.
9. City Liberties. The second Edition, Printed for Mess. Fox, 8vo, price 3s. 6d.
10. The Law and Practice of Fines and Recoveries. By R. Manby, Gent. Printed for J. Worrall, 8vo, price 5s.
11. The Civil Law in its natural Order, Written in French by M. Domat, and translated into English by W. Strahan, L. L. D. The 2d Edition, with large Additions. In two Vols. Folio, price 2l. 10s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

12. A compleat Concordance to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. In two Parts. By A. Cruden, M. A. 4to, pr. 18s.
13. The Art of Painting, in all its Branches, Translated by J. P. Frisib. N° 1. Sold by J. Huggonson, 4to, price 1s.
14. The Army's Regulator. By J. Railton. Sold by W. Sharpsire, pr. 2s. 6d. Hitch'd.
15. An Introduction of the antient Greek and Latin Measures into British Poetry. Printed for T. Cooper, price 1s.
16. Miscvian Letters. Translated from the French, by W. Misgraves, Esq; Printed for E. Curll, 8vs., price 5s. few'd.
17. Measuring completed. By J. Wood.

18. Sold by J. Brindley and J. Ofswald, 12mo, price 2s. 6d.
 18. The Philosophy of Love. Translated into English by Mr. Lockman. Printed for J. Hawkins, price 6d.
 19. Burnet's Travels. By G. Burnet, D. D. Sold by G. Anderson, 12mo, pr. 3s.
 20. The Young Man's best Companion. By G. Fisher. The 4th Edition. Printed for Mess. Battsworth, Hitch, Wars, Clarke, Birt, and Hodges, 12mo, price 2s. 6d.
 21. Dyche's Guide to the English Tongue. The 23d Edition. Printed for R. Ware, pr. 1s.
 22. Familiar Letters. By J. Howard, Esq. The 10th Edition, 8vo, price 6s.
 23. The English Spelling-Book. By J. Collyer. The 5th Ed. Printed for S. Birt, pr. 1s.
- PLAYS and POETRY.

24. The City Farce. Sold by J. Roberts, price 1s.
25. The Mifer's Feast. By G. Ogle, Esq. Printed for R. Dodsley, price 1s.
26. The Tears of the Muses. Printed for T. Ward, price 1s.
27. The Dragon of Wanley. Printed for J. Suttburgh, price 6d.
28. Georgii Buchananii, Poetarum sui seculi facile Principia, Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica. Venae prostant apud J. Davidson, 8vo, price 7s. 6d.

SERMONS.

29. The Union and Harmony of Reason, Morality, and revealed Religion: A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's on Sunday, Feb. 27, 1736-7. The 4th Edition. By W. Harris, M. A. of St. Mary Hall in Oxford. Printed for L. Gilliver and J. Clarke, price 6d. N. B. The Demand for this Edition occasioned its being printed off without the Author's correcting the Press; however, it is hoped there are few or no literal Errors.
30. A Sermon preached before the Sons of the Clergy within the Diocese of Durham. By E. Teve, D. D. Printed for J. Clarke, pr. 6d.
31. A Sermon occasion'd by the Death of Mrs. Wood. By W. Langford. Printed for J. Davidson, price 6d.
32. A Sermon preached at the Old Jewry, March 2, 1736-7. By S. Wright, D. D. Printed for R. Hett, price 6d.
33. An Ordination Sermon preached at Wisbeach. By P. Daddridge, D. D. Printed for R. Hett and J. Ofswald, price 1s.
34. An Ordination Sermon preached in Nightingale-Lane. By Dr. Hadfield. Printed for J. Davidson, price 6d.

ERRAT. In our last, Page 521, Col. 1. the List of Speakers in the Debate upon the Army, read as follows, viz. The Motion which introduced this Debate was made by Sir W—, T—, seconded by T— A—, Esq; and supported chiefly by Sir R— W—, Lt—, F—x, Esq; H—y F—x, Esq; the L—d G—y, G—z S—s, Esq; and H—y P—m, Esq; The Motion was opposed first by the L—d M—t, and afterwards chiefly by W—m P—y, Esq; W—r P—r, Esq; T—s L—s, Esq; J—n P—t, Esq; the L—d C—y, the L—d P—b, and the M—t of the R—lla. As this Errat. is, we suppose, copied in the Country man's Magazine for this Month, we desire he will give his Readers Notice of it in his Magazine for next Month.—P. 579, Col. 2, l. 40, read 40,000. l. 46. read 5,000,000. In this



T H E

LONDON MAGAZINE.

DECEMBER, 1737.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES of the last Session of PARLIAMENT, continued from Page 628.



IN our last we gave the Substance of the Debate on Sir *Y—n B—d*'s Motion for enabling his Majesty to open Books for taking in Subscriptions in *South-Sea* Annuities or Money at 3 per Cent. in order to redeem such of the said *South-Sea* Annuitants, as should not agree to accept of that Interest; towards the End of which Debate *T—n, W—n, Esq;* stood up, as we then mentioned, (*See Page 628.*) and spoke to the Effect, as follows, *viz.*

Sir, Whether a further Reduction of Interest, natural or legal, may tend towards the Benefit or the Disadvantage of the Nation in general, or whether the natural Interest of Money, lent upon publick Securities, be below 3 per Cent. are Questions which I shall not at present give you the Trouble of enquiring into; but if both be resolved in the Affirmative, which every Gentleman must do, who is for agreeing to what is now proposed, I can see no Reason for our confining our Resolution, or the Scheme depending thereon, to *South-Sea* Annuities only. For if a further Reduction of Interest must

prove a Benefit to the Nation in general; we ought to extend that Benefit as far as we can suppose it will go; and if the natural Interest of Money upon publick Securities, be below 3 per Cent. it is not, in my Opinion, to be questioned, but the other Creditors of the Publick will be as ready to accept of 3 per Cent. irredeemable for 14 Years, as the *South-Sea* Annuitants.

For this Reason, Sir, if we come to any Resolution for enabling his Majesty to open such Books of Subscription as have been mentioned, that Resolution ought, I think, to be general; it ought to comprehend all the other publick Creditors, as well as the *South-Sea* Annuitants: But, Sir, there is another very strong Reason for making our Resolution general, which is, that a particular Resolution with respect to the *South-Sea* Annuitants only, will, in my Opinion, be partial, and consequently unjust, let us consider it in what View we please; for that Resolution must be advantageous, or it must be disadvantageous to the *South-Sea* Annuitants: If we look upon it as a Resolution that may be advantageous to them, it will be shewing a Partiality in their Favour, and will consequent-

ly be doing an Injustice to the rest of our Creditors; and on the other Hand, if we look upon it as a Resolution that may be disadvantageous for them, it will then be shewing a Partiality to our other Creditors, and will consequently be a Piece of Injustice done towards the *South-Sea* Annuitants.

From these Considerations, Sir, I think, if we come to any Resolution or Resolutions for redeeming any of our publick Funds, and for enabling his Majesty to borrow Money at 3 per Cent. for that Purpose, we ought to come to a Resolution, to redeem all the publick Funds redeemable by Law, that now carry an Interest at 4 per Cent. per Annum; and then we may come to another Resolution for enabling his Majesty to borrow Money at 3 per Cent. for that Purpose.

These, Sir, are my Sentiments with respect to the Affair now under our Consideration; and if the House seems to approve of them, I shall then rise up and move for such Resolutions, as, I think, we ought to come to, agreeable to these Sentiments.

To this it was answered by Sir J—n B—and others, in Substance as follows, viz.

Sir, There are two Methods of defeating any Scheme or Proposition offered to this House, both of which have been often practised with Success. One is the plain, blunt Way of putting a Negative upon it at once; and the other, which has likewise been practised in former Parliaments, is what we may call a Sort of parliamentary Play, which is, by making such Improvements upon it as must necessarily render it abortive. I am far from thinking the Hon. Gentleman has any such Intention with respect to the Improvement he has now offered; but there is an old and a true Proverb, *Grasp at all, lose all*. We have been told by several Gentlemen in this Debate, that the

Scheme as first proposed would certainly prove impracticable in the Execution; and if there was the least Foundation for such Apprehensions; surely that Foundation must be very much widened, and rendered at the same Time more solid, by the Improvement that has been now offered. Our *South-Sea* Annuitants, both old and new amount to about 24 Millions, only; all our redeemable Funds bearing an Interest of 4 per Cent. amount to above 44 Millions; and will any Gentleman say, but that it may be easy for the Government to borrow Money at 3 per Cent. sufficient for paying off such of the Proprietors of 24 Millions, as are not willing to accept of that Interest, and yet it may be found very difficult for them to borrow Money at 3 per Cent. sufficient for paying off such of the Proprietors of 44 Millions as may not be willing to accept of that Interest?

If you resolve, Sir, to apply all the Money you can borrow at 3 per Cent. only to the redeeming of such of the *South-Sea* Annuitants, as will not accept of that Interest, all the Annuitants may be of Opinion, you can borrow as much Money as will be sufficient for that Purpose, which will of Course make all or most of them come in and subscribe their Annuities at that Interest; so that you will have no Occasion for applying any or but very little of the Money you borrow, towards redeeming any of the *South-Sea* Annuitants, and may therefore apply almost the whole Money you borrow, towards redeeming the Proprietors of your other Funds, who will not accept of 3 per Cent. upon any Terms you please to offer; whereas if you make that Resolution general, if you resolve to apply the Money you can borrow at 3 per Cent. towards redeeming the Proprietors of all your Funds which now bear an Interest of 4 per Cent. who will not accept of 3; not only the Proprietors of your other Funds, but even most

If the *South-Sea* Annuitants may be of Opinion, it will not be in your Power to borrow so much Money at 3 per Cent. as will be near sufficient for that Purpose; and thus the Fear of being redeemed being confined to a very few, you can expect but few Subscriptions in Stock or Annuities at an Interest of 3 per Cent. Thus it appears evident, in my Opinion, that the farther you extend your Scheme, the less Benefit you can expect from it; the more you confine it, the more general and the more certain will your Success be.

However, Sir, as it has been made appear in this Debate, that all our Funds are at an Interest below 3 per Cent. as our 3 per Cent. publick Securities now bear a Premium in *Change-Alley*; and as the Intention of the Scheme at first was only to afford an Opportunity to those who are willing to lend at 3 per Cent. of having a publick Security for their Money at Par, instead of being obliged to pay a Premium for it in *Change-Alley*, and to afford an Opportunity to such of the *South-Sea* Annuitants, as are willing to accept of 3 per Cent. for their Money, instead of having 4, and being subjected to the Trouble and Loss of receiving and replacing so much of their Capital yearly; or every other Year; the small Success of the Scheme can be of no Prejudice to the Nation, but on the contrary, the least Success that can be supposed, will be a Benefit; for if but 1 Million in Stock and Money should be subscribed, the Nation will thereby save 10000 l. a Year; therefore rather than not have the Assistance of the Hon. Gentleman who has made you this Proposition, and of his Friends, I shall be for agreeing to the Improvement he has been pleas'd to propose; but I hope the Hon. Gentleman and his Friends will remember, that the Scheme thus amended becomes properly their own Scheme, and that they will not afterwards endeavour

to put a Negative upon the Scheme they have thus made their own.

The Scheme, even as thus amended, Sir, may turn out to be of signal Advantage to the Nation; but if that be true which has been hinted in this

A Debate, by some of those Gentlemen who oppos'd the first Motion, I must confess, the Amendment would be dangerous. It has been insinuated, that all the publick Creditors will join in concerting Measures for defeating the Scheme, that is to say, they will

B join in concerting Measures for distressing their Country, in order that they may extort a higher Interest from her, than she would otherwise be obliged to pay. This, Sir, is, 'tis true, a Practice too frequent among petty, private Usurers; but I

C hope none of the Creditors of the Publick will ever deserve such a Name; for if it were possible to suppose them devoid of all Love for their Country, their own Interest must suggest a contrary Behaviour: Their own Prosperity depends upon the Prosperity of their Country; even

D the Security of their Principal, as well as Interest, depends upon the Prosperity of their Debtor, which can seldom or ever be the Case of private Borrowers and Lenders; therefore, we cannot suppose the Creditors of the Publick will ever join unanimously in concerting any such Measure.

E But if any such Thing were to be dreaded, they will surely join more unanimously against the Scheme as thus amended, than it can be supposed they would have done against the Scheme as first propos'd. When a

F Nation has been offended by several of her Neighbours, if she declares War against them all at once, she will certainly unite them all together against her, and may probably involve herself in Ruin, instead of obtaining that Reparation which she

G might easily have obtained, if she had attacked them one after another. The Case is the same; If we resolve to

reduce only a Part of our publick Funds to a lower Interest, the Proprietors of the other Funds not being in the same Circumstances, will never join with them in the same Measures; but if we resolve to reduce them all at once, it brings them all into the same Circumstances, and will, consequently, make them all join in the same Measures. This, I say, Sir, would be the Case, if it could be supposed the Creditors of the Publick would ever join in any Measures for distressing their Country: In that Case we ought to look on them as publick Enemies, and then we ought in good Policy to take all possible Care not to unite them, by attacking them all at once; but I shall never look upon the publick Creditors as publick Enemies, nor shall I ever look upon an Endeavour to borrow Money at a low Interest as an Attack, even upon that Part of them who are by means of that Money to be paid off. Quite otherwise, I shall always look upon the publick Creditors as publick Friends; therefore, I must suppose they will join in Measures for rendering effectual a Scheme calculated for giving an Basis to their Country; and that the more general the Intention of that Scheme is, the more generally, and the more unanimously, they will contribute towards its Success. This, we ought in Charity to suppose, with regard to the publick Creditors in general, whatever may be the Behaviour of some few of them; and upon this Supposition, I can apprehend no Danger from the Improvement, or rather Enlargement, proposed.

With regard to the Justice and Impartiality of the Scheme, I am surprized, Sir, to hear it questioned by any Gentleman who considers the publick Good, or the different Circumstances of our several publick Creditors. The Scheme, as first proposed, will, in my Opinion, be of great Advantage to all the *South-Sea*

Annuitants. An Annuity of 3 per Cent. for their Money, irredeemable for 14 Years, is a Situation which, I am sure, is highly preferable to their present; but this is an Advantage we ought not, for the Sake of publick Good, to grant to any of the other publick Creditors, if we can avoid it; it is an Advantage the *South-Sea* Annuitants deserve more than the Generality of our other Creditors; and it is an Advantage which can breed no Confusion among those Annuitants; whereas the granting it to any other Set of publick Creditors might breed great Confusion among them. As to the publick Good, we must consider, that most of our other Creditors enjoy great exclusive Privileges in Trade, by Means of the Debt due to them; and as it may, in a few Years, be found necessary for the publick Good, to destroy, or put an End to that exclusive Privilege, therefore we ought not, for the Sake of publick Good, to grant them an irredeemable Term of 14 Years, if we can possibly avoid it, which we may do, if all the *South-Sea* Annuitants should agree to accept of 3 per Cent. and great Sums in ready Money should likewise be subscribed at that Interest. From hence every Man must see a good Reason for not granting this Advantage to the other publick Creditors in general; but with respect to the Bank in particular, it would be Madness and very great Partiality to grant it to them; because their Term expires in 6 Years, so that it would be granting them a Continuance of their Term for 8 Years, which is worth above 800,000*l.* in present Money, and that for no particular Consideration at all; for the Reduction of Interest from 4 to 3 per Cent. is a Consideration granted by the other Creditors, as well as by them, tho' none of the other Creditors are to receive any such Advantage.

Then, Sir, as to the particular Circumstances

cumstances of the *South-Sea* Annuity-ants, every one knows they enjoy no Advantage or Profit from the Money they have lent to the Publick, but merely that Annuity or yearly Interest paid them by the Publick; whereas the Proprietors of our three great Companies have all along enjoyed, and do still enjoy, the Advantage of an exclusive Trade, by which all of them have made, and *two* of them do still make a large annual Profit, besides that Annuity or yearly Interest paid them by the Publick; therefore, if any new Advantage is to be granted to any of our publick Creditors, which ought not to be granted to all, if it can be avoided, surely the *South-Sea* Annuity-ants have the best Title to that new Advantage. And suppose one Half of the *South-Sea* Annuity-ants should agree to accept of 3 per Cent, and the other Half should not; and that the Money Subscriptions should amount to no more than 2, or 3 Millions; in that Case it would be impossible for the Publick to pay off at once, all the Annuity-ants standing out; the only Thing that could be done, would be to pay them their 4 per Cent. yearly, and to apply the Sinking Fund towards them only, till they should all be paid off: With respect to the *South-Sea* Annuity-ants, this might be easily done, by dividing them into four Classes, *two* of old and new Annuities at 3 per Cent, or if you please you might make but one of both these; and *two* of old and new Annuities at 4 per Cent, in which Case all future Payments might be applied to the *two* latter, without breeding any Confusion or causing any Disputes: But, suppose this to be the Case of the Stockholders of our Trading Companies; it would breed great Confusion among them, with regard to the Method of dividing the future Profits of their Trade, and it would cause great Disputes; for the Proprietors of Stock at 4 per Cent,

might insist, they had a Right to a greater Share of the Profits of their Trade, than those at 3 per Cent, especially if it be true that the Annuity paid to these Companies by the Publick, enables them to increase their Trade; and even after the 4 per Cent. were all paid off, they might insist upon their Share of the Profits by Trade, as long as the Company continued; in the same Manner as the present Proprietors of *East-India* Stock might insist upon having their Profits by Trade divided among them, proportionably to their respective Shares, tho' the Debt due to them by the Publick should be all immediately paid off.

From these Observations, Sir, it will appear, that the Favour designed by the Scheme, as first offered, to be shewn particularly to the *South-Sea* Annuity-ants; proceeds from a Regard for the publick Good, from a Regard for their superior Merit, and from a proper Caution not to breed any Confusion, or Dispute among our other publick Creditors; and can any Gentleman say, that a Favour founded upon such substantial Reasons, is either partial or unjust? Therefore, if we suppose the Scheme advantageous for the *South-Sea* Annuity-ants, we cannot accuse it of any Partiality or Injustice; and we cannot suppose it disadvantageous to any such Annuity-ant, because, if he does not like the Terms proposed, he may continue in the same Condition he is in at present; he may continue to enjoy his 4 per Cent. till his Capital be paid off, and I hope no Annuity-ant expects to enjoy it any longer, or imagine it is doing Injustice to him; so that the Publick in a Way of paying him off sooner. After what I have said, Sir, it may be supposed, that I am against agreeing to the Amendment or Enlargement proposed; and if I were, it would not be without good Reasons; for

for it is certainly inconsistent with the publick Good to grant a Term of 14 Years irredeemable to any of our Trading Companies, if we could any way avoid it; and, I am sure, it is inconsistent with the publick Good, to make a Present to the Bank of above 800,000*l.* which will be the Case, if we grant them a Prolongation of their Term for eight Years without any Consideration; and, lastly, I cannot think it very consistent with the publick Good to run the Risk of breeding a Confusion and Dispute among any of our publick Creditors: But as my Hopes of Success depend entirely upon the hearty Concurrence of the honourable Gentleman and his Friends, I am for agreeing to what he has been pleased to propose; because the first two Disadvantages must, I find, be submitted to, and the last will, I hope, be prevented, by each of our Companies coming to a Resolution in their respective general Courts, to accept of 3 *per Cent.* upon the Terms offered, by which all Confusion and Dispute among their Proprietors will be prevented; therefore I hope the Honourable Gentleman will again rise up, and move for such Resolutions as may be agreeable to what he has proposed.

This was the Substance of what was said upon this new Topick; and there being no Occasion for any Reply, the following Resolution was moved for and agreed to, *viz.*

That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that all the publick Funds redeemable by Law, which carry an Interest of 4 *per Cent. per Annum*, be redeemed according to the respective Provisoes or Clauses of Redemption contained in the Acts of Parliament for that Purpose, or (with Consent of the Proprietors) be converted into an Interest or Annuity not exceeding 3 *per Cent. per Annum*, not redeemable till after 14 Years.

In Consequence of this, the following Resolution was moved for and likewise agreed to, *viz.*

That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that his Majesty be enabled to borrow from any Person or Persons, Bodies polittick or corporate, any Sum or Sums of Money at an Interest not exceeding 3 *per Cent.* to be applied towards redeeming the national Debt.

On Wednesday, March 30, these Resolutions were reported by Sir Charles Turner to the House; and the first Resolution being read a second Time, and a new Debate arising, a Motion was made for adjourning the further Consideration of the said Report till Thursday, April 14; but upon the Question's being put, it was carried in the Negative.

Then an Amendment to the Resolution was proposed by G—l W—de, and seconded by W—r P—r, Esq; *viz.* That instead of the Words, *not exceeding 3 per Cent. per Annum*, the Words, *not exceeding 3 and 1/2 per Cents per Annum*, should be inserted. Upon which S—l S—s, Esq; took Notice, That the Amendment proposed was such a one as could not be made upon a Report; because it was for a larger Sum annually than what they had agreed to in the Committee; and that therefore, if they had a Mind to allow a higher Interest than 3 *per Cent.* they must recommit the Resolution. Whereupon Mr. P—r said, That, as had before been taken Notice of *, the Affairs depending in that House had, he found, occasioned so much Gaming in *Change Alley*, that if the Amendment he had seconded, could not be agreed to upon the Report, he would be against recommitting; because he was for having the Affair determined some way or other with as great Expedition as possible, in order to put

* By T—s G—s, Esq; upon the Motion for Adjourning.

Stop to that infamous Practice of Stockjobbing.

Nevertheless, a Motion was made for recommitting; but upon the Question's being put, it was, upon a Division, carried in the Negative by 220 to 157.

After which, both the Resolutions were agreed to, and Sir *John Barnard*, Mr. *Wortley*, and the *Master of the Rolls*, were ordered to prepare and bring in a Bill upon the Resolutions so agreed to.

The chief Speakers in these Debates in the Committee and upon the Report, for the Reduction, were, Sir *J—s B—nd*, the *M—r* of the *R—lls*, *E—nd W—y M—gu*, *Esq*; *J—s H—ve*, *Esq*; *T—s G—rs*, *Esq*; *S—l S—ys*, *Esq*; &c. and the chief Speakers against the Reduction were, Mr. *A—n H—te*, *P—r B—l*, *Esq*; *S—l H—n*, *Esq*; Sir *C—ls W—r*, *G—l W—de*, *J—s O—pe*, *Esq*; *R—t K—t*, *Esq*; &c. and Sir *R—t W—le*, who spoke not so much against the Reduction, as against its

a Motion for another Resolution, which I take to be a natural Consequence of the two Resolutions we have now agreed to; but before I make you the Motion I intend, I shall take the Liberty to make some Observations upon the Nature of Trade in general; and in the first Place, I must observe, that natural Commodities, however valuable, by which I mean such as are produced without any great Art or Industry of the People, are never of any great Service to a Country, because they maintain no great Number of Subjects, nor enrich many Individuals, The Gold and Silver of the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Settlements in *America* are Commodities of great Value; but as they are produced by the Labour of Slaves, and enrich only the King and a few great Lords, they have rather diminished than increased the Power and the Riches of both those Kingdoms; the Reason of which is, because they maintain no great Number of industrious Subjects, in which the Power of a Country consists; and the Riches that belong entirely to the King, or to a few great Men, are generally wasted in Luxury and Extravagance, or employed in ambitious Projects, which no way tend to the publick Good of the Country. This prevents the Increase of natural born Subjects, and renders such as they have lazy, idle, and extravagant; so that those very Riches, which are brought in by the Labour of their Slaves, they are every Year obliged to send out, for purchasing the Necessaries of Life, or such Things as are proper for supporting their Luxury.

being then a proper Time for undertaking such a Scheme. As soon as this Bill was ordered to be brought in, Sir *J—s B—nd* stood up, and after making a short Speech, moved, 'That that House would, as soon as the Interest of all the national redeemable Debt should be reduced to 3*l.* per Cent. per Annum, take off some of the heavy Taxes, which oppress the Poor and the Manufacturers.'

Upon this Motion there ensued a Debate, in which the Arguments for the Motion were to the Effect as follows, *viz.*

Sir, As the Increase, or rather the Revival of our Trade, is one of the chief Ends intended by the Resolutions we have now agreed to, and as the Prosperity of Trade depends as much upon the low Rate of Wages as upon the low Rate of Interest, I shall beg Leave to make you

From hence we may see, Sir, that the only Commodities proper for increasing or supporting the Power and the Riches of a Country, are those which are produced by the Art and Industry of the Inhabitants. The Production or Manufacture, and Sale or Exchange, of such Commodities

is that only which can properly be called Trade; and of such Commodities no Country can have any great Quantity, unless they can sell them cheaper than any of their Neighbours can sell Commodities of the same Kind and Goodness. Now as the original Materials of all such Commodities are to be got by the People of all Countries, at pretty near the same Price, the Difference between the Price of such Commodities when work'd up in one Country, and the Price of them when work'd up in another, must always depend upon the Price of Labour; that is to say, the Wages given to Workmen and Servants; for no such Commodities can be sold so cheap by the People of a Country where the Wages given to Workmen and Servants are high, as Commodities of the same Kind and Goodness may be sold by the People of a Country where the Wages given to Workmen and Servants are low; but in all Countries the Price of Labour, or the Wages given to Workmen and Servants, must depend upon the Price of those Provisions which are necessary for their convenient Support; I say, Sir, their convenient Support; for even the poorest Workman must and will have some of the Conveniencies of Life; and that Country where the usual Price of Labour can afford the Labourers most of the Conveniencies of Life, will always at last come to have the greatest Number of Workmen, in all Sorts of Trade and Manufacture. A Glut of Business, or a Scarcity of Workmen, may sometimes occasion the Wages of Workmen and Servants to be higher in one Country than another; but if the Price of the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life be equal in both, the Workmen will by Degrees leave the Country where Wages are low, and repair to that Country where Wages are high; by which Means the Price of Labour in both

Countries will at last be brought upon a Par: This will always be the Case where the Price of the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life is the same in both Countries; but if the Price of the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life, by Accident or bad Measures, become dearer in one Country than in another, and continue so for some Time, in that Country where such Necessaries and Conveniencies are dearest, the Price of Labour must rise, or their Workmen and Servants will all leave them; for tho' the Desire to live in their native Country may keep them at home for some Time, and may make them chuse to live much more sparingly by their Labour at home, than they could do by the same Labour in another Country, yet some will be every Year deserting, and the more that have deserted, the greater Encouragement will those that remain have to desert; so that the Desertion must necessarily and inevitably at last become general.

This, I say, Sir, will certainly be the Event, if the Price of Labour, or the Wages of Workmen, are not raised in Proportion as the Price of the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life rises in any Country; and if the Price of Labour be raised higher in one Country than it is in another, we may easily see what will be the necessary Consequence. As the Price of the original Materials of all Sorts of Commodities produced by the Art and Industry of the People, is pretty much the same in all Countries, those Commodities may be sold cheaper by the People of that Country where the Price of Labour is cheap, than they can be by the People of that Country where the Price of Labour is dear; the necessary Consequence of which must be, that the former, by underselling, will first beat the latter out of all foreign Markets, and at last even out of their own home Market; for tho' a Country may by

severe Laws and high Penalties, for some Time, prevent the Importation of those foreign Commodities which are of the same Nature with their own, yet the Execution of such Laws will at last become so grievous to the People, that it must either be neglected or the Laws repealed; because the People can never be persuaded it is a Crime to buy at the cheapest Hand, nor can they bear to see their fellow Countrymen punished for what they think no Crime: They neither will nor can enquire into the Causes of the Dearth of such Commodities in their own Country, but will think it proceeds from the Covetousness of those concerned in the Trade; therefore such Laws always have produced, and always will at last produce Murmuring and Insurrections among the People; so that the Government at last will be obliged, for the Sake of Quiet, to let the People buy where they best can; and this Liberty will put a full Stop to any Manufactures that may then be remaining among them.

There are many other Considerations, Sir, which contribute towards rendering Trade more flourishing in one Country than another; such as a happy Constitution of Government, and good Laws and Customs for securing the Liberty and Property of the Subject; a Regard and Esteem shewn by the Laws for Merchants and Tradesmen; a low Rate of the natural Interest of Money; and many others; but this I will say, that of two Countries alike in all other Circumstances, the Trade of that Country will flourish most where the Price of Labour is cheapest, and where they may have the original Materials of those Commodities which are produced by the Art and Industry of the People, at the cheapest Rate. Nay, if there be a Rivalship between them, as to the Production of any such Commodity, we

may depend on it the former will at last beat the other entirely out of the Business. From hence we may see, how ruinous it must be to the Trade of any Country, to lay Taxes upon any Provisions that are necessary for the convenient Support of their Labourers, Manufacturers, or Tradesmen; or upon any of the original Materials of those Commodities, which are produced by the Art and Industry of their People: From hence we must see that the Trade of any such Country must necessarily at last be undone, if their Neighbours to take Advantage of the Slip they have made: And from hence we must see, how necessary it is for us to take the most effectual and the most immediate Measures for relieving our People, from those Taxes which lie heavy not only upon almost all Sorts of Provisions, but upon almost all Sorts of Materials. We may make Laws against Smuggling, we may make Laws against exporting our Wool, we may make Laws against inveigling our Workmen into foreign Countries: These are but quackish Remedies; if we have a Mind to work a thorough Cure, we must remove the Cause, which certainly proceeds from our many heavy Taxes; for none of our Workmen would go to foreign Countries, if they could live more conveniently by their Labour in this, than they could in any other; none of our Wool would be exported, if it could be wrought up in this Country cheaper than in any other, especially, if by our Treaties we took care to have a free Entry for our Manufactures into every Country; and no foreign Manufacture would be imported upon us, if the prime Cost were higher than the same Sort of Manufacture could be bought for, here at home.

I know, Sir, it has been said our Taxes are no Way insupportable,

nor heavier in this Country than they are in *Holland* or *France*; but if those Gentlemen would compare the Taxes and the Methods of raising them in this Country, with the Taxes and Methods of raising them either in *France* or *Holland*, or any other Country of *Europe*, they will find that the Taxes in this Country are more burdensome upon Trade, and the Methods of raising them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any Country of *Europe*; insomuch that, if it were not for the natural Advantage we enjoy by means of our Situation, and the many flourishing Plantations we have in the *West-Indies*, and for that artificial Advantage which has been handed down to us from our wise Ancestors, and which, I hope, we shall take care to preserve, I mean the superior Excellence of our Constitution, Laws, and Customs; I say, if it were not for these Advantages, I am convinced, our Trade would already have been entirely lost. These Advantages, especially our Plantations, and the great Exports and Imports we make to and from them, have hitherto preserved our Trade and our Manufactures; but our Plantations will at last fall upon Ways and Means to furnish themselves with foreign Manufactures, or with such as are work'd up among themselves, if they find they can do it at a much cheaper Rate than they can have any such from us; and with respect to our Imports from thence, such as Sugars, Rum, Tobacco, Skins, and the like, we may continue for many Years to supply our home Market with such Commodities from our own Plantations, by Means of prohibitory Laws and high Duties upon foreign Commodities of the same Kind; but if our present high Rate of Interest and high Duties continue, and if the *French* continue to improve their Plantations for Years

to come, as fast as they have done for these twenty Years past, I am afraid it may soon be put out of our Power to supply any foreign Market with any even of those Commodities; and if all foreign Markets should be shut up against us, both with respect to our home Manufactures, and with respect to the Produce of our Plantations, our Luxury must either greatly diminish, or we would soon have no Occasion to be afraid of Foreigners drawing our Money away from us, by the Sale of their Property in our Funds; for if they could sell that Property for any Price, which is much to be questioned, they would find no Money in the Kingdom to draw out of it, they would be obliged to take and export our Corn, Cattle, Tin, Lead, or Wool, in lieu of that Property they had so disposed of.

That the Dearness of Provisions, and consequently of Labour, in this Kingdom, does not proceed from Money being more plenty in this Country than in *France* or *Holland*, is evident, Sir, from the natural Rate of Interest between Man and Man being higher in this Country than in either of the other two; and the Dearness of Provisions and Labour, in and about *London*, does not so much proceed from a greater Plenty of Money in and about *London*, as from their Taxes being more numerous, and more heavy, than in any other Part of the Kingdom; for all Taxes are more strictly raised in and about *London* than in any other Part of the Kingdom; and the Inhabitants in and about *London*, even those of the poorest Sort, are subject to two most grievous Taxes, which almost every other Part of the Kingdom is free from: I mean the Tax upon Coals, and upon Ale-Houses by Virtue of the Pot Act, both which fall extremely heavy upon the poor Labourer and Manufacturer,

turer, and must necessarily make both Provisions and Labour much dearer in and about *London*, than in any other Part of the Kingdom; therefore, I hope, these *two* Taxes will be among the first to be taken off; for I must think the Manufacturers and Labourers in and about *London*, if they are not put upon an equal Footing with their foreign Neighbours, they ought at least to be put upon an equal Footing with their domestick Neighbours; especially considering that they will be the greatest Sufferers by the Reduction of the Interest payable upon our publick Funds. But there is another strong Reason for making Labour as cheap as possible in and about *London*, because there are many Sorts of Manufactures which cannot so conveniently be carried on in any Part of the Kingdom as in or near *London*, and all Ships which carry out a Cargoe consisting of a great Variety of Sorts of Goods, properly sorted for the foreign Market to which they are bound, must take their Cargoe and Departure generally from *London*; so that a great Part of our foreign Trade, as long as we have any, must always depend upon our Exports from the Port of *London*; and many of our homeward bound Ships must come to unload the Whole or a Part of their Cargoe at *London*, before they can return to the Port from whence they set out: For which Reason we ought, if possible, to render the Price of Provisions, and consequently the Price of Labour, as cheap at *London*, as it is in any Part of this Kingdom, or in any trading Country in *Europe*; at least, I am sure, we ought neither to impose nor continue any Tax, which must necessarily enhance the Price both of the one and the other.

After having thus shewn the necessary and the fatal Consequences of Taxes upon the Necessaries of Life, or upon the original Materials proper

for any Manufacture, I am convinced every Gentleman that hears me will be of Opinion that, as soon as the Interest payable upon our publick Funds is reduced to 3 per Cent, we ought to annihilate some Part of the Sinking Fund, by abolishing some of the heavy Taxes that oppress our poor Labourers and Manufacturers; for that we have some such cannot I think be questioned, after what his present Majesty was pleased to recommend to us from the Throne but a few Years since. And in order to convince all those without Doors that this is our real Intention, we ought, I think, immediately to come to some such Resolution; because it will not only contribute towards the Success of the Scheme we have just now agreed to, but it will likewise contribute towards preventing some of our Workmen from going abroad, who are now perhaps making Preparations for that Purpose, and towards prevailing with some Masters of Manufactures to continue in their Business, who are now perhaps, through Despair, resolving to give it up. When our moneyed Men and other Stockholders see a solemn Resolution of Parliament for abolishing some of our most heavy Taxes, and when they consider the great Benefit that may accrue therefrom to our Trade, and the great Relief it will afford to our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, if they have the least Regard for their Country, they will certainly contribute with the more Alacrity towards the Success of a Scheme, from which so many publick Benefits may be reasonably expected; and even the most selfish Stockholders will find in such a Resolution this Comfort, that if their Revenue be diminished by the Reduction of Interest, their Loss will be in some Measure compensated by the Diminution of their Expence, which will be the necessary Consequence of abolishing any of our heavy Taxes,

not only with regard to those Commodities which are discharged of the Tax, but with regard to all other Sorts of Commodities; for a Tax upon any one of the Necessaries of Life must enhance the Price not only of all the other Necessaries of Life, but likewise of all those Things that are proper either for the Convenience or the Luxury of Life. Therefore, the Abolishing of some of our heavy Taxes must necessarily lessen the future Expence of every Family in the Kingdom, especially about *London*, where all Taxes are most strictly raised, and most severely felt; and consequently a Resolution for that Purpose must naturally tend towards making every Man contribute, with the more Alacrity, to the Success of the Scheme we have now agreed to.

Such a Resolution, Sir, will not only contribute to the Success of the Scheme without Doors, but it will likewise contribute greatly to its Success within Doors; for I must confess, I should myself be very indifferent about its Success, either within Doors or without, if I did not think that the Abolishing of some of our heavy Taxes would be the necessary Consequence of the reducing the Interest payable upon the publick Funds: If the People were to receive no Benefit by such Reduction, if I thought the only Advantage to be reaped thereby, would be the Increase of the Sinking Fund, I should be very little anxious about the Success of the Scheme; because I am now fully convinced, That Fund will never be religiously and regularly applied to the Uses for which it was intended; but will always serve as a Fund for leading the Nation into expensive and unnecessary Projects or Measures; and may hereafter be made use of for rendering successful the most wicked Purposes an ambitious Prince or a guilty Minister can invent or contrive. For this Reason,

I am sure, there are many Gentlemen in both Houses of Parliament, who will be much more sanguine for the passing of the Bill now ordered to be brought in, than they would otherwise be, if they are assured that the Reduction of Interest will be attended with a Diminution of Taxes; and nothing can contribute more towards giving Gentlemen such an Assurance, than a previous Resolution of this House, that as soon as the Interest is reduced, some of our most burdensome Taxes will be abolished; therefore, whatever Gentlemen may pretend, whatever their outward Professions may be, I shall not easily believe they are really and in their Hearts for passing the Bill we have ordered to be brought in, if they are against the Motion I am now to make.

In the Debate, Sir, upon the Resolutions of the Committee it was, I think, made fully appear, that a Reduction of Interest would be a great Advantage to the Nation in general; and as these Resolutions have been agreed to by the House, I must conclude the Majority are of the same Opinion; yet such is the Selfishness of some Men without Doors, who are great Stockholders, and who consequently will be great Losers by what has been agreed to within Doors, that they will not be, or will pretend they are not convinced of what I think is evident at first View. They not only endeavour to convince themselves, but they endeavour to convince others, that the Nation will be no way benefited by what we have resolved on, but that on the contrary most Tradesmen and Artificers will be Losers; and the chief, nay the only Argument they make use of, or indeed can make use of, is, That we have no Design to abolish any of the Taxes, but only to increase the Sinking Fund: Thus say they to Tradesmen and Artificers, you will be no Gainers by

this Scheme, because you must pay the same Taxes you did before; and as our Revenue is to be lessened, we must contract our Expence, we cannot lay out so much Money with you as we did before, so that you will be Losers, instead of being Gainers by the Reduction of Interest. This, Sir, is their Argument, and by Means of this Argument they may raise up a Spirit of Discontent among the People; for it is not easy to persuade the Generality of Mankind of the Advantages they may reap by the Reduction of Interest, unless they be made to feel some immediate Advantage by the abolishing of Taxes; therefore to evade this Argument, and to obviate the pernicious Designs of such selfish Men, we ought now to come to a Resolution, that as soon as the Reduction of Interest takes Place, some of the most heavy Taxes shall certainly be taken off. It will then be easy for any Man, who is a Friend to the Scheme, or to his Country, to shew to every Tradesman, Shopkeeper, and Labourer, that he must necessarily be a Gainer by the Reduction of Interest; and this will of course reconcile great Numbers of People to the intended Reduction of Interest, and to his Majesty's Government; at least it will put it out of the Power of those who, from selfish Views, are Enemies to both, to raise any popular Discontent against either the one or the other.

From this Observation, Sir, I must beg Leave to say, that no Man, who is a real Friend to the Scheme, and to his Majesty and his Government, can, in my Opinion, be against our agreeing to such a Resolution as I have mentioned; for, however much the Affections and good Opinion of the Populace may be despised by some Men, and tho' I do not think a Popularity should be courted by unjustifiable Means, or by mean and imprudent Compliances, yet I think

the Love of the People in general is what every Government, and every private Man, ought to endeavour to obtain; and therefore, when we see the People misled, or attempted to be misled, we ought to take all possible Measures to undeceive them, or to prevent their being deceived by selfish and designing Men. However, Sir, when I say this, I would not have it thought, that I look upon the Revilings or the Applauses of a mercenary Mob, a Mob headed by Clerks of the ———— and other such mercenary Creatures, to be any Testimony either of the Hatred or the Affections of the People; for such Creatures I must always look on as Enemies to the People, and shall always be proud of meriting their Re-
sentment.

I think, Sir, I need not add any Thing further for shewing the Reasonableness and the Necessity of the Resolution I have mentioned; therefore I shall conclude with making you this Motion, to resolve, That this House will, as soon, &c. (as before mentioned.)

To this it was answered in Substance as follows, viz.

Sir, I shall readily agree with the Honourable Gentleman who has made you this Motion, that Taxes upon the Necessaries or Conveniences of Life must increase the Price of Labour, and that it would be a great Advantage to the Trade of this Country, and a great Relief to the People, if we could abolish some of our most heavy Taxes; but I cannot agree with him in thinking, that the Taxes in this Kingdom are more burdensome upon Trade, or the Methods of raising them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any of our neighbouring Countries; and much less can I agree with him, that it is either proper or necessary for us to come to any immediate Resolution, to abo-

I wish the Hon. Gentleman had been at some more Pains to shew us how the Taxes in this Kingdom are more burdensome upon Trade, or the Methods of raising them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any of our neighbouring Countries; for these are Facts which, I think, deserve some Proof, and if any such Thing had been attempted, some Methods might have been found for shewing wherein he was mistaken; for to a simple Avyement of a Fact, without one Proof or one Argument for enforcing the Belief of it, no Answer can be made but a contrary Avyement; and in this, with respect to *France* at least, I am sure I may be justified; for all their Taxes are not only imposed but raised in an arbitrary Manner; and as most of their Taxes are farmed by Merchants and Dealers, their People are not only loaded with the Tax, but oppressed with a Monopoly, which those Farmers have generally the Address to get into their own Hands, by means of the Privileges they enjoy, as Farmers of that particular Branch of the Revenue. In *Holland*, indeed, the peculiar Nature of their Country makes it more easy for them to raise their Taxes, than it is possible for us to raise any Tax we can impose; but in the main their Taxes are much heavier upon the Necessaries of Life, and consequently more burdensome to Trade, than they are in any Part of this Country, not excepting the City of *London* itself; where the Taxes, I shall grant, are more strictly raised, and are more numerous, than in any other Part of the Kingdom; but this does not proceed from any Partiality towards the rest of the Kingdom: It proceeds from the Nature of Things, which renders it impossible to raise the Tax-

es so strictly, or to impose so many, in any other Part of the Kingdom, as in *London*, and within the Bills of Mortality; and this Disadvantage is fully made good to the Inhabitants in and about *London*, by its being the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the Center, as it were, of all the Trade and publick Business within the *British* Dominions.

With regard to *France* and *Holland* therefore, I must think, Sir, and it has always been the general Opinion, that the Subjects of each are more loaded, and more oppressed with Taxes and Excises, than the People of this Kingdom; and with regard to any other Country of *Europe*, they may not perhaps have so many or so large Taxes as we have, because their People in general are not near so rich; but in each of them their Taxes are more heavy in Proportion to their Riches than in this Country, and their Method of raising Taxes is more arbitrary and more oppressive; from whence I must conclude, our Taxes can give no Country in *Europe* an Advantage over us in Trade, nor can the Price of Labour, or the Wages of their Servants or Workmen, be cheaper than it is here; at least, if it is, that Cheapness must proceed from their not having so great a Plenty of Money, or from their Workmen and Servants being more frugal and industrious, by which they are enabled to live upon less Wages. Nevertheless, I shall grant, the Abolishing of some of our most heavy Taxes would be a great Benefit to the Nation, and a great Encouragement to our Trade, because it would give us a great additional Advantage in Trade, over every one of our Neighbours; therefore I wish with all my Heart it could be done, but in our present Circumstances I do not think it possible; or at least not consistent with the present and future Happiness of the Nation; for our Government must be supported: and

not only the Interest of our publick Debts must be regularly paid, but a Part of the Principal must be yearly discharged, in order that we may at last get free of our Debt as well as of most of our Taxes. If we abolish any of our Taxes before our Debts are paid off, we must remain longer in Debt, and consequently must remain longer under those Taxes that are left unabolished; so that the only Difference is, whether we shall remain under *two* Taxes of equal Value for 20 Years, or under *one* of these Taxes only, for 40 Years? Which is a Question that in my Opinion is very doubtful, and requires a very mature Consideration. However, suppose I were to admit that some of our Taxes ought to be taken off, as soon as the Interest payable upon our publick Funds is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* suppose I were to admit that it would be better for the Nation to remain 40 Years under a Tax of 100,000*l.* yearly, than to remain but 20 Years under *two* Taxes of 100,000*l.* yearly each; yet I cannot admit that it is either necessary or proper for this House, upon the present Occasion, to come to any such Resolution as has been proposed.

Every one knows, Sir, and the Gentleman who moved you this Question is very sensible, that no Parliament has any Power or Authority over a future Parliament, nor can the Resolution of one Session be a Tye or Obligation upon any succeeding Session. The Event which the Resolution proposed relates to, is an Event which cannot possibly happen during this Session: It is impossible to suppose that during this Session the Interest upon all our publick Funds can be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* therefore our resolving what shall be done when that Event happens, is undertaking for a future Session, which we have no Power over, nor can pretend to prescribe to. For this Reason, if the Intention of the Resolu-

tion be to encourage our publick Creditors to come in and subscribe their respective Debts at 3 *per Cent.* I must beg Leave to say it is in some Measure a Sort of fraudulent Intention, because it is offering them a Consideration which we have no Power to offer, it is making them a Promise which we cannot fulfill; nor oblige any succeeding Session to fulfill; and I hope this House will always be so careful of its Honour, as never to come to any Resolution or Determination, that may bear the least Imputation of being any Way fraudulent or deceitful.

But suppose, Sir, we had a Power to resolve or determine what shall be done by any future Session, yet upon the present Occasion we ought to avoid coming to any such Resolution or Determination, as what is now proposed; because it will be looked on as a Sort of Threatening. It is a Sort of publick Declaration, that the Nation shall never be freed from any of its Taxes, till the publick Creditors agree to accept of 3 *per Cent.* for the Money due to them, but that it shall be freed from some of its most heavy Taxes, as soon as they agree to accept of that Interest. By such a Declaration what an unlucky Circumstance shall we put all our Creditors in? They must give up a fourth Part of their Revenue, which many of them can very ill spare, they must accept of a lower Interest for their Money than any other Man in the Kingdom has, or they must expose themselves to the Malice and Resentment of the People in general; for upon their Refusal every Man in the Kingdom would look upon them as the Cause of all the Taxes he pays, and every unfortunate Man would look upon them as the Authors of his Misery. Nor does it signify any Thing to say, that those who do not chuse to accept of, or cannot live upon, 3 *per Cent.* for their Money, may sell out

and employ their Money where they best can; for if many of them should resolve to sell out, it would soon bring the Price of every one of our Funds below Par, and then they would be reduced to the hard Necessity of losing a Part of their Capital, or of taking such an Interest as the Publick should be pleased to give them. After such a publick Declaration therefore, most of those who are now the Creditors of the Publick, must necessarily remain so, and if they do, they must either accept of 3 *per Cent.* or they must expose themselves to the Malice and Resentment of the whole Nation, which is a Circumstance no wise Man would chuse; and for this Reason I must look upon the Resolution proposed, as a Sort of threatening and frightening our Creditors into the Accepting of 3 *per Cent.* which is a Sort of Treatment I shall never, for any Consideration, agree to.

This, Sir, is a Method of treating our publick Creditors, which I hope we shall never have the least Occasion for; and in order to prevent the Nation's being of Opinion that they can never be freed from Taxes, unless the Interest upon all our publick Funds be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* and consequently to prevent any publick Creditor from incurring the Resentment of the People for refusing to accept of that Interest, I must beg leave to put you in Mind, that tho' the Interest of our publick Funds be never reduced below what it is at present, yet if our Taxes be continued, and the Sinking Fund regularly applied, the People may be freed from all their Taxes, except such as are necessary for the current Service, in about 24 Years, supposing our Debts to be 48 *Millions*, and the annual Amount of the Sinking Fund to be 1,200,000*l.* And that if it should be thought for the Benefit of the Nation to abolish some of our heavy Taxes, before our Debts

be wholly paid off, we may now do it without any Reduction of Interest, and yet leave a very considerable Sinking Fund remaining for the Payment of a Part of our Debts yearly: Nay, all the Advantage we can expect by the great Reduction proposed, is only an Addition of about 400,000*l.* a Year to the Sinking Fund, and that Addition we shall acquire in less than 8 Years, without any Reduction of Interest, or threatening our publick Creditors with the publick Resentment; so that in less than 8 Years Time we shall be in as good a Condition for abolishing Taxes, and may abolish as many of them, without any such Reduction, as we can do at present, supposing such a Reduction were already brought about: From all which I must conclude, that, with respect to the Abolishing of Taxes, it is no Matter of any great Moment to the People, whether the Reduction takes place or not.

I shall readily grant, Sir, that the Reducing of the Interest upon our Funds from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* would be a considerable Saving to the Publick; but to pretend that the Abolishing of Taxes equal in Value to that Reduction, would be a Compensation to the publick Creditors for the Loss of one fourth Part of their yearly Revenue, is what I am not a little surprized at; for the Abolishing of the Duties upon *Candles* and *Soap* would amount almost to the full Value of what we could save by the Reduction, and to pretend that the Saving of 1 *d.* a *Pound* upon *Candles* and 1 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ a *Pound* upon *Soap*, would be a Compensation to a Man who loses 100*l.* a Year or more by the Reduction, is something very extraordinary. But suppose I should admit that the Saving in one Way would be a Compensation for the Loss in the other, that Compensation is what we have no Power to promise, and therefore we ought not

to propose it as an Inducement for any of our Creditors to accept of 3 per Cent. nor ought we by any Resolution to give them Hopes of its being a Compensation they will certainly meet with; for, I am sure, in private Life, it would not be reckon-
 ed very honourable for a Man to promise, or so much as insinuate, a Reward or Compensation, which he had no Power to give; and as in all our Proceedings we have been, so I hope we always will be as jealous of our Honour, as any private Man can or ought to be.

For this Reason, Sir, we ought not to make any such Promise, or propose any such Compensation, even tho' the People without Doors were so far mistaken about the Power of Parliament, as to imagine the Resolutions of one Session were binding upon every succeeding Session; but as the People without Doors are fully apprized of the Extent of our Power, as it is generally known without Doors, as well as within, that no Resolution of this Session can lay an indispensable Obligation upon any future Session, therefore we cannot expect that the Resolution now proposed, or any such Resolution, can any way contribute to the Revival of our Trade, the Success of the Scheme now before us, or the rendering the People better or more generally well affected towards his Majesty and his Government, than they are at present. On the contrary, I believe it would have a quite contrary Effect, with regard to every one of these three Purposes; because it would give the People without Doors a mean Opinion of our Proceedings, and the Enemies to the Scheme would not fail to represent such a Resolution in the most ridiculous Light.

From hence, Sir, I must beg leave to differ so far from the Hon. Gentleman, as to think, that no Gentleman who is a real Friend to our Trade, or to the Scheme, or to his Majesty

and his Government, will be for agreeing to the Resolution proposed: I am sure, if the Hon. Gentleman viewed it in the same Light I do, he would never have offered it to the House: And I must say, I have the Pleasure to think, that neither of the Ends proposed stand in need of any such Resolution. Our Trade is now, I believe, in as flourishing a Condition as ever it was; therefore, tho' it might perhaps be increased by an actual Discharge from some of our Taxes, yet it could not be said to be revived even by the Discharge itself, and much less by an insignificant Resolution for that Purpose. Then as to the Success of the Scheme, if the natural Interest of Money upon publick Securities be at 3 per Cent. it will take Effect of itself, without any such Resolution; and if the natural Interest of Money be at 4, I am convinced no Gentleman of this House would desire to make use of Threats, or empty Promises, in order to induce the publick Creditors to accept of 3. And lastly, as to the Affections of the People towards his Majesty and his Government, I hope they are already so well and so generally established by the Wisdom and Justice of his Majesty's Conduct, that they stand in no need of a Support from any Resolution of Parliament: I am sure every Gentleman of this House would be sorry to think they depend upon such a precarious Foundation as the Resolution now before us, which may be rendered abortive, not only by the Disappointment of the Scheme, but by the next Session's not being of the same Opinion with the present.

I shall conclude, Sir, with observing, that Gentlemen are generally too fond of their own Schemes: Our Schemes are like our Children; we often conceive much greater and more certain Hopes of their Success, than can reasonably be expected. For my Part, as the Scheme is none of

mine, as I had no Share in its Conception, I am so far from being certain of its Success, that I am not a little suspicious of our meeting with a Disappointment: therefore, I must think our agreeing to the Resolution now before us, would be a Sort of Reckoning without one's Host: I must think it will be Time enough for us to come to a Resolution to abolish some of our Taxes, when we see the Scheme has taken effect; for if we should now come to such a previous Resolution, and the Scheme should afterwards prove altogether abortive, the whole World would laugh at our Precipitancy; for which Reason I shall give my Negative to the Question.

The Reply was to the Effect as follows, viz.

Sir, I am a good deal surpris'd to hear it said, that no Proofs nor Arguments have been offer'd for shewing that the Taxes in this Kingdom are more burdensome upon Trade, and more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any of our neighbouring Countries. This, I say, I am a good deal surpris'd at, considering how many clear Proofs and solid Arguments were laid before us in the Committee on the National Debt, for evincing that melancholy Fact*; which happened so lately, that I am sure they cannot have slip't out of any Gentleman's Memory, and therefore I shall not give you the Trouble of repeating them. But I cannot comprehend what the Hon. Gentleman means by Excises in *Holland or France*; for I never heard of a *Gauger or Exciseman* in either of those Countries; and upon Enquiry, I believe it will appear, that none of their Taxes are levied in that Manner. As for the *Farmers in France*, I do not see how they can set up any Monopoly; because they are often changing; and as every Dealer knows

what Duty he is to pay upon any Commodity he has a Mind to deal in, the *Farmers* can hinder no Man from dealing in what he pleases, and consequently can set up no oppressive Monopoly: Besides, as the *Farmers* are always they who offer the most Money, they cannot always be either Ministers or the Creatures of Ministers, and, therefore would certainly be called to Account, if they should concert Measures for oppressing the People.

Our Travellers, Sir, who make but very superficial Enquiries into the Manners or Customs of any Country they pass through, may perhaps imagine the People in *France* and *Holland* are more heavily, or more oppressively taxed, than the People of this Kingdom, because they hear the People complain there as well as they do here; but any Gentleman who understands these Things, and has made a proper Enquiry, may soon be convinc'd of the contrary; and, as for the other Countries of *Europe*, they have not, 'tis true, such Numbers of rich Merchants, Masters of Manufactures, and Master Tradesmen, as we have in this Country, which is the Reason that many of their Poor live in Idleness, or starve for mere Want, because there are few or no rich Merchants or Masters in the Country, that have Money to employ them; but in all Countries, where the Poor have any Employment, they are pretty near equally poor; they neither get nor expect more than a comfortable Subsistence by their Labour, and if you enhance the Means of that Subsistence, by Taxes upon the Necessaries or Conveniencies of Life, their Masters must increase their Wages; so that all Taxes land at last upon the Masters, foreign or domestick, who must pay for that Increase of Wages in the Price of the Goods they purchase; but the Difference is, that a Tax laid

* See last Magazine, Page 614, 615.

laid directly upon the Master, only prevents his growing rich so fast, or makes him live less luxuriously, but does not enhance the Price of your Manufactures; whereas a Tax laid upon those Things, that are necessary for the Support of the Poor, enhances the Price of Labour, and consequently raises the Price of all your Manufactures both for domestick and foreign Sale, which at last ruins your Trade. Therefore, if the Poor of this Kingdom be more heavily taxed than the Poor in any other Country of *Europe*, it is what ought to be remedied as soon as possible; it is what will give that Country a great Advantage over us, if they should ever begin to apply themselves to Trade, which every Country of *Europe* is now aiming at as much as they can.

As for the City of *London*, Sir, it is, 'tis true, the Centre of all Business in our Dominions, therefore, it may be called the Heart of our Trade; and I am sure, if our Trade has an Oppression at the Heart, it cannot be expected it will thrive in any Part of the Body. I am far from thinking it a good Reason, why the Inhabitants of *London* and within the Bills of Mortality, should be taxed more heavily than any other Part of the Kingdom, because they can bear it; for I think no Part of the Kingdom should be taxed, at least in Time of Peace, near so heavily as they can bear. As we have in *London*, great Numbers of idle and extravagant People every Year crowding in upon us from all Parts of the Country, for the Sake of Business, Preferment, or Pleasure, this Concourse must necessarily enhance the Price of Provisions upon the Laborious and Industrious, which is a Disadvantage at least equal to any Advantage they may reap from their City's being the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the Centre of all Trade and publick Business: But

if it should be thought proper to lay heavier Taxes upon the Inhabitants of *London* and within the Bills of Mortality, those additional Taxes ought to be laid upon the Luxuries and Pleasures of Life, and not upon the Food and Raiment of the Poor, such as *Leather, Salt, and common Beer*; nor upon those Things that are necessary for working up every Sort of Manufacture, such as *Coals, Soap, and Candles*.

I am sorry, Sir, to hear it said in this House, that our People are more idle and extravagant than the People of any neighbouring Country; and I am still more sorry to say, that I am afraid there is too much Ground for such a national Reflection; but that very Idleness and Extravagance has been introduced among our People by the Multitude of Taxes they groan under; for the Levying of those Taxes has created such a great Number of small Posts and idle Employments, that vast Numbers of our Tradesmen and Dealers spend their Time idly and extravagantly, in Hopes of obtaining one of these Posts or Employments; and our People every Day see such Numbers of idle and extravagant Fellows well provided for, by Means of these Posts and Employments, that the Spirit of Idleness and Extravagance becomes every Day more universal; for as such Fellows are generally what we, in Imitation of the *French*, call boon Companions, they are mighty useful Men in those Affairs, which most certainly entitle a Man to a Post or Employment; so that after they have ruined themselves by their Idleness and Extravagance, their Neighbours see them better provided for, and enabled to live more handsomely, than ever they did before, or could ever expect to live by honest Industry or useful Labour: This encourages Hundreds to follow their Example, and makes the Distemper spread like a Plague over the whole

whole Kingdom; whereas, if Beggary and Starving were the certain Consequences of Idleness and Extravagance, every such Fellow would be an Example and a Terror to his Neighbours, which would frighten most of them from following any such Courses. Perhaps, Sir, some Gentleman that hears me, may look upon this as an ill-grounded Speculation; but in Confirmation of what I say, if I am rightly informed, there is now a little Borough in a Northern County, not very far distant from London, in which I am told, there is hardly one thriving Merchant, Tradesman, or Shopkeeper, to be met with; for so many of them have already been provided for by Means of some publick Post or Employment, that all the rest expect the same good Fortune, and every one by living idly or extravagantly, spends more than he gets by his Business, in Hopes of being soon provided for in another Way.

Thus, Sir, we see that, with respect to our Trade, our Taxes are like a two-edged Sword, they cut both Ways, they not only enhance the Price of Labour, but they diminish the Number of our Labourers; and when we see this, supposing the Taxes in this Kingdom to be no more burdensome upon Trade, nor the Methods of raising them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than the Taxes in any other Country of Europe, can we make it a Question, whether or no we ought to take the first Opportunity for abolishing some of them? But when it has been made appear, as it was, I think to a Demonstration, in the Committee, whose Report we have just now agreed to, that our Taxes, and our Methods of raising our Taxes, are more burdensome upon Trade, and more inconvenient to the Merchant and Dealer, than either in France or Holland, ought we not to think and contrive all possible or feasible

Methods for removing that Clog upon our Trade, and for putting our People upon an equal Footing at least with any of our Neighbours, especially with those who are our greatest Rivals in Trade and naval Power?

A The Question is not now, whether we shall remain under *one* Tax of 100,000 *l.* a Year for 40 Years, or under *two* Taxes of 100,000 *l.* a Year each, for 20 Years? The Question is, whether we shall preserve our Trade or no? If we continue under

B the *two* Taxes, our Trade will be ruined before the 20 Years are near expired; which will diminish the Produce of each, and may perhaps render it impossible for us ever to get free of either: If we abolish *one*,

C we must, 'tis true, continue longer under the *other*; but then we shall preserve our Trade, perhaps improve it, which may make the Produce of that *one* equal perhaps to the present Produce of the *two*; in which Case we shall get free from that *one*, perhaps as soon as if we had continued

D under both. This, Sir, is the Difference, this is the Question, and this Question can admit of no Dispute. If our People continue subject to all the Taxes they now pay for 24 Years to come, our Trade will certainly be undone, and what is

E worse, the greatest Part of it will be transferred to our natural Enemies, which will add to their Power at the same Time it diminishes ours; whereas, if we abolish a great Part of our Taxes, or the heaviest of them, we shall preserve our Trade, and may get free of our Debts much sooner; for if we should lose our Trade, we could never get free of our Debts, it would become impossible for us to pay them. Therefore, I hope it will never be made a Question in this

F House, Whether or no we shall abolish some of our heaviest Taxes, as soon as the Interest upon all our redeemable Funds is reduced to 3 per Cent.

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If this, Sir, can never be made a Question, what Harm is there in our coming to a Resolution, that that shall be done, which every Man agrees ought to be done? That one Session may engage for another, is a Maxim which I am surprized to hear controverted by those, who have so often proposed to and prevailed with, one Session to engage for another. What are all our Votes of Credit but one Session's engaging for another? And I am sure there was never one of them that could be called so just or so necessary an Engagement, as what is now proposed. I know, Sir, that one Parliament cannot by any Resolution, no not even by Act of Parliament, legally bind another; for no Act can be passed by one Parliament, but what may be repealed by another; at least no Man can legally question their Power; but will any Man say, that a future Parliament may not in Justice and Honour be bound by a former? Does not the Security our publick Creditors have for their respective Debts depend upon this Maxim only? We must therefore grant, that the Acts or Resolutions of any one Session, by which foreign States, or private Men, Natives or Foreigners, are induced to lend Money, or conclude any Transaction, to or with our Government, are in Justice and Honour binding upon every future Session; and that no future Parliament can repeal such Acts, or do any Thing contrary to such Resolutions, so as to injure any of the Parties contracting upon the Authority of those Acts or Resolutions. From such Engagements nothing can set us free but that supreme Law, the Safety of the People. For this very Reason, I am for agreeing to the Resolution now proposed, in order that we may bind future Parliaments as much as we can, and in a Manner oblige them to abolish some of our Taxes, as soon as the Interest upon all our Funds is reduced to 3 per Cent. by making it appear upon our Journals, that the A-

bolishing of some of our Taxes was the Condition upon which our Creditors agreed, and the Consideration which induced them to agree, to accept of 3 per Cent. Interest.

A Has any Man pretended, Sir, that the Advantage arising from abolishing our Taxes upon Soap and Candles, or any other Commodity, will be a full Recompence to every one of our Creditors for the Loss he may sustain by the Reduction of Interest? No, Sir, no such Pretence has been set up by any Gentleman within these Walls: The principal Recompence our Creditors are to expect, arises from the Advantage, which will accrue from such an Abolition to the Generality of the Nation; and to every one of them, who has any Regard for his Country, this will of itself appear to be a full Recompence.

B But to talk in the most selfish and the most mercenary Manner, the Abolishing of the Duties upon Soap and Candles only, will be a full, or very near a full Compensation to all our publick Creditors who have not above 1000 l. Stock, and have Families to maintain or provide for; because the Duties upon Soap and Candles have raised their Price at least double the Value of the Duties; therefore the Taking off of those Duties will be a Saving of 2 d. a Pound upon Candles and 3 d. a Pound upon Soap.

C for every Pound a Man buys, or that is bought for his Account; which will not only be an immediate Saving in the Expence of his Family, but will diminish the Price of almost every Thing he is obliged to purchase for the Use of his Family. Our Stockholders therefore who have but 1000 l. or under, and have Families to maintain, can be no Losers by the Reduction of Interest, if all the Taxes mentioned in the former Debate should be taken off; and such Stockholders are, I think, the only Persons, who have or deserve any Share of our Compassion.

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As for the Argument made use of against the Resolution, That it will appear to be fraudulent or deceitful, I think, Sir, I have already fully answered it, by shewing we have a Power to promise such a Compensation or Consideration, and that future Parliaments will be bound in Honour and Justice to make good that Promise; and to pretend, that the Resolution implies a Sort of Threatening the publick Creditors with national Resentment, is an Argument that, in my Way of Thinking, can proceed from nothing but a most contemptible Opinion of the Knowledge and Understanding of most Men in the Nation. Does not every Man of common Understanding know, that the greatest Part of the Taxes he pays, excepting the Land and Malt Tax, goes towards the Payment of the Principal or Interest of our Debts? And can any such Man suppose, that he will get free from any Part of those Taxes, till we get free of a great Part of that Debt, or at least of some Part of the Interest payable upon that Debt? The Resolution therefore can bring no Resentment upon our publick Creditors, because it communicates nothing to the People but what they were before fully apprized of. We may, 'tis true, annihilate the whole Sinking Fund, if we please, by abolishing several of our Taxes, and remain subject for ever to the same Debt we now owe, and the same Interest we now pay; but will any Gentleman say we ought to do so, or that it is consistent with the publick Good to do so? It is, in my Opinion, so far otherwise, that I should not be for annihilating any Part of our Sinking Fund, or abolishing any of our Taxes, before a total Discharge from our Debts, if the present unlucky Circumstances of our Trade did not necessarily require it; because every Shilling paid for Interest is so much absolutely lost to the Nation, being

a Sort of Expence from which the Nation never did, nor ever can reap any Benefit; but as this Loss will not be so grievous to the Nation, when the Interest is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* as when it stands at 4. therefore we may then, for the Sake of our Trade, annihilate a Part of the Sinking Fund, tho' we cannot in common Prudence, even for the Sake of our Trade, do any such Thing, while the Interest continues at 4 *per Cent.*

But suppose, Sir, it were consistent with the publick Good, to abolish some of our Taxes, and thereby annihilate a Part of the Sinking Fund, before the Reduction of Interest, 'tis certain we could not then for several Years be in so good a Condition for reducing the Interest payable upon our publick Funds, as we are at present; which is a strong additional Argument for not attempting any such Thing till that Interest be reduced; and 'tis likewise certain, we cannot now reduce so many of our Taxes, and leave so large a Sinking Fund remaining, as we might do, if the Interest upon our Funds were reduced to 3 *per Cent.* In the former Case, if we should abolish the Duties upon Soap and Candles only, we would reduce the Sinking Fund to 800,000 *l. per Annum*; whereas in the latter, we may abolish not only the Duties upon Soap and Candles, but likewise the Duties on Coals, the Duty on Leather or Hides, and the late Tax on the *VicTuallers* in London and within the Bills of Mortality, and yet leave very near the same yearly Sum remaining for the Sinking Fund.

Thus, Sir, we see there is a very material Difference between what we may do as Interest stands at present, and what we might do if Interest were reduced to 3 *per Cent.* but to say we shall be in as good a Condition 8 Years hence to abolish some of our Taxes, tho' Interest should stand

stand for all that Time at 4 *per Cent.*, as we would be at present if it were reduced to 3, is something very extraordinary. Surely, Gentlemen who talk so, do not consider, what a vast Sum the People of this Nation would save in 8 Years Time, by the immediate Abolishing of Taxes to the Amount of 800,000*l.* a Year. In the former Debate, it was computed, that the gross Produce of our Taxes, which is the Sum raised yearly upon the People, is near double the net Produce coming into the *Exchequer*; and the Accounts lying upon our Table will justify this Computation: Then to this if we add the Loss People are at, by the advanced Price of the Commodity, upon which the Duty is laid, which, with respect to small Duties, is in many Cases near double the Duty; I am sure I may reckon that, by the Abolishing of Taxes to the Amount of 800,000*l.* a Year, the People of this Nation will save in their yearly Expence at least 1,200,000*l.* a Year; and an Annuity of 1,200,000*l.* a Year for 8 Years, at 4 *per Cent.* Compound Interest, amounts to above 11 *Millions*, which is a Saving, I think, deserves to be regarded by every Gentleman who has a Sense of the Sufferings of the People. Besides this Advantage which the People will reap by an immediate Reduction of Interest and Abolition of Taxes, 'tis more than probable our Taxes will not produce so much yearly at the End of 8 Years, as they do at present, if Things should remain for that whole Time upon the present Footing; because, if our Trade be upon the Decline, the People will not only be decreasing in their Number, but will be every Year growing poorer: In either of which Cases there will not be such a Consumpt of those Commodities, upon which the Taxes are raised, which must necessarily diminish the Produce of each of them; and if at

the same Time, we should at that Time be engaged in a War, the yearly Produce of the Sinking Fund may happen to be worth little or nothing; in which Case, we shall then be in no Condition either to reduce the Interest payable upon our publick Funds, or to abolish any of our Taxes.

From what I have said, Sir, it will appear, that if the People continue under all their present Taxes for any Number of Years longer, it is probable they must continue under them for ever, or at least as long as they are able to pay them; and if that should be their unhappy Fate, we may expect they will not only shew a Resentment, but that it will at last break forth into Rage. However, it is evident that neither their Resentment nor their Rage will be owing to this Resolution, but to the Injuries and Oppressions they feel; and if the publick Creditors are entirely passive, if they are not active in concerting Measures, as has been threatned, for preventing the good Effects of the Scheme we have agreed to, the Resentment of the People will be no Way directed against the Creditors, but against those who shall be found to have misapplied that Fund, which was appointed for paying them off, and for relieving the Nation from Taxes. The Consequences may, indeed, be fatal to the publick Creditors, with regard to the Debt due to them; because, if the Nation should by such Means be brought into Confusion, that Confusion may prevent its being ever in our Power to pay them any Part of their remaining Principal or future Interest; but that Loss will arise not from the Scheme we have agreed to, nor from the Resolution proposed, but from the bad Success of both; and this I hope every one of the publick Creditors will take particular Notice of, and will therefore join heartily in promoting the

Success of the Scheme, instead of concerting Measures for its Defeat.

As all the Arguments made use of for shewing that the Resolution now proposed, can neither contribute to the Revival or Support of our Trade, call it which you will, nor to the Success of the Scheme, nor to reconciling or preserving the Affections of the People towards his Majesty and his Government; I say, as all the Arguments made use of for this Purpose, depend upon its not being in our Power to engage for, or bind any future Parliament, I have fully answered them already, by shewing that it is in our Power to bind a future Parliament to the Abolishing of Taxes, as much as it is in our Power to bind them to the Paying of a Debt; and as the Abolishing of some of our heavy Taxes is really in itself a valuable Consideration; and sufficient for inducing our Creditors to come into the Scheme, I think we ought to agree to the Resolution, on Purpose that the World may see, that a future Parliament cannot in Honour and Justice refuse to abolish some of the Taxes, as soon as the Interest is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* because it would be a Defrauding the publick Creditors of the Consideration which was promised them; and which was the principal Inducement for their agreeing so unanimously to accept of 3 *per Cent.* for their Money.

With respect to the Scheme itself, Sir, it signifies nothing to me who was the Author of it; but if the Hon. Gentleman had no Share in its Conception, I am sure he or some of his Friends have added a very considerable Limb to it, and such a Limb too, that if any Miscarriage happens, it will certainly be owing to that Limb which they have added. If they had proposed no Improvement or Addition, if they had not in some Measure obliged Gentlemen to agree to what they proposed, I am convinced the Scheme as it was first

offered would have had the wished for Success; and if they think that what they have added will render it abortive, they are in the Right to disown their being the Authors of the Scheme; but that will not prevent People's imputing to them the whole Blame of the Miscarriage. However, as I think the Scheme, even as it stands now, may meet with Success, and as I think the Resolution now proposed to us will very much contribute to that Success, therefore I shall be for agreeing to it.

The Debate being over, the Question was put upon the Motion, and carried in the Negative by 200 to 142.

The principal Speakers in this Debate were, Sir *J—n B—d*, *T—s*, *L—n*, Esq; *S—l S—s*, Esq; *Mr. A—n P—y*, *W—m P—y*, Esq; and *George S—ke*, Esq; for the Motion; and *T—s*, *W—n*, Esq; the *L—d B—re*, *W—r P—r*, Esq; and Sir *R—t D W—le*, against it.

On Friday the 22^d of April, Sir *J—n B—d* presented to the House, according to their Order before mentioned, a Bill for redeeming all the publick Funds redeemable by Law, which carry an Interest of 4: *per Cent. per Annum*, or converting the same, with Consent of the Proprietors, into a less Interest or Annuity not redeemable, till after the Time therein to be mentioned; which was read a first Time, and ordered to be read a second Time.

On the 29th of the same Month, the said Bill was read a second Time; and a Motion being made for committing it, the same was opposed, upon which their ensued a long Debate.

In this Debate, all the Arguments for and against the Reduction were repeated and enforced; but as we have already given a full Account of most of them, we shall add

add nothing more upon that Subject. The other Part of the Debate related chiefly to some Informalities and Imperfections which were pretended to be found in the Bill, by those who were against its being committed; because they said they were such as could not be properly altered or amended in the Committee. On the other Hand, those who were for committing the Bill, insisted, there were no Informalities or Imperfections in the Bill, but what might easily be altered or amended in the Committee, with the Assistance of those Gentlemen concerned in the Treasury, who were to be supposed best acquainted with the Method of drawing up such Bills, and who, 'twas to be presumed, would give their Assistance to the Committee, tho' they had refused to give any Assistance or Advice to those Gentlemen who were ordered to draw it up. But as what was said upon this Subject cannot be well understood without a Copy of the Bill, which we have not Room for, therefore, we shall give no further Account of it. Only we must take Notice, That Sir *R—t W—le* having, in a Speech he made against the Question, spoke to the following Effect, *viz.*

I know, Sir, it has been asserted without Doors, that the Hon. Gentleman who first mentioned this Scheme to the House, had several private Conversations with me upon the Subject, and that we had concerted and settled the Scheme between us, before he offered it to the House; but I shall declare, that he and I had never any private Conversation upon the Subject, nor had we ever any Concert about this Scheme or any other Scheme I know of; therefore, I can with great Confidence affirm, I had never any Hand in this Scheme, either in its original Formation, or in any Shape it has since appeared in.

Sir *J—n B—d* stood up, and answered in Substance thus;

I am very much obliged to the Hon. Gentleman, Sir, and therefore, I thank him for vindicating me from the Imputation of having had any private Conversation with him, or of having ever had any Concert with him; and if he is afraid lest People should suspect his having had a Hand in the Scheme I proposed to you, I shall be equally just to him by declaring, I never had any private Conversation with him about it, nor did I so much as ask his Approbation or Consent to what I was to offer; but as to the Scheme as it now stands, every Gentleman that hears me knows, it is very different from what I offered; and every one likewise knows that the new Model, which is the Model we have now before us, if it was not offered by the Hon. Gentleman himself, it was at least offered by some of his Friends, and what they proposed was agreed to by other Gentlemen, in order that we might have their Assistance in carrying it through. Therefore the Scheme now before you cannot properly be called mine; and it is very remarkable, that all the Objections made to the Bill, are only to those Articles and Clauses of it, which relate to the Improvements and Additions made to my Scheme, by the Hon. Gentleman's Friends.

Upon this *J—n H—w, Esq;* stood up, and among other Things, took Notice, That the Scheme then before them seemed to be like a Bastard-Child that had several reputed Fathers, neither of whom would own it: For his Part, he said, he thought it a very hopeful Child, and therefore if no other Gentleman would take it as his own, he would; for he did not doubt of the Child's thriving, and if it did, it would be an Honour to its Parent.

The Speakers in this long Debate, were as follow, *viz.*

For committing the Bill, Sir *J—n B—rd*, Sir *W—d L—ne*, the *L—d B—re*, *J—n H—w*, Esq; Sir *T—s S—n*, M—r of the R—lls, *S—l S—ys*, Esq; Sir *W—m A W—m*, Sir *E—d B—n*.

Against committing the Bill, Sir *R—t W—le*, Sir *C—m W—r*, *W—m S—r*, Esq; Mr. *A—n H—te*, *R—t K—t*, Esq; *P—r B—l*, Esq; *C—l B—n*, *W—m B—les*, Esq; *J—s O—pe*, Esq; the *L—d S—n*, Sir *W—m Y—ge*.

Upon the Question's being put, it was carried in the Negative, which put an End to the Affair for last Session.

After the 11th of *March*, when the Motion for granting a *Million* to his Majesty towards redeeming the like Sum of the increased Capital of the *South-Sea Company*, commonly called *Old South-Sea Annuities*, was agreed to, (See Pages 523, 542.) there was no remarkable Debate happened in the Committee of Supply; nor was there any remarkable Debate happened upon any of the Resolutions of the Committee of Ways and Means, except that relating to the Duty on *Sweets*, (See Page 469.) therefore we shall take no farther Notice of any other Resolution of that Committee; but as this Affair relating to the Duty on *Sweets* occasioned several long Debates, we shall give some Account of it. The first Time it was mentioned, was on *Monday* the 7th of *March*, when the proper Officer was ordered to lay before the House, an Account of the nett Income into the *Exchequer* of the Duties on *Sweets*, for seven Years ended at *Michaelmas* then last, distinguishing each Year; which was accordingly presented the very next Day; and on *Friday* the 18th of *March*, the House having resolved itself into a Committee, to consider further of Ways and Means for raising

the Supply granted to his Majesty, and the said Account having been referred to the said Committee, Sir *R—t W—le* rose up, and after a short Speech, moved for the first Resolution relating to the Duty on *Sweets*, which our Readers may see in Page 469, and which, after a long Debate, was agreed to: Then the 2d Resolution relating to the same Affair was moved and agreed to; and the House having, upon the Report, agreed to both these Resolutions, a Bill was ordered to be brought in, which, after long Debates, was passed into a Law.

In these Debates, the Arguments for the Resolutions, and afterwards for the Bill, were in Substance as follow, *viz.*

Sir, By the Resolutions we have already come to, in the Committee of Supply, 't will upon Calculation appear, we have granted his Majesty for the Service of the ensuing Year, a Supply of about 2,025,000 *l.* Now as the *Land-Tax* and the *Malt-Tax* which we have granted, do not both together amount to 1,700,000 *l.* there will be a Deficiency of near 400,000 *l.* which must be provided for, either by increasing some of the Taxes we have already, or by granting some new Tax, or by taking so much from the Sinking Fund, or lastly, by the Method I have thought of, and which I shall presently explain to you. As for Increasing any of the Taxes we have already, or imposing a new one, I do not think we can make good the Deficiency by either of these Ways; because I do not think the People can well bear any additional or new Tax, and the attempting of any such Thing, may alienate the Affections of great Numbers of People from our present happy Establishment, and may contribute towards increasing those Mobs and Tumults, which have of late been so frequent all over the Kingdom: And as for the Sinking Fund,

the growing Produce thereof is already appropriated towards paying a *Million* to the *South-Sea* old Annuity; so that we cannot make good this Deficiency out of the growing Produce of that Fund, and I do not think it would be proper to mortgage any Part of the Sinking Fund for this Purpose.

There is therefore, in my Opinion, no possible Way left for making good this Deficiency but that I have thought of, which is not by increasing any present Tax, or imposing any new one, but by reducing an old Tax to one Third of what it is at present. This, Sir, may at first View seem to be a Paradox; but when I have explained myself, the Mystery will vanish, and every Gentleman will, I hope, approve of the Method I am to propose. Every one knows that, ever since the Year 1699, we have had a Duty of no less than 36*s.* a Barrel, upon all *Sweets* made for Sale within this Kingdom, which is so high a Duty that it has in some Measure entirely prevented the Making of any such Liquors for Sale; at least if any such have been made, the Makers have always found Means to evade the Law, and defraud the Publick of the Duty; so that this Duty, as I have been told, has never produced any Thing considerable, and by the Accounts upon our Table it appears the present Produce amounts to little or nothing. Now, Sir, I am convinced that, if there were a moderate Duty laid upon such Liquors, and the Nature of the Liquors subjected to the Duty fully explained in the Act for imposing it; I say, that in such a Case I am convinced, a very considerable Revenue would arise yearly from the Consumption of such Liquors; because, as the prime Cost is but small, if the Duty were tolerable, I believe there would hardly be an Ale-House in the Kingdom without great Variety of such Li-

quors; and if they were to be had at every Ale-House, I am persuaded great Quantities of them would be consumed, especially now that our People are debarred the Use of Spirituous Liquors in Drams or otherwise.

It is not to be questioned, Sir, we already know it by Experience, that our putting an entire Stop to the Retail of Spirituous Liquors, will be a great Hardship upon all those who formerly dealt in that Trade; and many of those who used to be their Customers and Consumers will likewise think it a Hardship, to be debarred a moderate Use of such Liquors, in that Method they have from their Youth been accustomed to: Altho' every sensible Man must be convinced, that the putting of this Hardship upon him was absolutely necessary for the publick Good, and for preserving the Health and Morals of the People, yet we find there are great Numbers who are apt to murmur at this Regulation; and to prevent these Murmurs, I can think of no Expedient more proper than that of encouraging the Retail and Consumption of those Liquors called *Sweets*, which may be made to answer all the good Ends of Spirituous Liquors, without being attended with any of the fatal Consequences proceeding from an immoderate Use of such Liquors. This of itself would be a good Reason for diminishing the Duty payable upon those Liquors called *Sweets*, even tho' there were no Benefit to arise therefrom to the publick Revenue, nor any Occasion for increasing that Revenue. But as there is an absolute Necessity for increasing the publick Revenue, in order to answer those Supplies you have already granted; and as there is a great Probability that, by diminishing the Duty on *Sweets* to one Third of what it is at present, you will increase the publick Revenue as much as is necessary for answering

the present Occasion, I think no Gentleman can dispute the Reasonableness of making such a Diminution.

But, Sir, to add to the Weight of those Reasons I have already given, there is another Reason of great Weight with me for endeavouring to encourage the Consumption of *Sweets*, and consequently for diminishing the Duty now payable upon them, and that is, the great Quantity of Sugar made use of in the Composition of such Liquors. I believe no Gentleman doubts but that the Consumption of Sugar will be diminished by the strict Prohibition of the Retail of spirituous Liqueurs in Punch or otherwise; and as our Sugar Trade will suffer by diminishing this Consumption, I should be glad this Loss were made good to the Sugar Trade, by encouraging and increasing the Consumption of those Liquors called *Sweets*, in the Composition of which, there is, I believe, more Sugar made use of than was ever used in the Composition of the like Quantity of that Liquor called Punch. To this I shall add, that, as most of the Materials made use of in the Composition of all Sorts of *Sweets* are the Growth and Manufacture of our own Dominions, and as a great Variety of such Liquors may very much diminish the Consumption of foreign Wines, therefore the Increasing the Consumption of the former will not only be a great Encouragement and Advantage to the industrious Part of our own Subjects, but will likewise be an Advantage and Addition to our general Balance of Trade, by diminishing the Value of our Imports.

From all which, Sir, I hope it will appear not only proper but necessary, that we should abolish the present Duty on *Sweets*, and instead thereof, lay off such a less Duty as to this House shall seem reasonable. With respect to the new Duty to

be laid on, I shall not pretend to prescribe to the House, I shall only beg Leave to give my Reasons why I think 12s. a Barrel will be a proper Duty. I believe every Gentleman will agree, that as long as we have a Duty upon *Malt*, and an Excise upon all *Malt Liquors*, there ought to be some Duty laid upon all other Liquors consumed within the Kingdom, whether they proceed from foreign or from domestick Growth or Manufacture; because the Production of *Barley* and *Malt*, is a Production we ought to encourage as much as any home Production whatever: Therefore there ought certainly to be some Duty laid upon all *Sweets* consumed within the Kingdom; and in my Opinion that Duty ought to be higher than the Duties and Excises payable upon the like Quantity of any Sort of *Malt Liquors*; but not so high as may entirely prevent the Retail of any of those Liquors. If we consider and compute the *Malt* Duty, and the several Excises payable upon *Beer* and *Ale*, we may reckon that every *Barrel* of strong *Beer* or *Ale* pays between 5 and 6s. a Barrel; and for the Encouragement of our Farmers, by increasing the Consumption of their *Barley*, I think we ought to make the Duty on *Sweets* at least double the Duty upon *Malt Liquors*; for which Reason I reckon 12s. per Barrel is the least Duty we can propose to lay upon all *Sweets*, which shall hereafter be consumed within this Kingdom.

This Duty, Sir, as it is but a very little above 4d. a Gallon, cannot, I think, any Way tend to discourage or diminish the Consumption of such Liquors, nor can it enhance the Price by Retail, so as to make our People prefer the Use of any foreign Liquor, to that of our home-made *Sweets*, when they are skillfully prepared, and proper Care taken to make them palatable as well as healthful; for I am of Opinion that *Sweets* of

all Kinds may be made as palatable and as healthful as any Sort of Punch; and considering that the Consumers must pay for every Gallon even of Rum Punch at least 4*s.* 4*d.* Duty, I cannot but think, that upon diminishing the Duty on *Sweets* as I have proposed, several Sorts of them may be made up and sold at a much cheaper Rate than any Sort of Punch can be; from whence I must conclude, that in a little Time great Quantities will begin to be consumed; and that from thenceforward, this particular Branch of the publick Revenue will be very much increased by diminishing the Duty upon such Liquors; as was formerly the Case with respect to Pepper, the Duty upon which has produced a great deal more yearly since it was reduced, than ever it did before.

It is impossible for me, Sir, to foretel with any certainty, what this Duty upon *Sweets*, when so reduced, will bring in yearly. I have seen several Calculations and Computations upon the Head, all of which were founded upon very probable Conjectures; but they differed so widely from one another, that no Man can determine positively, which of them he ought to give most Credit to. By some of these Computations it was calculated that the Duty upon *Sweets* when reduced to 12*s.* per Barrel, would in all Appearance produce near 50,000*l.* a Year: By others the annual Produce of this Duty was not computed at above 20 or 25,000*l.* which is so great a Difference that no Determination, hardly any Supposition, can be made with respect to the future yearly Produce. However, if this Duty be reduced to 12*s.* a Barrel, and that Doubt explained, which has arisen upon former Acts of Parliament, in relation to Liquors made for Sale by Infusion, Fermentation, or otherwise, from *British Fruit* or *Sugar*, or from *Fruit* or *Sugar* mixed with other Materials or Ingredients,

and commonly called or distinguished by the Name of *made Wines*, I shall suppose the Duty will then produce 30,000*l.* a Year; for the Consumpt of those Liquors called *Sweets*, has not only been prevented by the extravagant Height of the Duty laid upon them; but the Doubt I have mentioned has always prevented its being collected; because it has always been pretended that such *made Wines*, were not chargeable with the Duty of 36*s.* a Barrel, and by that Pretence, People have generally got free from paying that Duty even upon *Sweets* made for Sale by Infusion, Fermentation, or otherwise, from *foreign Fruit* or *Sugar*; it being generally impossible to determine, whether such Mixtures are made from *foreign* or from *British Fruit* or *Sugar*.

Now, Sir, if we suppose that the future Produce of this Duty will amount to 30,000*l.* a Year, as it has never heretofore produced, I believe, 30*l.* a Year, the Increase upon it will then be a sufficient Fund for borrowing as much as will be necessary for making good the Supplies you have granted for the Service of this ensuing Year. I say it will be a sufficient Fund not only for paying the Interest yearly, but for paying off the Principal in a small Number of Years; for 400,000*l.* will I reckon be the highest Sum that will be wanted, and as that Sum may be borrowed at 3 per Cent. a Revenue of near 30,000*l.* a Year will pay not only the Interest yearly, but will likewise pay off the Principal in about 17 Years; and if the Duty should produce more than 30,000*l.* a Year, it will then pay off the Principal as well as growing Interest much sooner.

Thus, Sir, I have explained to you, what I think by far the easiest and most proper Way of raising that Sum, which is still deficient for making good those Supplies we have already agreed to. These Supplies

must certainly be made good some way or other; and if any Gentleman will rise up and shew us a better Method for making them good, I shall very readily give up my Project, and agree to any other Method proposed; since I have nothing in my View but to raise those Sums we have thought necessary for the publick Service, in that Method which shall appear to be most beneficial for the Nation, and least burdensome to the People. If the House approves of what I have proposed, the proper Method for carrying it into Execution is, To resolve first to repeal or abolish the old Duty; and then to resolve, That a Duty of 12s. *per Barrel* shall for the future be granted to his Majesty upon all *Sweets* made for Sale; therefore, I shall conclude with making you this Motion, That it may be resolved, That the Duty of 36s. a Barrel on *Sweets*, granted, &c. (as before mentioned Page, 469.)

To this it was answered in Substance as follows, viz.

Sir, The Hon. Gentleman who was pleased to move you this Question, set out with three or four general Maxims, in which I shall most readily agree with him. The Supplies we have already granted ought certainly to be made good by some Means or other; and I am so far of Opinion, that these Supplies must be made good, either by adding to some of the Taxes we have already, or by imposing some new one, or by incroaching upon the Sinking Fund, that I am sure there is no fourth Way of making them good; therefore the Hon. Gentleman raised my Curiosity not a little, when he told us, he had thought of a Method for raising as much as would make good the Deficiency of the *Land* and *Malt Tax*, without adding to any old Tax, or imposing any new Tax, and without making the least Incroachment

on the Sinking Fund. This I confess was to me a Paradox and a Mystery, which I became very impatient to hear explained; but how greatly was I disappointed, when this notable Project came to be laid open! for then it appeared to me, and I hope I shall by and by make it appear to the House, that this Project must either be a new Tax, or it must be an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund.

I shall likewise, Sir, most readily agree with the Hon. Gentleman in two other Maxims he set out with, which were, that the People cannot well bear any additional or new Tax, and that we ought never to make an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund: But this, Sir, we ought to have thought on before granting the Supplies; and if this were considered as seriously as it ought to be, it would make every Gentleman extremely cautious of proposing to run the Nation into any unnecessary Expence, or of asking any Supplies for that Purpose; for after we have once granted Supplies, they must be made good some way or other. We ought to consider that, notwithstanding the many Taxes our People are loaded with, yet all those Taxes, except the *Land* and the *Malt Tax*, are mortgaged for making good the Civil List Revenue we have granted, or for paying the Principal, and the Interest, of the Debts we have contracted: We have now no Way of providing for the current Service of the Year, but by Means of the *Malt Tax* and the *Land Tax*; and I must say, tho' I am sorry to say it, if we do not fall into a Method of contracting the publick Expence in Time of Peace, so as to make those two Taxes answer it, this Nation must necessarily and speedily be undone. We may go on for a few Years contriving Expedients, and mortgaging every little Fund we have left to mortgage; but this must be

be attended with inevitable Ruin at last; for the richest Man in the Kingdom, if he spent but 10*l.* a Year more than the real Income of his Estate, would certainly at last be undone.

Many Ways might be contrived, A
Sir, for lessening the publick Expence yearly. The Reduction of the Army, or putting them upon a different Foot, is one Method which is obvious and known to every Man; but there is another Method which would be as certain and as extensive, B
and that is, by annihilating all those *Sine-Cure* Posts, and undeserved or ill deserved Salaries and Pensions, which have been growing upon us for many Years, and which can never be of any Service to the People, unless it be to enable future Ministers C
to oppress them. Many of these I could mention in every Branch of publick Business within this Kingdom; but I shall not take upon me the Malice and Resentment, which such a Piece of publick Service would draw upon the Author, from all those whose private Interest would be struck at. I do not think it either proper or prudent for any private Man to take upon himself such a Burden: It is proper only for a Government to undertake; and whenever the Government does undertake it, I am sure they will, if they make clean Work, save upwards of 500,000*l.* a Year to the Publick, which is a greater Sum than is wanted for the Service of the ensuing Year.

This, Sir, is what might have been done, it is what ought to have been done, because by so doing we might have avoided that fatal Dilemma we are now reduced to. The Resolutions of the Committee of Supply have now made it absolutely necessary to load the People with additional or new Taxes, or to encroach upon the Sinking Fund; and whatever the Hon. Gentleman may think of his favourite temporary Expedi-

ent, to every impartial Enquirer, 'twill appear, that it must be ranked under one or other of these Methods. The Duty upon *Sweets*, whatever was the Intention of those Parliaments which established it, has never been raised, at least it has never been raised in so extensive or strict a Manner as is now proposed; therefore, with regard to the People, it must be look'd on as a new Tax. If we were to revive the ancient Tax called *Danzelds*, we may as well pretend it is no new Tax, as to say that a Tax upon *Sweets* which was never before levied upon the People, is no new Tax. The People never before felt any such Tax, therefore when they come to feel it they will look on it as a new Load laid upon their Backs, already almost broken, and will murmur as much as if it were a Tax which had never before been thought of. They do not look into Acts of Parliament for learning what Taxes they are subject to: D
They consider only what Taxes they have been accustomed to pay; and therefore they will always date the Commencement of a Tax from that Time when it first began to be exacted upon them. For this Reason our beginning now to exact this Tax, will certainly raise new Murmurs: E
I shall not say it will make the Murmurings of the People more general; they are already by much too general; and such temporary Expedients are not, I am sure, the most proper Ways for appeasing them, or for preventing those Riots and Tumults, which are now so justly complained of.

But, Sir, even with respect to the Laws by which this Duty has been established, the Method now proposed for supplying the current Service, must be look'd on as a Method for doing it by a new Tax in Whole or in Part, or it must be look'd on as a Method for doing it by encroaching upon those Funds appro-

priated to the Payment of the Principal or Interest of our Debts. If it was never designed by any of the Laws now in Being, that *made Wines* should be looked on as *Sweets*, or subjected to any Tax as such, the subjecting them for the future to a Tax, must be look'd on as imposing a new Tax upon such Wines; and if by the Laws now in Being all Liquors made for Sale by Infusion, Fermentation, or otherwise, from *British Fruit or Sugar*, or from *Fruit or Sugar* mixed with other Materials or Ingredients, were designed to be looked on as *Sweets*, and as such to be chargeable with the Duty of 36 s. a Barrel, as well as all Liquors made for Sale from foreign *Fruits or Sugar*, then the whole Duty now proposed to be abolished, stands appropriated to the Payment of our Debts, and makes a Part of the Sinking Fund, as may appear from the famous Act of the 6th of his late Majesty, for enabling the *South-Sea Company* to increase their Capital, by which this Duty, among others, stands expressly appropriated to that Company. Nor does it signify to say that this Duty never produced any Thing; because if the Levying of this Duty was prevented by a Doubt in the Act of Parliament, that Doubt ought to have been explained long before now; for he who grants is always supposed to grant every Thing necessary for making his Grant effectual. Therefore, as the old Duty stands appropriated to the *South-Sea Company*, and makes a Part of the Sinking Fund, we cannot abolish it without making an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund; and if the *South-Sea Company* should give up two Thirds of their Grant, in order to make the remaining Third more effectual, or if we should by Way of Repeal, take from the Sinking Fund two Thirds of this Duty, in Hopes the remaining Third would produce more than the whole three Parts formerly did, or could have

done, surely the *South-Sea Company* as well as the Sinking Fund have an undoubted Right to that third Part; so that we cannot appropriate the 12 s. now proposed to be laid upon *Sweets* to the Service of next Year, without incroaching both upon the Sinking Fund, and upon the Right of the *South Sea Company*.

I hope, Sir, every Gentleman that hears me is now convinced, the Project we have under our Consideration must either be called a new Tax, or an Incroachment on the Sinking Fund; and as the Hon. Gentleman who moved you the Question, admitted, that we ought neither to impose any new Tax, nor make any such Incroachment; I hope he will now admit, his Proposition is such a one as ought not to be agreed to; for tho' I shall not say that out of his own Mouth I have condemned him, yet, I think I may say, that out of his own Mouth, I have condemned the Project he has been pleased to offer. I know, it may be said, that if we, from the future Produce of this Duty, pay yearly to the Sinking Fund, a Sum equal to what the Duty has produced at a Medium since the first Time of its being granted, we cannot be accused of making any Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund; but is not this a Sort of Play upon Words hardly becoming the Courts in *Westminster-Hall*, and much less the Proceedings of this House, where nothing but Equity and strict Honour ought to prevail? A Duty has been granted, Money has been borrowed upon the Credit of that Duty, it has since been found the Duty was so high, that it amounted to a Prohibition, and, therefore, produced little or nothing; the Creditors come and desire the Duty may be lowered, in order that they may have some Sort of Security for their Money: Could we refuse so equitable a Request? Could we in Honour say, No, you shall have

the former Produce, which was little or nothing, continued to you; but if, upon its being lowered, it produces more, we must take the whole increased Produce, for answering our own necessary Occasions? The Case before us is still stronger: The old Duty upon *Sweets* would have produced a great deal more than ever it did, if the Doubt which arose about the Intention of the Law had been explained as now designed; and, if what is now designed, was really the Intention of the Law at first, that Doubt ought to have been so explained as soon as it was taken Notice of, in order to make effectual to our Creditors that Grant, which we had made them for securing the Payment of the Money they lent us in our Distress. We may abolish the old Duty, we may establish one third Part of that Duty only, for the future; but that new Duty so to be established, in Honour, in Justice, in Equity, belongs to the Creditors who lent their Money upon the Credit of the old Duty; and consequently, we cannot apply it to the current Service, without making an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund.

I have hitherto supposed, Sir, that the Parliaments which established the Duty upon *Sweets*, designed to include those Liquors called *made Wines*; and this I have supposed, only to shew that, even in that Case, we ought not to agree to the Method proposed, because it will be an Incroachment upon the Sinking-Fund; but now, Sir, I shall suppose, and I do insist upon it, that no former Parliament ever intended to subject Liquors made for Sale by Infusion, Fermentation, or otherwise, from *British* Fruits or Sugar, or from Fruits or Sugar mixed with other Materials or Ingredients, and commonly called or distinguished by the Name of *made Wines*, to the Duty by them imposed upon *Sweets*; and

the Practice ever since those Acts of Parliament were passed, which is above *thirty* Years ago, has fully justified my Opinion; for we must suppose the Commissioners of the Treasury, the Commissioners of Excise, and the Excisemen, have often taken the Opinion of Lawyers upon this Head; and if they had ever had the Opinion of any tolerable Lawyer in their Favour, we may suppose, they would have exacted the Tax with the utmost Rigour; we cannot suppose, without doing great Injustice to those worthy Servants of their Country, that they would have allowed the Publick to be defrauded of such a considerable Revenue, if in all that Time they had ever had the Opinion of any noted Lawyer in their Favour; therefore, I must look upon the Proposition now made to us, as a Proposition for imposing a new Tax upon the Subjects of this Kingdom; and I shall now endeavour to shew, that it is a Tax of the most oppressive Nature, and which may be attended with the most fatal Consequences, with respect to our Constitution and the Liberty of the Subject.

The Nature of Excise-Laws, Sir, and the dangerous Consequences of extending such Laws in a free Country, were upon a late famous Occasion so fully explained, that I little expected a further Extension of such Laws would have been attempted for some Years to come; but now I find, I have been egregiously mistaken; for the Project now before us, I must look on as a new and a wide Extension of those Laws. Every one knows, the Duty upon *Sweets* is to be raised by the Laws of Excise, and if you subject all those Liquors called *made Wines* to that Duty, there is hardly a Farmer, or a Country Gentleman in *England*, but will by that Means be subjected to the Laws of Excise, if he resolves to make the best Use of his Garden or

Orchard. Our Excise-Laws have already spread themselves over every City, Borough, and Village in the Kingdom, and by this new Regulation they are to spread themselves over every County, and to enter into the most lonesome Farm-House in *England*; for if a Farmer has a Mind to make a little Money of an Elder-Hedge, or of a Goosberry, Raspberry, or Currant-Bush, or of a Mulberry-Tree, he may have in his Garden, in order to enable him to pay his Rent to his Landlord, his House must be open at all Hours in the Day-time to the Gauger, nay, it must be open at all Hours in the Night-time, if the Gauger can but find a profligate Fellow of an Ale-house-keeper in the Hundred, who has got himself named a Constable by the Trading Justices of the County. Can it be supposed, Sir, that this will produce no fresh Murmurs, can it be supposed our Farmers will all submit patiently to such a Hardship, or can it be supposed that all our Gaugers will behave with common Decency, when they get into a lonesome House in the Country, at a Time, when, perhaps, the Family are in the Fields a Hay-making, and no Person left at Home, but the Farmer's Wife, or his Daughter? Then, suppose the Farmer is caught in a Fraud, how will the Landlord look, when he finds himself disappointed of his Rent, by an Extort brought against his Tenant for the Penalty?

I am sure, Sir, I need not repeat to the House the many good Arguments that have been made use of against Excise-Laws. It has upon a former Occasion, been shewn, that they are of the most dangerous Consequence to our Constitution; and the Arguments then made use of are certainly still fresh in every Gentleman's Memory. I shall only take Notice, that as the Authority and Business of Excisemen will be very

much increased by this new Project, we have now a greater Number of them than we have Occasion for, or their Number must be greatly augmented; for not only many of our Farmers will from henceforth be subjected to their Review; but I am afraid, every Tavern and Wine-Cellar in the Kingdom. We know what a Clamour was raised against the last Attempt to subject Wine-Merchants and Vintners to Excise-Laws: That was an open Attempt, and such a one as they could openly oppose; but the Difficulty of such an Attack was then felt; and, therefore, they are now to be attack'd in an indirect and hidden Method; for, if most of our Dealers in Wine, be Brewers of Wine, as is commonly reported, every such Dealer will, by this Method, be subjected to the Review of an Exciseman, tho' he dares not say he is afraid of any such Thing, and, therefore, cannot openly oppose the Project now before us. By this Means, the Influence which Excisemen already have, or may have, upon all City and Borough-Elections, will be very much increased; and, as many of our Farmers are Freeholders, the Excisemen will, by Means of this Project, have an Opportunity of gaining an Influence likewise in all County-Elections; both which are diametrically opposite to our Constitution, and to the Liberty of the Subject.

If by lowering the Duty on *Sweets*, and preventing the Retail of Spirituous Liquors in Punch or otherwise, those Liquors called *made Wines*, should come to be of universal Use, we must suppose that almost every Farmer in *England*, will turn himself towards the making of such Liquors, and the producing of Materials proper for that Purpose; the Consequence of which will be, that he must go to the next Office of Excise, and enter his Name and Place of Abode, together

ther, with every Room and Place made Use of by him for making or keeping any such Liquors. This he must do under a great Penalty, and from the Time he has done so, he can no longer call his House properly his own: From that Moment, the Gauger may any Hour of the Day, and as often as he pleases, require Admittance; and, by taking a Constable along with him, he may at any Hour of the Night, and as often as he has a Mind, require Admittance: If the poor Farmer should at any Time refuse to leave his Labour in the Fields, or if he should refuse to get out of Bed after a hard Day's Labour, in order to let the Gauger enter his House, he subjects himself to a great Penalty. For these Penalties he is not to be sued according to the common Law, nor to be tried in the usual Way, by God and his Country; but he is to be tried before the Commissioners of Excise, or before two Justices of Peace, who may convict him, without any Jury, upon the Oath of the Gauger, who makes the Complaint; and all this without any Appeal but to the Quarter Sessions, whose Judgment is to be final. Then, after he is once convicted, in order that he may for ever after remain obedient to the Commissioners of Excise, or to the Justices of Peace, they are empowered to levy the whole or what Part of the Penalty they please, according to the past or the future Behaviour of the unfortunate Convict.

This, Sir, will be the Case of every Farmer in England, who attempts to make the most of the Goosberries or Currants he has in his Garden; and, if to avoid this Misfortune, he should resolve to sell his Fruits to the Makers of such Liquors; instead of making them himself, he must sell them for little or nothing. From hence I am apt to believe that, notwithstanding the low Duty you propose to lay upon *made Wines*, the Methods you

are to prescribe for raising it, will prevent the Consumpt; because no Man will subject himself to the Excise Laws, for the Sake of any Advantage he may get by the making of such Liquors; and if they are not made, I am sure they cannot be consumed; so that one or other of these Inconveniencies must arise from the Project now under our Consideration: Either a great Number of our People will be subjected to Excise Laws, who were never before subject to, any such, or the Produce of the Duty will come far short of your Expectation. By the former, our Liberties will be exposed to greater Danger than they are at present, or ever ought to be; and by the latter, we shall leave a new Load upon our Posterity, without any competent Fund, for ridding them of that Load; which is, I think, what no Man can agree to, who has any Regard for his Posterity, or the future Happiness of his Country.

From what I have said, Sir, I hope it will appear, that the Method proposed for making good the Deficiency of the Supplies for this next ensuing Year, is not only a new Tax, but that that Tax is one of the most dangerous Taxes we can impose upon the People. I shall be far from proposing any Addition to the *Land Tax*; I think *2s. 6d. the Pound* is the highest our Land-holders ought to be loaded with in Time of Peace; but I am sure it would be better for every Land-holder in England to pay *3s. in the Pound Land-Tax*, than to try such a Hardship upon his Tenants, as to make it necessary for them either to subject themselves to the Laws of Excise, or give up making the proper Advantage of some Part of their Farms. An additional *Shilling* to the *Land-Tax* is but a short temporary Loss: It is a Loss of a twentieth Part of his Rent but for one Year only; but by subjecting his Tenants to such a

Hardship for 17 or 20 Years, he may find himself obliged to lower the Rent of every Farm that belongs to him, much more than a twentieth Part, which will be probably a perpetual Loss, or at least a yearly Loss that may affect him and his Posterity for a great Number of Years. For this Reason I say, Sir, every Landholder ought to chuse rather to pay an additional *Shilling Land-Tax*, than subject his Tenants to such a Hardship as will be the necessary Consequence of the Project now before us. But there is another Reason why every Man in the Kingdom, as well as every Land-holder, ought to be against this Project, if he has a proper

Regard for his Posterity or for his Country; because the Method thereby proposed for raising Money for the current Service, is in general, I think, the most pernicious Method this Nation, or any Nation, can ever chuse for supplying such Services. To establish Funds, and then mortgage those Funds for ready Money, is a Method of supplying the current Service, which I shall now endeavour to shew no Nation ought to take, but in Cases of the greatest Extremity and Danger.

[The rest of this Debate we shall give in the APPENDIX, when this Journal is to be concluded.]

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS and DISPUTES in this Month.

Weekly Miscellany, Nov. 25. N° 257.

The Amusements of the Bath, and Extravagance of our modern Gaming.

ONE who signs himself *OTTIE*, in a Letter from the *Bath*, says: The Company of this Place may be divided into the Sick and Well; those who come for the Benefit of the Waters, and those who come for the Diversions of the Season; the Weakly, the Frolick and the Gay; the Indigent, the Lazar, and the emaciated Cripple. This makes an odd Contrast of Persons; the one Sort appearing up and down the Rooms and Walks as so many *Monuments of the Vanity, Shortness, and Pains of human Existence*, to abate the silly Confidence of Man, to stop the Pursuit of improper and hurtful Pleasures, and check the eager Pursuit of any: The other Sort wholly inattentive to this affecting Lecture of Morality, and running after Enjoyments with such *insatiable Idleness and Inconsideration of Futurity*, as if Pleasure was never to admit of Interruption, or Life of End. Too much Indolence unweares the Body, and too much Horry is a Profusion of Spirits; and a continual Dance after frivolous Pleasures is sure to end in Chagrin and Disappointment. It is however so difficult to avoid making one in this mad Company, as it is easy to despise what they are doing: The Course of Things is as mechanical as if it went by Clockwork, and you cannot walk by a *free Agent*, where the whole

Turn is to do as other People do: It is a *Sort of Fairy Circle*, if you do not run round in it, you either cannot move at all, or are in every Body's Way.

Res of fœvra voluptas, is a Truth which never appeared to me in so strong a Light as now. *Phœvra* is the Refinement of a Gentleman, it is a Matter of Taste and Sense; it requires *Parts and Genius*, and *Manners*, and is not to be found in the everlasting Giggle and low Amusements of the great Vulgar or the *small*. People of Condition should be more distinguish'd by the elegant Choice of their Satisfaction, than by their Dress and Equipage. I cannot for my Life see how a Man of Quality, sitting Day after Day, and Night after Night at a *Quadrille* or *Gaming Table*, sits above the lowest Mechanic with his *Joint-stool, Chalk, and All-square*, unless in having a cleaner Room, and risking larger Sums. *Cards* are the universal Mode of a whole People, who pique themselves upon being intelligent and polite: And yet the best that can be said of them is, that they make People easy, by allowing them to be dull, and superseding the Necessity of their being entertaining: And this Diversion might not improperly be called the *Stratagem of shallow People* who could not converse, to bring down to a Level with themselves all who could. For *Gaming* is a Suspension of the Understanding, a stupid Attention to a Parcel of black and red Spots, a continual Conflict of the lowest and basest Passions; and if there be some Skill required in some Species of it, *Criptomans* who do not discover

common

common Sense in other Things, often excel in it. And yet for *this*, *Gentlemen* forego their Distinction of Birth and Education, waste a whole Life in the most trifling of Amusements, and bury the noblest Faculties in the meanest of Employments. For *this* the Ladies pass anxious Days and sleepless Nights, deny themselves the Benefits of Light and Air, and sacrifice even *Beauty* to the dear Diversion. The Itch of Play rages like a Plague, and depopulates the Island of all that is lovely, generous and brave; it is epidemical throughout the Kingdom, and spares neither Age nor Sex among us; and we are become a Nation of *Gamesters*. In this Quarter the Distemper breaks out with all its terrible Symptoms, and has absorbed the other Entertainments and Follies of the Place, as the floating Humours of the Body sometimes settle into a *Gout*, which is a Complication of them all. Nothing is to be seen but *Play* and the Preparations for it: Persons of all Characters and Denominations sit down to *Cards* from Morning to Night, and Night to Morning; and they agree in this Particular, who disagree in every Thing else.

There is a Story of Mr. *Locks*, that being invited to make a Party with a Company of the highest Rank, and hearing the Cards called for as soon as the Dinner was over, he retired thoughtful to a Window, and being asked the Reason of his Seriousness, replied, *he had not slept the foregoing Night for the Pleasure their Lordships had given him leave to expect, from that Day's Conversation with Men of the first Character for Sense and Genius, and hoped his Sorrows for his Disappointment would be forgiven him.* It is said too, the Game was thrown up, and Conversation restored upon this Remonstrance. The Pain I feel upon this Occasion is much like that of the great Man I have mentioned: But I am not a Mr. *Locks*, and if I were, might possibly not be so successful now, tho' I was to die of the Spleen. I should therefore have acquiesced and not thrust myself into the impertinent Office of instructing my Betters, if I could have found one Day in seven exempt from this Offence against Taste and good Manners. But when on *Sunday* I went to the public Rooms for my usual Refreshment of Tea, and the Pleasure of looking about me, and beheld Tables with Cards, and surrounded by Persons of Figure enough to give a Sanction to the Practice among the Vulgar, I lost all Patience, and could not forbear crying out against a Scene so shocking in a *Protestant, Christian Kingdom*. This may be a *foreign* Mode, but I am confident, 'till lately, it has not been an *English* one. Our *travelling* Gentlemen may more innocently import *French* Silks than such *French* Fashions. A *Sunday* Day has been devoted to holy Purposes by the first written Laws, and perhaps

as early as our World: And I am fully persuaded, we are indebted for the *Remains* of Religion and even *rational Nature*, to the constant Return of that Day. I therefore look upon all Attempts to mis-apply it, not only as an Insult on that unerring Wisdom which appointed it, but a Malevolence to Mankind, who by this Means may insensibly lose their only Security against sinking as low as the brutal Nature in Thinking and Acting.

Common-Sense, Dec. 3. N^o 44.

Of Tyranny and Tyrants.

S I R,

THE best Definition of Tyranny, that I have met with, is Mr. *Locks's*, tho' I think it is not complete. 'Tyranny is the Exercise of Power beyond Right'. I would rather say, 'tis the Exercise of Power without Right, to the Prejudice of some Person: Because a Power may be used without Right, and yet to the Benefit of him on whom 'tis exercis'd, and consequently not Tyrannical. But if this Definition of Tyranny be not exact, his following Remarks have judiciously and fully describ'd it. 'Where Law ends (says he) Tyranny begins; if the Law be transgress'd to another's Harm'. 'Tis a Mistake, he says, to think this Fault is proper only to Monarchies. Other Forms of Government are liable to it, as well as that; for wherever the Power, that is put in any Hands for the Government of the People, and the Preservation of their Properties, is applied to other Ends, and made Use of to impoverish, harass, or subdue them to the arbitrary Commands of those that have it, then it becomes Tyranny, whether it be in the Hands of one or many.

If these Observations are true, as, surely, they are, then not only the Person who has the supreme Power in every State may be Tyrannical, but every other inferior Magistrate. A Monarchy, whether despotick or limited, may possibly be as little liable to Tyranny as a Republick; and a Constable, perhaps, may not be less likely to be a Tyrant than a Sultan. The Essence of Tyranny consists plainly in an illegal, a partial, a rapacious Administration in the Use of Authority by any Magistrate, be he Supreme or inferior, not for the Good of the People, but to gratify his Avarice, Ambition, or some irregular Passion.

It follows too from these Observations, that a People may be oppress'd, and yet the Prince be scarce properly denominat'd a Tyrant. He may be given up to Pleasure, have an Aversion to Business, or not be capable of it: But if such an indolent and unapt Prince should connive at the licentious Cruelty of his wicked Ministers, the Sufferings of the People may

be as great as those of the *Romans* under *Nero*. It may be observ'd further, Sir, that there are Degrees of Tyranny: And that there may be some Alleviations even of the worst Sorts of it. I should think myself less unhappy to be born under a Tyranny establish'd for some Generations, than under a free Government, and yet to live to see the Loss of that inestimable Blessing of Liberty. Further yet, Sir, if it were my unhappy State to be a Slave, it would still be some Consolation to me to be dominic'd over by wise, tho' wicked Men: For surely, Sir, it must add great Weight to the Chains of any thinking Slave, to find himself oppress'd by contemptible Masters.

Another Letter in this Paper insinuates, that the Plain Account of the Sacrament, was written to make the Dissenters, and consequently the Ministers, easy about the Affair of the T—r.

In this and some former Papers was published the following Advertisement.

Whereas the Merchants of England have found by Experience, that it is dangerous for Ships carrying English Colours to trade either to the Mediterranean or America, this is to give Notice to all Commanders of Ships, as well such as were formerly call'd Men of War, and have since been employ'd in Trade for the Benefit of their respective Captains, as Masters of Merchant-Men, that Peter St. Malo lately arriv'd from France, will furnish them with French Colours at very reasonable Rates.

N. B. That before he left his own Country he made the same Colours for the French trading Vessels; which were found to have the same in them; that all those Ships that carried them, pass'd unobserv'd thro' all Parts of the World. He is to be spok'n with every Day upon the French Walk in Change Time, and afterwards at Tom Fildes, Cornhill.

Crossman, Dec. 3. N° 595: since

OF INFORMERS.

THE most shocking Circumstance of the *Roman* Bondage, under their Emperors, was the Encouragement given to Informers and Accusers. Mr. Gordon hath bestow'd several Chapters upon these Monsters, in his Discourses before Tacitus, with their Methods of Proceeding, the horrid Butcheries they committed, and the general Condemnation they struck into all Ranks of People; particularly in the Reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*. Every Man of Birth, Ability, Virtue, or Merit of any Kind, which render'd them both hated and fear'd, was almost sure of Destruction, for these infamous Practices grew so general, by Example, Opprobrium and personal Fear;

that many Persons made no Scruple of betraying their most intimate Friends and Acquaintance, their nearest Relations, and even their Parents, for Plots real, or pretended against their Imperial Majesty. Not only the least obnoxious Words and Actions were wrested into High-Treason, but even Looks and Gestures were sufficient to take away the Lives of those, who were suspected, or disliked at Court. Nay, it was even criminal to discover their Fears. In short, the *Roman Commonwealth*, founded at first by a Band of Outlaws, was now degenerated into a Community of Informers and Cut-Throats, who were not only protected and rewarded, but advanced to the highest Honours and Offices of State.

The good Emperor *Titus* began to put a Stop to these Enormities, by a severe Edict against Informers and Accusers. But his short Reign, and the brutish Temper of his Brother *Domitian*, who succeeded him, frustrated that glorious Design. Informers were now let loose again, and gorged themselves with the noblest Roman Blood, which their former Raping had left unshed. However *Nerva*, who succeeded, being a good Prince, revived the Edict of *Titus*, with several Additions; and his adopted Son, *Trajan*, endeavour'd to compleat it, by the Law of Retaliation, or dooming them to the same Punishments, which they had unjustly fix'd upon others. This furnishes *Pliny* with one of the finest Topics of Panegyrick upon that excellent Prince, which I cannot forbear quoting from Bishop Kennet's Translation of it. Having given some Account of *Domitian's* barbarous Shews and Diversions, he proceeds as follows.

Instead of this bloody, this accursed Shew, how fair, how innocent an one have you oblig'd us with? We have now seen false Evidences and suborn'd Informers punish'd with the same Severity as Thieves and Murderers. This Sort of Plague did lately so far spread, that they kill'd not in Corners, or frequented Places, but throng'd the Temples and crowded the Courts of Justice. At the Mercy of these Rascals lay every Man's Life and Estate, no Degree, no Condition secure, the being a Father, or being Childless, was alike criminal, when these Villains were agreed to make it so. To this fatal Mischievousness our Princes hath much contributed. But you nobly resolv'd to correct this Abuse; and when you had reform'd the Discipline of the Camp, you came to regulate the Proceedings of your Courts of Justice too. You have done nothing more honourable, nothing more becoming the Glories of your Reign, than your just Rejection of suborn'd Witnesses. We see our Eyes with seeing them drawn thro' the Streets to the Place of Execution. We took'd us blind ourselves at

the comfortable Sight; when, like VICTIMS
 ro' stone for the Blood their Perjuries had
 shed, they were dragg'd away to make the
 same ignominious End, to which they had
 brought so many innocent Souls. Some of
 them, in order to be transported, were thrust
 on Ship-board, and deliver'd over to the Mer-
 cy of Storms and Billows. Deservedly were
 they expell'd *that Cranry*, which their Mis-
 informations had laid desolate. If any of
 them happen'd to escape the Justice of Winds
 and the Sea, they should be landed on barren
 Rocks and unfrequented Shoers, there to drudge
 out a laborious and a miserable Life, far from
 all Societies, of which they were not fit to
 be Members. — A memorable Sight this! —
 A Fleet of Evidences turn'd loose, to grap-
 ple with the Winds, which spread their
 Sails together in the Storms, and fly before
 the driving Waves, till their Carper be stopp'd
 by dashing against some surly Rock! — A
 gullant Prospect from the safer Shore, to view
 the rambling Navy tost and scatter'd thro' the
 foaming Ocean; and a fit Occasion this, of
 fresh Gratitude to our Prince, who, preserv-
 ing his Clemency untaisted, hath deliver'd over
 these Criminals to the Justice of the Sea and
 the Gods thereof! — A notable Instance this
 of what Alterations short Time may produce,
 when to those very Desarts, where the Inno-
 cent were lately so injuriously banish'd, the
 Guilty are now justly confin'd; and all those
 savage Islands, so lately fill'd with falsely ac-
 cused Senators, are now more properly stock'd
 with these perfidious Informers, whom you have
 not only curb'd, or stifled for the present, but
 by Penalties, answerable to their black Crimes,
 totally quell'd and suppress'd them for ever.

It must give every Man Pleasure to read this
 Account, however averse to Severity of all
 Kinds. — But all the Care of *this good Prince*
 could not secure Posterity from the same dread-
 ful Pestilence, which broke out again in the
 following Reigns, and continued to infest the
 wretched Dregs of the Roman People, with
 but little Intermiſſion, till the Destruction of
 the Empire itself. Even the Christian Em-
 perors encouraged it; and, if we may believe
 some Writers, carry'd it much farther than
 the very worst of the Heathen Tyrants.

I do not find that these Blood Suckers ever
 got to such an Head in England; tho' our
 History abounds with Instances of State Mur-
 ders, by open Violence, private Assassinations,
 and mock Forms of Law. But no Court was
 ever without Spies and Intelligencers, both a-
 broad and at home. Those abroad are abso-
 lutely necessary in Negotiation, and may be
 turn'd to great Advantage by a skillful Mini-
 ster. But those at home are only the Under-
 Agents of the grand Whisperers, and by them
 employ'd to discover the private Opinions of
 the People. For this Purpose, they frequent
 Coffee-houses and other Places of publick Re-

sort, as well as insinuate themselves into pri-
 vate Clubs and Parties of Pleasure; where
 they have a Licence to rail and abuse those,
 who pay them, in order to draw Secrets out
 of those, with whom they converse. I have
 myself had the Honour more than once of be-
 ing beset by these ministerial Familiars; but
 they happen'd to be such Novices in their Pro-
 fession, that they either betray'd themselves,
 or were discover'd by others, to whom they
 foolishly boasted of their Employment.

There is another Sort of Informers in all
 Kingdoms and States, which abound with pe-
 nal Laws, enforced with pecuniary Rewards.
 This became such a Grievance, in the Reign
 of Q. Elizabeth, that several Acts were pass'd,
 for the Redress of it; which proving ineffec-
 tual, another Law was made, in the Reign of
 K. James I. at the Motion of the House of Com-
 mons, against vexatious Relators, Informers and
 Promoters upon penal Statutes.

It is natural to observe here, that if it was
 thought necessary to restrain the Practices of
 common Informers, in the Reigns of Q. Eli-
 zabeth and K. James I. it is certainly expe-
 dient at present, when penal Laws are multi-
 ply'd and extended to such a Degree, that
 our Streets swarm with mercenary Informers,
 and our Prisons are fill'd with little miserable
 Offenders against them; which excites the
 Compassion of good-natured People at home,
 and I am afraid gives no great Credit to our
 Country abroad.

Daily Gazetteer, Dec. 10. N^o 760.

One who signs himself Paul Crapo, gives the
 following Summary of his Lectures upon the
 Subject of the Spanish Depredations.

I HAVE said, that if the Spaniards will
 be rigorous, and withdraw their Forbear-
 ance and Indulgence, they can justify many
 of the late Captures; and we are upon the
 same Footing as other Nations. — That the
 Craftsman is very vain, in making a Merit
 of saying nothing to the Purpose; and we
 have no Treaty that can invalidate these
 Confiscations. — That at Utrecht we had an
 undeniable Opportunity of obtaining Explana-
 tions, or Concessions, that would have pre-
 vented most, if not all, the late Losses and
 Disputes. — That Satisfaction ought to be
 made for all the Seizures they can't prove to
 be just; and if it is not immediate, the Suf-
 ferers should not be impatient, but rest per-
 suaded there's a just Cause of Delay, and be-
 lieve the Spaniards have their Demands upon
 us, and may charge us with illegal Captures.
 &c. — That we were wrong in the Sicilian
 Hostilities, and cannot blame the Spaniards
 Resentment, nor expect they should shew us
 any particular Marks of their Esteem or Re-
 gard, — That it is our Interest to endeavour

a hearty Reconciliation with them; and it is their likewise to be always in a strict Alliance and Friendship with us, preferable to any other Nation. These Assertions are again humbly submitted to every disinterested and impartial Briton.

He concludes thus: And here with a becoming Resentment, we reflect upon the Negotiations of the *Utrecht* Treaty-Mongers, who neglected their Country. If they did not know what to ask, why did they not inform themselves? We made a Peace by ourselves, surely we ought to have made it for ourselves. The *West-India* Trade should have really been taken Care of, and such Explanations or Concessions insisted upon, that would have effectually destroy'd the present Pretensions of the *Spaniards*. — But this was not the only Sin of Omission; they might have demanded all the *Newfoundland* Fishery to ourselves, exclusive of the *French*, who have the Advantage of us in carrying better Goods to Market; whether it be owing to their Salt, their Art in Curing, or the Goodness of their Fish, I don't pretend to say. — Yet thro' these Clouds we shine, and are notwithstanding a glorious Nation; and so we shall continue as long as we are Proof against the Attempts of the Evil-minded. Unanimity will give us superior Strength; but Discord will weaken us, and make us a Prey to an Enemy. — If there are any who long to fish in troubled Waters, to involve us in a War, that they may have an Opportunity of making their own Fortunes; to these unnatural Sons of an indulgent Mother, I shall tell a short Story, and leave 'em to make the Application. When I was at *Jamaica*, as we were going off one Evening, *Jack Bowline*, who was then a Midshipman with us, starts up all at once, and falls foul of one of the Fellows, who resisted, and in the Scuffle we were fairly overfet; but very luckily for us, another Boat was putting off at the same Time and saved us: Who can guess the Cause of *Jack's* Wrath? They had left his Cogg of Rum ashore: What do you think he reply'd, when we expostulated with him? — D—n his Bl—d, he had rather we were all drowned, than want Punch.

Common Sense, Dec. 10. N° 45.

NONSENSE to COMMON SENSE.

S I R,

I AM *Nonsense*, a terrestrial Goddess, your avow'd and irreconcilable Foe. My Power is too universally known and acknowledg'd, not to be dreaded by all those who dare oppose me. I have the Ladies, the Postasters, and the M— on my Side:—The Figure I have often made in great A— is conspicuous to all Mankind: And it is well known, that when

my Reasons are heard and attended to, they have sometimes had a more powerful Influence in those A— than the Eloquence of *Tully* ever had over the Senators of *Rome*.— My *Love Verses* are handed about in the Circle of *St. James's*; they are approv'd of, and admir'd by the whole C—; and my good Lord C— and his V—, both honour me with their Devotion.

But to say Truth, I am often oblig'd to appear in different Shapes, in order to gain so extensive a Sway as I now bear in this polite Nation: But one of the Places where I most constantly appear in my own Figure, and where my Attributes are most openly avow'd, is the third Form in *Westminster* School; whoever goes thorough that bright Seminary of Learning, must begin his first Essays in Poetry by making *Nonsons* Verses. It was here that *Dryden* himself stay'd half a Year within my Jurisdiction, and tho' he ungratefully endeavour'd to forget the first Rudiments which he learnt under my benign Influence, yet, in the Multiplicity of his Writings, he was frequently compell'd to practise my sacred Mysteries.

The Pulpit and the Play-house owe their crowded Audiences to my Inspiration.—*Orator Henry* is my chief Priest, and, as *Pope* vulgarly expresses it,

Imbrown'd with native bronze, lo! *Henry* stands,
Tuning his voice, and balancing his hands;
How sweet *Nonsense* trickles from his tongue!
How sweet the periods! neither laid nor sung.

The present glorious *Laureat* is a Poet after my own Heart. His Vows to me have been constant, and his Offerings at my Altar uninterrupted, except when he stole from certain *Lordly Persons* (whose Names and Characters I abhor) that insipid Comedy, call'd, *The Carles's Husband*. Such an Act in such a Son rais'd my Indignation to the highest Pitch: Nor could he perfectly appease my Anger till he had turn'd the *Tartuffe* of *Moliere* into his own excellent *Nonjuror*; but he is now all, and for ever, my own: And I can boast of no greater Work, even among the most happy Labours of my most laborious Bards, than the last incomprehensible Ode upon the 30th of *October*.

Two or three *Roman* Poets did me great Mischief many Ages ago; *Quintus Horatius Flaccus* in particular, who strove, not without a Prospect of Success, to banish me out of the habitable World: But I baffled his Endeavours by making *Dausler* translate him into *Prose*, and *Greec* turn him into *Rhyme*; and when I have a Mind to do this same *Horace* more Mischief than ordinary, and even to out-bewley *Bowley*, I dedicate him to a Lord, or adorn him with *Genus* and *Metab.*

It is needless for me to boast of the many Followers I have, when I shine in immortal Lustre at the Theatre in the *Haymarket*, a Place where you dare not frown your Head.— It is the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of *Nonsense*, and owes its present Glory to the happy Administration of those two Demi-Gods, my Vice-Gerents, *Angelo Cori*, and *John James Heideger*.—The Merits of *John James* are known and confes'd at all the Courts of *Europe*; and they have rais'd such Envy in the *Spanish* Ministers (who are making continual Depredations on the *English*) that those resplendent *Dons* have seiz'd the charming *Farinelli* as counterband Goods. *John James* bears the Loss with an Equanimity and Calmness, that renders him, if possible, more than ever the Delight of Mankind: He knows he shall one Day or other receive Justice: He is a Lover of Peace and Harmony, and therefore waits till he has had a satisfactory Letter from Mr. *K*— before he makes those unnecessary Clamours and Outcries, that would only proclaim him a *sturdy Beggar*, and could be of no Sort of Use towards the Recovery of *Farinelli*. The worthy *Angelo Cori* is less known and consequently less admired; but I can give no better an Idea of his excellent Parts, and fine Turn for *Nonsense*, than by quoting one of his Songs in the last delightful Opera of *Aspects*, Act. 1st. Scene 4th. Page 13th.

When in a foggy gloomy air,
The monster wanders from the wood,
He flies the huntsmen, struck with fear,
Nor, rav'nous, longer seeks his food.
But both his fear and flight prove vain,
By his unerring hand,
His fury's quell'd, and he lies slain,
Stretch'd on the barren strand.

Such a Genius both for Music and Poetry (for the *Italian* Time is equal to the *English* Words) must hereafter claim the Laurels, when my Favourite C— is mingled among the Gods: Nor can I have the least Glimpse of Joy in the present universal Grief, but by thinking that it may afford Time to *Signor Cori* to prepare more *Nonsense* for his Friend *Heideger's* Stage.— But bidding Defiance to you and the *Craftsmen*, I shall conclude with saying, that tho' I am the Essence and Deity of *Nonsense*, I hope to have wrote for once to be understood by *Common Sense*.

Adieu for ever.

Universal Spectator, Dec. 10. N^o 479.

Several Sorts of COXCOMBS.

Mr. SPEC,

IT is an Observation of a great Wit, I think *Montaigne*, that, as amongst wise Men, he is the wisest who thinks he knows least; so amongst Fools, he is the greatest

that thinks he knows most: The Truth of this Maxim is evident to all who have made the last Observation on Mankind; there is such a Self-sufficiency eternally attach'd to Folly, that it will inevitably betray itself; there is not a Blockhead, but who is at the same Time a talkative Impertinent. If we view the World, we find several different Species of Fools, who entertain a prodigious Opinion of themselves, from having their several Accomplishments arising from different Talents; the *Coffee-House Politician* looks with the utmost Contempt on the Man of Wit and Pleasure; the *Virtuoso* heartily despises the Abilities of the *Court Gallant*, and the *Beau* has as mean an Opinion of the Knowledge of Coins and Cockle-shells, as the *Naturalist* can possibly have for *Toupees* and *Drawing Rooms*: Folly and Impertinence may be equally predominant in them all, whether they settle the Affairs of the Nation or those of the Theatre; whether an *Orator* may be the Delight of their Soul, or a fine Shape and fashionable Suit of Cloaths: Your more sober, sedate Coxcombs are generally the most troublesome to Men of Sense; and your witty, gay, gallant Blockheads are the greatest Plagues to Women, either of Beauty or Fortune: There is not a young Lady, of either one or the other, can arrive at her 16th Year, but she has a Shoal of these detestable arrogant Creatures, who list themselves in their Service, and are Volunteers in the Pursuit of Wealth and Beauty.

I wish I could say that the Female-Sex did not give these last Kind of Blockheads too civil a Reception, and did not believe that they really had the Accomplishments of a fine Gentleman because they themselves aver'd it: If the Ladies run into such Indiscretion, it is merely from their wanting to know how to distinguish the Man of Wit and Merit from the empty Coxcomb and talkative Fop; it is therefore incumbent on you, to endeavour the giving the Minds of the Women a more rational Turn, and place in a true Light the Pretences and Arrogance of a Fop; nor can I think you could hit of a more effectual Way, than to give an historical Account of these *Inspids*; you need not be very tedious and prolix in your Memoirs, for as their Talk and Actions are very narrowly confin'd, the Diary of one Day would in Effect be the whole History of their Life.

DOROTHY MANLY.

The Unreasonableness of branding Men with odious Names, for mere Differences in Opinion.

To the Author of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

3-F-R,

IT is very often the Case, that those who differ from *current Orthodoxy* are supposed with

with the Name of *atheistical* or *diffical* Persons; tho' they believe the Verity and Excellency of the Christian Religion, and lead a virtuous Course of Life.

The Persons generally asper'd, are those who believe the universal Goodness of God, and the intire Agreement of Reason and Revelation. But as it was not my Intent to say any Thing in Defence of their Tenets, I shall proceed to make some Remarks on the Disingenuity of those that asper's 'em. It's very apparent, that they are sensible what they say, is a Slur on their Characters, on whom they fix the Appellation; because they mention it as an ill Thing; which Consideration alone, ought to prevail with Persons of any tolerable Decency in their Behaviour, or who's Pretensions to Religion are not intirely hypocritical, to be extremely cautious, in saying any Thing which affects a Person's Character; because it's obvious, that Satisfaction and Advancement in Life, are in some Measure connected with the Esteem of others; and consequently, to throw an *Odium* on another's Character, has a plain Tendency to do him an irreparable Injury: Yet nothing is more common than for a Person, as above mention'd, to be generally pronounced a *Deist*, and sometimes an *Atheist*, without any pitticular Inquiry into the Equity of the Charge, by those that pronounce him such: Which, to say no worse, plainly shews a great deal of Conceit and blind Zeal; because, a Difference in Sentiments from their superior Judgment (as they seem to take that for granted) is the Foundation of the Aspersions: And what is it but a blind Zeal (or what if I should say a Want of Candour and common Honesty) that propagates the Calumny of such a Person, who innocently, and truly believes he has an equal Right to think for himself, with the rest of Mankind, and likewise to declare his Judgment? Tho' Ministers, in general, should be esteem'd and respected more than any other Rank of Men; yet, it's very much to be fear'd, that there are some of all Denominations, who are in some Measure necessary to the Continuation of this Disposition in People, to think ill of Persons of different Sentiments, thro' the Neglect of duly recommending (both in the Pulpit and Conversation) the Right of private Judgment, and a benevolent Disposition to all Mankind.

I think nothing is more absurd, than to blame any Man, whatsoever, that leads a virtuous Life, merely for his Sentiments; because Belief is necessary, *i. e.* we must judge as the Evidence for Things appears to our Understandings: Therefore no Man is culpable for wrong Opinions, nor a White better for right ones, any farther, than he has, or has not, made a due Use of his Capacity, &c. In impartially inquiring into the Truth of Things. It's so evident that our Judgment

and Estimation of Men ought to be as they are virtuous, that I shall only quote a Verse or two from the Bible. *Mat. vii. 18, 20. A good Tree cannot bring forth evil Fruit; neither can a corrupt Tree bring forth good Fruit. Wherefore by their Fruits ye shall know them. Acts x. 34, 35. Then Peter open'd his Mouth, and said, Of a Truth I perceive that God is no Respector of Persons; but in every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh Righteousness, will he accept with him.*

Now since this is the Case as to the Divine Being himself, let all who own it to be their Duty to imitate him, not only esteem Men as they are virtuous, but vindicate them from unjust and opinionated Censures; and let shew a Backwardness freely to express their own Sentiments, for Fear of the like Treatment from such mean Spirits; tho', indeed, it may be more political, to follow the Irony of a learned Author: 'Whatever you do, be orthodox. Orthodoxy will cover a Multitude of Sins; but a cloud of Virtues cannot cover the Want of the minutest Particle of Orthodoxy.'

Daventry,
Nov. 22, 1737.

I am,
Yours, &c.

Crossman, Dec. 17. N^o 597.

I have often mention'd Pallas, (says Mr. D'Arvers) the proud Fraud-man and Favourite of Claudius Cæsar; but the Insolence of that vile Upliner, the Prostitution of the Roman Senate, and the mean Submission of the Emperor himself, are so finely describ'd and expos'd by Pliny, in one of his Epistles, that I will give the Reader a Translation of it, as near as the Idioms of the two Languages, and my little Skill in them, will permit, (The following is an Extract of it.)

PLINY to his Friend MONTANUS.

I Acquainted you in my last that I had some Time ago taken Notice of a Monument of Pallas, with the following Inscription.

The Senate decreed to him the Ornaments of the Prætorship, and the Sum of 15 Millions of Sesterces, for his Fidelity and Duty to his Patrons; with which Honour he was pleas'd to be contented. — I had afterwards the Curiosity to consult this Decree of the Senate; which I found to be so ample and extravagant, that even this flattering Inscription seem'd mean and little.

Shall we suppose that the Authors of this Decree acted upon a Principle of *ferdid Flattery*; or that it was extorted from them by their wretched Condition? — I would call them Flatterers, if Flattery became the Senate — Was it therefore owing to their miserable Condition? — But nobody could be so miserable as to be forc'd into such Measures. — Was it then Ambition, and the Thirst after Pre-

greatest?—But who would be so mad as to de-
 stroy *Prætorium*, at the Expence of his own or
 the publick Infamy, in a City, where it was
 the Business of the highest Officers to be the
 highest Pleasurers of *Pallas* in the Senate?—
 Or shall not take any Notice of the *Prætorius*
Decretum being given to *Pallas*, a Slave;—
 because they were given by a Pack of Slaves;
 would likewise omit that Part of their Decree,
 which order'd that he should not only be ad-
 mitted, but even compell'd to make Use of
 gold Rings; for it would have been inconsis-
 tent with the Majesty of the Senate to let their
Prætor stand *in* *capite*.—But it is very re-
 markable that the *Senatus* of which that
 august Assembly hath never yet sufficiently purged
 itself: should return Thanks to *Cæsar* for
 mentioning *Pallas* in the highest Strains of
 Panegyrick; and desire him to grant the Li-
 berty to give him a Testimony of their Be-
 nevolence. What could be more honourable for
 the Senate than to prove themselves not un-
 grateful to *Pallas*?

They therefore order'd, That the Sum of
 15 Millions of *Sesterties* should be given him
 out of the Treasury; and that the more
 useful his Mind should be from accepting it,
 they should be the more importunate in their
 Additions to the *Prætor* of his Country to
 compel *Pallas* to give Way to the Senate:—
 It was omitted in the Decree, that when this
 Application should be made to *Pallas*, by pub-
 lick Authority, he should be desired to yield
 to the Senate; that, under the most insolent
 Pretence of Self-denial, *Cæsar* himself might
 be call'd upon to become their Advocate, that
 he would not refuse a Sum of 15 Millions of
Sesterties; but he did refuse it, and in so do-
 ing shew'd more Arrogance, than in accepting
 of it. However the Senate extoll'd even this
 pretended Modesty, in the Form of a Com-
 plaint, and in the following Words,

But tho' the best of Friends, and the Fa-
 ther of his Country, desired them to relent,
 at the Request of *Pallas*, from that Part
 of their Decree, which related to giving
 him 15 Millions of *Sesterties* out of the
 Treasury; they thought themselves oblig'd
 to declare that they voted this Sum, amongst
 other Honours, voluntarily and as in Duty
 bound, from a true Sense of the Integrity
 and Vigilance of *Pallas*. However, their
 Prince's Will, which they thought criminal
 to oppose in any Case, should in this like-
 wise be obey'd.

Behold *Pallas*, as it were, opposing a De-
 cree of the Senate; moderating the Honours
 bestow'd upon him, and refusing a Present of
 15 Millions of *Sesterties*.—Behold *Cæsar*, at
 the Entreaty, or rather at the Command of
 his *Friend-Slave*, tamely obeying his Orders,

in the Senate! For the Slave commands his
Master in private, whom he pretends to be-
 seach in the Senate.

How am I rejoic'd that it was my good
 Fortune not to be born in those Times, of
 which I am as much ashamed, as if I really
 lived in them! I make no Question that you
 are equally affected with my self. I know
 you to be a Man of Spirit, as well as strict
 Honour; and therefore am convinc'd, tho' I
 have carry'd my Indignation, in some Re-
 spects, beyond the Bounds of a Letter, that
 you will think I have rather shew'd too lit-
 tle than too much. *Farnwell.*

P. S. Our Readers having been disappointed
 of the *Craftsmen*, design'd for Saturday last,
 we think ourselves oblig'd to acquaint them,
 that several Messengers came on Friday Night,
 just before the Time of Publication, and seiz'd
 every Paper they could find, without taking
 up any Body; but they came again the next
 Morning, and apprehended several of the
 Workmen; after having rummag'd and rifled
 the House in their usual Manner. The Pub-
 lick may expect some farther Account of these
 extraordinary Proceedings in a short Time,
 unless we are prevented by the Hand of Power
 —At present, we can only add that this Pa-
 per contain'd two Letters; one in Vindication
 of a certain young Gentleman, of great Merit
 and Distinction, who hath been several Times
 most grossly abus'd in the *Gazette*; and the
 other relating to the Spanish Depredations.

Universal Spectator, Dec. 17th N^o 430.

S I R,

I AM an unhappy Husband; unhappy only
 in what is term'd a little *Fable* in a Wife:
 I have marry'd a Woman of as much Beauty
 as I could wish, of as much Fortune as I
 wanted, her Temper good-natur'd, her Love
 mutual: Two Years we liv'd in all that Ex-
 tacy of conjugal Felicity, which generous
 and virtuous Minds can only know. But,
 alas! How is this Scene chang'd by a fatal
 Accident? A female Relation came to live
 with us: This Cousin of my Wife's was a
 Widow, whose Character I thought un-
 blamable, and which, indeed, was so, if I
 was to except one *Vice*, the being addict'd to
 private *Dram-drinking*; but that Mischief did
 not long confine itself, it soon sprad farther,
 and my Wife was drawn in to be a Com-
 panion in the *Spirituous Regalement*. Complai-
 sance was the first Temptation; but so dan-
 gerous and fatal is any Consent of this Kind,
 that by not being able to deny at first, Com-
 plaisance grows into Approbation, and that in
 a very little Time terminates in an habitual

* This was the peculiar Badge of Roman Knights, to distinguish them from the common Peo-
 ple, who wore silver Rings, as the Slaves did iron ones.

Love: Such has been the miserable Progress, such the cur'd Effect of my Wife's Imprudence; what at first she sipp'd with a Kind of *Loathing*, she now cannot, or will not, be without.

I cannot, Sir, express to you what Concessions this has given me; it has been my Torment in the Day, my Sorrow in the Night; my Tongue has been fill'd with resenting Indignation, while my Soul has felt all the Force of *Pity* as well as *Anguish*: When I behold the Woman that was once, and who still is, the Delight of my Heart, degraded into the most infamous Habit of *Drinking*; when I view those *Eyes* that were wont to sparkle with *ivorying Lustre*, with awkward *Goggling* betray an *unmeaning Look*; when I see *Dradness* in her Features, *Folly* in her Behaviour, her Tongue *stuttering*, her Breath *tainted*, her Health *impairing*; the different Passions that I feel is so impossible for you to imagine, as they are for me to relate. *Yours, &c.*

W. W.

As melancholy a Scene (*says Mr. Spectator*) as this Gentlemen has paired, I am sorry to say that it is a too common one in private Families, and the odious Character he has drawn of his Wife is too general to be suppos'd fictitious.

The Custom of *drinking Drams* among Women is destructive of every amiable Quality they can boast; by that their *Beauty*, their *Modesty*, their *Prudence*, their *good Nature*, and *Wis* in *Conversation* are entirely destroy'd: They appear after they have been solacing themselves with any pernicious intoxicating Liquors, *contemptible to the sober Part* of their own Sex, as well as ugly to ours.

This vicious Habit, I am inform'd, has considerably spread itself under the Notion of its being *fashionable*; and many a Lady will now, without the least Ceremony or Blush, bring out her *Dram Bottle*, who, before it was *fashionable*, cautiously reserv'd it in her Corner Cupboard for her own private *drinking*: By this Means the Ladies, instead of taking a *Sip* now and then upon emergent Occasions, drink their Quots or two round, and not one of them shews the least Reluctance to shew herself a *publick Dram-Drinker*: The Woman who uses herself to *Drams* at a *Visit*, will soon be brought to drink them at *Home*; and tho' she may begin with one a *Day*, she will soon arrive to five at a *Sitting*.

Modesty and *good Behaviour*, by which I mean a *graceful Decorum* and *general Conduct*, are the peculiar Ornaments which are to adorn the fair Sex; but the Woman who addicteth herself to *intoxicating Liquors* can neither have one or the other; her *Conversation* consequently becomes *abrupt* and *inconsistent*, and her *Behaviour* rude and disagreeable; her Appearance, instead of *engaging*, turns to her *Disadvantage*; and instead of prepossessing those

she is in Company with in her Favour, she so strongly fixes a bad Opinion of herself, that it is seldom or never worn off.

Hungry and *Virtue* may be said not to be forfeited by commencing this Habit of *Drinking*, and it may be alledg'd, that the who may love a *Dram*, may desert with Horror the Thought of doing an Action that is merely in the literal Sense *immodeſt* or *dishonourable*; but by giving Way to this Vice a Passage is open to all others; for what Crime may not a Person be drawn to commit, who has before depriv'd herself of her Reason? If then this vicious Habit is contrary to the Maxims of Decency and Morality, it is consequently to those of *Religion*.

But was *Policy* allow'd to determine their Actions, the Women, who should drink to the *last Excess*, would act contrary to it; for that would be the surest Means to lose the Affections of their *Husbands*, the *Duty* and *Respect* of their *Children*, and the *Regard* and *Esteem* of their *Friends* and *Relations*, besides exposing them to innumerable Inconveniences, too obvious to be mention'd: I therefore hope the Ladies in general will be more cautious of preserving the natural Estate the other Sex has for them, than to run the Risk of forfeiting their Character of being amiable, good and virtuous, only to indulge themselves in a pernicious Habit; for by the least Breach of Sobriety they become the Contempt of all Men of Sense, as they are a Scandal to all Women of Virtue and Honour.

Common Sense, Dec. 24. N^o 47.

A second Oration of Demosthenes abridg'd; occasion'd by the Insults of Philip upon the Athenians. (See p. 639.)

Athenians,

THO' in every one of your Assemblies you hear a great Deal of the Depredations and Violence which Philip has committed against you, ever since the last Peace; yet I see all Things reduc'd to such a Pass, that I am almost afraid to tell you a Truth, too well known to all except yourselves, which is, that if your Orators had enter'd into a Conspiracy jointly with you, they to propose, and you to follow no Advice but what you were sure must tend to ruin the Commonwealth, your Affairs could not have been in a worse Condition than they are.

If I open some Things to you, which it is of Consequence to you to know, I hope you will not conceive any Displeasure against me. — Remember, that every Man who breathes the *Athenian Air*, should have free Liberty of Speech. — There is but one Assembly where this Freedom has been retrench'd, and from thence proceeds all your Misfortunes; you have been lull'd into a Kind of Lethargy by

such vain false Orators, whose only Study was to disguise and conceal the State of your Affairs, while every Thing was going to Wreck.

If you had been reduced by the superior Power, or more prevailing Fortune of *Philip*, I own there could be little Hope left; but as all your Distresses have proceeded from Indolence, Passivinity, and a long Series of bad Measures, I do not despair but Things may mend, if better Councils should be embraced.

I know there are some Orators amongst you, so base and cowardly in their Politicks, that when any Man proposes a Method for bringing *Philip* to Reason, they think to stop his Mouth, and oppose you against him, by telling you that such Men are for engaging the Commonwealth in a War.— Observe what I say to those Men, that whenever the Republick has the Alternative of Peace or War in its Choice, I shall give the Preference to Peace, provided it be an honourable Peace;—but I cannot consent to implore and sue to *Philip*, Year after Year, for Peace, while he is going on all that while committing Outrages against us.

You have suffer'd enough already by these cowardly Councils.—What is it these Declaimers mean by so much extolling the Blessings of Peace, and telling you of your Happiness in enjoying Tranquillity, while other States suffer the Miseries of War,— does it not look like mocking you?—The most they can pretend to; that we have had half a Peace; for we have been at Peace with *Philip*, all the while that *Philip* has been at War with us; but if we were never to repel the Hostilities he commits, till he shall by his Harbours have made a Declaration of War against us in *Form*, we must be the weakest People that ever yet had the Name of a Commonwealth.

What is the meaning that the *Athenians*, who in former Times held their Liberty so dear, should now seem to embrace Servitude?— I will tell you the Reason, because there reign'd a certain Spirit in those Days in the Minds of our People, which is found no more. This was a generous Contempt, and a virtuous Hatred against every base Man, who had so much as given Cause of Suspicion of being corrupted.—In those Days, to receive Gratifications, or Presents for any Thing wherein the Publick was concern'd, was a capital Crime, and whoever was convicted of it, suffer'd the most grievous Punishments.—But now you are giving into all these Vices which are the constant Companions of Corruption and Vexality.

I will not take upon me to assure you, that the reducing *Philip*, by Force of Arms, will, without any Thing else, restore all your Affairs;—no; you must pursue, with Justice,

those false Orators who act as if they receiv'd Wages from him.

As to your present Conduct with Respect to *Philip*, it has amaz'd all the World, to think that you should carry on a War not long since against *Sparta*, in Alliance with *Thebes* and *Corinth*, and bear almost the whole Expence, tho' you were not principally concern'd; and now, when your Rights are invaded and your Honour insulted, when the Quarrel is all your own, you will not move a Hand in your own Defence.—I wish you may recover your Senses before good Advice is too late.—

Craffman, Dec. 24. N^o 598.

Several Methods for restraining the Liberty of the Press.

THE Liberty of explaining and animating upon publick Measures is such a Check upon Men in Power, especially bad ones; that few of them like it in their Hearts, however they may think proper to pretend a Regard for it; and therefore have try'd several Experiments to pluck this Thorn out of their Side:

One, and the principal of these was the Institution of the *Star-Chamber*; where all Measures against any Man in Power were arbitrarily try'd by the very Persons, who professed them, and punish'd in the most rigorous Manner, under the Denomination of *Licentious*; tho' in many Cases, they deserv'd the Thanks and Blessings of their Country. These infamous Proceedings were at last carry'd to such an Height, that the Court itself was solemnly abolish'd by *Parliament*, in the Reign of *K. Charles I.* and was not a little instrumental to the Misfortune of that misguided Prince.

Not was it judg'd expedient to repeal this Act at the *Reformation*; notwithstanding the extraordinary Zeal of those Times to prevent all Faction and Sedition for the future. However they did, in some Measure, supply the Want of such a Court; as far as *Writers* were concern'd in it, by clipping a Padlock upon the Press, and putting it under the Jurisdiction of a *Licence*.

This *Licensing Act* was made only for a Time, and tho' it ought to have been immediately repeal'd at the *Revolution*, it was suffer'd to continue till the Term was expired; nay, even then an Attempt was made to revive it, and would have actually succeeded, had it not been vigorously oppos'd by the true Friends of Liberty, and the disinterested Lovers of their Country, who look'd upon the Freedom of the Press as one of the main Ends of the *Revolution*.

Thus were we deliver'd from the Inquisition of the *Star-Chamber*, and the Clog of the

the *Licensing Act*; which were the only *Parliamentary Acts* I can recollect against the *Press*; for I will not insist upon the *Stamp-Duty*; tho', as it now stands, it is certainly a very great Restraint upon *political Writers*, in several Respects; and, with a little farther Power given to the *Commissioners*, might convert them into real *Licensers*, under another Name.

But there have been, numberless other Tricks and Devices found out, by *Men in Power*, to undermine this *Liberty*, both in ancient and modern Times.

Sometimes they have had Recourse to gentle Means, and endeavour'd to soften the Minds of those, who drew their Pens against them, by advantageous Proposals of *Money, Pensions, or Places*. If the *Writers* happen'd to prove of so perverse and intractable a Spirit as to reject such generous Offers, they next apply'd to their *Booksellers and Printers* in the same Manner; and have sometimes laid out great Sums of *publick Money* to buy up the *Propriety of Papers*, in which these *pernicious Writings* were convey'd to the World, and turn'd them into *Apologies for themselves*.

But if neither the *Authors, nor Proprietors of publick Papers*, would listen to such honourable Proposals, the third Step of the *Minister affected* was to try whether he could intimidate them, not only by Menaces of *publick Prosecutions and Inquests*, but sometimes even of *private Assassination*; as was the Case of *Andrew Marvell*.

When all these Methods have failed of their desired Success, they have had Recourse to the *secular Arms*, and, under the laudable Pretence of drawing the *Sword of Justice*, took an Opportunity of gratifying their own *personal Revenge*, by seizing and confining all Persons concern'd, or suppos'd to be concern'd, in the writing, printing, or publishing such obnoxious Papers; and thereby interrupting the Course of them.

When neither *Penalties, Threats, Prosecutions, nor even the severest Punishments*, were able to extirpate this faction, *Andrew Marvell's Liberty*, their last necessary Resort was to seize the *Man*; when they could not subdue his *Spirit*, either by laying violent Hands on his *Property*, and turning him by Degrees, or by going a shorter Way to work, and taking his *Life* away at once; by such *Forms of Law*. This was the Case of *Algernon Sidney* and others, for pretended *Libels*, some of which were never so much as publish'd—But a Stop is now put to these *ministerial Practices*, by our present happy *Establishment*; which secures every *Man's Property*, till he is convicted of some high Crime.

This, I say, is our present glorious Condition; and these the great Barriers of our *Liberty*. Every *Man* is now safe, as to *Life*,

State, and the Possess of his *lawful Rights*, while he confines himself within the Bounds of the *Laws*; and it shall be left to the regular Course of *Justice*, whether he hath transgress'd them or not—I hope this will not prove our Case; but as a *strong and unusual Weight of Power* is lately fallen upon us, and the common *Scriblers* have been for a Week or two past, more than ordinarily fearless, if that is possible; I cannot conclude without taking a little Notice of them.

For some Time past, they have clubb'd all their little Brains against our *superior Merchants*, who have been so respectably pleas'd by the *Spaniards*, for having only a few Pieces of *Eight* on board, (which is the common Specie in most Parts of the *West-Indies*) or even bringing home a little *Logwood*, from *Place*, to which we have a Right by *Treaty*. This, I am sure, was the Sense of the *whole Board of Trade*, in the Year 1717, as appears by their Report on his late Majesty; and if we have not given them up by any subsequent Treaty, we have an undoubted Right to our *Logwood*, or deal in it; for it is not excepted as *contraband Goods*, in the *Treaties* of 1667 and 1670, which are confirm'd by the *Treaty of Utrecht*. Yet these *Profiteers* are pleas'd to lead them, upon this Account only, with the *Appellations of Thieves, Robbers and Pirates*, which I think more properly belong to their Friends the *Spaniards*.

They are therefore really guilty of what was lately said to my Charge, some Years ago; for this is certainly *surprising the Spaniards with Arguments*; in a Time too, when the *Merchants* were making their Application for *Redress*; and his Majesty was pleas'd to undertake their Cause.

Sir *William Godolphin* observes, in one of his Letters to *Secretary Coventry*, 'That it is a certain Note of the *Spanish Humour*, that they apply themselves humbly and fervently to confer a new Friendship, but of first only, whom they dread; and that the Impressions of *Fear* do more effectually negotiate with them, than the Offices of *Kindness*'.

If this continues to be still their Principle, I am at a Loss how to account for their late extraordinary Conduct; since we are to vastly superior to them at Sea, that it is impossible for them not to dread us. Let them reflect upon the *Mediterranean Affair*, or even upon *Hofier's* famous Expedition, which must needs stamp the Impressions of *Fear* upon them, and put them in Mind how easy it is for us to teach them good Manners, at least, whenever we please to be in *Earshot*.

The Criticism on *Virgil* has been review'd, and shall be inserted the first Opportunity.

HORACE,

HORACE, BOOK I. ODE V. *Imitated.*

WHEN to that dear but unsuspecting
 bow'd, [bow'd,
 Fann'd with the breath of ev'ry fragrant
 (Where chiding boughs in verdant pomp sur-
 rey'd

Pajae the stiff covert with a pleasing shade)
 You, love dissembling fogs a kind retreat;
 Your looks all mild and languidly sweet;
 Say, *Pyrrha*, say, whilst gay unpractis'd youth,
 Lur'd by that air of unaffected truth,
 What gaudy scrippling eager to be blest,
 Staks a glad victim on thy perjur'd breast?
 And while essential sweets their odours spread,
 Clasp the wick ardor on the rosy bed?
 O wondrous nymph! whose piercing charms
 confest

Thy form resistless, simple tho' in dress,
 Beauties by nature, without art, use, fair,
 Tell me for whom thy amber-colour'd hair
 In silken wreaths its radiant lustre shows,
 Plays to each motion and in ringlets flows;
 Ill fetter'd youth! unknown who'er he be,
 For while you thus most amissibly free,
 With spacious innocence your joys dispense
 Must shak with astudy the rash's sense;
 He, lost in transports forms an airy scene
 Of vast delight, the heavens appear strene,
 Smooth glides the surface of the chrysal
 stream

And fancy wanders in the golden dream,
 Still hopes the same, and credulously fond
 Boasts thee secure on faith's eternal bond;
 Alas! too soon he'll feel his rash mistake,
 When from the soft delusion forc'd to wake,
 Starting he views the heavens with clouds o'er
 cast,

The furrow'd ocean black'ning to the blast
 Of angry winds, and all the promis'd bliss
 Sunk in the tumult of the dread abyss.
 How he will then in wild despair lament
 The wond'rous change and curse the sad event.
 Gods! what a train of ill those wretches
 wait,

Who proudly court their yet untasted fate,
 Gaze on thy charms, yet not suspect thy wiles,
 And catch at ruin in ambiguous smiles.
 Once big with hope I spread my swelling
 sails,

Vainly secure of ever prosperous gales,
 Yet scarcely launch'd into the deep, was met
 By warring winds, and raging waves beset.
 Long on the faithless ocean rudely tost, [lost,
 The sport of storms, my barge at length was
 When some kind *Triton* rushing to my aid,
 Caught me expiring and to land convey'd;
 Now safe on shore by *Noptune's* great decree,
 With pious gratitude I'll quit the sea;
 Passion no more, with all its glitt'ring train
 Of frantick joys, shall tempt me out again;
 But noble reason fill the tide controul,
 And virtue fix her empire in my soul,

ANACREONTIC.

In vain from fate we fly,
 For first, or last, as all must die,
 So 'tis as much decreed above,
 That first, or last, we all must love.

LANSDOWNY.

CAN there be, ye pow'rs above,
 Perfect happiness, 'tis true;
 Can man know a greater bliss,
 Than the sweet, the balmy kiss,
 Soothing looks, each grateful smile,
 All, that can the heart beguile?
 Why so often do I sigh,
 Piae alone, yet know not why?
 Love has surely vanquish'd me,
 And thus I own his deity;
 Mild as queen of soft desires,
 Is the fair my soul inspires.
 She who ev'ry thought employs,
 Source of all sublimest joys.
 Wanton *Cupid*, search around,
 All, *Arcadia's* verdant ground,
 Tell the nymph, for her I sigh,
 Tell the fair, for her I die;
Venus, queen of fondest love,
 To my wish, propitious prove;
 God of love, and pleasing charms,
 Give the fairest, to my arms;
 You who fighting lovers aid,
 Warm with love, the lovely maid;
 You whom suppl'ant I implore,
 Now relieve me by thy pow'r;
 Only this I beg of thee,
 Conquer her, as well as me.

A. Z.

An Hymn compos'd for the 5th of November.

AUSPICIOUS muse descend awhile,
 And in celestial strains rebound
 The pow'r that well prefers'd our isle,
 When earth and devils roar'd around,
 Legions resolv'd for mischief rose,
 Swift from the iron gates of hell,
 And saw religion's dawning rays,
 O'er blest *Britannia's* coasts prevail.
 The monsters rag'd they cur'd the fight,
 And with the slaughter'ring sons of *Rome*,
 Conspir'd and banded all their might,
 To bring again th' *Egyptian* gloom.
 Beneath the synod and the pineae
 They hid, O terrible designs!
 Powders quick bursting into flame,
 In long, extending magazines.
 Then all with grimness laugh'd around,
 Longing to hear the thunder pass,
 And see black mangled parts of flesh,
 And shiver'd bones mount with the blast.
 But this abominable deed,
 Th' all-percing eye of heav'n survey'd,
 And to our joyful wond'ring views,
 The bold infernal plot display'd.

Enrag'd, the baffled ghosts repair'd
Down to the silly gulphs of war,
While the dread vengeance of our God,
Punish'd the rebels here below.
Britons, with sacred transports hail
This day distinguish'd from the rest,
Nor let a single thought of grief
Mix with the pleasures of your breast.

AD MUNDI CREATOREM. Ex
Anglico, J. HUGHES, Arm.

URANIE, descende polo! divinior ignis!
Cui cedit lux alma: sacros O! pande furores
Mortali quibus par cepta ad caelestia surgat, [mi,
Jam sonet ipsa celsis! procul hinc quicunq; profa-
Perq; nefas quicunq; ruunt, quoscuq; fessellit
Vana superstitio! partuq; exorta nefando [dum,
Numina, abeste procul! caeli, pelagusque profun-
Et tellus audite, simulque immanis abyssus!
Ipsa parens natura tremat! dum cuncta fatentur
Auctorem summum, magno & clamore salutant.

Jusserat ipse Deus prima & pulcherrima caeli
Filia, lux, tetrae noctis per opaca coruscet;
Blandaq; subridet, divini conscia partus.
Caelitem chorus exultans laeta undiq; magnum
Voce creatorem cecinit, quem pulcher inani
Emergit caeco mundus, naturaque vultum
Alma novum pandit; quem certas motio cepit
Leges, & circum stellas gyravit in alto:
Quoniam pennas tempus primum tentare novellas,
Curriculumq; suum rapide decurrere cepit.

Spiritus omnipotens! semper supremus, & idem
Mansurus! magnam qui munime temperat orbem
Aeterno, spatium omne replens, nec claudatur ulli!
Ipsa polos super atq; incognita sidera nobis
Lumine circumfusus agit, sine fine beatus,
Sonus & immensi vastum complectitur orbem.

Ecquae tanta salus nisi dia potentia possit
Frangere, indomitiq; maris mulcere furorcm?
Quom Boreas immanis fremit, spumosaque torquet
Aequora, quom turget volvens caeloque minatur
Oceanus, modo vox jubat divina, procellae
Pacantur, venti vis tonitruis incita, ponti
Detumet ira, lavant tranquilli littora fluctus,
Atq; caeli vim brumalem & meteoza creavit;
Ipsius est grando, nix & glaciatis, & imber
Faeculans, rubes volucris, respyriq; tepentis
Tempertes, variiq; ornata coloribus Iris.
Ipsius & jussu violenti fulminis ira
Paret, & caelis sonitu jaculata tremendo
Flamma cadit, quercusq; afflat, terraq; paventis.

Quanta tamen bonitas! quanta est clementia!
quanta

Omnia sustentat cura! quam, quicquid ubiq;
Fert caelum, tellus, & pontus, alitq; fovetq;!
Quin & vermiculus, formicag; cauta futuri,
Immanisq; elephas, & aves solatia raris,
Alitum rex ipse aquila, & mortalia saecula,
Plebs pariter, princepsq; potens nutritur ab illo;
Et vitam sacunda patrem natura fatetur.

Olli r-ta simu! spatio si machina mundi
Panditur; is nempe, prolem revolvibilis aevi,
Aum; vices variat; labentia mutans

Tempora quae fugiant pariter, pariterq; morantur,
Ingressit primum aev, pars jucundior anni,
Et caelum mulcet, blandisq; coloribus arova
Exornat & sequitur flavoni veste decora,
Et spicis redimita comas cerealesq; aestas.
Dens secer autumnus, magno frugum ubere felix &
Aeris biqum, tristis tardissima more senectae,
Ultima progreditur, camis concreta pruinis,
Et nivibus terras atq; umbribus obruit aetris,
Tempore dum verno redeunte, revolvitur annus.

At quis ferre tuam, rerumq; virumq; reparat!
Utrivocum valeat dextram? quom servidus ira
Persequitur fontes furis, & conscia sedit
Ad centrum natura, tuo quom fulmina jussa
Hinc, illinc, horrenda ruunt; vastaq; repente
Perniciem spargunt, rebant freta, sidera, tellus!
Nunc quom ambitio, crisis elata superbis,
Et fastus sublime caput fugere paventes?
En! ipsi, patriae pestes, cadidere tyranni!
Quom vident in terra sibi satis ima deficiat,
Et subito vixit avidum demittat in abomum,
Nec tua corripit panis immensibus ira!
Heu! frustra — palagus mimam conjurat, & aet
Vaequos, flagransq; ignis, quassatq; tellus,
Te, deus! usq; & populum putare incertum:
Nec finire potest divos mors ipsa dolores;
Suffragia sine fine manes, sine fine reatus.

O beres Pellee! Cyre! & ter manima Caesar!
O vasti quotquot mundi tenuissis habenas!
Namina telluris quondam! quos thuris honore
Vulgus adoravit! centum quom morte subeae
Ferali gentes centum cessere triumphos!
Dicite, quae tanti restat vestigia regni?
Qua; levis vestrum foecior gloria vana?
Defendite fugax status ac aere perenni
Dira potest? templisq; manet sublimis in aetris,
Atq; theatrorum tutissima mole, ruinas
Aetatis tenuit; demetq; volubilis aevi?
Ab mimis! monumenta brevis perentia famae
Spes fallunt vestras; nec splendida nomina formant
Ausplicus auctoribus, vestris commissa favellit.

Pergitio iam, mea mulla, audez! perentia & aevi
Secleris filium; nam scena novissima mundi
Imminet, & metuenda dies mortalibus aegris;
Qua gentes ac regna cadunt, naturaque magnam
Cessat opus, terraeque ultra non volvitur orbis.

En! solio omnipotens iudex confidit in alto!
En! sati tenet ipse libras! En! complet Olympum
Caelitem glomerata cohors, pompasq; curvae
Temporis attendit finem, mundi; ruinas!
Ambitio, fastusq; tumens, & prodiga rerum
Luxuries percut; turpis patet amra reatus
Inferna, & fugiens, crebra formidine pressus,
Respicit, minitante deo cum vindice struma.
O quam, die, lucem summam, gens impia, cernes!
O! quanto terroris animi mirantia verba
Judicis audieris, sceleris tibi conscia mole!
Picta voluptatis nubes, heu! vestra fugatur,
Eludiq; oculos; sedet hanc frustrata sequitur
Nec menti sperare tuae meliora licebit!
Nec repetes quondam tibi cognita gaudia vitae;
Aeternum panas patire, cupidinis alto
Oceano jacitata, nec unquam littora targes.

*Apice qua mundi sedet arbiter vix sereno,
Et caelum iustis aeternaq; praemia donat!
O quem certo locum! quae me divina stupentem
Vis tulit hic! prob! quale iubar, fulgorq; cariscans
Effluent! quantaq; tum, deus atque coronant
Deliciae solum! sol, qui clarissimus alto
Etheris praeduceat stellis, sua lympha serid
Perderet hic, veluti cum candida cornua lunae
Languescant; roseo perstricta nitore diei.
Haec solam fas est mirari.*

*Audaci cursum, nasa, Od desiste, nec ista
Mystica scrutari vano conamine tentas.
Immensum spes ferre bonum decrabitur olim;
Sed non quale bonum fuerit, tempusq; locusq;
Est modus ipse latent, nec tam sublimia mentes
Complecti humanae possunt, linguae profari.*

ACROSTICK; by a foreign Minister. On the
Death of the QUEEN.

HEAVEN'S uncontrolling pleasure
O verwhelms, now, royal breast!
Parting with so great a treasure,
Penetrates their souls, and wrests
Many groans from hearts in mourning,
All bemoan, with tears, the queen;
Now she's gone, without returning;
No one more, like her! can be seen.

Verbes sent by a Gentleman to his Mistress.

LONG had I forely felt love's painful spart,
And hopes and fears alternate rul'd my heart:

At length kind heav'n to me propitious prov'd,
And thou (the only fair I ever lov'd)
Hast design'd at last to ease my love-sick mind,
And to thy lover promis'd to be kind.

Not *Craesus* self with all his mighty store,
No potent prince whom trembling slaves adore,
In wealth or pow'r cou'd e'er such sweets enjoy
As I, while you my constant thoughts employ.
In you, whatever I cou'd wish, I find;
Nor ought can want, if *Molly* you're but kind.
May heav'n then grant that nothing may prevent

Our future happiness and sweet content;
But may we still a constant mutual flame,
Thro' all the various scenes of life the same,
To the last moments of our breath retain,
And only part in death to meet again.

A Song by the same Author. Tune—The
bonny gray-sy'd Morn.

THIS woman only that can bless mankind,
In her alone are centred all our joys;
In her endearing charms on happiness we find,
Which ever gives delight and never cloy.
Without a fair one join'd in *Hymen's* band
On earth no lasting pleasure we require:
Thus *Adam*, tho' he'd all at his command,
No paradise enjoy'd without his *Eve*.

A DIALOGUE.

PHILLIS.

AH! what can mean that eager joy
Transports my soul when you appear?
Ah! *Strepbon*, you my thoughts employ
With all that's charming all that's dear.
When you your pleasing story tell,
A tenderness invades each part,
And I with blushes own I feel
Something too melting at my heart.

STREPHON.

Ten thousand wishes, joys, desires,
Seize on me still when I thee view;
Ah! may but thine be real fires,
As mine shall be for ever true:
My heart like thine is soft and kind,
'T would fain but yet it cannot speak,
I sigh and leave my words behind,
For love that can be told is weak.

PHILLIS.

Each sigh my reason does surprise,
And I at once both wish and fear,
My wounded soul mounts to my eyes,
As it would prattle stories there.
Take then the heart that needs will go,
But, shepherd, see it kindly us'd;
For who such presents would bestow,
If this alas! should be abus'd?

STREPHON.

If sighs or tears thy pity move,
Or if thine eyes thy love confess,
Thy sighs do make me die for love,
And sure mine eyes betray no less.
Thy charming heart with joy I'll take,
A gift I love because 'tis thine;
I'll use it gently for thy sake,
Ah! be not thou so kind to raise

CHORUS together.

Now all ye list'ning gods above,
Bear witness of our mutual love;
On your gay wings the joyful tidings bear:
To ev'ry bright inhabitant of th' air:
Tell 'em in all their blissful cabals they see
Nothing so happy, so belov'd as we.

The Biter bit. In Imitation of Anacron's.

"Εγωσ τον" by J. J. J.

CUPID, the sweet rogue alive,
One day was plund'ring of an alive;
But as with too eager haste
He strove the liquid sweets to taste,
A bee surpris'd the heedless boy,
Stung him and dash'd th' expected joy.
The urchin when he felt the smart
Of the invenom'd angry dart,
He kick'd, he flung, he spurn'd the ground,
He blow'd and then he chaf'd the wound;
He blow'd and chaf'd the wound in vain,
The rubbing still increas'd the pain:
Strait to his mother's lap he hies
With swelling cheeks and blubber'd eyes,
Cries

Cries she, 'What does my Cupid ail?'
 When thus he told his mournful tale:
 'A little bird they call a bee
 ' With yellow wings, see, mother, see'
 ' How it has gor'd and wounded me.
 ' And are not you,' reply'd his mother,
 ' For all the world just such another,
 ' Just such another peevish thing,
 ' Alike in bulk, alike in sting?
 ' For when you aim a poisonous dart,
 ' Against some poor unwary heart,
 ' How little is the archer found,
 ' And yet how wide and deep the wound!

The London Summer. A new Ballad. To
 the Tune of, To all the Ladies now at
 Land, &c. By H. J. Esq;

YE British beauties now retir'd,
 To groves and purling springs,
 Till London pleasures, to admir'd,
 Returning winter brings.
 Hark, how we cite our summer spend,
 While thus your town-diversions end,
 With a sa, la, la, &c.

Nor think the conquests ye have made,
 Are lost by absence quite;
 Or all the pretty things ye said,
 Forgot, flies out of sight:
 Tho' distant, still we sigh, and burn,
 And all our hope to your return,
 With a sa, &c.

In narrow streets, and houses pent,
 To breathe a freer air,
 The empty Mall we oft frequent;
 But, oh! we miss ye there!
 In these once crowded shades ye walk'd,
 'Twas there our charmers smil'd and talk'd,
 With a sa, &c.

But should the sun's too salty beam
 For cooler places call,
 We spend the night on Thames's stream,
 Or cross it to Vaux hall;
 Where up'ra shes renew our pain,
 And make us think of your disdain,
 With a sa, &c.

Then straight, our thinking to confound,
 The god of wine, we court;
 And toady ye, till the room turns round,
 Our fervours to support;
 Still serving on those happy days,
 When ye were seen at balls and plays,
 With a sa, &c.

Sometimes to kill a tedious hour,
 We venture at piquet;
 Yet even there we feel your pow'r,
 And know not how we bet:
 While Cupid laughs at our mistakes,
 We lose our money for your sakes,
 With a sa, &c.

Rife Autumn blest to our relief,
 And strip the tusted groves!

Rude winter, come, to end our grief,
 And with thee bring our loves!
 'Tis to thy chilling frost and snow
 That we our gayest season owe,
 With a sa, &c.

On the Friendship of two young LADIES.

HAIL, beautiful pair, whom friendship
 binds
 In softest, yet in strongest ties;
 Soft as the tempers of your minds,
 Strong as the lustre of your eyes.
 So Venus' doves in couples fly,
 In beauty and in love the same;
 Whose feathers Cupid's shafts supply,
 All pointed with resistless flame.
 Thus as you move, love's tender flame,
 By friendship's cruel pow'r doth end;
 Each our divided hearts doth claim,
 Each proves a rival, each a friend.
 Then free yourselves, and bless mankind,
 Mere friendship thus no more pursue;
 In wedlock's rosy bow'r you'll find
 The joys of love, and friendship too.

The SHINING TOAST: Or the Glory
 of SUFFOLK.

WHEN in drinking, the bumpers pass
 round,
 And each man names his favourite toast,
 With rich liquor my glass is oft crown'd
 To her health, of whom Suffolk may boast.
 When I say that her air genteel,
 To her actions all, gives a just grace,
 By description then try to reveal
 What bright beauty adorns her fine face?
 When I say of her features most rare,
 That in each appears symmetry fit,
 And of charms as she has a large share,
 So she's blest with agreeable wit:
 When I say that her sweet sparkling eyes,
 Very few without danger can see;
 More is needless — since every one cries,
 Lady * Caroline Fitzroy is she.

To the glory of Suffolk content,
 Then in drinking with me let all join;
 Through the nation, when brought to the end,
 No belle with more lustre can shine.
 Since this truth can by none be deny'd,
 Her health nam'd, let soft music resound;
 That whole County has reason for pride,
 In which dwells such a charmer renown'd.
 W. B.

On three young LADIES, at Bury-Fair, 1737.

WHILST an estate, not real love's the
 cause,
 Which ladies often into wedlock draw,
 And

* The Duke of Grafton's eldest Daughter.

And thence of miseries ensues a train, [plain ;
Which they must feel, yet, feeling, not com-
Three nymphs together *Bury-Fair* adorn'd,
Who each, this view, both mean and fordid,
scorn'd ;

Who all with truly gen'rous minds endu'd,
Thus to their sex a bright example shew'd ;
Since them alluring riches fail'd to move,
To marry men, they thought they ne'er could
love.

To whom belongs this glory, might I name ;
'Tis *Bacon's*, *Dafwood's*, and 'tis *Affect's*
fame.

A SOLUTION of M. T.'s *ÆNIGMA*,
in the Magazine of October, — Pages 571
and 572. By the *Samo*.

ON sugar and spice,
From both *Indies* most nice, [wine,
Mix'd with fruit, suet, tongue, and good
Flour made into paste,
To prevent th' oven's waste, [dine?
'Who'd with pleasure not eat, when they
With pleasure most rare,
When the hands of the fair
Both within and without shall it frame :
Clearly thus to unfold
Your riddle, truth's told, [name.
And a sweet CHRISTMAS-PYE is its

The Two OPPOSITES: Or, VERSES
occasion'd by the Author's perusing Mr. B.—'s
Epitaph on Ned Johnson *, and comparing
it with the following one, upon the same de-
funct Webster ; but by a more eminent Hand.
[By Rustico-Rhythmicus.]

WHEN thick, dark clouds, and storms of
boisterous wind, [find
Have low'd awhile, and bluster'd, — still we
The glorious sun's resplendent beams, at last,
Break forth, and make amends for what is past.
Serene and calm th' unruffled welkin grows ;
Tranquillity and peace our thoughts compose.
Th' enliv'ning, kindly warmth, — and bright,
blue sky, [joy.

Chear the dejected heart, and fill the soul with
The wretch at sea, what dreadful terror
shocks ! —

Expos'd to winds, — to hurricanes, — to rocks !
With longing eyes, he views the peaceful shore ;
And greatly triumphs, when the danger's o'er.
Long, to proud waves, and wanton winds, a
sport,

How he rejoices in the wish'd for port !
When doleful dreams our sweet repose infest,
When night seems tedious, and we cannot rest,

We tofs, and tumble, sigh, and sob, and fret ;
And, with impatience, for the morning wait.
The welcome, joyous hours, at length, arrive ;
The phantom vanishes ; and we revive.

Just so, — when you've, with much ado,
read o'er
The dark, and dismal stuff, that goes before †)
How does that splendid lustre cheer the mind ! —
The bright, and shining verse, that comes be-
bind †.

Takes courage then ; — you may discover land ;
The storm's blown o'er ; — see, here's relief at
hand.

Shake off, at last, the drowsy god ; and
wake :
And of the morn's refreshing joys partake.

Stay, gentle reader ; — we'll no more abuse
Thy wond'rous patience : — see, what here en-
sues.

'Tis a reward for all thy mighty toil ;
A picture in *contrast*, — but needs no foil.
Yet opposites still set each other off ;
And make us more admire, — and more to laugh.
You'll find as great and wide a difference here,
As is between a *peasant*, and a *peer*,
A *miltred priest*, and slovenly *non-con*,
A *star*, and *squib*, — a *monkey*, and a *man*.

'Tis true, he's *short* ; — but exquisitely *sweet* ;
In ev'ry word, judicious, and discreet.
Who cannot taste his worth, in this small
crumb ? —

And guess at *Polysyllabus*, by a thumb ?
Who can the tribute of just praise refuse
To this pure found, true *Church-of-England*-
muse ?

As for the hobbling, grov'ling, grave-stone
bard,

That you've already, either read, or heard ;
Of this poor wretch, it surely will be said : —
Him, (*wanting work, and destitute of bread,*
Saunt'ring about, with heavy scorns hung down,
Without employ in country, or in town,)
Some *P* — a *bedlam* did inspire,
To cant in holy strain, — but with unballow'd fire

EDWARD JOHNSON, died Sept. 6,
1729.

Favour'd with boundless providence, I got
What justly paid, and over-paid, the *subt*
Of craving life : relations had a share
In the acquirements of my lonely care.
Nor *Talk* can silent be ; but own that I
Thro' dark time, saw, to bright eternity.

Bliss'd are the Dead, which die in the Lord !
Rev. xiv. 13.

4 Y 2

Ths

* See *Magazine* for last *August*, pag. 450.
you may add (if you please) *Mrs. Billinggate's*
But, — if it be possible, — O courteous Reader ! candidly exempt 'em ; (I mean, the two last-
mention'd Writers :) because they're both, my good and faithful Friends. † The Epitaph,
that immediately follows.

† i. e. The above-cited Epitaph : To which,
Railery thereupon ; and 'Squire *Jingle's* Rebuke.
I mean, the two last-
mention'd Writers :) because they're both, my good and faithful Friends. † The Epitaph,

The SINCERE ADMIRER; an Epistle: To the justly famous Author of the foregoing Epitaph. [By Philomusus.]

O En—us! — chief of all the tuneful throng,
That, to old England's royal vale*, belong,
How all admire thee! — all, that can dispense,
In this fantastic age, with nervous sense,
And sweet, methoughts verse: — what blisses
Aims;

Thro' all thy works, in every charming line!
Might I — (but O! 'twou'd argue too much pride)

At several distances, follow such a guide!
Might I attempt — but every pencil fails,
That copies out such bright originals.

Who then dares trifle at so large a rate;
And, what's *imitabile*, imitate?
An unfeign'd wing shou'd not presume to fly;
Much less, to mount, and soar above the sky.
Yet, on thy flight, we may with pleasure gaze: [praise]

Thy thoughts sublime demand our utmost
But, where shall we begin? — what, first
commend? [friend?]

The priest, or poet? — scholar? — wit? — or
For poet, friend, wit, scholar, and divine; —
All these, (bright bard!) in thee completely shine.

If thou the cushion thump, — or strike the
strings,

Great Paul thee speaks; and witty Horace sing.
If thou th' enliven'd conversation grace,
A sparkling joy appears in every face.
If thou the merry letter dost indite,
What pleasure 'tis to read! — what vast delight!
If thou instruct the forward, hopeful boys,
Prelates and seniors, sit once, arise.

Long may'st thou live, thy cry'd-up school
to teach,

To *overshine*, — *epitaphize*, — and preach; —
Th' improve, and to delight too: — O! that I,
With thee, my charming friend, might live
and die.

To be with thee, who wou'd not ever strive?
Thou *wisest*, *best*, and *happiest* man alive!

Long may'st thou merry be, as thou art
wife,

Till what a sorrow, in thee, is mortal, dies:
Then, from superior orb, may'st thou inspire
Our ravish'd hearts to join the heav'nly choir.

Write after the Rehearsal (in the Banqueting-
House, Whitehall) of the Antient compo'd
by Mr. HANDEL, for her late Majesty's
Funeral.

STRUCK with the beauties form'd by magick
gick † eyes,
From groop to groop, the eye in transport flits;
Till seraph-accent, solemn, deep and slow,
M. it on the ear, in soft, melodious woe.

* Cheshire, so call'd by Camden.

Such charms the two contending arts dispute;
So sweetly captivate each ravish'd sense,
We ne'er can fix; but most by turns admire,
The mimic peacil, and the speaking lyre.

J. Lockman.

Trinity College, Dublin.

A Melancholy extempore Ejaculation, on
a Friday Night, when my Chum and
I had neither Supper nor Credit.

Yours,

A. B.

N. B. I wrote the Latin, and the Trans-
lation is my Chum's.

Quid dolam! pangit cornu fugitivus volutus;
Stomachus imbecilis nunc alimenta sperat.
Hoc verum est, alius was vispocula quodam
Contemptit, sperat, prendere non valuit.

Who, I pine for a supper! O my conscience
not I;

I hate mutton most of all meat.
Very true, so the fox when the grapes hang
too high,

Cry'd out, Rot 'em they't dot sit to eat.

By a GENTLEMAN, who was thought out
to like MUSICK, to a pretty LADY who
sang very well.

SAYS *Phillis* to *Timon*, you're silent, I find,
Yet *musam*, say'st he; But I'm not deaf
or blind:

And to see such a face, or to hear such a voice,
Believe me; if e're it be left to my choice;
Altho' you perhaps never thought so before,
Ten tongues I'd give up for one ear or eye
more.

The Seat of DEATH.

THE sun, intolerable source of dry,
Had roll'd the glories of his throne a-
way,

And drove impetuous from the azure plain,
Down to the ample tavern of the main:
The moon reviv'd in all her beauties roils,
And o'er the skies diffus'd a silver flood:
The night, in all her solemn pomp of state,
Had now ascended from her dark retreat,
And in her *sway* anchoretic'st, had hurl'd
Her sable horrors round the nodding world;
When, crowded in her melancholy shade,
I swoe'd supinely on my downy bed,
And these illusions, a disorder'd train, (twain:
Broke from her womb, and revel'd in my
Methought I mounted on the wings of light,
And sprung exulting to ethereal height,
There unmoolest roam'd from pole to pole,
Saw blazing works in scabby order roll,
Unnumber'd, vast, and such as plainly bore
Th' amazing signals of creating pow'r.

When

† The Paintings on the Ceiling by Rubens.

When I wish respite, and with sweet-surprise,
Had gaz'd at all these wonders of the skies,
Swiftly descending, like an evening ray,
Down to my native earth I wing'd my way,
And took by fortune, lighted on the shore,
Where lightnings flash, and awful thunders

roar,
Where clouds in complicated squadrons band,
To discombogue a deluge on the land,
Where no delightful scenes confus'dly rise,
To wait their pleasers to the sorrowing eyes,
But sullen gloom, and lamentable air,
Brood on each part to propagate despair !
At first, through disappointment and amaze,
Trembling I stood, nor wander'd from my place,
Till glancing round I saw a rev'rend hall,
Deep in the gloomy hollow of a vale,
Whose stately pile majestically shrouds
Her lessning height, in circumambient clouds,
On brazen pillars was the structure rais'd,
And with such strong o'erwhelming flashes

blaz'd,
That the unrival'd monarch of the day
Blasted, has rush'd precipitant away,
And the fair shining honours of the night,
Have veil'd their blaze, and sel'not all the
fight.

Tow'rd this tremendous dome without delay
I trod through all the terrors of the way,
Puff'd by the relics of obstructing stein,
Tow'ring in air, and whit'ning o'er the plain,
Where monarchs, conquerors, whose imperial
eye

Commanded rev'rence, unadvisedly lie,
Mixt with their captives ; where the meek,
the proud,

The fond adorer of his noble blood,
The man of base dishonourable birth,
A nation's pride, the lumber of the earth ;
The poor, the rich, the pious, and the bad,
Conspir'd to swell the mountains of the dead.

[To be continued.]

ON MICAH vi. ver. 6, 7, 8.

HAVE I transgress'd ? and has Omnipotence
Resolv'd to punish me for mine offence ?
Is there no way to 'scape the dreaded rod ?
No way to reconcile my angry God ?
Will whole burnt-offering from his altar please ?
Obtain some respite, or his wrath appease ?
Will odours thence engage a gracious smile,
If yeasting holsters crown the sacred pile ?
Will thousand spots's rime in sacrifice
Procure me favour in Jehovah's eyes ?
Will eye, ten thousand rivers, vast supply !
Propitiate offended Deity ?
Or would, should I devote my first-born son,
His blood atone for deeds his fire has done ?
Or should I be in sacred vest array'd,
My hand obedient grasp the fatal blade,
Till one by one my tender offspring prove,
All victims pure of innocence and love ?
Would God delight to view the rushing flood ?
The parent crimson'd o'er with filial blood ?

Will God for one, or all of these forbear
The vengeful frown, and listen to thy prayer ?
If not, farewell to hope ! I'm all despair.

ANSWER.

WHEN God declar'd the whole creation
good,
His image, man, the first in order stood.
The god-like features in the human mind,
Appear'd in being just, and wise, and kind.
Perfections these in God ; and beaming thence
Give human nature all its excellence.
Alike in God and man ; in some degree,
Man's truly wise, and just, and good, as he.
(But O ! how vast the disproportion are !
As well a glow-worm with the sun compare
A drop as well may with the ocean vie,
As well a moment with eternity.) [shine,
Those minds where more these excellencies
More near approach similitude divine.
To know what's good look inward, there's

the task,
By your Creator printed on your breast.
By this each doubtful proposition try,
What that approves will please the Deity.
Your disobedient sin from time to time,
Proceeds from fault to fault, from crime to
crime ;

At length secure, abhorst his evil ways,
And at your feet for mercy humbly prays.
Couldst thou behold him thus, and not relent ?
Or would'st thou spare the prostrate penitent ?
When crimes are remov'd effects must cease ;
Seri, penitence a prologue is to peace. [mild ?
Think'st thou the parent of the world less
No sure reform, and he'll be reason'd.
In righteousness and mercy mark your God,
And humbly walk in paths divinely trod ;
Cease, cease sad thoughts, and let your joys
abound,

For your return, the heavenly choir resound ;
For this my joy was left, but now is found.

S. PARFISH.

PROLOGUE to the Miller of Mansfield, as
it was acted in the Free School at Col-
chester.

THE comic muse, at first notorious, robb'd,
With laughter shook the silly multitude ;
Pelt'd at length, she learn'd to correct to write,
And mingled profit with severe delight ;
To gay assemblies civil life display'd,
In modest language moral truths convey'd ;
The labours of the day ingenious us'd,
And for to vice, instructive, while she pleas'd.
Such was the Great, such once the Roman
stage ;

But O ! woe things of plays deform our age !
To manners, genius, taste, a lewd pretence,
At odds with virtue, and at odds with sense !
For humour bowdry, ribaldry for wit,
Assent the bawny, and insult the pit.

Low as the earth in seas, dull *passion* climbs
To heav'n's high arch in blasphemies and
 excess.

Forgive the wretch this outrage on the skies,
It is the only way he has to rise;
Eternal scribler, impious and uncivil,
His brightest thought a pen, his muse's devil

We meddle not, you'll see, with works
like these, [please.

Dull and profane, your ears may wound, not
But why not venture on old *Shakespeare's* lays,
Or speak a patriot *Cato's* lofty praise?

Too weak alas! to dare attempts so high,
We wou'd not creep, yet must not wim to fly.
Odt play suits us; and can't give you offence,
Simplex Manducatis, downright common-sense:
An honest miller and his prating wife,
A simple view of high and lower life;
Wrote with an innocent, tho' boyish pen
O that, to please you, we could ask like men!
 • You, who at this night's favour'd scenes
 preside.

Warrant ambition: 'tis a noble pride [how;
To please the virtuous: what men are, we
But what they ought to be, from you we know.

*The EPILOGUE, spoken by the Miller's Wife
after her Husband had been Knighted.*

WELL, — it was written in the book
of fate,

'A gypsy told me once — thou shalt be great,
My lady *Cockle* — this I'm sure will bear it,
 (Surveying her Person.)

'And for any understanding — never fear it.
My age somewhat advanc'd — no matter for't,
Forty, *Dick* says, is all the bloom at court.
My eyes with working dim — well, let that
pass,

I'll sell my spectacles, and buy a glass.
 (Looking thro' her Fingers.)

Lamish with corns — for that too I've a trick,
I'll turn my *hass* into a *Tunbridge* stick.
But to converse — O! there I cannot fail,
A woman easily will learn to — rail.

But e'er the mother-lady quite o'ercome,
I'll cast for once a careful eye on home.

Dick is quite happy, he can want no more,
He's got a fortune and his lordsh'p's whore.

Kate is my child too, I must think upon her,
At present she shall be — but maid of honour.

But she is modest — well, it may be true,
Others perhaps at first were modest too:

Example teaches better far than rule,
She'll learn the fashions — *Kitty* is no fool.

Now for dear *London!* hoops, brocade, and lace!
The *Parson's* wife at church shall give me place

A S O N G.

TO silent groves, where weeping yew,
With sadly-mourndful cypress join'd,

For *Damon* from the plain withdrew,
To-sooth with plaints his low-sick mind;
Pale willow into anytick wreathes his woe,
And thus lamented his forsaken love.

How often, *Celia*, faithless maid,
With arms entwined did we walk,
Beneath the close, unpierced shade,
Beguiling time with amorous talk.

But that, alas! is past, and I must prove
The pangs attending on forsaken love.

But think not, *Celia*, I will bear,
With dull submission, all the smart;
No, I'll at once drive out despair,
And thy lov'd image from my heart;

All arts, all charms, I'll practise to remove
The pangs attending on forsaken love.

Bacchus, with greenest ivy crown'd,
Hither repair with all thy train;
And chase the jovial goblet round;
For *Celia* triumphs in my pain;

With generous wine assist me to remove
The pangs attending on forsaken love.

Cou'd reason be so drown'd in wine,
As never to revive again;

How happy were this heart of mine,
Reliev'd at once of all its pain!

But reason still with love returns to prove
The torment lasting of forsaken love.

Bring me the girl, whose generous soul
Kindles at the circling bowl;

Whose sparkling eye with wanton fire
Shoots thro' my blood a fierce desire;

For ev'ry art I'll practise to remove
The pangs attending on forsaken love.

And what is all this transient flame,
'Tis but a blaze, and seen no more;

A blaze; that lights us to our shame,
And robs us of a gay fourscore;

Reason again with love returns, to prove
The torment lasting of forsaken love.

Hark! how the jolly huntsman's cries,
In concert with the op'ning hounds,

Read the wide-concave of the skies,
And tire dull echo with their sounds;

Thou, *Phoebe*, goddess of the chase remove
The pangs attending on forsaken love.

Ah me! the sprightly bounding doe,
The chase, and every thing I view,

Still to my mind recalls my woe;
So *Celia* flies, so I pursue.

So rooted here, no arts can e'er remove
The pangs attending on forsaken love.

Then back, poor *Damon*, to thy grave,
Since nought avails to ease thy pain;

Let constancy thy firmness improve,
And patience answer her disdain;

So gratitude may *Celia's* passion move
To pity, and reward thy constant love.

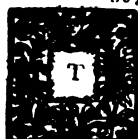
Richmond Gardens is our next.

THE

* The four last Lines were spoken only that Night when the present worthy Mayor of Colche-
ster was at the Performance.

THE Monthly Chronologer.

SUNDAY, Decr 4.



THE Court at St. James's appear'd in deep Mourning, but his Majesty did not appear in Publick; only the Prime Ministers, the chief Officers of his Household, the chief Officers of her late Majesty's Household, the Ladies of her Bed-chamber, the Maids of Honour, and the Women of her Bed-chamber, &c. appear'd in the Drawing-Room, when the Lords of the Bed-chamber in waiting came from the King's Apartment, and took their Names, &c. and then went to the King to carry their Condolescences, &c. to his Majesty: and then came out again to carry in other Names, &c. and did so several Times, till his Majesty was made acquainted with all the Persons of Distinction who came to wait upon him.

THURSDAY, 8.

The Parliament met according to the last Prorogation, and was farther prorogued to Tuesday the 24th of January next, when it will sit for the Dispatch of Business.

MONDAY, 12.

The Sessions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the following Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, viz. *Samael Bugden* for stealing from *Francis Brooks* two Gold Rings, a Silver Watch and 7l. in Money.—*William Cadmore* for robbing *Gerrard Bobzimy*, Esq; of Clothes and Pite to the Value of 26l.—*William Hordaby* for robbing *Paynter Cade* on the High-way.—*William Brown* for robbing *William Haynes* on the High-way.—*John Lane* for robbing *Ann Porter* in *Hornsey Wood*.—*Isaac Whitehead* for Horse-stealing.—*Gerry Gerrard* and *Grafton Kirks* for robbing *Henry Gough* and *Henry Adams*, Esqrs. on the High-way.—*Joseph Shaw* for robbing *Mr. South* on the High-way.—*Elizabeth Osborne* and *Ann Clarke* for House breaking.—*Abraham Davenport* for stealing a Silver Tankard out of the House of *Elizabeth Uvedale*.

A Scheme of the Proportions the several Counties in England paid to the Land Tax in 1693, and to the Subsidies in 1697, compared with the Number of Members they send to Parliament. By *John Smart* at the Town Clerk's Office, London. In this Scheme the Proportions are thus consider'd, viz. that as the whole Kingdom sends 513 Members to Parliament, so the Whole of each Tax is divided into 513 equal Parts. Col. 1 shews the Names of the Counties. 2. How many of the 513 Parts each County paid to the Land Tax in 1693. 3. How many of the

513 Parts each County paid to the Subsidies in 1697. 4. How many of the 513 Members each County sends to Parliament. Cities are included in their respective Counties.

COUNTIES.	Parts of the L. Tax	Parts of the Sub.	Parl. Mem.
Bedford	7	4	4
Berks	10	8	9
Bucks	12	7	14
Cambridge	9	6	6
Chester	7	5	4
Corwall	8	5	4
Cumberland	1	1	6
Derby	6	4	4
Devon	21	19	26
Dorset	9	6	20
Durham	3	4	4
Essex	24	13	8
Glocester	12	8	8
Hareford	5	4	8
Hertford	11	8	6
Huntingdon	4	3	4
Kent	22	15	18
Lancaster	5	7	14
Leicester	9	7	4
Lincoln	19	11	12
Middlesex	80	185	8
Menmouth	3	2	3
Norfolk	22	20	12
Northampton	12	8	9
Northumberland	4	3	8
Nottingham	7	4	8
Oxon	10	7	9
Rutland	2	1	2
Salop	7	6	12
Somerset	19	15	12
Southampton	24	11	26
Stafford	7	6	10
Stafford	7	6	10
Suffolk	20	15	16
Surrey	18	16	14
Suffex	16	10	28
Warwick	10	8	5
Westmoreland	1	1	4
Wilts	13	8	34
Worcester	9	7	9
York	24	23	30
Wales	11	12	24
All England and Wales	513	513	513

Note, that the Proportions of the 6 Northern and 5 Western Counties marked thus * are Middlesex and Essex are

Land	Sub	M.
103	88	216
104	198	16

WEDNESDAY, 14.

At a Session of the high Court of Admiralty.

talty, held at the *Old-Bailey*, before Sir *Henry Parris*, Judge of the said Court, and Sir *William Chapple*, the three following Prisoners were tried, *viz.*—*John Richardson*, Carpenter, indicted for the Murder of Capt. *Hartley*; which Fact, with most cruel aggravating Circumstances, was fully proved, and he Capitally convicted.—*Richard Eadnell*, alias *Ignel*, indicted for the Murder of *John Wood*, a Custom-House Officer, in *Yarmouth Road*, was acquitted of that Indictment; but by a special Warrant, detained to answer another Accusation alleged against him.—And, *Edward Forret* indicted for Boaring a Hole in the Bottom of the Ship, called the *Obarming Sally*, on the Coast of *Spain*, by which Means the said Ship sunk, and the Insurers thereby were like to be defrauded of 1000*l.* was acquitted.

THURSDAY 15.

At the said Sessions of Admiralty *Nicholas Wolff* and *John O'bryan* were tried for pyriatically combining, with others, to make a Revolt on board the *Dove*, Capt. *Hawes*; and *Robert White* and *John Ware*, for the Murder of *Thomas Heath* in the *George Sloop* at *Bentoolen*; and were all acquitted.

SATURDAY 17.

The Body of her late Majesty was interr'd in a new Vault, in King *Henry VII's* Chapel. The Protection was from the Prince's Chamber, adjoining to the House of Lords. Her Pall was supported by six Dukes, *viz.* the *Dukes of Richmond, Montagu, Argyll, Beuchleugh, St. Albans* and *Kent*; and her Royal Highness the Princess *Amelia* was chief Mourner, supported by 2 Dukes, and her Train born by 2 Duchesses, assisted by the Lord *Robert Montagu* the Queen's Vice-Chamberlain, and 6 Duchesses and 10 Countesses were Assistants to the chief Mourner. The burial Service was read by the Right Rev. *Dr. Wilcox*, Bishop of *Rochester*, and Dean of *Westminster*. After the burial Service was over, an Anthem set to Musick by Mr. *Handel*, was performed by upwards of 140 Heads, from the Choirs of *St. James's, Westminster, St. Paul's, and Windsor*; and then *John Anstie*, Cap't King of Arms, proclaimed her late Majesty's Title and Titles, *viz.*

Thus it has pleased Almighty God, to take out of this transitory Life, to his divine Mercy, the late Most High, Most Mighty, and Most Excellent Princess *Caroline*, by the Grace of God, Queen Consort of the Most High, Most Mighty, and Most Excellent Monarch *George* the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith; whom God bless and preserve with long Life, Health, and Honour, and all worldly Happiness.

The great Bell at *St. Paul's, Bow, St. Bride's*, and several others, tolled from six in the Evening till ten, it being during the Time of the Procession.

And the Guns at the Tower were also fired by Minors.

The same Day the great Standard of *England* was hoisted half Way up the Staff at the Tower of *London*, on account of her Majesty's Funeral.

All the Ships in the River did the same with their Colours.

The following is the Inscription on her Majesty's Coffin.

Deposum

Servissima Principissa CAROLINÆ, Dei Gratia Reginae Consortis Augustiss. & Potentiss.

GEORGHII Secundi, Dei Gratia Magnæ Britannia, Franciæ, & Hibernia Regis, Fidei Defensoris, Ducis Brusvoici & Lunenburgi, S. R. I.

Archi Thesaurarii & Principis Electoris, Quæ vixit Annis LIX, Menses VIII, Dies XIX, & Diem obiit Supremum XX Novembris, MDCCXXXVII.

The Anthem perform'd at her Majesty's Interment was as follows,

THE Ways of *Zion* do mourn, and she is in Bitterness; all her People sigh, and hang down their Heads to the Ground. *Lam. i. 4, 11, 20.*

How see the mighty fall'n! She that was great among the Nations, and Princess of the Provinces; 2 *Sam. i. 19. Lam. i. 1.*

She put on Righteousness, and it clothed her; her Judgment was a Robe and a Diadem. *Job xxix. 14.*

When the Ear heard her then it blessed her, and when the Eye saw her it gave Witness to her. *Ver. 11.*

She delivered the Poor that cried, the Fatherless, and him that had none to help him. *Ver. 12.*

Kindness, Meekness, and Comfort, went on her Tongue. *Eclus. xxxvi. 23.*

If there was any Virtue, and if there was any Praise, she thought on these Things. *Phil. iv. 8.*

The Righteous shall be had in everlasting Remembrance; and the Wise shall shine as the Brightness of the Firmament. *Psal. cxx. 6. Dan. xii. 3.*

Their Bodies are buried in Peace, but their Names liveth evermore. *Eclus. xlv. 14.*

The People tell of their Wisdom, and the Congregation will shew forth their Praise. *Ver. 15.*

Their Reward also is with the Lord, and the Care of them is with the most High. *Wisd. v. 15.*

They shall receive a glorious Kingdom, and a beautiful Crown from the Lord's Hands. *Ver. 16.*

The merciful Goodness of the Lord endureth for ever on them that fear him, and his Righteousness to their Childrens Children. *Psal. ciii. 17.*

SUNDAY, 18.

This Day, according to antient Customs, Bread and Cheese were thrown from *Paddington* Steeple to the Populace, agreeable to the Will of two Women, who were relieved there with Bread and Cheese when they were almost starved; and Providence afterwards favouring them, they left an Estate to that Parish to continue the Custom for ever on that Day.

A General BILL of all the Christnings and Burials, from the 7th of Dec. 1736, to the 13th of Dec. 1737. According to the Report made to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

Christned,	Buried,
Males 2482	Males 17690
Females 3278	Females 14133
In all 16760	In all 27823
Increased in the Burials this Year, 342.	

Died	
Under 2 Years of Age	10054
Between 2 and 5	2612
5 and 10	1008
10 and 20	885
20 and 30	2241
30 and 40	2658
40 and 50	2578
50 and 60	2270
60 and 70	1650
70 and 80	1164
80 and 90	576
90 and 100	127

A Hundred and One 1. A Hundred and Three 1. A Hundred and Five 1. A Hundred and Six 1. A Hundred and Sixteen 1
MONDAY, 19.

The Bridge-Lottery ended this Morning, when the last drawn Ticket, Numb. 6271, entitled Mr. John Garway, a Merchant in *Worcester*, to 1000*l.* He had a 1000*l.* Prize some Weeks before; and in the last Government-Lottery, by hitting the Chances of a Ticket for a single Day, got 5000*l.*

About the Beginning of the Month, the Lords of the Admiralty put the following Ships into Commission (which are to sail, 'tis said, for the *West-Indies*) and gave the Command of them to the following Captains, viz. Capt. Brown, Commodore, in the *Hampson-Court*, a 3d Rate of 70 Guns.—Capt. Berkeley, in the *Windfor*, a 3d Rate of 60 Guns.—Capt. Anson, in the *Centurion*, a 3d Rate of 60 Guns.—Capt. Douglas, in the *Palmer*, a 4th Rate of 50 Guns.—Capt. Rediff, in the *Angfish*, a 4th Rate of 50 Guns.

WEDNESDAY, 21.

Came on the Election for Common-Council-Men for the several Wards of this City.

In general the former were continued; but in the Ward of *Farringdon Within*, Mr. *Woodfish* was chosen without Opposition in the room of Mr. *Selwin*.

THURSDAY, 22.

Was held a general Council at St. James's, when the Earl of *Penbrok*, and the Lord *Robert Montagu*, delivered their Gold-Key to his Majesty, the former as Master of the Horse, and the latter as Vice-Chamberlain to her late Majesty.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

WILLIAM Bridges, Esq; an eminent Merchant in *Minning-ham*, married to the Rt. Hon. the Countess Dowager of *Bulmont*.—The Lady of the Rt. Rev. the Ld. Bishop of *Hereford*, Daughters to the Counts of *Portland*, and Sister to the Dutchess of *Knox*, lately deliver'd of a Son.—The Lady of *Robert Windsor*, Esq; Memb. of *Parl.* for *Cardiff*, and elder Son to the Lord *Windsor*, lately deliver'd of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

IN last Month, at his Seat in *Scotland*, Sir *James Dunbar*, Bart.—Rev. Mr. *Soley*, Prebendary of *Windsor*, and Rector of *Alresford, Hants*.—Dr. *Nelson*, a Physician at *Richmond, Surrey*.—At *Aben*, Thomas Booth Esq;—At his Seat near *Chichester*, *William Haywood* Esq;—Col. *Winderham*, formerly Col. of a Reg. of Foot.—Col. *Peters*, Lieut. Col. of *Brit. Gen. Phillips's* Reg.—In this Month, Capt. *Ausby*, of the 6th Reg. of Foot-guards.—Cap. *Somerset Morley*, formerly Commander of his Majesty's Ship the *Weymouth*.—Wm. *Kem*, Esq; one of the three Pages of the Remorving Wardrobe to his Majesty.—Rev. Mr. Samuel Bruce, Minister of a dissenting Congregation in *Aldersgate-street*.—Rich. *Hatley*, Esq; formerly Governour of *Cardiff Castle*.—John *Eng*, of *Marthafern, Montgomery-shire*, Esq; formerly Member for *Montgomery*.—Th. *Stear*, Esq; Grandson of the Bp. of *Ely* of that Name.—Rev. Mr. *Holman*, Fellow of *Trinity College, Cambridge*, and Vice of *Berkeley*.—Rev. Dr. *Watson*, Rector of *St. Stephen, Walbrook*.—Brigad. Gen. *Waring*.—*Samuel Taylor*, Esq; one of the Commissioners of Excise.—Capt. *Henry Sauton*, of *Lieut. Gen. Wade's* Troop of *Horses*.—Thomas *Patey*, Esq; Memb. of *Parl.* for *Stafford*.—At *Fowley* in *Northshire*, Sir *Rich. Moore*, Bart.—Rev. Mr. *Styrie*, aged near 100, Author of the *Amab*, &c.—Mr. Deputy *Smith*, aged 90.—Wm. *Edwards*, Esq; Treasurer to the *New-River Company*.—Mr. *Appliff*, a noted Attorney.—At *Stranmore* near *London*, in *Suffex*, Th. *Palham*, Esq; Memb. of *Parl.* for *Leam*.—Charles *Yess*, Esq; Treasurer of *St. Thomas's-Hospital*.—At her Lodgings near the *Seven-Dial*, Mm. *Mapp*, the noted Bone-Setter, miserably poor.—Rev. Mr. *Collins*, Rector of *Creyford, Kent*.—In *Scotland*, 4 Z

Rt. Hon. Patrick Conroy, Viscount Garraugh, Lord Kilbarny, Kingsburn, and Drumroy.—Mrs. Wymondsell, Wife of Matthew Wymondsell, Esq; (now High-Sheriff of the County of Buchan).—Capt. Cuningbham, Aide de Camp to the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lieut. of Ireland.—Countess of Galloway, Daughter of the late Earl of Eglington.—Aged upwards of 80, the Lady Harrisson, Relict of Sir Edmund Harrisson.—At Años, John Billingstey, Esq; in Commission of the Peace, and formerly Groom of the Closet to Q. Anne.—James Mackenzie, Esq; Major to Brigadier General Robert Murray's Reg. of Foot.—Sir Robert Kennedy, Knt.—At his House in White Friars, Mr. William Brooker, an eminent Printer, a Man of an excellent Character.

Ecclesiastical PREFERENCES.

Mr. Roper made Sub Dean of St. Paul's.—Mr. Willis presented to Rectory of Spilton-Mallet, Gloucest.—Mr. Davies, to the Rectory of Polsham, Wilts.—Mr. Abbot, to the Vicarage of Mucking, Essex.—Mr. Henry Wickham, appointed Chaplain to the Prince of Wales.—Mr. The Bellamy presented to the Rectory of Alton, and Sutton-Maudslay, Wilts.—Mr. Turner of Colebatch, to the Rectory of Aldham in that Neighbourhood.—Mr. James Corbill, to the Living of Clitbergew, Lancashire.—Mr. Lambert to the Rectory of Laven, Yorkshire.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

EARL of Ha, appointed Lord Lieut. of West Lothian, in the room of the late Earl of Haddington.—Mr. Norris, Esq; succeeds the late Sir Nicholas Trevanion, as Commissioner at Plymouth.—Lord Delaware, made Col. of the first Troop of Life-Guards, in the room of the Duke of Monmouth.—Wm. Galley, Esq; appointed a Col. in the Earl of Pembroke's Reg. of Horse.—Capt. Meddley, Capt. of an Independent Company at Jersey, in the room of Capt. Signal, deceased.—Mr. Aylmer, succeeds Tho. Foley, Esq; as Auditor of the Imprest.

Persons declared BANKRUPTS.

JOHN Jacison, of St. Anne's, Westm. Carpenter and Builder.—Tho. Owen of St. Paul's, Covent-Garden, Linen-Draper.—Benj. Irving, of Bury St. Edmund's, Linen-Draper and Chapman.—John Baker, of St. Margaret's, Westm. Brewer.—John Welbank, of Caterick in Yorkshire, Grocer.—William Wicks, of Whitecross-street, Brewer.—Samuel Wilson, of Tower-street, Grocer.—John Middleton, of Thomas-street, Distiller.—Robert Higbourn, of Brick-law, White-chapel, Pawnbroker.—William Stimson, late of Shot-lane, Brewer.—Edmond Williams, of St. George Hanover-square, Vintner.—William Stamper, of St. Dunstan's in Fleet-street, Broker.—John Perry, of Camberwell, in Surrey, Butcher, and Saltman.—John Bridge, late of Thetford, in Norfolk, Inholder.

Prices of Stocks, &c. towards the End of the Month.

S T O C K S.

Sea 101 $\frac{1}{2}$	Afric. 14
Bonds 3	Royal Aff. 111
Annu. 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{8}$	Lon. ditto 14 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bank 142 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 per C. An. 106 $\frac{1}{2}$
Circ. 15	Eng. Copper 2 15
Mil. Bank 122	Salt Tallies 124
India 177	Emp. Loan 114
Bonds 6 18	Equit. 112

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst. 35 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Bilboa 39 $\frac{1}{2}$
D. Sight 34 10	Leghorn 49 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rotter. 35 1 22 $\frac{1}{2}$	Genoa 52 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hamb. 34 22 34	Venice 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{8}$
P. Sight 32 $\frac{3}{16}$	Liib. 55 5d $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{8}$
Bourdx. 31 $\frac{1}{16}$	Opot. 55 5d $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{5}$
Cadix 39 $\frac{1}{2}$	Antw. 35 5
Madrid 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{8}$	Dublin 8 $\frac{1}{2}$

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat 24 28	Oates 9 14
Rye 13 19	Tares 22 24
Barley 16 19	Pease 30 36
H. Beans 22 28	H. Peafe 16 17
P. Malt 22 26	B. Malt 16 19

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL; from Nov. 22. to Dec. 27.

Christned	Males 739	Females 734	1473	
				Buried
Died under 2 Years old	2	and	5	805
Between	5	10	10	84
	10	20	20	85
	20	30	30	229
	30	40	40	283
	40	50	50	265
	50	60	60	261
	60	70	70	199
	70	80	80	150
	80	90	90	51
	90	and upwards		9

Hay 50 to 54. a Load.

ON October 16 N. S. The Ottoman Army consisting of 60,000 *Turks* and 20,000 *Tartars*, commanded by the *Seraskier General Ali Bajsa*, and the new *Kan of Tartary*, invested the City of *Oczakow* on the Land Side, and continued the Siege till November 8, during which Time they made many Assaults upon different Places, but were always repulsed by the *Muscovite* Garrison under the Command of *Major General de Stoffeln*, with great Loss. On the 8th, early in the Morning, the besieging Army, after having made a sham Attack upon a Redoubt, situate on a Hill towards *Limas*, and having sprung two Mines towards the Bastion of *Leuendabl*, turned suddenly towards the Gate of *Imailow*, and made a general Storm upon the covered Way, with all their Infantry and 5000 Horse, who were put on Shore from their Fleet for that Purpose. This Attack was made with so much Fury, that in some Places they got quite up to the Ditches of the Town, and many of the Soldiers threw themselves into the Water, in order to have got over; but in every Place they met with such a warm Reception from the Garrison, who sprung two Mines near the Caserns with great Success, that after having lost a great Number of Men, they were obliged to retire. Next Day they continued to make a great Fire from all their Batteries; but at Night they abandoned all their Works, set Fire to their Camp, and marched off with so much Precipitation, that they had got near 40 *Wersts* from the Place by the 10th at Night; from whence one would imagine they had got a false Alarm, that the *Muscovite* Army was marching up to attack them. The *Cuarina* has made the Commandant a Lieutenant-General, for his good Conduct and Bravery in the Defence of this Place; and his Son, *Lieutenant de Stoffeln*, who carried the News of the raising the Siege to *Peterburgh*, has got a Company.

The Magistrates and Ecclesiasticks of the Principality of *Sulzbach* have lately wrote a Letter to the Evangelick Body at *Ratisbon*, in which they represent, 'That if their Affairs are suffered to remain in the deplorable Condition they are in at present, it is to be feared the Protestant Religion will soon be entirely abolished in that Country, where no Protestant can obtain Justice either in his ecclesiastical or civil Affairs.' On this Occasion the Evangelick Body has wrote a Letter to the Emperor, praying his Imperial Majesty to vouchsafe to render them that Justice which is due to them by the Constitutions of the Empire, the Peace of *Wistphalia*, and the Act. of Religion signed at *Nuremberg*; but we do not hear that any Answer has as yet been returned to this Representation. The Prince of *Sulzbach* is next Successor to the present *Elect. Palatine*, and as such lays Claim to the Duchies of *Bergue* and *Juliers*.

From the Hague we hear, that the Imperial and French Ministers at that Place having in a Memorial desired that his *Britannick Majesty* and their High Mightinesses would become Mediators for accommodating the Differences subsisting between the King of *Prussia* and the Family of *Sulzbach*, in relation to the eventual Succession to the Duchies of *Bergue* and *Juliers*, those two Powers had agreed to offer their Mediation accordingly; an Answer, which 'tis thought neither of those Ministers expected. From this Answer it may be supposed, a Negotiation will soon commence for settling that Affair; but if the present *Elect. Palatine* should die in the mean Time, the provisional Possession is designed, it seems, by the Mediators to be given to the Prince of *Sulzbach*, which is a Concession the Court of *Prussia* will not perhaps agree to; for Possession is generally as much esteemed by Princes as it is by private Men.

We are told, there is a Treaty of Marriage in Agitation, between the Infanta *Don Philip*, second Son to the Queen of Spain, and the Princess *Anne-Charlotte of Lorain*, second Sister to the present great Duke of *Tuscany*; and that in consideration of the said Marriage, the great Duke is to renounce all his Pretensions to the allodial and moveable Effects of his Predecessor the late Duke of *Tuscany*; which will probably establish a good Harmony between the Courts of *Vienno* and *Madrid*.

On the 9th Instant, the Fleet from *Rio de Janeiro* arrived at *Lybon*, consisting of 15 Merchant Ships, and 12 more from the new Colony of *St. Sacrament*, under the Convoy of two Men of War. The Cargo of this Fleet consists in 30 Millions of *Crusadoes*, 90,000 Carats of *Diamonds*, and great Quantities of other rich Merchandize.

The Emperor has by a Letter under his own Hand to the Count de *Knigsfegg*, Velt Marshal of his Armies, conferred the Command of his Army in *Hungary* on that General. This is the General who surprized the French Army upon the *Socchia*, and afterwards fought the Battle of *Gunsballa* during the last War.

The French Papers are full of the Legacies left by the late Count de *Toulouse*, natural Son of *Louis 14th*. Among others are these following, viz. To his Sister the Dutchess Dowager of *Orleans*, a Diamond worth 180,000 Livres. To each of his 25 Valets de Chamber, 500 Livres a Year, during Life. To *Madam de Genois*, and her Son, 1500 Livres a Year each, during Life. To *M. Tarnant* and his Son 1500 Livres a Year each, during Life. To the Chevalier de *Crenay*, 1500 Livres a Year for Life. To each of the Comptrollers of his Household 1500 Livres a Year for Life. And to his 14 principal Footmen 400 Livres in Money each.

ARTS and GRAMMAR.

2. A New and easy Method of learning Hebrew without Points. By R. Grey. Printed for J. Stagg, price 5 s. 6 d.

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Ovid's Trifles	— — — —	3 6
Pindarus	— — — —	2 0
Cordaxus	— — — —	2 0
Metopius	— — — —	2 6
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Persius	— — — —	1 0
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APPENDIX

TO THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

MDCCLXXXVII.

Conclusion of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES of the *last Session of PARLIAMENT, continued from Page 684.*



IN our last we gave the Arguments made use of in favour of the Motion and Bill for repealing the old and laying a new Duty upon *Sewers*, and also a Part of the Arguments made use of

against that Motion and Bill; therefore we shall now proceed to give an Account of the remaining Part of the Debate relating to that important Affair, beginning where we left off in our last. (See p. 684.)

In every Country, Sir, that which may be called the Estate or Revenue of the Publick is the Sum that may be raised yearly from the publick Lands, and from those Taxes and Impositions which the People will patiently submit to pay; therefore if in any one Year the publick Expence exceed that Sum, by mortgaging a Part of this publick Estate or Revenue, the Publick is in the same Circumstances with a private Man who runs out his Estate, and neither the one nor the other can, for the future, be reckoned to have a greater Estate or Revenue than what remains free to him after the Payment of the Interest upon his Mortgages yearly. The only Difference is, that the Revenue of a private Man is certain and always the same, whereas the publick Revenue of a Kingdom or State is variable, and may always be greater in Time of War than in Time of Peace; because, during a just and necessary War, the People **D** will patiently submit to greater Taxes than

they will do in Time of Peace; but in either Case, if the Government of a Country should make the publick Expence exceed the publick Revenue, but for one Year only, it is a Step towards their Ruin, and a great Number of such Steps must certainly at last bring them to their Journey's End, which is the Ruin of their Country. **A** This Reason the Government of every Country ought to take special Care to proportion the publick Expence to the publick Revenue yearly, so as never to allow any publick Debt to be contracted, but what may be discharged by the Produce of the Taxes growing due within that Year.

Ministers, Sir, and those in the present Possession of Power, may very probably be **B** for loading the Publick with Debts, instead of loading the People with Taxes, because the People are sensible only of the Taxes they pay. they are not immediately sensible of the Debt the Publick contracts, nor can they probably become sensible of it during that Minister's Administration. This may enable him to run the Nation into a needless Expence, or to squander the publick Money, **C** without bringing an immediate Odium upon himself, or raising any Murmurs against his Administration; but every such Debt weakens the Power of the Crown, which depends upon the annual Revenue of the Kingdom, and may render it impossible even for the very next Successor to protect his Kingdom, either against Invasions and Insults from without, or Tumults and Insurrections from within; therefore no Man who has a true Regard for

the Crown, or for the next Successor to the Crown, will, for the Ease of any temporary Minister, agree to run the Nation in Debt, in order that the People may not be sensible of the unnecessary Charge his Ambition, Impudence, Avarice, or Extravagance, may have brought upon them.

When such Taxes are imposed and collected within the Year, as are fully sufficient for defraying the Expence of that Year, the People are sensible of the Expence, and will therefore enquire into the Necessity of that Expence, which will always be a Check upon the Measures of the Administration, in Time of War as well as Peace: It will not only make them frugal with respect to every Shilling of the publick Money they are obliged to lay out; but it will make them careful not to involve the Nation in any unnecessary War or Expence; and it will prevent their continuing of any War, longer than the future Security of the Nation requires. On the other Hand, when the publick Expence, or any Part of it, is raised by imposing a small Tax upon any of the Necessities, Conveniences, or Luxuries of Life, and mortgaging that Tax for a Number of Years, the People are not sensible of the Expence they are put to, and consequently make no Enquiry about it, which often gives an Encouragement to those in Power to run the People into needless Expences, and to lavish the publick Money. But if such Measures be continued for any Number of Years, those small Taxes grow so numerous, that they become not only sensible but insupportable: The Complaints and the Murmurs of the People then begin to grow general and loud; but the Misfortune is, that their Resentment falls upon those who have then the ill Fate to be in Power over them, and not upon those who were the original Authors of their Misery.

Another Misfortune is, Sir, that by contracting Debt, instead of imposing Taxes, the Nation is at last obliged to pay 3 or 4. sometimes more, for every Shilling that was ever applied to the publick Service; because the Interest and Charges of Management, which the People are obliged to pay yearly till the Principal be discharged, often amounts to double or treble the Sum first borrowed, which was the only Sum applied to the Service of the Publick. If we were to compute what this Nation has paid for Interest, and Charges of Management, upon all the Debts we have contracted, it would amount to an incredible Sum: I am convinced it would appear to be more than three Times the Amount of the whole Debt we owe at present. Let us but consider the Project now before us: Let us suppose 400,000*l.* borrowed at an Interest of 5 per Cent: and that the Tax will amount to but 35,000*l.* a Year, which is the least gross Produce we can suppose, upon the Supposition

that it will bring a net Sum of 30,000*l.* yearly into the Exchequer; in that Case, the People must pay 35,000*l.* a Year for 17 Years, which at 3 per Cent. Compound Interest amounts to near 750,000*l.* and which must be paid by the People of England in lieu of the 400,000*l.* now to be borrowed for the Service of this Year. When so low an Interest, in so short a Time, makes such a Difference, we may easily guess what an immense Sum the People of this Kingdom have paid for Interest and Charges of Management, since that Practice of creating—and mortgaging publick Funds, was first brought into Fashion amongst us.

It may, I know, be said, that if the whole Money necessary for the current Service is not raised within the Year, the People must save so much Money in their Pockets, which they would otherwise be obliged to pay out, for making good that Service; and that every private Man may make above 5 per Cent. of the Money so saved, instead of 3 per Cent. upon the Sum which the Publick borrows for the current Service; from whence it may be argued, that it is an Advantage for every private Man to run the Publick in Debt, rather than raise, within the Year, the whole Sum necessary for the current Service of the Year. But do not we know, Sir, that every Man looks upon the Taxes he is obliged to pay yearly, as a Part of his yearly Expence; and the more Taxes he is obliged to pay, the more he contracts his yearly Expence upon other Articles? This every prudent and provident Man will do, when he feels the Money going yearly out of his Pocket towards the publick Expence; but when a publick Debt is contracted, and thereby a Load thrown upon future Generations for the Ease of the present, no Man, let him be never so provident, sits down to compute the Ease he meets with, in order that he may save as much out of that Year's Expence, as may enable his Posterity to answer the Load thrown upon them. People consider only the yearly Taxes they are subjected to, and proportion their Expences upon other Articles accordingly; so that Posterity are so far from having the Principal left them, with Compound Interest at 5 per Cent. that they have neither Principal nor Interest left them; nor is it possible to persuade an Heir, that any Part of the Estate left him by his Ancestor, was saved for him, with a View of enabling him to pay his Share of that publick Debt, which was contracted in the Time of his Ancestor.

To these Misfortunes, Sir, let me add another, that the creating and mortgaging publick Funds, necessarily contributes to the raising and keeping up the natural Interest of Money, or to the draining the Nation of that Gold and Silver which is brought into it by its general Balance of Trade. As the

natural Interest of Money, in all Countries, depends upon the Proportion between the Demand for borrowing Money at Interest, and the Demand for lending Money at Interest; by creating and mortgaging publick Funds, you increase the first Demand, and consequently the natural Interest of Money must rise, unless you proportionably increase the other, and this you can no Way do but by prevailing with Foreigners to lend you a Sum equal to that publick Fund you have established. If you can do this, you keep up the same Proportion between the Demand for borrowing Money at Interest, and the Demand for lending Money at Interest, which you had in your Country before that publick Fund was created; but then what is the Consequence? The whole Sum payable yearly by Way of Interest upon that publick Fund, must be sent out of your Country yearly, in Gold or Silver, or it must prevent so much Gold and Silver yearly coming in to you, by Means of your general Balance of Trade; for unless you create a new Fund, your foreign Creditors cannot possibly convert their Interest into Principal; and if you create a new Fund, you add to your former Misfortune, by increasing the annual Draught of Gold and Silver from amongst you.

To supply this, Sir, to our present Circumstances; suppose the whole of our publick Debt amounts to 48 Millions, and that but 10 Millions of that Capital belongs to Foreigners, tho' I am convinced their Share amounts to a much larger Sum: in that Case, you have taken 38 Millions from the Demand for lending Money at Interest in your Country, and have added it to the Demand for borrowing Money at Interest, which makes a Difference of no less than 36 Millions, and how this Difference must affect the Proportion between these two Demands, and consequently the natural Interest of Money, in this Country, I shall leave to every Gentleman that hears me to judge. Then as to the 10 Millions belonging to Foreigners, 'tis true, it prevents the Difference between these two Demands in this Country being so great as it would otherwise be; but the Consequence is, that the yearly Interest of this Sum of 10 Millions, which is 400,000 *l.* a Year, must be sent out annually in Gold or Silver, or in Goods and Merchandises; for all Bills of Exchange must at last be answered by one or other of these Funds. If it be sent out in Gold and Silver, it diminishes our National Stock of Gold and Silver; if in Goods and Merchandises, it prevents its Increase; because the Price of those Goods and Merchandises must necessarily at last have been returned to us in Gold and Silver, if we had had no such Interest to have paid yearly to Foreigners. While the general Balance of Trade continues in our Favour, the paying of this Interest to Foreigners will only pre-

vent the yearly Increase of our National Stock of Gold and Silver; but as soon as the general Balance of Trade turns against us, this whole Sum must be drawn out yearly in Gold and Silver, which must necessarily in a few Years, entirely exhaust our National Stock of those two Metals; and when that Misfortune comes upon us, I am afraid we shall find but little Comfort or Relief in our Paper Credit.

This Consideration alone, Sir, I should think, would make every Gentleman resolve to submit to any Tax, rather than run the Nation further into Debt; and I am sure it ought to make every Minister resolve to contract the publick Expence as much as possible. There are many other Misfortunes and Inconveniencies attending the creating and mortgaging of publick Funds; but I shall not trouble you with enumerating any more of them at present. I think, I have said enough for convincing every Man, who has a sound Heart as well as a sound Head, that any Project for running the Nation into a new Debt, must be a most pernicious Sort of Means for supplying the current Service of the Year. If so, I am sure every Gentleman that hears me, would give his Negative to the Question, if there should be an Occasion; but there will not, I believe, be any Occasion for a Negative; because, if the Hon. Gentleman who made you this Proposition, views it in the same Light I do, I am sure he will most readily give it up. It may, perhaps, be said, Will you leave the current Service unprovided for? Will you allow the Session to break up without providing for those Supplies you have already granted: No, Sir: Several other Methods may be thought of: I have hinted at one, which I am sure would be sufficient; I mean, that of abolishing several of our unnecessary Posts and Employments. A Committee for that Purpose, if we were unanimous, would soon find out a Fund for answering the present Deficiency; and, I am certain, there is no Method that will be more effectual for producing that Unanimity, than our rejecting or dropping the Proposition now before us; for which Reason, if it be insisted on, I shall most heartily give my Negative to the Question.

The Reply was to the Effect as follows, viz.

Sir, I am glad to find, that every Gentleman who has argued for, or against the Question now before us, seems to be of Opinion, the Supplies we have already voted, ought to be made good, some Way or other. When these Supplies were granted, I easily foresaw, that the *Malt-Tax* and a *Lent-Tax* of 2s. in the Pound, would not be sufficient for answering them; and I confess, tho' I saw the Necessity of the Supplies we had agreed to, I was under some Uneasiness to

think how it was possible to make good the Deficiency; because, I thought it would be hard to load the People with any new or additional Tax, or to make any Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund; but my Usefulness was fully removed, as soon as my Hon. Friend had explained the Method, he had thought of, for making good that Deficiency. The Method he proposed, and which we have now under our Consideration, appeared to me so easy, and I beg his leave to say, so ingenuous, that I imagined it would have been agreed to without any Opposition; but this is a Fate, which I am glad to find few, or no Propositions are like to meet with in this House; for a bad one ought, and I hope, always will be opposed, and a good one derives great Advantages from Opposition; because its Usefulness from thence appears in a much clearer Light. As I very much approve of the Method proposed by my Hon. Friend, for making good the Deficiency of the Supplies for this Year, I shall endeavour to remove the Objections that have been made to it, and then I shall endeavour to shew the Injustice, and Impossibility of the other Methods that have been proposed, or rather hinted at in this Debate.

I as heartily wish, Sir, as any Gentleman can do, that we could contract the publick Expence so as to make the *Malt-Tax*, and a *Land-Tax* of 2s. in the Pound, sufficient for answering it yearly; but the publick Expence, as to its Quantity, neither depends upon our Resolutions, nor upon the Will and Pleasure of those who have the Honour to be in the Administration of our Government. The annual publick Expence in this Country, as well as in every other Country, depends upon the Necessities of the Government only, and ought to be increased or diminished only according to those Necessities. In arbitrary Countries, the Ministers are the only Judges of those Necessities, and of the Sums that will be sufficient for answering, as well as of the Ways and Means most proper for raising them; but, in this happy Country, our Ministers are no Judges in either of these Respects: Their Business is only to lay before Parliament, what they think will be the Necessities of our Government for the ensuing Year; and, what Sums they think will be sufficient for answering those Necessities. When they have done so, they are, as it were, *functi officio*, they have nothing more to do; for, the Parliament is then to judge, whether those Necessities are real; whether a less Sum may not be sufficient for answering those Necessities: And what Ways and Means are most proper for raising those Sums, that shall be thought necessary. Of these three Questions, we have already determined, the first two; and, now, we have the third under our Consideration.

In determining this third Question, we

certainly, ought, Sir, to choose such Ways and Means as may be sufficient for the End proposed; such as may be least burthensome to the People, and such as may seem to occasion the fewest Murmurings against the Government: And, that the Method now proposed to us, has every one of these three Advantages, will best appear from answering the several Objections that have been made to it. I shall grant, Sir, that some Sort of Consumption may be made between the publick Revenue of a Nation, and a private Man's Estate; and that a Mortgage upon either, must be a Loss to Posserty, and a Diminution of the Estate, till that Mortgage be cleared; but, there is a very great Difference, between what may be called a Loss to Posserty, and what may be called doing them a real Injury: A private Man who mortgages his Estate, in order to support his Luxury or Extravagance, does a real Injury to his Posterity: But he, who by some cross Accident is obliged to mortgage his Estate, for the Preservation of himself and Family, does no Injury to his Posterity, tho' he subjects them to a Loss. In the same Manner, a Nation may often, for Self-Preservation, be obliged to be at a much greater publick Expence than can possibly be raised within the Year, and must then necessarily mortgage some Part of its publick Revenue; which is so far from being an Injury to Posterity, that there is nothing more just and reasonable; because, as future Generations are to reap a great Part of the Benefit, they ought to pay some Part of the Expences which were necessary for obtaining or preserving that Benefit.

Not only Necessity, therefore, Sir, but even common Justice may sometimes require, that a publick Debt should be contracted, rather than lay too heavy a Load upon the People for any one Year, or for any Number of Years; and, whatever Inconveniencies or Disadvantages such a Measure may be attended with, the Necessity of Affairs will always be a full Justification of those, who pursue it. But, I cannot think, the Disadvantages attending such a Measure are near so grievous as have been represented; for as to the Interest and Charges of Management, the Money paid by the People for those Purposes, is seldom any real Loss to the Nation, because it is generally, all divided among our own People; there is but a very small Share of the Interest belongs to Foreigners; and what goes out that Way, is attended with this Advantage, that it procures the Nation some Friends in foreign States, who have often great Weight in their Councils, and, consequently, may prevent their joining in any Measures with our Enemies. Then, as to the Effect this Measure may have upon the Management of publick Money; I hope it will not be said that Ministers

are to be judged or punished by the People, in a mobbish and riotous Manner; their Conduct is always to be enquired into and judged of by the Representatives of the People in Parliament assembled; and, surely, no Gentleman of this House will ever be influenced, upon any such Occasion, by what the People feel, or say they feel; nor can we suppose, that any Gentleman of this House will ever approve of any Article of Expence proposed, only because his Posterity, and not he, are to suffer for it.

I should be glad, Sir, we could raise the Supplies of this Year within the Year: I should be glad our publick Necessities never required any greater Expence than what the publick Revenue would answer; but for the Reasons I have given I cannot admit it as a general and inflexible Maxim, that we ought never to contract any publick Debt, or make any publick Mortgage; for when it becomes necessary to raise any large Sum for the Service of any one Year, I shall be for giving the People such a sufficient Time for paying it, as may not subject them to any great Difficulty. In private Life, it has always been looked on as an Advantage and an Ease to a Man, to give him several Terms for paying a large Sum of Money; and the Case is the same with respect to the People, it will be much more advantageous and easy for them to pay 400,000*l.* with the growing Interest in 17 Years, than to pay 400,000*l.* at one Payment, in any Manner you can contrive for raising it; so that if the Method now under our Consideration were really a Mortgage of some Part of our former Revenue, and consequently a Diminution of the publick Estate, I should be for agreeing to it; but it is really neither the one nor the other: It is an Improvement of the publick Revenue and Estate; and surely Posterity cannot find fault with us for mortgaging for a few Years only, the Produce of that Improvement. If a private Gentleman should by any Improvement add 100*l.* a Year to his Estate, and mortgage that Improvement for 17 Years only, surely his Son would have no Reason to blame his Conduct, even tho' he should die immediately after having made that Improvement and Mortgage, and all future Generations would have Reason to thank him.

From this single Consideration, Sir, all those Objections that are founded upon the Inconveniencies of mortgaging the publick Revenue, must vanish; and the Debt to be contracted is so small, and the Interest it is to be borrowed at, so low, that it can no way affect the natural Interest of Money, either upon publick or private Securities. Now, Sir, with respect to the Objection which impeaches the Proposition under our Consideration, with being either a Proposition for a new Tax, or a Proposition for making an Inroad upon the Sinking Fund, I was,

indeed, not a little surpris'd to hear it not only said, but insisted on, that the Duty proposed to be laid on any Sort of *Sweets* was a new Tax; considering how general the Words are of all the Acts of Parliament by which the present Duty was established or continued. The Words of that Law in K. *William's* Time, by which a Duty was first laid upon *Sweets*, are, *For every Gallon of mix'd Liquors, commonly called Sweets, made from Foreign or English Materials*: And by the Act of the 5th of the late *Queen*, by which the present Duty was first established, the Words are, *For every Barrel of Sweets made for Sale*. 'Tis true a Doubt has since arisen from the Description of *Sweets* contained in another Act of K. *William's* Reign; but as that of the 5th of *Q. Anne* is a subsequent Law, and as the Words of it are general, the Intention certainly was to subject all Liquors, commonly called *Sweets*, to the present Duty, if they were made for Sale; therefore we must suppose that this Doubt's not being cleared up by a Trial, as well as by the Opinion of Lawyers, does not proceed from any Neglect in the Officers of the Revenue, or from their finding the Opinion of Lawyers against them, but from every Man's being persuaded there was no Foundation for the Question, therefore no Man would stand the Event of a Law-suit upon it; and the small Produce of the Duty must be imputed to the same Cause; for as every Man knew he must pay 36*s.* a Barrel, if he made any *Sweets* for Sale, and that, considering the Height of that Duty he could expect no Advantage by the Sale, therefore very few Persons attempted to make any such Liquors for such a Purpose, ever since this Duty was imposed. Therefore the Duty now proposed to be laid on *Sweets* is so far from being a new Tax, that every Man in the Kingdom will look upon it as a Release from an insupportable Tax, and as a Restoring him to the full Use of his Garden and Orchard, which he has been deprived of ever since the present high Duty on *Sweets* took place.

I shall readily acknowledge, Sir, that the present Duty on *Sweets* stands appropriated to the *South-Sea* Company, and if the Produce of that Duty had ever been, or could ever be worth taking any Notice of, the Applying it to the current Service, would be an Inroad upon the Sinking Fund, because it would be necessary to make it good to the *South-Sea* Company out of the Sinking Fund; but the *South-Sea* Company can have no Right to any Thing but the Produce of the present Duty, and if you were to abolish the Duty entirely, all that the *South-Sea* Company could lay claim to, would be a future Annuity equal to that Produce, at a Medium ever since the Duty was first granted to them. Suppose no other or heavier Duty had ever

been laid on *Sweets* than *1s. per Barrel*, which was the first Duty imposed on such Liquors; suppose that Duty had been granted, to the *South-Sea* Company for securing to them the Payment of their Annuity, and suppose we were now to lay an additional Tax of *11s. per Barrel* on such Liquors; would the *South-Sea* Company have any Right to that additional Tax? Or would the Applying of it to the current Service be any Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund? For the same Reason, if by any new Regulation you make a considerable Increase in the Produce of the Tax, the *South-Sea* Company can pretend no Right to that Increase, nor can the Application of it to the current Service be deemed an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund. The utmost that can be pretended is, that a future Annuity ought to be paid out of that increased Produce to the *South-Sea* Company, or to the Sinking Fund, equal to the former Produce at a Medium, from the Time it was first appropriated to the Payment of our Debts. Such a future Annuity would, I say, be the only Thing that could with any Shadow of Reason be contended for, and in the present Case that Annuity would be so inconsiderable, that it is not to be regarded.

Thus it appears, Sir, that the Method proposed for making good the Deficiency in the Supplies for this ensuing Year can neither be called a Proposition for imposing a new Tax, nor can it be called a Proposition for making an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund, or upon the Right of the *South-Sea* Company. But we have been told that the Duty proposed will either produce little or nothing, or it will subject a great Number of our People to Excise Laws. As to the future Produce of the Duty it is impossible to foretel with any Certainty what it will amount to; but the lowest Computation I ever heard of was 20,000*l.* a Year, and if the future Produce amount to that Sum, it will be sufficient for the End proposed, because it will not only pay the growing Interest yearly, but will likewise pay off a Part of the Principal yearly, so that the Whole may be at last discharged by the Means of this Duty only. Then as to Excise Laws, I have, 'tis true, heard a great many Exclamations against the Rigour of such Laws, and against the Inconveniencies and the Consequences of subjecting our People to such Laws; but the Misfortune is, that all these Suppositions are contradicted by Experience; for we have, for near this Century past, had such Laws in this Kingdom, without being sensible of the least Inconvenience arising from them; and I believe those who are subject to them live as happily and as independently as those who are not. These Laws are certain and publickly known, and therefore those who are subject to them can be under no Dependence

upon the Officers but upon the Law themselves: If they conform to the Law they have not so much as a Favour to ask of any Commissioner or Officer of Excise; and if any Officer behave rudely in the Execution of them, or commits any Trespasse, he may be prosecuted for it, as easily as any other Subject. This they are sensible of; and therefore they have hitherto generally done their Duty with as much Civility and good Nature as was possible; so that fair Traders who bring themselves under no Suspicion are seldom or ever subjected to any Inconvenience, nor are they ever visited or disturbed at unreasonable Hours.

But, Sir, supposing the Excise Laws to be as dangerous and as oppressive as they have been represented, our Farmers, our Wine-Merchants, and Vintners, will be in the same Case they are at present; for if any of these should begin to make *Sweets* for Sale, they would subject themselves to the Excise Laws, even as the Duty stands regulated by the Laws now in being; and tho' the Consumption of such Liquors should be very much increased by diminishing the Duty, as it probably will, it does not necessarily follow that every Farmer who has an Elder Hedge, or a Gooseberry Bush in his Garden should become a Maker of *Sweets*; no more than it is necessary for every Man who has an Acre of Barley to become a Brewer or a Malster: If the Consumption should become very extensive and general, 'tis certain that proper Persons will set up the Trade of making such Liquors for Sale, and will purchase Fruits for that Purpose from the Farmer at a reasonable Price, in the same Way as Brewers, Distillers, and Malsters now purchase their Barley. The only Difference I can see, is, that by this new Regulation, our Farmers will be put in a Way of making an Advantage of their Farms, which they have been debarred from ever since the high Duty upon *Sweets* took place; and the more Advantages they are enabled to make of their Farms, the better able will they be to pay their Rent to their Landlords; so that every Landed Gentleman has, in my Opinion, great Reason to approve of the Proposition now before us; for if it does not improve the Rent of his Estates, it will at least contribute towards rendering the Payment of that Rent more certain and punctual.

I hope, Sir, I have fully answered all the Objections made against the Proposition now before us, and as all the Gentlemen who have spoke upon the other Side of the Question, have acknowledged, that the Supplices we have agreed to ought to be made good by some Means or other, I wish they had directly and plainly proposed some other Method; for upon setting the two Methods in opposite Lights, it would have been very easy to

to have determin'd, which of them ought to be preferred. They have, indeed, given us some Sort of Hint of two other Methods, one of which, I mean that of an additional *Shilling in the Pound* upon Land, might have bore some Sort of Comparison, if the Land Tax for this ensuing Year had not been already settled, and the Bill actually brought in; so that it is now too late to think of any such Method; but if it were otherwise, if the Land Tax were still to be settled, I am sure it would be very easy to shew, that of all the Methods we can think of for raising Money, that of over-loading the Landed Interest is the most unjust, the most grievous, and the most dangerous. Even *2s. in the Pound* upon Land is a great deal too much, when the whole publick Expence does not amount to much above *2 Millions*; for as every Man ought in Justice to be made to contribute to the publick Expence, according to the Share of Riches he possesses, and as the Lands in *Great Britain* are not near equal in Value to the other Riches of the Nation, it is doing an Injustice to the Landed Interest, to make them contribute one Moiety of the publick Charge, which will be their Case for this next ensuing Year. But as the Land Tax is now entirely out of the Question, I shall not take up your Time with enlarging upon the Subject.

The other Method hinted at, is a Method extremely plausible in Appearance, but I question much, Sir, if it will ever be found practicable; and I am sure, it cannot be proposed as a Method for raising any Part of the Supplies we have already agreed to for this ensuing Year. In effect, it cannot properly be called a Method of providing for Supplies; it is rather a Method for diminishing the usual necessary Supplies, and cannot therefore come properly before us in this Committee. I do not at all question but there are many *superfluous* Posts in this Kingdom, as well as in every other, and many useless or extravagant Salaries. Some of them might perhaps be abolished; but I doubt much if it will ever be in our Power to abolish them all, and therefore I'm afraid the Saving in that Way, upon the severest Scrutiny, would not amount to near the Sum the Hon. Gentleman supposes. However, let it amount to what it will, it cannot be made a Provision for the Supplies of this next ensuing Year; because if we were immediately to appoint a Committee for enquiring into that Affair, we cannot suppose that Committee would be able to go through the Business in this Session, nay, I doubt much if they would be able to make even a partial Report; and as many of those Posts, I believe most of the useless ones, are held for Life, and are a Sort of Free-hold, we could not at once, and without any Consideration, turn the present Possessors out of their Free-hold; therefore,

from such an Enquiry the Nation could not expect any great immediate Advantage; at least, not such a great and immediate Advantage, as would be sufficient for making good the Deficiency in the Supplies for this next ensuing Year.

I hope, Sir, I have said enough for convincing every Gentlemen, that the Method now under our Consideration, for making good the Supplies of this next ensuing Year, will in all probability be sufficient for the End proposed; and that of all the Methods that have been proposed, or so much as hinted at, it is the least burdensome, and the least liable to occasion any fresh Murmurs among the People; therefore it is certainly the Method we ought to chuse. It is, indeed, in my Opinion, the only Method we have to chuse; for, I think, I have shewn, that the other two Methods that have been mentioned, are both impracticable; and as I justify in that which seems to be the general Opinion, that the Supplies we have already voted ought to be made good, I think I am both in Honour and Conscience bound to give my Assent to the Proposition now before us, because it is the only Method we can chuse for doing that which every Gentleman acknowledges ought to be done.

This is the Substance of the several Debates which happened in this Affair relating to *Sweets*; in which those who were for the Duty, got the better upon every Division, except one, which was in relation to that Clause in the Bill, whereby it is provided that nothing in that Act contained should extend, or be construed to extend, to charge with any Duty such Wine as the Owners or Occupiers of *British* Vine-Yards should make from the Juice of *British* Grapes only growing thereon; for the Adding of any such Clause, or the Exempting of such Liquors from the Duty on *Sweets*, was likewise opposed by most of those who were Favourers of the Duty and Bill; however upon a Division it was carried against them, and the Clause, as it now stands, was accordingly inserted in the Bill.

Having now given an Account of all the important Debates which happened in the Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, or that were occasioned by the Resolutions of either of these Committees, we shall proceed to give an Account of the Proceedings and Debates relating to the Murder of *Capt. Porteus* by the Mob at *Edinburgh*.

In our *Magazine for June*, we gave an Account how that Affair came first to be introduced in the House of *Peers*; and also the several Resolutions which that House then came to, the last of which was, That all the Persons then ordered to attend, should attend on that Day Month.

In the mean Time, viz. On *Thursday*, *March 3*, the Duke of *N—le* presented to the House, an authentick Copy of the Trial of *Capt. Porteous*, and all the Proceedings relating therunto; and also the Accounts transmitted hither of the Murder of *Capt. Porteous*, and what passed thereupon; together with the Orders and Directions sent from hence, relating therunto; as, likewise, a Copy of the Reprives of the said Captain, granted by her Majesty as Guardian of the Kingdom; all in pursuance of the 4th and 5th of the Resolutions before-mentioned. And on *Thursday*, *March 10*, the several Persons attended according to Order, and were called to the Bar and sworn: After which, the House resolved itself into a Committee to consider of the Affair, and agreed to 15 several Questions or Interrogatories; upon which, the *Lord Provost*, and four *Bailiffs* of the City of *Edinburg* in the Year 1736, were examined. The same Day a Message was sent to the House of *C—s*, desiring they would give Leave to *L—t G—l W—de*, and *P—t L—y*, Esq; Members of that House, to attend to be examined in relation to the Murder of *Porteous*; and *Major Poole*, whose Name had been mentioned in the aforesaid Examination, was ordered to attend on *Wednesday*, then, next:

On the 16th, *Thomas Tawg*, Treasurer of the City of *Edinburg* in the Year 1736, whose Name had likewise been mentioned in the aforesaid Examination, was ordered to attend if in Town; and, on the 17th, the House having, again, resolved itself into the said Committee, and agreed to eleven Questions or Interrogatories, upon which *Capt. Lynch*, who was Captain of the City-Guard of *Edinburg*, the Night *Porteous* was murdered, was examined; after which, the *Lord Provost* was again called in and examined as to any, and what Endeavours had been used by him, to discover those concerned in the Murder of *Porteous*? and, as to some other Matters, which had occurred after that Riot; and, the above-mentioned *P—t L—y*, Esq; having had Leave from the House of *C—s*, did attend, and was examined as to his Knowledge of what happened relating to this Affair; as was also *General Moyle*, Commander in chief of his Majesty's Forces in *Scotland*, at the Time this Affair happened.

On the 18th, *Col. Durozoy*, Lieut. Colonel to the Regiment of Foot, commanded by Lieutenant General *Weibum*, was ordered to attend; his Name having been mentioned in the former Examinations; and the same Day, a Motion was made by the *Lord L—h*, and supported by the Duke of *M—gu*, the *Lord C—t*, and the *Lord B—h*, That the *Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland* might be ordered to attend; which Motion was opposed by the Earl of *L—s*, the *Lord H—y*,

the Duke of *N—le*, the Duke of *A—h*, and the Earl of *W—ch*; and the Duke of *N—le* having moved to adjourn, which is always a Sort of previous Question, the Question was put upon that Motion, and was carried for adjourning.

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65		48	

The chief Reason given for this Motion, was founded upon a Letter of *L—t G—l W—de's*, then on their Table, from which it appeared, that it would be necessary for them to examine the *Lord Justice Clerk*, and as the Session would not probably last long, they ought to send for him as soon as possible; because, the sooner they would have him: To which it was added, that it appeared likewise, from the Trial of *Porteous*, then, on their Table, that it would be necessary to examine the *Lord Justice Clerk*, who was the chief and presiding Judge upon that Trial.

To this it was answered, that the ordering of any particular Gentleman to attend, would be a Sort of Impeachment upon his Character, which was a Sins they ought not to throw upon any Gentleman, without some Appearance of Guilt; for, as they would scorn to fix upon any Man, against whom there appeared the least Suspicion; so, they would scorn to attack any Man in an indirect Manner. That, as to the Letter upon their Table, they could not properly make it a Foundation for any Order, till they had examined *G—l W—de* himself, as to the Contents; and, as to the Trial of *Porteous*, the *Lord Justice Clerk* was but one, of four or five Judges then upon the Bench, and ought not therefore to be made to answer singly for any Part of that Trial.

The' this Motion was not then agreed to, yet, as the *Lord Justice Clerk* was the chief Officer of State in *Scotland*, at the Time of *Porteous's* Murder; and, consequently, the chief Person entrusted with the Civil Government of the Country; and, as it appeared by all the Examinations, that he was neither in Town when that Mob happened, nor came to Town when he was apprized of the Tumult, tho' very near to it; therefore, it is probable this Motion would have been revived, as soon as *G—l W—de* was examined, and, very probably, would then have been agreed to; but on the *Monday* following, the Duke of *N—le* moved, That the aforesaid *Lord Justice Clerk*, together with the *Lord Dow* and the *Lord Rosslyn*, the two Senior Judges of that Court, should be ordered to attend; which Motion was agreed to; and they were ordered to attend accordingly, on *April 21*.

L—t G—l W—de and several others

were afterwards examined, and the Committee having considered their several Examinations, came to several Resolutions, which were reported and agreed to, on Friday, April 13; whereupon, Alexander Wilson, Esq; the aforesaid Lord Provost of Edinburgh, was ordered to be taken into the Custody of the Gentleman-Usher of the Black-Rod; (but upon April 19, following, he was admitted to Bail, in order to prepare himself, for being heard by his Counsel, as after mentioned.) And a Bill was ordered to be brought in, *To disable the said Alexander Wilson, Esq; from taking, holding, or enjoying any Office or Place of Magistracy in the City of Edinburgh, or elsewhere, in Great Britain; and for imprisoning the said Alexander Wilson; and for abolishing the Guard kept up in the said City, commonly called The Town-Guard; and, for taking away the Gates of the Nether-bow Port of the said City, and keeping open the same.*

The several Questions or Interrogatories agreed to in this Committee of Enquiry were, as before-mentioned, all taken down in Writing, as were also the Answers made to them by the several Gentlemen that were examined at the Bar; but, as we have not Room to insert them *verbatim*, and as the Substance of what was then said, as well as of what was afterwards said by the Witnesses for and against the Bill, at the Bar of each House, will appear from the several Debates relating to this Affair, we think it needless to give any Summary of what was said by the Evidence on either Side of the Question.

On April 4, The Bill above-mentioned was, according to Order, brought in, and read a first Time, and was ordered to be read a second Time; but, as the Lord Provost, and, afterwards the City of Edinburgh, were admitted to be heard by their Counsel against the Bill, upon its being read a second Time; therefore the second Reading was put off, till the Beginning of May, in order that they might have Time to bring up Witnesses, and instruct their Counsel. For this Reason, we shall give an Account of a Motion and Debate, relating to the Sentence passed upon Porteous; and, of that grand Affair relating to the Scotch Judges; both which happened in the mean Time; before we give any farther Account of the Progress of this Bill. However, as many of our Readers may be curious to see this Bill, in the Form in which it was first passed by the House of Peers, we shall give them a Copy of it as follows, *viz.*

WHEREAS upon Tuesday, September 7, in the Year of our Lord 1736, there was a most seditious and outrageous Riot in the City of Edinburgh, in that Part of Great Britain called Scotland, notoriously concerted and carried on by great Numbers of

wicked, disorderly, and blood-thirsty Persons, who did, with open Force and Violence, seize the Arms of the City Guard, possess themselves of the City Gates, and, by setting fire to and breaking open the Door of the Tolbooth of the said City, did unlawfully and audaciously rescue and set at large several Criminals therein confined: And whereas Captain John Porteous, then a Prisoner there under Sentence of Death, but graciously prepaired by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, as Guardian of the Realm, was by the said Rioters in a cruel Manner dragged from the said Prison, and most barbarously hanged by the Neck, and murdered, in manifest Violation of the publick Peace, in Defiance and Subversion of legal Government, in high Contempt of our Sovereign Lord the King and his Laws, and to the most presumptuous and unparallel'd Obstruction of the Royal Mercy: And whereas for some Time before the Committing of the said Murder and Riot, it was commonly reported in the said City of Edinburgh, that some such atrocious Fact would be attempted, which, by proper Care in the Magistrates, Citizens, and Inhabitants of the said City, might have been prevented; notwithstanding which, Alexander Wilson, Esq; then and now Provost of the said City, then actually resident in the said City, and fully apprized of the said wicked Design, did not take any Precautions to prevent the said Murder and Riot, nor use the proper or necessary Means to suppress the same, or to preserve the Peace of the said City; or, after the Perpetration of the said Fact, to discover, apprehend, or secure the Authors, Actors, or Abettors thereof, in manifest Violation of the Trust and Duty of his Office of chief Magistrate of the said City; nor were any Means or Endeavours used by the Citizens and Inhabitants of the said City, to prevent or suppress the said notorious Riot, or to hinder the said inhuman and barbarous Murder, or to discover the Persons concerned therein, in order to bring them to Justice: Now, in order to express the highest Detestation and Abhorrence of the said Murder and Riot, and to the End that the said enormous Misbehaviours and Neglects of Duty, herein before mentioned, may not go unpunished, and that other Persons may not presume, through Hopes of Impunity, to be guilty of the like for the future; Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the said Alexander Wilson be, and he is hereby, from and immediately after the passing this Act, disabled, and made incapable to have, hold, exercise, or enjoy the said Office of Provost of the said City of Edinburgh; And that he the said Alexander Wilson

Wilson be, and he is hereby forever hereafter, disabled, and render'd incapable, to have, hold, exercise, or enjoy any Office or Place of Magistracy in the said City of *Edinburgh*, or elsewhere, in *Great Britain*.

And it is further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That a new Provoſt be immediately chosen in the room of the said *Alexander Wilson*, in the same Manner as if the said *Alexander Wilson* was naturally dead ?; and that he the said *Alexander Wilson*, shall be detained and kept in close and safe Custody, without Bail or Mainprize, during the Space of (one whole Year) to be accounted from the Day of passing this Act, in any Gaol or Prison within the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, to the Custody of the Gaoler or Keeper whereof the said *Alexander Wilson* shall from time to time be committed, in Pursuance of this Act, by any Warrant under the Hand and Seal of any Secretary of State, of His Majesty, His Heirs, or Successors, which Warrant or Warrants any Secretary of State for the Time being is hereby authorized and empowered to make.

And whereas the said City of *Edinburgh* hath, for many Years past, kept up a Military Guard, called the *Town Guard*, which upon the said late unhappy Occasion has appeared to be of no Use: And whereas, for want of an open Communication between the said City, and a Place called the *Cannongate*, adjoining thereto, wicked and disorderly Persons are the more encouraged (especially in the Night, when the Gates of the *Netter-Bow Port* of the said City are shut) to attempt to commit Disorders and Riots in the said City: And whereas, it is just and necessary, that the Power of keeping up the said Guard should be taken away, and that the said *Netter-Bow Port* should be kept open, Be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That from and after the first Day of July 1737, the said Military Guard, commonly called the *Town Guard*, be taken away, and abolished, and no longer kept up; any Law, Statute, Prescription, or Usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding: And that the then Provoſt and Bailiffs of *Edinburgh*, on, or before the said first Day of July 1737, shall cause the said Gates of the *Netter-Bow Port* to be taken down, and that the Communication between the said City and the *Cannongate*, be for ever hereafter kept open, both by Night and by Day; any Law or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

On Tuesday, April 26, after several Lords had spoke for, and against the Sentence pronounced against *Porteous*, by the High Court

of *Judiciary* in *Scotland*; a Motion was made for declaring it erroneous. In this Debate, the Arguments for the Motion were chiefly, as follows, viz.

A My Lords, altho' it cannot be supposed that we have, or can have, all the Lights which Time and Circumstances may hereafter discover and manifest, with regard to the Trial of the unfortunate Capt. *Porteous*, and the Sentence passed upon him; yet, I think, we have sufficient for shewing us, that that Sentence was extremely rigorous, to give it no worse a Name: and, as it is an Affair in which the Peace and Tranquillity of this Island, and the Safety of his Majesty's Subjects, are very much concerned, I am humbly of Opinion, we ought not to pass over that severe Sentence without some Censure.

B In that Trial, my Lords, the first Thing that occurs to our Notice is, the Interlocutory Sentence passed upon the Relevancy of the Libel, and for directing what Matters should be brought in Proof at the ensuing Trial; with respect to which, there appears to me at first View, two very material Objections. The first proceeds from an Error or Mistake, as I imagine with regard to the Law of *Scotland*; and, indeed, of every well regulated Society in the World; and the other is, in my Opinion, an evident Piece of Injustice done to the unfortunate Prisoner.

C As to the first, my Lords, by that Interlocutory Sentence they determined, That the Pannel, or Prisoner, having at any of the Times and Places, libelled, fired a Gun among the People assembled at the Execution, or having given Orders to the Soldiers under his Command, to fire, and thereupon, they, the Soldiers, or any of them, having accordingly fired; and, upon the firing, either by himself, or them, the Persons mentioned in the Indictment, or any of them, were killed or wounded; or, the Pannel's being Art and Part of any of the foresaid Crimes, are, *separatim*, relevant to infer the Pains of Law. I do not pretend, my Lords, to be fully acquainted with the Laws of *Scotland*, but from the Law of Reason, which I take to be the Law of every Country, and, I hope, is the Law of *Scotland*, I must think this Determination too general; I think there ought to have been an Exception, with regard to his having been first attacked or assaulted by the Mob; and, therefore, I must think these Words, or some such Words, ought to have been inserted; 'Unless it should appear, that, he or his Party were violently attacked or assaulted by the Mob, and brought into Danger of their Lives, or of being disabled from performing their Duty.'

* N. B. What follows was left out in the House of Commons, and instead thereof, only one short Clause inserted, for subjecting the City of *Edinburgh* to a Fine of 2000*l.* to be applied to the Use of the said *Porteous*.

I am sorry, my Lords, we should ever have Occasion to employ a military Force, or any Thing like a military Force, in the Execution of the Law; or, in bringing any Criminal to condign Punishment; but, in this Country, as well as in every other Country, the Populace are sometimes instigated by selfish and designing Men, to oppose the Distribution of Justice; or, in some Cases, perhaps, to take upon themselves an usurped Power of distributing Justice; and, when any such Case, as either of these happens, it becomes necessary for the Magistrate to make use of a military Force, or something like it, in order to execute the Laws, or to protect his Majesty's innocent Subjects, who happen to be so unfortunate as to incur the Resentment of an enraged and unruly Populace. When either of these happens to be the Case, I hope it will never be established as the Law of any Part of this Island, or of any of the Dominions belonging to it, that those, who are called to the Assistance of the Civil Magistrate, shall be hanged for Murder, in Case they should find themselves under a Necessity of firing upon those who violently attack or oppose them in the Execution of their Duty; for, if this were established, or supposed to be established, as the Law of the Kingdom, it would not only greatly encourage Tumults and riotous Assemblies, but, would make it impossible for the Civil Magistrate to suppress them, or to prevent whatever Mischief, the Fury of a Mob, the Malice of private Men, or, perhaps, the Desire of Plunder, might suggest. Even the Civil Magistrate himself would run the Risk, either of having his Brains knock'd out by the Mob, or of being afterwards hanged by the Law, if he should take the proper Measures, or give to his Assistants the proper and the only effectual Orders, for defending themselves and dispersing a riotous Assembly. For this Reason, as the Law permits the carrying of Fire-Arms to those who are called as Assistants to the Civil Magistrate, it must certainly, in some Cases, allow them to make the proper Use of those Arms; and, I cannot think any Case can happen more necessary, for allowing them that Liberty, than when some of them are wounded, and their Bones actually broke, by the Stones thrown at them by the Mob; which was the Case when that Accident happened, for which *Porteous* was condemned to die, by the Sentence now under our Consideration.

As I take it to be the Law of every Country, that neither the Civil Magistrate, nor any of his Assistants shall be deemed guilty of Murder, if they happen to kill any of those who oppose them, or, who assault them in the Execution of their Duty, so I find, my Lords, this Case is particularly regulated in *Scotland*, by an express Act of Parliament

made for that Purpose; for, by an Act passed in *Scotland* in the Reign of *James VI.* it is expressly enacted. That, neither the Magistrates, nor People of *Edinburgh*, nor any Person assisting them, in preferring the Peace, and preventing Riots or Tumults, shall be so much as prosecuted for the wounding or killing of any Person upon such Occasions; which is an Act so much adapted to the Case of *Porteous*, that, I am surpris'd it was not so much as mentioned at his Trial. Whether this Law was ever repealed by any future Act of Parliament, is what I do not know; but, if it was never repealed, if it is a Law still in force, I am of Opinion it might have been pleaded even in Bar of the Indictment, because all such Persons are by that Act indemnified, not only, against any Punishment, but, against any Prosecution to be commenced against them for the Wounding or Killing of any Person, while they were assisting the Magistrates to preserve the Peace, or to suppress any Tumult.

The other Objection, my Lords, is against that Part of this Interlocutory Sentence, which directs, and really confines, the Prisoner, as to what Evidence he was to bring for his Vindication. What may be the Method of such Trials in *Scotland*, I do not know; but in this Country, it is certain the Prisoner is allowed to examine whatever Witnesses he pleases to call; and, to prove all those Facts and Circumstances he may think proper for his Justification. After all his Witnesses have given their Evidence, it belongs to the Jury to consider, whether the Facts and Circumstances proved, can any Way tend to prove the Innocence of the Person accused, or to alleviate the Crime laid to his Charge; but, surely, the Court is not to call the Prisoner, or the Jury, that, he shall not be allowed to examine any Witness as to such a Fact, or such a Circumstance, because it no Way relates to the Matter in Hand; for, sometimes, by examining a Witness as to a Fact, seemingly, very remote, another Fact or Circumstance comes to light, by which the Innocence of the Person accused may be made manifest. For this Reason, I must think it a most dangerous Method of Proceeding, to lay any Restraint upon a Prisoner, with respect to the Points he is to be admitted to prove at his Trial; and, it must be much more so, to confine him to those Facts and Circumstances only, which happened at the Time, the Crime he is accused of was committed: In the Case now before us, surely, the unfortunate Prisoner ought to have been allowed to adduce what Evidence he could, with respect to all Circumstances which might any Way relate to the Crime of which he was accused, whether those Circumstances happened at, or before or after, the Time, the Crime was said to have

been committed; in which Case he might, perhaps, have proved, that he had express Orders from the Magistrates to fire upon the Mob, if they made the least Attempt to assault him, or his Guard, or to rescue the Criminal from the Hands of Justice; and, if he had proved his having had such Orders, surely, he ought not to have suffered for obeying them; for upon the Trial it was fully proved, that, both he and his Guard were assaulted, and some of them wounded, by the Mob, before he or any of the Soldiers attempted, or so much as threatened to fire; and, I think, it appears upon the Trial, that a Sort of Rescue was actually made; for, the Duty of the Guard was not only to see the Criminal hang up, but, to see him hang by the Neck till dead; that is, till the Executioner should by Order of the proper Magistrate cut him down, which never was done: The Criminal, as appears upon the Trial, was cut down by one of the Mob, and was cut down, before any Magistrate had given an Order for cutting him down; which was really, in my Opinion, a Sort of Rescue, and such a Rescue as would have justified the Guard's firing upon those that were guilty of it, if they had had proper Orders for that Purpose.

From what I have said, my Lords, it appears, that, the Prisoner in this Case, was debarred the Privilege of proving, what might have justified him upon his Trial; which was, in my Opinion, doing him a very great Piece of Injustice in the very first Step of his Trial; and, in all the other Parts of the Trial, the Proceedings against him seem to have been carried on with the utmost Rigour; for, considering how widely the several Witnesses differ from one another, — and, how easy it is for Men to mistake Words upon such an Occasion, as well as to mistake the firing of one Piece for the firing of another, I must think the Jury shewed him no Favour in their Verdict. However, as they likewise found it proved that the Pannel and his Guard were attacked, and several of the Soldiers bruised and wounded, which was a Sort of Special Verdict, they left it to the Judges to do as they thought fit, upon considering and arguing that Special Verdict; and considering, that there was a Possibility of the Captain's being innocent, notwithstanding the Proof that was against him, the Judges ought, I think, to have allowed of that Attack or Assault as an Excuse, so far at least as to prevent his being deemed guilty of Murder; therefore, I hope, your Lordships will agree to this Resolution, That the Trial and Condemnation of Capt. *Porteus* was erroneous in several Particulars.

To this 'twas answered in Substance as follows, viz,

My Lords, as I am convinced there was no Secret or Mystery in any Part of the Trial

now under your Consideration, as it was a publick open Trial according to the Laws and the common Methods of Proceeding in such Cases in that Country, therefore, I believe, we have now all the Lights before us which any future Time can discover; and I think we have sufficient Lights for shewing us that the Trial was regular, and the Sentence just. I shall readily agree with the noble Lord, that the Peace and Tranquillity of the Island, and the Safety of his Majesty's Subjects, were very much concerned in the Issue of that Trial; for considering how full the Proof was against the Prisoner, considering how manifestly his Guilt appeared to every Man present at the Trial, if he had been acquitted either by the Jury or by the Judges, I do not know but it might have occasioned an Insurrection in that Part of the Island; and it would have given Occasion to every hot-headed Officer sent upon any Command, to have murdered his Majesty's Subjects upon the least Affront offered to him by the Populace.

I have, my Lords, as great an Aversion to Mobs, and to all Sorts of riotous Proceedings, as any Man can have, as any Man ought to have; and I as heartily wish we never had Occasion to employ any Thing like a military Force in the Execution of the Law, or in bringing any Criminal to consign Punishment; yet I think the Liberty of firing at Random upon any Multitude of his Majesty's Subjects, is a Liberty which ought to be most cautiously granted, and never made use of but in Cases of the most absolute Necessity; and in this Way of Thinking I am supported by the whole Tenor of the Laws of England. It is now 3 or 400 Years since Fire Arms first became in use amongst us, yet the Law has never suffered them to be made use of by the common Officers of Justice. Pikes, Halberds, Battle-axes, and such like, are the only Weapons that can be made use of according to Law by such Officers; and the Reason is extremely plain, because with such Weapons they can seldom or ever hurt, much less kill, any but such as are really opposing or assaulting them; whereas if you put Fire Arms into their Hands, and allow them to make the proper Use of such Arms, they may as probably hurt or kill the Innocent as the Guilty; nay in Cities and Towns, where such Tumults generally happen, they may kill People sitting in their own Houses, or looking innocently over their Windows, which all Persons are apt to do, but especially Women and Children, when they hear any Hubub or Noise in the Streets; and which was really the Case in the Affair now before us; for one Woman was killed in her Master's House, by her being unfortunately, but innocently, at the Window when the Soldiers fired.

For this Reason, my Lords, I hope it will never be laid down as a Maxim in this House, that any Party of Soldiers, or others, assisting the civil Magistrate, has a Power to fire at Random upon a Multitude of his Majesty's Subjects, or in the Streets of any Town or City; or that any Magistrate has in any Case an unconfined Power to give them any such Orders; and much less to give them Orders to fire upon a Multitude which was at first lawfully and innocently assembled together; for there are two Sorts of Mobs or Assemblies of the People; one is, when a Multitude of People assembles together upon any lawful or innocent Occasion, and afterwards happens to become riotous; and the other is when a Multitude of People assembles together with Design to commit some unlawful or wicked Action. With respect to the former, the most gentle Measures ought to be made use of for dispersing them, because many innocent Persons being inveigled in the Crowd, it may be some Time, before they can possibly get away; but with respect to the latter, as all that are assembled together upon such an Occasion must be some way guilty, therefore more rough and violent Measures may be made use of for dispersing them, and for preventing the Mischief they intended. But in both these Cases the Law is now certain and indisputable. Your Lordships all know that by a late Statute, which is in force in *Scotland* as well as *England*, the Power of the civil Magistrate, in the Case of any Mob or riotous Assembly, is fully and distinctly regulated; yet even by that Law, which I have often heard complained of as a Law not tolerable in a free Country, there is no express Power given to the Magistrate or his Assistants to make use of Fire Arms; so cautious was the Legislature, even at that Time, when Tumults were more frequent and more dangerous than they are at present, of giving a legal Authority for the making use of such Weapons. After reading the Proclamation, and after giving the Mob an Hour's Time to disperse themselves, and to depart to their Habitations or lawful Business, the Peace Officers may then, by that Law, seize or disperse those who shall afterwards continue unlawfully assembled; and if any Person by resisting them shall happen to be killed, maimed or hurt, the Peace Officers and their Assistants, are indemnified; but I doubt much if a Magistrate would be indemnified, even by this Law, should he take the short Way of dispersing a Mob, by ordering his Assistants to fire among them, and should thereby kill any Person who had committed no Overt-act of Resistance; especially if it should appear that he had fired upon the Mob without any Necessity for so doing, and even without any extraordinary Provocation.

In such a Case, my Lords, if the Magistrate, or any of his Assistants who did fire, were to be prosecuted by the Laws of *England*, I believe he would be brought in guilty, at least of Manslaughter; and, as what is deemed Manslaughter by the Laws of *England* is generally deemed Murder by the Laws of *Scotland*; as every Killing is deemed Murder by the Laws of that Country, unless it happens by Chance, or *se Defendendi*, therefore the Judges had no Power by the Laws of that Country to add any such Exception as has been mentioned to the Interlocutory Sentence; nor did the Prisoner pretend to found his Innocence or his Defence upon any such Exception; for both he and his Lawyers were very well convinced there was no Pretence for such an Argument from any of the Laws of his Country. And with respect to that of King *James VI.* which was mentioned by the Rev. Prelate, I am not at all surprized it was not pleaded, or so much as mentioned by the Counsel for the Prisoner; on the contrary, I am rather surprized it was not made use of against him; for from that Law it appears, that his firing, or giving Orders to fire, was downright Murder. That Law was made for preventing or quelling Riots and Tumults within the City of *Edinburgh*; for which Purpos the Magistrates of that City are enabled, with the King's Allowance, to raise Soldiers on Pay, to use *Haquebuts*, and all other Arms when they shall think expedient; and if any Person resisting the said Magistrates in the Quelling of any Riot, shall be hurt or slain, the Magistrates and their Assistants are indemnified; providing such Hurt or Killing was with long Weapons, and not by shooting *Haquebuts*, or the like. I need not acquaint your Lordships, that *Haquebut* was the Name then used in that Country, and formerly in this, for Fire Arms, and that by long Weapons was meant Halberds, Battle-axes, and such Weapons as are commonly used by all Assistants to Officers of Justice in that Part of the Island as well as this. Thus your Lordships see that Killing with any Sort of Fire Arms was expressly excepted out of that Law; and therefore that Law was so far from being in favour of the Prisoner, that there might from thence have been drawn a very strong Argument against him.

I know, my Lords, it will be said, that the Officers of Justice and their Assistants, especially his Majesty's Troops, when they happen to be called to the Assistance of the civil Magistrate, are in a very unlucky Situation, if they are not to be allowed to make use of the Arms in their Hands for preventing their being knock'd on the Head with Stones and Brick-bats. This I shall readily grant, and I wish some proper Regulation were made for the Direction and Se-

curity of the Gentlemen of the Army; but we are now to consider the Law as it stands at present; and as the Law now stands in England as well as Scotland, if an innocent Person suffers Death by Firing, especially if that Firing was before any Proclamation read, the Person that fired, and he who gave him Orders to fire, might both be prosecuted for Murder; I am afraid neither of them would have any Resource but in the King's Mercy. The Soldiers may upon such Occasions make use of their screwed Bayonets for dispersing or seizing the Rioters; by so doing they can hurt none but those that resist them; but I would not advise them to fire, unless they should find themselves in very great Danger of being over-powered, and perhaps murdered by the Mob.

As for the other Objection against this Interlocutory Sentence, it is founded entirely, my Lords, upon the Method of Proceeding, and may be an Objection against the Laws of that Country, but can be no Objection against this Trial in particular. In that Country the Prisoner has a Copy of his Libel of Indictment delivered to him, and has Time allowed him to consider and consult with his Lawyers what Defences he thinks proper to make. These Defences are afterwards considered by the Court, and if they contain any Facts that can any manner of way contribute towards his Justification, he is allowed Process for summoning Witnesses to prove such of them as are denied by the Prosecutors; but if they be such as can no manner of way contribute towards his Justification, or such as are admitted by the Prosecutors, he is not allowed to take up the Time of the Court with impertinent or needless Examinations; and the Reason of this is, because the Examination of Witnesses is in that Country carried on in a more tedious, but a much more certain and solemn Manner, than in this. The Evidence of every Witness is taken down in Writing by the Clerks at the Table, and after he has been fully examined and cross-examined, his Evidence is read over to him, and he must sign or put his Mark to it, in order that it may remain as a Record against him, in case it should ever afterwards appear that he had willfully perjured himself in the least Article of his Evidence. Tho' this Method carries along with it a great Security against Perjury, yet it has laid the criminal Courts there under a Necessity of restraining the Prisoner, and confining him to the Proving of those Facts that are material, and denied by the Prosecutor; but this can never be any Disadvantage to a Prisoner, or to a Person indicted, unless the Court should exclude him from proving what was really material; and if the Court should do any such Thing, the Jury would probably consider it in their Verdict.

This Method of Proceeding, my Lords, may perhaps appear a little extraordinary to most of your Lordships, who have always been accustomed to a different Method; but this Method has certainly some Advantages, which the Method observed in this Country has not; and let this Method be good or bad, it is the Method of Proceeding established by the Laws of that Country, which cannot be altered by any Court or by any Judge. If it could be said that the Court of Justiciary in Scotland had debarred *Pottous* from proving any Facts he desired leave to prove, some Objection might then be made to the Trial; but the Truth is, as will appear upon the Face of the Trial, there was not any Fact he desired leave to prove, but what was either admitted by the Prosecutors, or he was admitted to prove; and particularly as to his having had previous Orders from the Magistrates, all he contended was, That he had Orders from the Magistrates to make his Guard charge with Shot, and even to fire among the Mob in case of Resistance; and he did not so much as desire, nor was there any Occasion for his desiring leave to prove this Fact, because it was admitted by the Prosecutors in their Pleadings, and was likewise expressly admitted in their printed Information; say there was not any one Fact, nor any Circumstance in his Behaviour, either before or after the Committing of that Crime, upon which he could pretend to lay the least Stress, with respect to his Vindication, but what was either admitted by the Prosecutors, or he was admitted to prove; so that I am surprized to hear it so much as insinuated, that the least Injustice was done him in this Respect. On the contrary, by the whole Tenor of the Trial, it appears, he rested his Innocence entirely upon a flat Denial that he either fired, or gave Orders to fire.

And now, my Lords, with respect to the Jury, I must think it a little hard; I believe it is not usual for your Lordships to pass any Censure upon the Verdict of twelve Men delivered upon Oath. Besides, these twelve Men were all either Gentlemen, or substantial Merchants or Tradesmen; they were none of the Mob, nor were there any *Talesmen* among them: They have no such Thing in that Country; when it comes to a Gentleman's Turn to attend upon a Jury, he must attend, he cannot excuse himself by giving a *Shilling* or *Half a Crown* to the Sheriff's Officer. These Gentlemen were, perhaps, personally acquainted with many of the Witnesses; some of them were, perhaps, themselves at the Execution; and therefore, it must be allowed they were better Judges, what Credit was to be given to the several Witnesses, than any of your Lordships can be. It was positively affirmed by several Witnesses, that they saw *Pottous* fire; it was positively affirmed by several

Several others that they heard him give Orders to his Guard to fire; other Witnesses said they did not see him fire, and, that they heard him call to his Men not to fire. Both these might have been true, but suppose they could not, solely the Gentlemen of the Jury were better Judges which Side they ought to give credit to, than any Lord of this House can now pretend to be; and their having brought in a Special Verdict, is to me a full Proof they were, what every Jury ought to be, altogether impartial.

But, my Lords, from this Special Verdict, I find, an Occasion is taken to find fault with the Severity of the Sentence. I should be glad to know from those noble Lords, who have found fault with this Sentence, what they think the Judges might have done; for, in my Opinion, they could do nothing but what they have done. I have told your Lordships we have no such Thing as Manslaughter in *Scotland*; the Jury by their Verdict had found the Prisoner guilty of killing and wounding a great many of his Majesty's Subjects, but that he had been provoked by the Throwing of Stones, by which some of his Men were wounded. What could the Judges do in this Case? They must either determine, that the Killing was Murder, or they must have said it was *se Defendendo*, or by Chance: No Law in the World could have justified them, in determining that the Prisoner had killed these People by Chance, or *se Defendendo*; therefore they were obliged to determine it was Murder, and to pass Sentence accordingly. They might perhaps have recommended him to the Crown as a proper Object of Mercy; but I do not find they did, and I must beg leave to say, I do not think they had any Reason to do so; for, tho' I would go as far as any Man, in justifying an Officer for executing his Orders, and performing his Duty with Courage and Resolution; yet, in our own Dominions, and among our own Subjects, except in Cases of an open Rebellion, I think, a great Tenderness ought to be shewn towards the People: I am sure a Man of real Courage always will; and tho' the unfortunate Man, whose Trial is under our Consideration is now dead, yet I cannot help saying, that upon the Occasion for which he was afterwards condemned to die, he behaved more like a Madman, than like a prudent and brave Officer.

I shall not pretend, my Lords, to justify every Part of the Law of *Scotland*, or every Method they have of proceeding in their Courts of Justice. There is not, there never was, I believe, a Body of Laws in the World, against which a great many Objections may not be made. In every Country, the Inhabitants are apt to extol the Justice and Perfection of their own Laws, and those who are of a different Country are sometimes apt

to mistake the greatest Beauties for great Imperfections. I do not pretend to understand the Law of this Country, it is none of my Business; but I think I could point out several Imperfections; I shall only mention one, which I really take to be not only an Imperfection but an Absurdity. By the Law of this Kingdom, if a rich Man is convicted of Felony, the Sheriff is to be a great Gainer by his Conviction; he may perhaps acquire an opulent Fortune by such Conviction, and yet, that very Sheriff is the Man who is to name the Jury who are to try him, and may name such Persons as he thinks fit. According to this Method, a rich Man must take great Care never to be indicted for Felony, or at least, never to let it come to a Trial, however false and malicious the Prosecution may appear to be; for, if he should allow it to come to a Trial, I think he stands more than an equal Chance of having a Verdict against him; because as soon as that Verdict is returned, the Sheriff becomes his Heir, or, at least, his Executor, and may immediately take Possession of his personal Estate. I could mention many other Imperfections, and, perhaps, Errors, in the Law of *England*; and, I do not doubt but there are as many in the Law of *Scotland*; but, neither the one, nor the other ought to be altered in any material Point, without very mature Consideration; otherwise we may happen to create two new Imperfections for every one of the old, we attempt to remove. The Laws of *Scotland*, upon which the unfortunate Man, whose Case is now under our Consideration, was condemned, may be wrong; the Methods of Proceeding, by which he was tried may be severe; but such as they are, they were then, and are still, the Laws of that Country, according to which the Judges were bound by their Oath to proceed and determine; therefore, if your Lordships come to any Resolution relating to that Trial, your Resolution ought, in my Opinion, to be, That it was regular and just; and, such a Resolution will, I am sure, contribute more to the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom, and to the Safety of his Majesty's Subjects, than any Censure you can put upon it.

As this Motion was not much insisted on, there was not any Thing said by Way of Reply, nor any Division upon it.

The chief Speakers for the Motion, were the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Bishop, the Earl of Worcester, and the Lord Lovell, The Lord Chief Justice, and the Bishop of Salisbury spoke against the Trial, but thought they had not sufficient Lights to pass any Censure upon it; and the chief Speakers against the Motion, and in Favour of the Trial, were, the Lord High Treasurer, the Earl of Ferrers, the Earl of Lincoln, the Duke of Arundel, and the Earl of Southampton. (See the Trial at large, Vol. V. p. 498.) Upon

Upon Occasion of this Debate, the Duke of A—le, proposed, That the Judges should be ordered to deliver their Opinions upon the following Questions, *viz.*

1. If an Execution were to be performed in *Sticks-Market*, and a Guard of regular Troops drawn up there by lawful Command, to prevent a Rescue of the Criminal; and, if several Stopes thrown from among the Crowd should fight among the Soldiers, by which several of them should be bruised and wounded; Would such a Guard be guilty of a Crime, if by firing among the Crowd, they should kill several Persons? And, if guilty of a Crime,—What Crime it would be?

2. Upon Occasion of a Riot in, or near a Town, where a Regiment is quartered, should the Sheriff of the County order the Commanding-Officer to assemble the Regiment, and march to his Assistance against the Rioters, Is such Officer obliged to obey? Or, may he obey? And what Penalty there is, if he should refuse?

3. If a Detachment of the Army, is ordered to prevent a Number of People from pulling down Houses, or from committing any other illegal Action, and that the Commanding-Officer has Orders to repel Force by Force, Can such Detachment lawfully make use of Force by Firing, unless they are attacked by the Rioters?

4. In Case Rioters should be pulling down Houses, or doing any other Mischief in one Part of the Town, and a Detachment of the Army should be ordered, in Aid of the Civil Magistrate, to march thither to disperse them; and a Number of People should assemble, and stop up such of the Passages through which such Detachment must necessarily pass; Whether such Detachment may use Force to disperse the People so assembled, in order to pass that Way, without being first attacked by them?

Which was agreed to, and ordered accordingly.

Then his Grace proposed, That supposing such an Execution in *Edinburgh Grass-Market*, the *Scotch* Judges might be ordered to Answer the same Questions by the *Scotch* Laws, and to sign their Opinions.

Which was likewise agreed to, and ordered accordingly.

The three Judges before-mentioned, being arrived from *Scotland*, according to Order, there arose a Question in the House of Peers, whether they ought to be examined at the Bar, at the Table, or upon the Wool-Sacks; which Question was debated for some Time on *Friday, April 29*; but, the Earl of I—s having proposed, that the House should resolve itself into a Committee, to search Precedents in Relation to that Question, the same was agreed to, and 'twas Resolved, That the House would, on the *Monday* following,

resolve itself into the said Committee; and, accordingly, on that Day, the House being Resolved into the said Committee, the Question was again fully debated, in which Debate the Arguments for examining them at the Table, or upon the Wool-Sacks, were to the Effect, as follow, *viz.*

A My Lords, as I was not one of those Lords who desired the Attendance of any Judge or Judges from *Scotland*, I cannot certainly tell what was the true Meaning of their being ordered to attend; but as no Enquiry has been made into any Part of their Conduct, as no Resolution of the Committee seemed to be directed against either of them, I cannot think they were called up, or meant to be called up, as Persons guilty of any Crime or Misdemeanor; and as they had nothing to do with any Thing that happened when *Perriens* committed that Crime for which he was condemned to die, nor with any Thing that happened at the Time that unfortunate Man was murdered, I cannot think they were called up as Witnesses in any Part of that Affair; therefore I must suppose the only Reason for desiring their Attendance proceeded from the authentick Copy of *Perriens's* Trial now upon your Table. I suppose, from that Trial some Doubts and Difficulties had occurred to your Lordships with regard to the Laws of *Scotland*, and the judicial Proceedings of the supreme Court of Judicary in that Country; and that therefore you desired the Attendance of those three Judges, in order to resolve those Doubts, and remove those Difficulties.

B If this be the Case, my Lords, I must think you can ask those Judges no Questions, nor can they answer any Questions, till they are brought into the House in a regular Manner, and placed according to their Rank upon the Wool-Sacks. I am indeed surprized that no Regulation for this Purpose was made by the Articles of Union, and I am as much surprized to find we have continued for so many Years without making such a Regulation; for as the Laws of *Scotland* are very different from those of *England*; there is as great a Necessity for this House's being always provided with the Attendance of some at least of the *Scotch* Judges, as there is for our having some of the *English* Judges always among us. In this House, Laws are to be passed relating to *Scotland* as well as *England*; in this House, Appeals in all Causes from *Scotland* as well as *England* are to be ultimately and finally determined; in this House, a Peer of *Scotland* may come to be tried for a Crime committed in *Scotland*, and for which he is to be tried according to the Laws of *Scotland*; nay in this House, we may have Occasion to pass Laws for regulating the Courts of Justice in *Scotland*; and how we can justly and conscientiously answer either

either of these Purposes, without having some of the *Scotch* Judges amongst us, is what I can no way comprehend. 'Tis true, we have at present, we have had ever since the Union, some of the *sixteen* Representatives of the Peerage of *Scotland*, who are, or have been great Masters of the Laws of their own Country, as well as of the Laws of many other Countries, but this is a good Fortune we are far from being sure of. We may have *sixteen* Peers sent up from *Scotland*, neither of whom may know more of the Laws of *Scotland* than most of us can pretend to know of the Laws of *England*; and in that Case, I should be glad to know, how it would be possible for us to proceed upon, or determine any Affair which required a thorough Knowledge, or at least a full Information, as to the Laws of that Country?

From this Consideration, my Lords, I really think it inconsistent with the Dignity of this House, and with the Honour and Character of our Proceedings, not to have the Attendance of some of the *Scotch* Judges, in order to give us proper Lights, and such as may be depended on, into the Laws and Customs of that Country; for surely no Man can form a good Opinion of the Proceedings of any Assembly, where the Members determine without either Knowledge or Information; and for this Reason I am surprized this Affair was not particularly thought of, and expressly regulated, at the Time the Union was concluded. If it had been thought of at that Time, I believe there is no doubt to be made, but that the Judges from *Scotland* appointed or ordered to attend this House, would have had Places assigned them upon the Wool-Sacks, next to the Judges of the same Rank in *England*; and tho' this Affair was at that Time neglected to be expressly and particularly regulated, yet it is an Affair which I think the People of *Scotland* may insist on from the general Terms of the Union; and it is an Affair which, in my Opinion, your Lordships cannot well refuse. By the Articles of Union it is expressly stipulated, that there shall be but one Parliament for the United Kingdom, and that the Subjects shall have a Communication of all Advantages, except where otherwise agreed in the Articles of Union. Is it not a great Advantage to the People of *England*, to have their learned Judges always present in this House, in order to give us that Information, which is necessary in all Cases where a Doubt arises about the established Laws and Customs of *England*? If this be an Advantage, as it certainly is, the People of *Scotland* have a good Title to claim the same Advantage, and to insist upon having some of their Judges likewise present in Parliament, for the same necessary Purpose. This is an Advantage, I say, they have a good Title, from these gene-

ral Words, to claim; because it is no way excepted by any Article of the Union; and as every Honour is an Advantage, they have a Right to claim that the same Honour, the same Respect, may be shewn by this House to the Judges of *Scotland*, as are shewn to the Judges of *England*, except that only of allowing a Preference to the latter, with respect to their respective Ranks or Degrees.

As this House has ever since the Union had the good Fortune to be supplied, from Time to Time, with noble Lords eminent for their Knowledge and Experience in the Laws of their Country, who happened to be of the *sixteen* chosen to represent the Peerage of *Scotland*, it has prevented our taking notice of this Defect in the Union; and it has prevented the People of *Scotland*'s laying claim to that Advantage, which they certainly, in my Opinion, have a Title to claim; it has even prevented their being sensible of any Want in this Respect: This, my Lords, contributes greatly to the Honour of some Lords we have had amongst us from that Country, and likewise to the Honour of some we have still the Happiness to have amongst us; for I must do so much Justice to some of the noble Lords of that Country we have now amongst us, as to say, that I believe we stand now as little in need of Information from the learned Judges of *Scotland*, as ever we did in any former Parliament; but this Advantage must of course cease in a Generation or two; for as no new Titles of Honour can be granted in *Scotland*, we can expect few or no Lawyers from that Country in the very next Age. I believe your Lordships are all sensible, we would often be at a great Loss, even with respect to the Laws of *England*, if we had no learned Judges to have recourse to, nor any Peers who had been raised to the Honour of Peerage, on account of their profound Skill and Experience in the Laws of their Country; and from thence your Lordships must see how necessary it will probably be for this House; in future Times, to have always some of the learned Judges of *Scotland* attending. This is the first Time any of them have ever been called to attend, it is the first Time it has ever been thought necessary to ask them any Questions; and if your Lordships oblige them now to attend, if you think proper to ask them any Questions, I hope you will shew them the same Honour, the same Respect, you would do to the Judges of any of the Courts of *Westminster-Hall*, if they should be ordered to attend for the like Purpose.

To put this Matter in a clear Light, give me Leave, my Lords, to suppose a Writ of Error brought into this House from any of the Courts in *Westminster-Hall*, from the Court of *King's-Bench*, for Example; suppose upon reading the Case, various Doubts and Scruples should occur to some of your

Lordships, with regard to the Laws relating to that particular Case, and with regard to the Proceedings below, for the clearing up of which, you should desire to ask the Judges some Questions, and for that Purpose should order them to attend at the Hearing; surely, you would not call them to the Bar, you would desire them to attend only in their Places upon the Wool-Sacks. Again, suppose this very Affair of *Porteous* had happened at *Newcastle* instead of *Edinburgh*; suppose he had been tried and condemned by the Judges upon the Affizes there; and, suppose you should order the Judges, by whom he was condemned, to attend, in order to answer some Questions, and to explain some Doubts, relating to his Trial and Condemnation; Would, your Lordships order them to attend at the Bar? No, my Lords; you could not; you, at least, would not desire their Attendance any where, but in their usual Places upon the Wool-Sacks. Therefore, from a Parity of Reason; if, your Lordships desire the Judges of the supreme Court of *Jusiciary* in *Scotland*, which is the same with the Court of *King's-Bench* in *England*; I say, if you desire those Judges to attend, if you desire to ask them any Questions about the Laws and Customs of *Scotland*, you ought first, in my Opinion, to take the proper Method, for giving them the Places due to them upon the Wool-Sacks; in order, that they may from thence answer such Questions, as you have a Mind to put to them; for, if they should answer Questions from any other Place, I am afraid, the greatest Part of their Countrymen will be apt to say, they have done what I shall not chuse to express.

But now, my Lords, suppose the Judges you have called up, are not to have any Questions put to them as Judges, but that they are to be examined as Witnesses, in order to see if they can give you any Light into the Affair now depending before you; yet as Judges of one of the supreme Courts of *Scotland*, and, consequently, as having a Right to be within the House, they ought to be examined at your Table, which is the Place, I believe, where the Judges of *England* would be examined, if they were to give Evidence in any Affair before you; for, it appears upon your Journals, that in the Year 1689, two Gentlemen had the Honour of being examined at your Table, tho' they were not then Judges, but, only because they had been Judges, and, as such, had had Places within the House. For this Reason, the Gentlemen who are attending by your Order, if they are to be examined as Witnesses, ought, I think, to be examined at the Table; it is what, in my Opinion, they have a Right to insist on, by the Articles of the Union between the two Nations, which I hope your Lordships will never break-

through, in the most trifling Circumstances, without the unanimous Consent of both.

I hope, my Lords, no Incroachment will ever be made in this House upon the Right of any private Man; I hope the meanest Subject will always be able to sue with Success in this House, for any Right or Privilege he can shew a just Claim to; but, the Right now in dispute before your Lordships, is not the Right of a private Man, nor is it a Right of a private Nature; it is the Right of a whole People, it is the Right of a Nation once free and independent, and, it is a Right stipulated by one of the most publick and most solemn Contracts that was ever made; a Contract which, on our Parts, we are obliged to observe and fulfil with the greatest Nicety, because the People of *Scotland* trusted entirely to our Honour for a faithful Performance; their submitting to be governed by one and the same Parliament, in which they knew we would always have a great Majority, was really in Effect submitting every Thing to our Honour; and I hope, they shall never have the least Occasion to repent of the Confidence they have reposed in us. For this Reason, in all Cases, where the Rights or the Privileges of the People of *Scotland*, by Virtue of the Articles of Union, come to be questioned, I shall always have a strong Bias in their Favour, especially when the Matter in question relates to a Piece of mere Ceremony. But in the present Case, I must think, there can be properly no Question; for, whether the Judges of *Scotland* ought to be in this House as Assistants, to give their Opinions upon such Matters of Law as may arise in the Course of our Proceedings, in the same Manner as the Judges of *England* do, is a Question, I think, determined not only by the Articles of Union, but, by the very Nature of the Thing itself; because, while *Scotland* continues to be governed by Laws different from *England*, it will be impossible for us to do our Duty without such Assistance.

My Lords, as nothing contributed more than the Union between the two Kingdoms, towards securing the Protestant Succession in the present illustrious Family, so there is nothing can contribute more to the Preservation of that Succession, than the rendering that Union, every Day more firm and unalterable; which can no Way be done more effectually, than by cementing the People by an Union in Hearts and Affections, as well as an Union established by Law. While we have such a Majority in both Houses of Parliament, the People of *Scotland* will always find it impossible to break through or dissolve the legal Union that subsists between us; but, if we should ever make use of that Majority, which I hope we never shall, to break through or incroach upon those Articles, which have

then stipulated between us; the legal Union will be of little Force, it will only serve to make them desperate, and to run the Risk even of their own Perdition, in order to rid themselves of the Yoke they groan under. They will be apt to ascribe to the present Royal Family all the Ills they feel, or imagine they feel; and, if they should unanimously join in a contrary Interest, we know they would be supported by a numerous Party in this Part of the Island, as well as by a powerful Party beyond Seas; for which Reason we ought to take all possible Care not to give them any just Ground of Complaint; we ought, even, to avoid a Measure which may be made use of by the Enemies of the Government, for sowing Discouragement and Dissension in that Part of the Island. The Minds of the People in that Country are at present in great Agitation; the bringing up of so many Gentlemen, on Account of a Murder, committed by the very Dregs of the People, must give them a good deal of Concern; and, we may suppose that every Man's Attention is fixed upon the Behaviour of this House towards their Judges: If we treat them with any seeming Disrespect, if we treat them in any Manner different from that, in which the Judges of England would be treated upon a like Occasion, I am afraid the People in general will look on it as an Indignity offered to the whole Nation, and, as a Violation of the Articles of Union; therefore, I hope your Lordships will either not examine them at all, or examine them in a Manner to which no Exception can be taken.

As I am not of that Country, I have spoke with the more Freedom in this Debate, because I think I cannot be suspected of Prejudice or Partiality. If I have any, I trust it is upon that Side, on which I think my own Honour and the Honour of my Country most deeply concerned; which I take to be in a most exact Observance, not only of the Words, but of the Spirit and Intention of the Articles of Union. We contracted together as Nations quite independent of one another, and by the whole Tenor of the Contract it appears, that the Subjects of both Kingdoms are entitled to equal Honours, Privileges, and Advantages. We have no Pre-eminence to any Pre-eminence, but only that those of any Rank in England shall have the Precedence of those of the same Rank in Scotland. This they have always since the Union allowed us, and I hope we shall never dispute conferring upon any Gentleman of Rank in Scotland, those Marks of Honour or Respect, which are bestowed upon Gentlemen of the same Rank in England. I shall not pretend to prescribe to your Lordships, what Methods you are to take for conferring those Marks of Honour or Respect; as the Judges

of England sit here by Virtue of the King's Writ, I should think the most regular Way would be, to address his Majesty to order such Writs to be issued as may be thought proper, for enabling the three Scotch Judges now attending by your Lordships Order, to come and take their Places upon the Wool-Sacks; but I shall make no Motion for this Purpose, till I hear the Sentiments of other Lords upon the same Subject.

To this it was answered in Substance thus, viz.

My Lords, I am sure I am as ignorant as the noble Lord who spoke last, how the three Scotch Judges came to be sent for, or what were the Reasons for sending for them. Whether their Attendance was desired, in order that they might be examined as Witnesses in the Affair now depending before us, or in order that they might answer Questions and give their Opinions as Judges learned in the Laws of Scotland, is what I know nothing of; for I was no ways privy to the Design of making such a Motion, nor did I know any Thing of it till I heard it made; and I gave my Consent to it, only because I supposed the noble Duke who made it, had good Reasons for sending for them, which would appear at the proper Time from the Questions he should ask, and the Cases he should put to them. I very well remember, that a few Days before the Motion was made, for ordering these three Judges to attend, a Motion was made by a noble Lord near me, for ordering one of these Judges, I mean the Lord Justice Clerk, to attend, which Motion was upon a Division disagreed to; but if I did not mistake the noble Lord who made that Motion, he did not mean to send for that Gentleman as a Judge, but as an Officer of State, and as one very much entrusted, by Virtue of his Office, with the civil Government of that Country; he did not mean to send for that Gentleman to answer any Questions about the Laws of Scotland, but to answer for his own Conduct about the Time Paterson was murdered; and so I thought the Conduct of that Gentleman was not such as it ought to have been upon that Occasion, I joined with the noble Lord in his Motion; but I then had, as I generally have, the Misfortune to be of the wrong Side of the Question.

Notwithstanding the ill Fate of this Motion at first, yet, my Lords, it might probably have been renewed in the Course of our Enquiry; but in a few Days after, a noble Duke stood up and moved that this very Lord Justice Clerk, together with the two Senior Judges of the same Court, might be ordered to attend; which was accordingly agreed to, and this made the Renewal of the first Motion unnecessary. This different Method of sending for him appeared to me at first as a Matter of no great Moment; but now

I must say, I with the first Motion had been agreed to, because in that Case, I believe we should have had no such second Motion, I believe none other of the Scotch Judges would have been sent for; and if none other of them had been sent for, we should at this Time at least have had no such Question as the present before us; for tho' I am in my own Opinion very clear in the Question now before us, yet I wish with all my Heart no such Question had upon this Occasion occurred.

Whether the Judges of Scotland, my Lords, have a Right by the Articles of Union, to insist upon having the King's Writ for being present in this House, and for having Places among the other Judges upon the Wool-Sacks; or whether it be necessary for us to have their Attendance, are Questions, which, I think, are not properly now before us; and therefore I shall not take up your Lordships Time with Inquiring into them; but I am sure no Judge of Scotland was ever yet admitted to be present, nor have any of them now a Right to come within this House; for no Man can come within our Bar, but by Patent, by Writ, or by Custom. The Judges of England have their Places upon the Wool-Sacks by the King's Writ, and till the Judges of Scotland get Writs of the same Nature, they have no Right to come within our Bar, nor have we, I think, a Power to bring them within the Bar, because it would, in my Opinion, be an Incroachment upon the King's Prerogative. Nay, I must go farther, I do not think the King himself, even with the Consent of this House, can issue out any such Writs; for even the King's Power of issuing such Writs is limited by Custom. His Majesty may by Custom, and by his Prerogative, create as many Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Viscounts, or Barons as he pleases; but I do not think he can grant, or rather create, a new Title of Honour in Great Britain without an Act of Parliament. So he may by Writ call the Judges of England to be Assistants to this House: He might likewise according to the ancient Custom issue Writs for his Serjeants at Law, his Counsellors learned in the Law, and some other Officers, to attend as Assistants; but I do not think that he can issue Writs for the Attendance of any Judges, Serjeants, Counsellors, or Officers, not warranted by ancient Customs. For the issuing of any Writ not warranted by Custom, there must be an Act of Parliament; because it is a Matter which concerns the whole Nation, it concerns the other House as well as this, and any such Attempt would certainly meet with Opposition from the other House. Therefore, as the issuing of any Writ for summoning the Judges of Scotland to attend in Parliament was not particularly and expressly established by the Articles of Union, it cannot now be done but

by an Act agreed to by all the Branches of our Legislature; and as it cannot be done without such an Act, it would be very improper for us to insist to his Majesty any such Address as has been proposed.

If the Judges of Scotland had ever had any such Writs as the Judges of England have, for summoning them to Parliament, if they had ever had the Honour of having a Seat within the Bar, they would then have had a Right to claim giving their Opinions upon the Wool-Sacks, or to be examined at the Table; but, my Lords, as they have never yet had any such Honour, they have certainly no Right to claim any such Privilege; for it is upon the Honour of having a Seat in the House, and upon that only, the Privilege of being examined at the Table depends. To the highest Officer in the Kingdom, if he has no Seat in the House, we cannot grant that Privilege, without sacrificing the Honour and Dignity of the House, and, in my Opinion, incroaching upon the Prerogative of the Crown; and if we should once begin to make any such Sacrifice, or any such Incroachment, God only knows how far we may be induced or obliged to go. If we once break through this ancient Rule, if we once begin to grant the Privilege of being examined at the Table, to any one Officer who has not the Honour of having a Seat in the House, many other Officers will claim the same Privilege; and I make no doubt but the other House would immediately set up such a Claim, with respect to every one of its own Members. The Judges of Scotland now attending we may compel to appear before us in such Manner as we think proper; but let us consider, my Lords, we cannot compel the Members of the other House to come to be examined at all before us; and therefore if we give that House a Pretext for setting up and insisting upon any new Privilege, we must comply with it, or we shall be deprived of every Evidence any Member of that House may hereafter be able to give, with respect to any Affair depending before us; for as no Member of the other House is obliged to come to be examined before us, as he cannot come without the Leave of the House in which he belongs, we may depend on it, that House will never grant Leave to any of their Members to be examined at our Bar, after we have once furnished them with a Pretext for being examined at the Table.

As that, my Lords, of having a Seat in the House is the only Title, upon which any Person can claim being examined at the Table, so this is a Rule which we have hitherto most strictly and most unanimously observed; in so much that the highest Officers in the Kingdom have been examined at our Bar, without any regard to the Office they bear, and without shewing them the least Respect

on that Account. It appears upon our Journals that the Commissioners of the Great Seal were examined at our Bar, and without any more Ceremony or Respect, than would have been shewn to the most private Gentleman in the Kingdom. It likewise appears upon our Journals, that an Hon. Gentleman was examined at our Bar, who was at that very Time first Commissioner to the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and not only a Privy Counsellor, but, I believe, a Cabinet Counsellor to the King then upon the Throne; and tho' that Gentleman still possesses the same Employments, tho' he enjoys as many Honours, and is as much respected by this House, as any Gentleman ever was in England, yet, if he were again to be examined as a Witness in any Affairs before us, I hope he would, I think he ought to be examined in the same Manner.

This shews that no Person a Man possesses, no Honour he can have, except that of having had a Seat in the House, can entitle him to the Privilege of being examined at the Table; and the Example of the two Gentlemen mentioned, who were admitted to read some Records at our Table, instead of reading them at the Bar, in the Convention of Estates in 1688, is no Exception to this Rule; for these two Gentlemen, my Lords, had both been Judges, they had both had Seats in the House, and the Convention were certainly of Opinion, they had been illegally turned out, therefore they still look'd on them as having a Right to a Seat in the House; and having called, or rather desired the Favour of them to come and assist the House in reading some old Records, they could do no less than allow them that Privilege which they were in Equity, tho' not in Law, entitled to. But suppose these two Gentlemen had had no Presence to have been admitted within the House, that Convention was no Parliament, nor was that Assembly of Lords properly a House of Lords: They were not considered as such by the Nation, because their Acts or Orders were confirmed by an express Law passed in the next ensuing Parliament, for which there would have been no Occasion, if the Parliament or Nation had look'd upon that Convention as a legal and regular Parliament; therefore nothing that was done in that Convention can be a Precedent for us, and much less can it be a Foundation for our breaking thro' a Rule that has been established, and constantly observed ever since we have any Records of Parliament.

I have as great a Regard, my Lords, as any Man can have for the Articles of Union, I have as great a Regard for the People of Scotland, and would be as loth as any Man to give them a just Cause of Complaint; but, I have an equal Regard for the Honour and Dignity of this House; and, I am sure, my share

ing a due Regard to the House of Peers, of which I have the Honour to be a Member, can never give Offence to any Man of common Understanding in Scotland; therefore, I am certain, our shewing a strict Regard to our own Privileges on this Occasion, can never dishonour any great Number of Persons in that Country, where good Sense abounds as much among the People; as it does, I believe, in any Country in the World. Nay, I am convinced, a Sacrifice of the Honour and Dignity of this House, on any Account whatsoever, would generally dishonour the People of that Country, as well as the People of this; for, we are now intrusted with the Honour and Privileges of the Peerage of both Nations; and, to prostitute the Dignity of this House in any Respect, or for any Consideration, would be a Prostitution of the Honour and Privileges of the Peerage of Scotland, as well as England.

What Benefit or Advantage might accrue to the People of Scotland, from having their Judges present in this House, what Right the People may have from the Intention and Spirit of the Articles of Union; to claim that Benefit, and what Necessity or Occasion this House may hereafter have for the Attendance of some of those Judges, are Questions, which I am sure we have not Time to inquire into in this Session, and much less can we inquire into, or regulate this Affair, before it will be necessary for us to examine the Scotch Judges, who are now attending by our Order. I should, with all my Heart, agree to our inquiring into that Affair, if I thought it possible for us to go through with it before the End of the Session; I should readily join in granting the People of Scotland, all the Right they could claim, nay, all the Favour they could expect, upon the Issue of such an Inquiry; but, I believe, it will be granted that every one of these Questions is a little doubtful, and of great Moment; therefore, it will be necessary to inquire into them with great Calmness and Exactness, and not to resolve either of them till after the most mature Deliberation. It would be necessary to inquire into the antient Customs and Usages of the Parliaments of Scotland, in order to see, whether the Judges of Scotland had any Seats as such, in their Parliaments; several other Matters would be necessary to be enquired into; and, we should certainly meet with a good deal of Difficulty in allotting them their proper Places upon the Wool-Sacks, in determining what Number of them should always attend, and, in regulating how they should take their Turns in attending; for, I hope, you would not have them all to attend, so as to make every Session of Parliament an absolute Cessation of all Manner of Justice in Scotland. Many other difficult Questions would certainly occur in the Course

of this Affair; and, it would be necessary to manage every one of them with great Tenderness, in order to prevent any possible Breach between the two Houses of Parliament, as well as to prevent raising any fresh Animosity between the two Nations. From all which, I must conclude it impossible for us to pass any Bill in this Session, for bringing any Judges from *Scotland* into this House; and, as there is no Method of doing it, but by an Act of Parliament, therefore, it cannot be proper for us to enter upon any such Affair at present.

Thus, your Lordships must, I think, all see, that it is impossible for us to grant those Honours, or to show that Respect to the *three Scotch Judges* now attending, which some Lords seem to desire, and, which I should willingly agree to, if we could possibly do it without sacrificing the Honour and Dignity of this House, and exposing both ourselves and our Posterity to numberless Inconveniences. I am sorry, my Question of this Nature should have happened; I am now more sorry, my Lords, than I was at first, that the Motion for bringing up the *Lord Justice Clerk*, was not agreed to; because, I believe, it would have prevented any such Question as the present; but, now the Question has occurred, I hope, your Lordships will shew a due Regard to the Honour and Dignity of your own House, by resolving to examine these Judges at the Bar, in the same Manner as you have examined the greatest Officers in *England*, who happened not to have the Honour of having a Seat amongst us. As such a Resolution can offend no Man of common Sense, it can raise no general Discontent in *Scotland*, nor occasion any Disaffection to the Illustrious Family, we have now the Happiness to have upon the Throne. If any unthinking People in *Scotland* should be misled by the Enemies to our happy Establishment, it will be easy for the noble Lords of that Country we have now amongst us to undeceive them, and to convince them that no Indignity or Affront was intended by any such Resolution. The Abilities of all these noble Lords are apparent, I am sure their Inclination will not be wanting, and I do not question but their Interest and Authority among the People of their Country are equal to their Abilities.

Therefore, my Lords, as no Danger is to be apprehended, from our examining the Judges now attending, in the usual Manner in which all Persons, who have not a Seat in this House, are examined; and, as great Danger is to be apprehended, and many Inconveniences must necessarily ensue, from examining them in any different Manner, I shall conclude with this Motion, That the *Lord Justice Clerk*, and the two Senior Judges of the Court of *Judiciary* in *Scotland*, now attending according to Order, be examined at the Bar of this House.

To this it was replied in Substance as follows, viz.

My Lords, I am sorry, not on Account of the present Question's having now happened, nor on Account of its having happened on this Occasion, but, on Account of its being made a Question at all. I am sorry, the Right the *Scotch Nation* has to have their Judges in this House should have ever been brought into dispute; for, I am sure, such a Contest can no Way contribute to the Welfare of the United Kingdom, or to the Establishment of that Harmony, which ought to be kept up between the People of those two Kingdoms, which were long separate and independent, but, are now, for the Benefit of both, happily united into one. Unreasonable Fends and Animosities are but too apt to arise between any two People, who have been long accustomed to live under distinct Governments, and are but just united under one and the same. The Flames of Disension may cease or disappear, but it is a long Time before the Fire can be entirely extinguished; and, therefore, those who have the Honour of being entrusted with the Government of any such two People, ought to be extremely cautious of engaging in any Measure, or, of bringing any Question upon the Carpet, which may blow up those Coals that have been but lately covered with the Ashes of Wisdom and Good-Policy, and cannot, therefore, be supposed to be absolutely extinguished. If the bringing up of all, or any, of the Judges of *Scotland*, as Assistants to this House, could possibly be of any Prejudice to the People of *England*; or, if it could be look'd on as any Way dishonourable to, or beneath the Dignity of this House, I should not at all have been surpris'd to have heard it contested; but, when it can be no Way prejudicial to the People of *England*, nor any Way dishonourable to this House; when it may so greatly contribute to the Advantage of the People of *Scotland*; and, when it appears in itself so necessary, for enabling us to determine many Questions that may come before us; I confess, I am not only surpris'd, but I am sorry to find it so much as contested.

I remember, my Lords, the first Motion in this House, relating to any of the *Scotch Judges*, was for bringing up the *Lord Justice Clerk* only. I was against that Motion, for the very Reason, it seems, which made other Lords for it. I was against it, because it seem'd to be a Motion for bringing him up as a Criminal, and not as a Judge; and, I was against his being brought up as a Criminal, because there was nothing then appear'd before us, which could give the least Foundation for such an Accusation. I agreed with the Motion for bringing him and the two Senior Judges of the same Court up,

because, I knew your Lordships had a Power of requiring the Attendance of any of the Judges of *Scotland*, as well as you may require the Attendance of any of the Judges of *England*; and, I have always observed, that no such Order has ever been refused, when any Lord of this House pleased to ask for it. These, my Lords, were my Reasons, and I still think they were good Reasons, for agreeing to the second Motion, and for disagreeing to the first. But, suppose the first had been agreed to by the House, it could not have prevented the second; because, any Lord of this House had a Power to desire that any of the Judges of *Scotland* might be ordered to attend, in order to explain some Doubts that had occurred to him relating to the Law of *Scotland*; and, surely, no Lord who wanted to have such Doubts explained, would have trusted the Explanation of them to a Judge, who had been brought up as a Criminal. Again, suppose the *Lord Justice Clerk* had been brought up by himself alone, suppose he had been brought up, not as a Judge, but as a Criminal, the same Question would have occurred; because, as he is a *Scotch* Judge, and one of the chief of them too, he must have been considered as such, till some Resolution, at least, of this House had passed against him; therefore, in his first Examination he might have insisted, he ought to have insisted, on his being examined at your Table; for, I am sure, your Lordships would not have made a new Precedent for condemning a Man without Hearing him. Our having agreed to the first Motion relating to any of the *Scotch* Judges, could not, therefore, have prevented the present Question; there was no Way of preventing it, but by a previous, and what I must call a prudent Care, to give the Judges of *Scotland* what, I think, of right belongs to them, I mean, their Places upon the Wool-Sacks, before you resolved to desire their Attendance, either as Judges, as Witnesses, or as Criminals. Their Conduct as Judges has been already approved, or, at least, not condemned, by your Lordships; and, if any of your Lordships are of Opinion the *Lord Justice Clerk* has misbehaved in any other Part of his Duty, you have him now attending; you may revive the Committee, and may proceed to enquire into his Conduct; but, before you begin to proceed against him as an Officer of State, I hope you will grant him what, I think, of Right belongs to him as a Judge of *Scotland*.

The Right, my Lords, which the Judges of *Scotland* have by the Articles of Union, to insist upon having the King's Writ for being present in this House, and for having Places among the other Judges upon the Wool-Sacks, or rather the Right, which the People of *Scotland* may claim, of having some of their Judges always attending as Assistants

to this House, is the first and chief Question now before us; because, without first determining this, you cannot determine the other, as to the Place in which they are to be examined; nay the Determination of the second, determine it which Way you will, must be a full and a final Determination of the first. A If the Judges or People of *Scotland* have any such Right by the Articles of Union, they have had it ever since those Articles were agreed to; and if they have had such a Right ever since that Time, the Judges now attending have had an undoubted Right to Seats in this House for many Years, tho' they have never hitherto had Occasion to take Possession of them. It has never been established as a Rule, not to admit any Person to be examined within the Bar, but such as were actually in Possession of a Seat in the House. B On the contrary, any Sort of Right to a Seat in the House, has always been looked on as a Right that intitles a Man to be examined within the Bar.

The famous Case of the *Lord Forrester*, who was a Lord of *Scotland*, but not one of the Sixteen, is a full Proof of this Rule; and the Case of the two Gentlemen who were called to read some Records to this House in the Year 1688, and who were for that Purpose admitted to your Table, is a Proof that an equitable Right to a Seat in the House is as good as a legal. Those two Gentlemen had, 'tis true, been Judges, and the Convention, as well as most of the Nation probably, and, I think, rightly, were of Opinion, they had been unjustly turned out from being Judges; but suppose they were unjustly turned out, 'tis certain they had then no legal Title to a Seat, nor were they in Possession of any Seat in the House; the only Reason for admitting them to the Table, was on Account of the equitable Title they had to Seats upon the Wool-Sacks. C

That Convention indeed was not at first a Parliament, but I am sure none of your Lordships will question their Power, nor will this House, I hope, ever refuse to admit any Proceeding of theirs as a good Precedent, in any Case of the same Nature. It was not for any Deficiency of Power that their Acts and Proceedings were confirmed by the next Parliament; that Act of Confirmation was passed only to satisfy the unreasonable Scruples of some Men, and upon this Maxim, That Abundance of Law never breaks the Law; for surely no Man imagines that any of the Acts or Resolutions of the first Parliament after the Revolution, received any new or additional Force from this Act of Confirmation, which was passed in the second. And I must observe, that the Precedent now under our Consideration, was not a Precedent made by the Convention, while it continued a Convention, but after it was declared to be a Parliament, so that it is a Precedent which de-

knows so much Regard as any President since that Time.

Now, my Lords, as your resolving to examine the Scotch Judges at your Table, if you do come to any such Resolution, will be founded upon the Right they have to Seats within your House; therefore their being examined in such a Manner can never afford a Pretext for any Man in the Kingdom to be examined at your Table, if he has no Manner of Right to a Seat within your House. Consequently, there is no Ground for saying that your coming to any such Resolution, or your examining them in any such Manner, can subject you or your Posterity to any one Inconvenience. As for the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the first Commissioner of the Treasury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or any Privy or Cabinet Counsellor, I am surpris'd to hear it said that your Lordships having examined all or either of them at your Bar, can be an Argument for examining the Judges of Scotland in the same Manner. Is there any one of these Officers that, as such, has the least Pretext to a Seat in this House? therefore, according to the Rule that has been established, and which seems to be agreed on by every one of your Lordships, they had no Pretext to be examined within the Bar; but from that very Rule, the Judges of Scotland have a Pretext to be examined within the Bar, because they claim from the Articles of Union a Right to sit in the House as Assistants, in the same Manner as the Judges of England do; and if they have not an equitable Right, it will certainly be not only a Piece of Injustice, but an Indignity done to them, to examine them at your Bar; for which Reason their Claim of Right ought to be first determin'd, because upon that, and upon that only, the other Question must necessarily depend.

That the Judges of Scotland ought to be summoned as Assistants to this House, that the People of Scotland have a Right to have some of their Judges present in this House, appears, my Lords, not only from the two Articles that have been mentioned, by which it is provided that the United Kingdom shall be represented by one Parliament; and that the Subjects shall have a Communication of all Advantages not excepted in the Articles; but likewise from the 18th and 19th Articles of the Union, by which it is expressly provided, that all Matters of private Right shall be determined by the Laws of Scotland, and before the proper Courts there; so that, tho' there lies an Appeal to this House, yet in all such Appeals we are, by the Articles of Union, oblig'd to determine according to the Laws of Scotland; and how is it possible for us to determine according to those Laws, if we have no Lord nor any Assistant in the House, who can inform us what those Laws are, and ex-

plain those Passages which may appear a little dark or doubtful? From these Articles, and indeed from the whole Tenor of the Treaty, this Right appears to manifest, that I am surpris'd to hear any Doubts made about it; and I am as much surpris'd to hear so many Difficulties started about the Manner of making it effectual.

I shall agree, my Lords, that no Man can come into this House but by his Majesty's Writ of Summons, and in issuing of such Writs it may be true that the Power of the Crown is limited by Custom. But with respect to that which depends upon the Articles of Union, the Power of the Crown can neither be limited nor directed by the Custom of England, or the Custom of Scotland; it can be directed by nothing but the Articles themselves, and as those Articles made it necessary to have the Judges of Scotland called to the Assistance of this House, as well as the Judges of England, surely the King got by those Articles a Power to issue Writs for calling them accordingly. Suppose then a Writ of Summons should be directed to every one of them, it could be attended with no Inconvenience; it would not be necessary for them all to come up here, and to attend the whole Time of the Session; such as pleas'd only would come, unless your Lordships should upon any great Occasion, such as the present, make an express Order for the Attendance of all or some of them: The issuing of such Writs could not therefore occasion any Interruption of Justice in Scotland, or impede or interrupt the Proceedings at Law there, no more than the issuing of such Writs to the Judges of England interrupts or prevents the Course of Proceedings at the Assizes, which are held in all Parts of England as regularly when the Parliament is sitting, as when it is not.

For my Part, my Lords, I cannot think there is the least Occasion for any new Act of Parliament in this Case. The Act of Parliament which ratifies and confirms the Articles of Union has certainly already given to his Majesty a full Power to do that, without which some of those Articles cannot possibly be complied with or fulfill'd; and tho' his Majesty has not yet executed that Power, tho' there has never been before now a Necessity for his executing that Power, yet he may certainly execute it whenever he thinks proper, or as soon as this House shall by an Address desire him to do so. But suppose a new Act of Parliament were really necessary, that Act of Parliament can depend upon some of the ancient Customs of the Parliaments either of Scotland or England, nor can any Part of it be founded upon any of those ancient Customs or Usages; the Act to be pass'd can be founded upon nothing but the Articles of Union, and the Necessity thus appears to

be for having the Judges of *Scotland* called as Assistants to this House, in order that we may be enabled to do Justice to the People of *Scotland* according to their own Laws, which is what we are bound to do by the Articles of Union. The Method of holding Parliaments in *Scotland* was quite different from the Method now established for holding the Parliaments of *Great Britain*: There the Lords and Commons sat together in one House, and as the Judges were capable of being chosen by any County, City, or Borough, in that Kingdom, most of them were generally Members of Parliaments, so that there was no Necessity or Occasion for calling them by Writ as Assistants. With respect therefore to any new Act of Parliament to be passed on this Occasion, we can take no Direction from any Custom or Usage of the Parliaments of *Scotland*, and consequently can have no Occasion to enquire into any of them. We can have regard to nothing but the Articles of Union, and the Rights and Privileges, or Obligations, which naturally and necessarily arise from them: This can require no tedious Enquiry, nor can any Difficulty arise in the drawing up or passing such an Act, but what may be soon got over, if no Partiality or Animosity be allowed to enter into the Affair, which I am sure we have not the least Ground to fear in this House; and as the other House is very little concerned in the Question, it is to be hoped they would agree to what we should think proper, without any great Difficulty. For this Reason I must think, that, if an Act of Parliament be necessary for empowering his Majesty to summon the Judges of *Scotland* as Assistants to this House, such an Act may be passed, the Writs may be issued, and the Judges may have taken their Places upon the Wool-Sacks, not only before this Session is at an End, but before it may become absolutely necessary for us to examine them; and then the Examining of them can bring us into no Dilemma, nor into the Danger of committing what may be thought a Breach of the Articles of Union, or of agreeing to that which may be thought a Sacrificing the Honour and Dignity of the Peerage of *Great Britain*.

But, my Lords, if your Lordships be of Opinion, that all or some of the Judges of *Scotland* ought to be called as Assistants to this House, if you are of Opinion the People of *Scotland* have a Right to insist upon their Judges being called as Assistants to this House, can the supposed Difficulty you will meet with in enquiring into the Affair, or getting an Act of Parliament passed, be any Reason for your not attempting it? Suppose you should not be able to bring such an Act to Perfection in this Session, yet your entering upon it, and making some Progress,

will certainly pave the Way and make it easy to pass a proper Bill the next Session. Suppose this Right which the Judges of *Scotland*, in the Name of themselves and the whole People of *Scotland*, now lay claim to, were a great deal more doubtful than, I think, it is; yet it must be allowed to be a Matter of Right; and will your Lordships pretend to determine that Right, or to determine any collateral Question, by which the principal Question will at least receive a dangerous Blow, without hearing Parties either by themselves or their Counsel upon the Right they contend for? This is so contrary to your Lordships known Justice and Equity, and to your usual Method of Proceeding in Cases of the like Nature, that I cannot allow myself to imagine you will agree to it. If you think you have not Time to enquire into this Affair, or to hear Parties upon the Matter of Right contended for, some Expedient may be found for putting it off, or for avoiding any Thing that may look like a Decision of the Affair. What Questions the noble Lords may have to put to the Judges now attending, I do not know; what Lights any Lord can expect from them, I cannot comprehend; but if those Questions are not very material, if the Lights expected from them are not thought to be of great Importance, I wish the noble Lords would pass the Order made for their Attendance, and give over all Thoughts of putting any Questions to them, or of calling them either to the Bar or the Table for that Purpose; for tho' we have made an Order for their Attendance, tho' they are come up here in Obedience to that Order, yet we may pass from, or delay calling them till the Session is expired; and I must observe that, if your Lordships should order them to the Bar, and it should then appear, you had no Matters of great Importance to interrogate them about, the whole People of *Scotland* will conclude, you called them to the Bar for no other Purpose but to put an Indignity upon them.

I am glad to hear every noble Lord that has spoke in this Debate profess such a Regard for the Articles of Union, and for the People of *Scotland*; I am convinced their Lordships have all spoke sincerely upon this Occasion: This I am convinced of, because I have the Happiness to be personally acquainted with their Lordships; but, my Lords, the People of *Scotland*, who hear nothing of what is said, but of what is done, will, I am afraid, conclude, that we have no Regard for them, and so little for the Articles of Union, if they should hear we have determined a Right, pretended to be founded upon those very Articles, without so much as hearing any of the Parties concerned, in Vindication of the Right they claim. They look upon themselves as intitled to all the

Advantages, Privileges, and Honours, not expressly excepted in the Articles of Union, which the People of *England* are intitled to; and it will be impossible to persuade them, no Injustice has been done them, nor any Indignity put upon them, when they hear, that their Judges were kept standing at your Lordships Bar, while the Judges of *England* were sitting within the House. This is a Distinction, my Lords, which it is impossible to palliate or excuse, and if you design to keep up that Harmony and Unanimity which ought to be kept up between the two Nations, so lately made one, I am sure you should avoid, as much as possible, all national Distinctions. If the People of *Scotland* should think themselves injured, they cannot, 'tis true, vindicate themselves as a Nation; they must put themselves upon a Feeding as Rebels against a legal established Government, if they should attempt to oppose any Thing resolved on by the Parliament of *Great Britain*; but this is owing to the great Confidence they put, at the Time of the Union, in the Honour and Justice of the People of *England*; for they could not then suppose that the Number of Members they were to send to either House, could prevent that House's being guilty of any Partiality or Injustice towards them; and I hope your Lordships will always be extremely cautious of giving the People of *Scotland* the least Cause to repent of that Confidence they then put in the Honour and Justice of their Neighbours of *England*.

One of the chief Causes, my Lords, which produced the Union was, we all know, the Establishment of the Protestant Succession. The Settlement of the Crown upon the present Illustrious Family had been established by Act of Parliament in *England*, long before the Union, but the *Scotch* Parliament could never be induced to agree to it; on the contrary, they seemed to be taking Measures to prevent its being forced upon them. This made every wise Man in *England* as well as *Scotland* more fond of an Union than otherwise they would have been, and made them all labour more heartily and more cordially to bring it about. Accordingly, by the very second Article of the Union, the Succession was settled upon the present Illustrious Family, and by Virtue of that Settlement we have now the Happiness to see his present Majesty in Possession of the Crown of the United Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. It is therefore the Business, it is the Duty of every Man who is a true Friend to the Illustrious Family now upon the Throne, to endeavour as much as he can to render the Union agreeable to the People of *Scotland*; because if they should ever begin to repent of having agreed to the Union, they will naturally begin at the same Time to repent of having agreed to the Succession; if they should ever begin to entertain a Desire of be-

ing rid of the one, they will of Course begin to entertain a Desire of getting rid of the other; and if this should ever come to be the Desire of the People of that Part of the Island in general, it may, in Case of a War, be of the most dangerous Consequences to the present Royal Family. For this Reason, I think, your Lordships should avoid every Thing that may look like doing an Injustice to the whole People of *Scotland*, or that may look like making an invidious Distinction between that People and the People of *England*; and as I think, the making of any Difference between the Judges of *Scotland* and the Judges of *England*, or the shewing of any less Respect to the former than you usually do to the latter, will be look'd on by the whole People of *Scotland*, not only as an invidious Distinction between the two Nations, but as a real Indignity put upon them, therefore, I hope it will be avoided, if possible; which may very easily be done, if your Lordships have no Matters of very great Importance to interrogate these Judges about.

But suppose, my Lords, you have Questions of the utmost Importance to put to them, suppose you think it absolutely necessary to examine them in relation to this *Affair of Porteous*; and suppose you think it absolutely impossible for you now to take Time to enquire, whether they have any Right, by the Articles of Union, to be called as Assistants to this House, and as such to have Place upon the Wool-Sacks, according to their Ranks, next to the Judges of *England*; yet as this Claim of theirs is a Matter of Right, as it is a Matter of Right, in which the People of *Scotland* have a very deep Concern, I hope, your Lordships will not determine it without hearing Parties very fully upon it; and therefore, if you now come to a Resolution to examine them at your Bar, I hope you will add a saving Clause to that Resolution, saving and referring to the Judges of *Scotland* all Manner of Right which they may have, or lay Claim to by the Articles of Union, for being called by his Majesty's Writ as Assistants to this House, and for being placed as such upon the Wool-Sacks, according to their Ranks, next to the Judges of *England*.

To conclude, my Lords, I wish this *Affair* had been expressly and particularly regulated by the Articles of Union, I wish a proper Clause had been added expressly empowering his Majesty to call the Judges of *Scotland* as Assistants to this House, and to place them upon the Wool-Sacks, according to their Ranks, next to the Judges of *England*: If it had been then thought of, I am convinced it would have been readily agreed to; considering the Circumstances the two Nations were then in, I am sure none of your Lordships can think, this Place of Respect, which

could not possibly be of any Disadvantage to the People of England, and which was so necessary for the People of Scotland, would have prevented an Union, which was so much for the Advantage of both Nations. But in Treaties of such a Nature, it is impossible to foresee, or to provide for all the Questions that may afterwards occur; the Spirit and Intention of the Treaty must be considered, in order to form from thence a Rule for deciding any Question that may afterwards arise, which does not appear to have been expressly provided for in the Treaty; and to me it appears evident that, by the Spirit and whole Tenor of the Treaty of Union, it was intended, that no Distinctions should afterwards be made between the People of the two Nations, or between any Rank of Men in the one and the same Rank of Men in the other, but such as were expressly regulated in the Treaty; or that any Advantages should be enjoyed by the People of the one Country, but what should be enjoyed by the People of the other, unless otherwise stipulated in the Treaty; and as it is a very great Advantage to the People of England, to have their Judges called as Assistants to this House, your Lordships must allow the People of Scotland are intitled to the same Advantage by the Articles of Union; you must allow that no Distinction ought to be made between the Judges of the supreme Courts in Scotland, and the Judges of the supreme Courts in England; therefore, I think, you cannot agree to the Resolution that has been proposed, I hope you will not agree to it, without the saving Clause I have mentioned.

This was the Substance of the Debate upon this important Occasion, and the Question being at last put upon the Motion for resolving as before-mentioned, to examine the Scotch Judges at the Bar, it was upon a Division carried in the Affirmative by 48 to 37. Then the House being resumed, the Lord B——, who was in the Chair, reported the Resolution of the Committee, which, after some little Debate, was carried in the Affirmative, upon a Division as follows, *viz.*

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After which the *three Scotch Judges* were called to the Bar, where they appeared in their Robes, and some few Questions were asked them; but as neither of the Questions seemed to be of great Importance, we do not think it necessary to give an Account of them, or of the Answers that were made to them.

The principal Speakers in this Debate for calling the Scotch Judges to the Bar, were, The Earl of A——, the Earl of A——,

the Earl of C——, the Earl of S——, the Earl of W——, the Lord Ch——, the Lord D——, and the Lord B——; and the principal Speakers against it were the Duke of A——, the Earl of I——, the Duke of N——, the Lord H——, the Duke of A——, the Earl of C——, and the Earl of F——.

We shall now proceed to give a short History of the passing of that Law, which now stands upon Record, against the Lord Provost and City of Edinburgh; after which, we shall give the Substance of all the Debates, which happened in either House on the passing of that Bill.

The Lord Provost and City of Edinburgh having been admitted to be heard by their Council against the said Bill, upon its being read a second Time in the House of Lords, that Hearing began on Wednesday, May 4, and continued all that Week: On Saturday, being the 9th, the Bill was committed for Monday, when it passed through the Committee; and on Wednesday, May 13, it was read a third Time and passed in that House, on a Division, 54 Contents, to 22 Not Contents.

On Monday, May 16, the said Bill, in the Form and with the Title as before-mentioned, was sent down to the House of Commons, where, after some Debate, it was read a first Time, and ordered to be read a second Time on the Wednesday Se'night after: Then 'twas resolved, That the Lords should be desired at a Conference, that the Grounds, upon which the said Bill proceeded in their House, might be communicated to the House of Commons; and 'twas ordered, That a Committee should be appointed to prepare Matter, to be offered to the Lords at a Conference for that Purpose; which Committee being accordingly appointed, Mr. Attorney-General reported next Day from the said Committee; That they had proposed Matter accordingly, which the Committee had directed him to report to the House; and having read the Report in his Place, and delivered it in at the Table, it was there again read, and agreed to by the House; whereupon 'twas resolved, That a Conference should be desired with the Lords upon the subject Matter of the Bill, intituled, (as before-mentioned;) and Mr. Townshend was ordered to go to the Lords, and desire the said Conference; which he accordingly went immediately; and being returned, reported, That the Lords did agree to a Conference, and had appointed the same presently in the Painted Chamber. Upon this 'twas ordered, That the Committee, who had been appointed the Day before to prepare Matter to be offered to the Lords at a Conference, should manage the said Conference; and

their Names being called over, they went to the Conference; and being returned, Mr. Attorney General reported, that the Managers had been at the Conference, and had delivered to the Lords what the House had directed.

Next Day, being *Wednesday, May 18*, the House of Commons received a Message from the Lords, viz. That their Lordships did desire a present Conference with them in the Painted-Chamber, upon the subject Matter of the last Conference; which was immediately resolved, and the Messengers being again called in, were acquainted therewith. Then 'twas ordered, That the Committee who managed the last Conference, should manage that Conference; and the Names of the Managers being called over, they went to the Conference; and being returned, Mr. Attorney General reported the Conference; and that the Lords had delivered to the Managers an authentic Extract of the Proceedings in the Trial of Captain *John Porteous*, wherein was contained the Verdict against the said Captain *Porteous*, the Sentence of the Lords of Judicary in *Scotland* against him, and the Respite of the said Captain *Porteous*, granted by her Majesty, as Guardian of the Realm; and also a Letter from *Alexander Wilson*, Provost of *Edinburgh*, to Major-General *Mogile*, Dated, *Edinburgh, April 25, 1736*, which authentic Extract and Letter were brought up to the Table; and the Report being read, 'twas ordered, That Mr. Attorney General and Mr. Solicitor General, should take care, that the Evidence for the Infringed Bill from the Lords, intitled, (as before-mentioned) should be ready to be produced to that House upon that Day sevennight; and likewise, that Mr. Attorney-General should appoint Council learned in the Law, to produce and manage the Evidence at the Bar of that House, upon that Day sevennight, to make good the Allegations of the said Bill; and that the following Persons should attend that House on that Day sevennight, viz. Major General *Mogile*, Colonel *Deaurous*, Major *Robertson*, Major *Poole*, Captain *Ben-dish*, Lieutenant *Affton*, Mr. *John Din*, Mr. *John Bailey*, Mr. *Alexander Nisbet*, Mr. *Robert Stewart*, Mr. *George Lewis*, Mr. *Thomas Young*, Mr. *Roderick Brown*, and Mr. *Christophor Chiffins*.

On *Friday* the 20th was presented to the House and read, a Petition of *Alexander Wilson*, Esq; Lord Provost of the City of *Edinburgh*, averring his intire Innocence of the several Matters alleged against him in the Petition of a Bill then depending in that House, intitled, (as before mentioned;) and therefore praying, that he might be heard by his Council against the said Bill, at the second reading thereof; which was accordingly ordered. And on the *Tuesday* following was presented to the House and read, a Petition of

the Magistrates and Town-Council of the City of *Edinburgh*, in Name of themselves and Community of the same; setting forth, that the Petitioners apprehended, that if the Bill then depending in that House, intitled, (as before mentioned) should pass into a Law, it would greatly affect and tend to destroy the Rights, Franchises, Privileges, and Liberties of the said City of *Edinburgh*; and therefore praying, that the Petition might be taken into Consideration, and that the Petitioners might be heard by their Counsel against such Parts of the said Bill, as affected the said City; which was accordingly ordered; and then Captain *Lind* and Mr. *James Allen* were ordered to attend that House next Morning; when upon reading the Order of the Day, for the said Bill's being read a second Time, 'twas proposed to put off the second Reading of it for a Month; but a Motion being made for reading it a second Time on that Day sevennight, after some Debate the Question was put upon the Motion for reading it a second Time on that Day sevennight, which upon a Division was carried in the Affirmative by 140 to 99. After which the several Persons who were ordered to attend on that Day, were ordered to attend on that Day sevennight.

Accordingly on *Wednesday, June 1*, the Order of the Day being read, the Council for and against the Bill, were called in, and the Bill being then read a second Time, the Hearing of Council, and Examination of Witnesses began, and was continued all that Day, all *Thursday, Friday, Monday, Tuesday*, and *Wednesday* following; on which last Day, the Hearing of Council for and against the Bill being ended, and the Council withdrawn, Mr. Speaker opened the Bill, whereupon a Motion was made for its being committed; but a Debate arising, and it being then late, the Consideration of the said Motion was adjourned till next Morning, being the 9th of *June*; when the same was resumed, and after a long Debate, the Motion was upon a Division agreed to by 124 to 118; and it being resolved, that the Bill should be committed to a Committee of the whole House, it was next resolved, that the House would on the *Monday* following resolve itself into a Committee upon the said Bill.

Upon this Occasion it was at first proposed, that the House should next Day resolve itself into the said Committee; but some Members took Notice, that next Day, being the 10th of *June*, they thought it a very improper Day for them to go into a Committee on such a Bill. The Sense of the Bill, as it then stood, was for demolishing the Ports and dismissing the Guard of the City of *Edinburgh*, these were Ports, and that very Guard which had enabled that City to keep the

Proceder out in the Year 1715; and for doing this they were to chuse that very Day which was celebrated by all *Jacobites* as the *Proceder's* Birth-Day. This they thought was not very prudent; it would be a Matter of Triumph to all *Jacobites*, who would not fail to represent it as a Judgment upon the City of *Edinburgh* for shutting their Gates against their lawful and rightful Sovereign, as *Jacobites* were pleased to call the *Proceder* to his Majesty's Crown and Kingdoms. This Consideration, they hoped, would have some Weight against agreeing to that Part of the Bill, when they went into a Committee upon it; but they took notice of it at that Time only to prevent the House's going into a Committee upon such a Bill on such a Day. For this Purpose they hoped it would be of sufficient Weight; and that therefore no Gentleman would insist upon the House's going into a Committee upon that Bill till *Monday* then next.

This seemed to be the Occasion of putting off the Commitment of the Bill till *Monday*; and on *Monday* the House having resolved itself into the said Committee, the Preamble and every Clause of it was opposed, and upon each there was a Sort of distinct Debate, several of which were pushed so vigorously, and with so much Success by the opposing Party, that the Bill not only changed its Name, but in some Manner its Form; as may be seen by comparing the Copy we have given as it was sent from the other House, with that which is now passed into a Law.

Nay in the Committee, the Bill run a very great Risk of being quite lost; for after all the Amendments had been made, the Bill then appeared to be so very different from what had been sent them by the Lords, that when a Motion was made for reporting the Bill with the Amendments to the House, the same was strenuously opposed; and after a long Debate, when the Question was put, the Division was 130 for reporting, and 130 against it; so that it came to the casting Vote of *C—l B—s*, who was Chairman of the Committee, and who gave his Vote in favour of the Bill; tho' it has generally been observed, that where such a Case happens, the Chairman has always given his Vote for that Side of the Question which is against any Alteration of our Laws, or in Favour of any Person that is to suffer by a new Law. But there was another Circumstance which contributed to the passing of this Bill, or rather prevented its being lost; for at this very Time, when this equal Division happened, *J—s E—ne* of *G—go*, *E'q*; and *Mr. S—r G—l* for *Scotland*, were both in the House of *P—rs* engaged as Counsel in the Hearing of an Appeal there; which both of them endeavoured as much as they could to have put off, in order that they might be present

and upon their Duty in the House of *C—ns*; but this Request was refused; so that neither of them was present upon this Debate of Division in the House of *C—ns*; and as both of them had often before declared themselves against every Part of this Bill, it is probable, if they had been present, they would have voted against reporting the Bill, which would have prevented its being in the Chairman's Power to do what he did.

The Motion being thus carried for reporting the Bill with the Amendments, the Report was ordered to be received the next Morning; and *C—l B—s* having accordingly reported the Amendments that Day, the first Amendment made by the Committee, which was that for leaving out the several Clauses for Demolishing the *Nether-bow Port*, and for taking away the Guard of the City of *Edinburgh*, was read a second Time and agreed to by the House; then the other Amendment made by the Committee, being the Clause for imposing a Fine upon the Corporation of the City of *Edinburgh*, was read a second Time; and a Motion being made for re-committing that Amendment, after a long Debate, the Question was put upon the Motion, and was carried in the Negative, by 144 to 123; after which this Amendment was afterwards agreed to by the House; and then the Bill was ordered to be read a third Time next Mprning.

On *Wednesday, June 13*, this famous Bill was read a third Time, and several Amendments were made to the Title, which had become necessary from the Amendments made in the Committee to the Bill itself; after which a Motion was made for passing the Bill, which occasioned a new Debate; but upon the Question's being put, it was upon a Division carried in the Affirmative by 128 to 101; and *Colonel Blades* was thereupon ordered to carry the Bill to the Lords, and acquaint them that that House had agreed to the same with some Amendments, to which they desired the Concurrence of their Lordships.

As the Bill had received considerable Amendments in the House of *C—ns*, when it was returned with these Amendments to the House of *L—ds*, some of their Lordships thought it then look'd more like a new Bill than the Bill they had sent down; and they farther thought, the enacting Part of the Bill, as it then stood, was no Way correspondent to the Preamble; therefore they thought, that either the Amendments ought not to be agreed to, or the Preamble ought to be left out or very much altered; so that there was a long Debate upon the Motion made in that House, for agreeing to the Amendments made by the Commons; but at last upon a Division the Question was carried in the Affirmative by 48 Contents, to 17 Not Contents; and

Monday, June 20, it was returned to the House of Commons, with their Amendments agreed to; and, among others, received the Royal Assent at the End of the Session.

Thus we have given a short History of the passing of this famous Bill; in almost every Step of which there were long Debates, and so many good Arguments made use of, and so many remarkable Things said, that it would make a very large Volume to give a tolerable full Account of them; so that it cannot be expected in the narrow Limits to which we are obliged to confine ourselves; therefore we shall only collect some of the most material Arguments that were made use of for and against the Amendments proposed and agreed to in the House of Commons; in which, however, we shall throw in some of the most material Arguments that were made use of for and against the Bill itself; both in that House and in the House of Lords. But first we must take Notice, that upon the Bill's being sent first down to the House of Commons, some Objections were made by *J. O.*, Esq; and other Members of that House, to the Bill's being allowed even a first Reading; which were in Substance as follow, *viz.*

Sir, when I oppose the Bill now brought to us for our Concurrence, either now upon its first Appearance, or in any other Step it makes through this House, I hope it will not be thought that I approve of the Riot or the Murder, that was committed upon that Occasion which gave Rise to the Bill. All Riots and Tumults I have in as great Abhorrence as any Gentleman of this House; and there is nothing I think a Government ought to be more jealous of, than their sole Privilege of distributing Justice or shewing Mercy. When either of these comes to be assumed by the Populace in a tumultuous Way, when the Mob begins to distribute Justice, or to oppose the shewing of Mercy, it puts an End to all Government, and for that Time at least dissolves all Society. Therefore all Riots and Tumults ought to be punished severely; but then they ought to be punished in a regular Manner, and not in such a Manner as may overturn the Constitution of your Government.

It is this, Sir, which makes me rise up to oppose this Bill upon its first Appearance: It is a Bill of such a Nature that I think this House ought not to receive it: If you do, you will, in my Opinion, give a Wound to the Privileges of the Commons of Great Britain. Bills of Pains and Penalties are Things, in themselves, of a dangerous Nature; we ought not, but upon the most extraordinary Occasions, to make use of any such Method for inflicting Punishment; and when we are obliged to make use of such a Method, the Bill ought to take its Rise in

this or the other House, according to the Persons who are to be punished. If a Peer of the Realm had committed any Crime, for which it might be necessary to punish him by Way of a Bill of Pains and Penalties, does any Gentleman think the other House would receive a Bill for that Purpose from us? No, Sir; if a Peer of the Realm, a Member of the other House, were but one of the Persons so to be punished, I believe the other House would insist upon his being punished by a Bill to be first brought in and passed in their House; and if any Member of this House were to be punished by any such Bill, for the same Reason we ought, surely we would insist upon it that the Bill for that Purpose ought to take its Rise in this House.

Now, Sir, I should be glad to know a Reason why we should show less Respect to the Counties, the Cities, or the Boroughs we represent, than we would do to any of the Gentlemen they send here to represent them; for if there be any Difference to be shewn, I must think the former deserve more of our Care, they ought to have a greater Respect shewn to them upon all Occasions by this House, than the latter can pretend to. Shall we then receive from the other House a Bill for inflicting Pains and Penalties upon any Corporation in Great Britain that has its Representative in this House? Suppose, Sir, this Bill had enacted, among other Pains and Penalties, that the City of *Edinburgh* should from hence-forth cease to be a City or Corporation, Could any Gentleman, after the Passing of such a Bill, have kept his Seat in this House as Member for that City or Corporation? Sir, he must have ceased to be a Member, as soon as the Corporation he represented ceased to be a Corporation; and shall we ever receive a Bill from the other House for turning one of our own Members out of Doors?

'Tis true, Sir, the Bill now presented to us for our Concurrence, does not in express Words put an End to the City and Corporation of *Edinburgh*; but it does something very near tantamount; for if you take from a Corporation their Power of Watching and Warding, I do not see how they can afterwards well subsist as a Corporation. I shall not now enter into the Merits of the Bill; I shall not enquire, whether the City of *Edinburgh* deserves the Punishment to be inflicted upon it by this Bill. I think it does not. But it is enough to me that a City, which has its Representative in this House, is to be punished. This, I say, is enough to me for thinking that the Bill ought not to have taken its Rise in the other House; that we ought not to receive such a Bill from them; that we cannot receive it without sacrificing the Privileges of this House, and the Privi-

leges of all the Places we represent. I hope no Gentleman thinks, there is the less Respect to be shewn to the City of *Edinburgh*, because of its being in *Scotland*. Sir, it is now a City of *Great Britain*; it is the second City of *Great Britain*; and if such a Bill had come from the other House against the meanest Borough of *Scotland*, that has a Representative, or a Part of a Representative, in this House, I should have been against our receiving the Bill. We are in Honour oblig'd to protect the Commons of *Scotland*: as much as the Commons of *England*; because they trusted to our Honour when they united with us upon the Terms they did. We are in Prudence oblig'd to protect the Privileges of every Borough in *Scotland*, as much as the Privileges of any Borough in *England*; because no Inroad can be made, no Injury can be done to the one, but what may be made a Precedent for doing the same to the other. If we allow the other House to inroad upon the Privileges of the Commons of *Scotland*, it will be a Precedent for their inroad upon the Commons of *England*. If we accept of this Bill, if we give it a Reading, I shall soon expect to see a Bill brought us from the other House, for turning some of our Members out of Doors. Therefore, Sir, I am against its being read a first Time.

To this it was answered in general,

That the Bill's being brought in by the other House, did not proceed from any Design to inroad upon the Privileges of that House, but from the other House's having first enter'd upon an Enquiry into that atrocious Riot, that cruel Murder, which had happen'd at *Edinburgh*; and the Reason for their being the first to enter upon that Enquiry was evident, from the Nature of the Business that usually came before the two Houses; for in the other House, they had generally little to do in the Beginning of a Session; whereas in that House, the providing Supplies for the current Service of the Government, took up so much of their Time in the Beginning of a Session, that they had not Leisure to enter upon any particular or extraordinary Affairs. That upon that Enquiry the other House was of Opinion, it was absolutely necessary to inflict some Punishment upon the City of *Edinburgh*, in order to make that and every other City more careful to prevent Mobs, and more active in suppressing them, for the future. That as this was their only Aim, as it was an Aim which that House could not but approve of, they hop'd the House would not be too jealous of their Privileges upon such an Occasion; for even tho' it were indisputable, that the other House ought not to be allowed to bring in a Bill for inflicting Pains and Penalties upon any City or Borough in *Great Britain*, yet in a Case where no

Inroad was intended, and which might so greatly contribute to the domestick Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, it was absolutely necessary for both Houses not to be over scrupulous in Point of Privilege. And that as the other House had begun the Enquiry, as upon that Enquiry, they had found it absolutely necessary to inflict some Punishment upon the City of *Edinburgh*, and upon the chief Magistrats thereof at the Time the Mob happen'd, they hop'd Gentlemen would consider, the other House had then no other Way of Proceeding, in order to inflict that Punishment, than by bringing a Bill for that Purpose. Therefore they hop'd no Scruple would be made to the Reading of the Bill, and upon the second Reading they would see, whether the other House had had good Reason for passing such a Bill; when they might either concur with the other House in passing the Bill, or might reject or amend it as they saw Cause.

To which it was reply'd in general,

That 'twas true the first Part of the Session was generally taken up in that House with granting Money to the Government; but it was not wont to be so; for in former Times, their first Business was to enquire into Abuses, and redress Grievances; and if that House had taken Example by their Ancestors, instead of voting a Supply the 2d or 3d Day of the Session, they would have voted an Enquiry into these Riots and Tumults, which of late had been so frequent and so general all over the Kingdom; for the People never grew tumultuous without some Cause, and 'twas very probable the late Tumults had proceeded from some Abuse or some Grievance which they ought to enquire into. That the best Way of judging of Mens Intentions was by their Actions; and as the Bill brought from the other House was certainly, as they thought, an Inroad upon the Privileges of that House, the surest and safest Way of judging was, to suppose an Inroad was intended. That Inroadments had always been made at the most favourable Junctures; and if ever the other House should endeavour to inroad upon that, they should always take Occasion to do it, with respect to Bills which might seem absolutely necessary; so that if they made the Expediency, or even the Necessity of a Bill, a good Reason for submitting to an Inroadment, they would very soon have no Privileges left. That as that House was the grand Inquest of the Nation, it was their proper Business to enquire into all publick Abuses, especially where any of their own Members were concern'd; and that if the other House did upon any Occasion take upon them to enquire into any such publick Abuse, they ought to proceed no further; they ought then at a Conference communicate to

that House the Discoveries they had made, and leave it to that House to proceed by Impeachment or by a Bill of Pains and Penalties; which the other House might have done in the present Case; and their not having done so seemed to shew, they had an Intention to take Advantage of that favourable Opportunity for making a little Encroachment upon a Privilege, which they knew would have otherwise been strenuously contended. That whether or no there was a Necessity for punishing the City; or any of the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, could not then appear to them, and therefore could not be an Argument of any the least Weight in that Debate; but suppose there was such a Necessity, there was no Necessity of the Session's breaking up at a certain Day. They might go upon an Enquiry immediately; the Witnesses were all in Town; these Witnesses might soon be examined, and upon that Examination, they might order a new Bill to be brought in, if they saw Cause; and that new Bill might pass through both Houses long before it would be absolutely necessary to put an End to the Session: Therefore they saw no Inconvenience could ensue from their not receiving the Bill then brought them from the other House; and for that Reason they could not agree to its being read a first Time.

This was the Substance of what was said upon this Bill at its first Appearance in the House of Commons; but as a great Majority seemed to be for reading the Bill, there was no Division upon the Question.

We shall now give the Substance of what was said for and against the Amendments made to it in the House of Commons, in which we shall comprehend the most material Arguments that were made use of in either House for and against the Bill itself. These Amendments were, To leave out the Clause for imprisoning the Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*, as also the Clause for taking away the City Guard, and the Clause for taking down the Gates of the *Netber-Bow Port*; and instead of the last two Clauses, to insert a Clause for subjecting the City of *Edinburgh* to a Fine of 2000 *l.* to be applied to the Widow of Captain *Porteous*. The Arguments for the first three of these Amendments, and against the last, as well as against the Bill itself, were in Substance as follow, viz.

Sir, as I am against the Bill itself, as I think it impossible to amend it so as to make it a good Bill, therefore I must of course be for the first three Amendments proposed; because if it should pass so amended, it will be a less Evil, than if it should pass as it stands at present; but as my Reasons for being for these three Amendments, and my Reasons for being against the fourth Amendment, will appear in a much stronger Light, after I have

given my Reasons for being against the Bill, therefore I shall beg Leave to shew you my Reasons for thinking it impossible to make the Bill now before you either a good or a just Bill. The Charge against the Magistrates and City of *Edinburgh*, so far as I can comprehend from the Preamble of this Bill, and from the Proof that has been brought for its Support, seems to be founded upon their not taking proper Care to prevent the Tumult before it happened, notwithstanding their being fully apprized that such a Thing was intended; upon their not using proper Measures to suppress the Tumult after it had begun; and upon their not using proper Means to discover, apprehend, and secure the Authors and Abettors of the Murder that was committed. Thus the whole Charge is founded upon Negligence only, or rather upon Want of Wisdom and Foresight; for it is not so much as pretended, I am sure it is not proven, that any one of the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, and much less any of their Magistrates, was actually concerned in the Tumult, or in the Murder that was committed by the Rioters.

Now, Sir, suppose every Word of this Charge true, suppose every Word of it had been fully proved, I do not think it by any Means a proper or a just Foundation for any such extraordinary Method of Proceeding as a Bill of Pains and Penalties. As this is a most extraordinary, as it is a most dangerous Method of Proceeding, it ought never to be made use of but for punishing Crimes of a most extraordinary and a most dangerous Nature; for if this Method should once come to be commonly used for punishing little Transgressions, and even little Omissions, without so much as an Allegation of a malicious Intention, no Person in *Great Britain*, natural or political, can have a Moment's Security, if there should be a prevailing Party in Parliament against him: Even Innocence itself, even the Fear of offending, may betray a Man into some little Omission, which may give his Enemies a Pretence for ruining him by a Bill of Pains and Penalties. It will not then be enough for a Man not to offend those in Power, he must obey them, he must truckle to them, he must serve them in their most dirty Jobs; otherwise he will be every Day in Danger of perishing by a Bill of Pains and Penalties, for not doing what he perhaps obtained from doing for Fear of giving Offence.

Bills of this Nature are of dangerous Consequence when brought against private Men, but still more so when brought against Corporations or Communities. We have, 'tis true, had some Examples of punishing Cities or Corporations for Crimes committed by their Magistrates or Citizens; but such Precedents I must always think dangerous, I shall always

think unjust; for a Mob, an Insurrection, or even a Rebellion, in any City or Borough, was never, I believe, so general as to admit of no Exception; and if there was but one Innocent Man in the City or Borough, an Injustice will be done to him by any Punishment inflicted on the Community. These are Precedents which have seldom or ever been followed by a wise and mild Administration; and they are Precedents which may be made the worst Use of by an ambitious and tyrannical one. They are Precedents which may be made use of for frightening every City and Borough of the Kingdom into a mean Compliance with every Command of a prime Minister, by which Means he may always have a Majority in this House, as ready as their Constituents to obey his most wicked Commands. By such a Parliament, and by Means of such Bills, even Counties may be robbed of all their Privileges; and that on Account of a Mob raised there perhaps for that very Purpose by the Tools of Power. But of all the Precedents I ever heard of, this now before us is, I think, of the most dangerous Nature. When the Magistrates or Inhabitants of a City or Corporation, or the Members of any Community, have been openly and maliciously guilty of any heinous Crime, the Inflicting of a Punishment upon the Community for the Crimes committed by its Members, may not be of such dangerous Consequence; because it can never be made a Precedent of for punishing any other Community altogether innocent; but if you make the Negligence, or even the Passivity, of the Magistrates, or of the Inhabitants, a good Pretence for taking away by Bill any of the Privileges or Franchises of the City or Corporation, no Corporation in Great Britain can be secure of any of its Privileges; because a prevailing Party in Parliament may judge that to be Neglect or Passivity, which was really in itself a wise and a prudent Behaviour. A Tool of Power may be hired to provoke the very Dregs of the People to pull his House down, or to beat him in a Horse Pond; and because the Magistrates did not, or could not, come timely enough to prevent the Mischief he richly deserved, it may be made a Pretence for disfranchising the Corporation by a Bill of Pains and Penalties. Thus a Sort of Parliamentary *Quo Warranto's* may be issued against every Corporation in Great Britain; that happens not to be in the good Graces of the prevailing Party in Parliament.

Magistrates I shall allow, Sir, ought to be vigilant and diligent in their Office. No Man is fit for being in any Station of Magistracy, if he is either indolent or pusillanimous; but Magistrates are but Men, and liable to the same Frailties with other Men;

therefore, if by this Precedent, you make it a Crime in a Magistrate to be guilty of the least Neglect or Misconduct, if you make it a Crime of such an extraordinary Nature, as that he may be prosecuted by an extraordinary Method in Parliament, and subjected to extraordinary and arbitrary Punishments, I am sure no wise Man will hereafter accept willingly of any Office of Magistracy; and if he should by Law be forced to accept of it, it would be both severe and unjust to punish him for Misconduct only. The Punishment to be inflicted by this Bill upon the Lord Provost of Edinburgh may, to some Gentlemen seem no way rigorous or severe; considering his present Majesty's known Wisdom and Lenity, I am convinced he will not find it so; but a Year's Imprisonment in any Goal or Prison within the Kingdom of Great Britain, to which any Secretary of State may from Time to Time by his Warrant direct him to be carried and confined, might be made a Punishment terribly severe. He might be kept in Irons all that Time, he might be confined in a Goal remote from his Country and Friends; he might be privately removed from Goal to Goal, so that his Friends should never know where to find him, in order to bring him Subsistence, or administer to him any Comfort; or he might be publicly carried about in Irons, and under a strong Guard, from one End of the Kingdom to the other, in order to strike Terror into the People, and to frighten them into a slavish Submission. This I am sure would be a Punishment too severe for any Crime he is accused of; and therefore, if he does not meet with too much Severity, it will not be owing to the Parliament who pronounce the Sentence, but to the Secretary of State who puts it in Execution. For this Reason, I must look upon this Punishment, mild as it may be made by his Majesty's Wisdom and Lenity, as a most dangerous Precedent; because future Parliaments may be hereby induced to inflict the same Punishment for the same Sort of Neglect, and future Kings, or their Ministers, may not perhaps be so merciful in the Execution.

The Reasons I have hitherto made use of against this Bill arise from the general Principles of Prudence and Justice; but now, Sir, I shall go a little farther, and observe, that the Passing of this Bill will, in my Opinion, be a Breach of the Law of Nations. Treaties between different Nations have always been held sacred, and ought to be religiously observed. The Treaty of Union between the Nations of England and Scotland is a Treaty now subsisting, and a Treaty which, I hope, will always be most religiously observed by the Parliaments of Great Britain. By the 21st Article of that Treaty it is expressly stipulated, That the Rights and Privi-

leges of the Royal Boroughs in Scotland shall remain entire; and as by this Bill the City of *Edinburgh*, the first and chief Royal Borough of *Scotland*, is to be strip of its Gates and Guard, I must look upon the Bill as an Infringement of that Article of the Union; for surely the having of Gates which the Magistrates may shut up when they think proper, and the keeping of a Guard for the Defence and Protection of the Inhabitants, must be looked on as Part of the Rights and Privileges of the City of *Edinburgh*; therefore, after these two Rights or Privileges are taken away from that City, it cannot be said that the Rights and Privileges of the Royal Boroughs of *Scotland* remain entire,

I have already shew'd, that to punish a Community for the Fault of its Members, is doing an Injustice to every private Man of that Community who is innocent; but by the Punishments we are to inflict upon the City of *Edinburgh* by this Bill, we do what is still worse, we violate the Law of Nations; we do Injustice to the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, by breaking through one of the most solemn Articles upon which it united with *England*; and for what Purpose are we to be guilty of this Piece of publick as well as private Injustice? Not to prevent Mobs, but to encourage them. In this Light these two Punishments really appear to me ridiculous; we cannot do a greater Favour to those People in and about *Edinburgh*, who are inclined to be mobbish, than to take away the Gates and the Guard; we cannot do a more acceptable Piece of Service even to those who murdered *Porteous*: They will look upon our taking away and cashiering the City Guard, as a Punishment upon that Body of Men, for their having fired upon the Mob at the Execution of *Wiffon*. Our having the City Gates open will be affording an Opportunity to the Country Mob and the City Mob to join Forces, whenever they have a Mind; and by Experience it is well known, they were never dangerous but when they joined together. Then by taking away the Guard we remove that which they were always most afraid of, as appears from its being this first Thing they took care to secure, when that Mob began which murdered *Porteous*. But by laying open the *Neiber-Bow Port*, 'tis said, we shall open a Way for the King's Forces to come, as soon as called, to the Assistance of the Magistrates. No such Thing: We shall make their Access more difficult: The Street where that Gate stands is very narrow; there are always a great Number of Carts and Wheel Carriages standing near it, by which the Street may be so barricaded in a few Minutes, that it will be much more difficult for the Forces to make their Way through, than it would be for them to blow up a Gate; for those who know

any Thing of the Military, know it may be done almost in an Instant. It was not the Gate, Sir, that prevented the Forces marching to the Relief of the Magistrates; it was their having no proper Orders, and the Impossibility there was for sending them any such; and by laying open the Gate, you will only instruct the next Mob that happens, to secure themselves by a Barricade, better than they could do by a Gate; and to take proper Care to secure every Magistrate, who can give Orders to the Troops to enter the Town, which they may the more easily do, after you have taken away that Guard, which might be able to protect the Magistrates, at least till they had Time to send for the Troops.

Sir, the evil Consequences of laying open the City Gates, and taking away its Guard, are innumerable. By keeping the Gate always open, you will injure the Publick as well as the City Reveaue; for you will thereby greatly encourage Smuggling, and you will make it impossible for the City to raise that Duty which has been granted them by Parliament, upon every Pint of Ale brought into their City. Then as to the Guard; it is the only Method they have for protecting their Citizens against House-Breakers, Street-Robbers, and drunken or dissolute Fellows, who often walk the Streets with a Design to assault and beat, or abuse, every Person they meet. The City of *Edinburgh* has no Watchmen, nor can they now oblige their Inhabitants to keep Watch and Ward, as was formerly the Custom before their Guard was established. Thus that City will be by this Bill bereft of the only Means it has of defending itself or protecting its Inhabitants; for which Reason I must look upon the Bill in some Measure as a Dissolution of the Corporation; for if you take from a City all Means of defending itself, or protecting its Inhabitants, I am sure it will very soon come to have few Inhabitants to protect, and must therefore at last cease to be a City. And what is all this for, Sir? The only Pretence I have heard, is, that his Majesty's Troops may have free Access to the City, which is a Pretence I wonder to hear made use of by those who pretend to be Sticklers for Liberty. But even this Advantage, if it be one, may be had without divesting the City of any of its Rights or Privileges. There is no Gate between the Castle and the City, the Castle is the King's own House, and if it be necessary his Majesty may lodge as many of his Troops there as he pleases, with Orders to assist the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, when called by them for that Purpose.

At the Time the last Mob happened, I shall grant, Sir, neither the Gates nor the Guard of the City of *Edinburgh* were of any great

great Service; but I am sure neither of them are of great Prejudice; and they have both been of great Service upon former Occasions; for by the Assistance of the Guard only many Mobs have been suppress'd; when the Magistrates were so lucky as to hear of their assembling, before they came to any Head; and many more have probably been prevented; considering the Unruliness of the People of that Country, which will be their Case, as well as it is the Case of every free People, as long as there is any Courage or any Spirit of Liberty left in the Country. Indeed, if you have a Mind to destroy the Liberties of the People of Scotland, other Measures must be taken; but I must tell you, it cannot be done, but by such an Army as will have the People of England very little Liberty to boast of. Then as to the Gates, 'tis certain, at the Time of the last Mob they were of no Prejudice; for if the regular Troops had had proper Orders to march into the City, they would soon have forced open the first Gate they came to; and those very Gates have formerly been of signal Service, not only to the City of *Edinburgh* but to the whole Nation. In the Year 1715, the Gates and the Guard of the City of *Edinburgh*, for what I know, preserved the Liberties of *Great Britain*; at least they prevented their being brought so near the Brink of Ruin, as they would otherwise have been. The Attempt upon the Castle in the Beginning of that Rebellion, was frustrated by the City Guard's coming upon them, before they had got all the Ladders they had provided for Scaling the Walls: If this Attempt had succeeded, and never was there a Plan of Treason better concerted, or more secretly kept, considering the Numbers that were engaged in it, I say, had it succeeded, it would have made the Rebellion much more formidable. Soon after, a numerous Body of the Rebels came very near to the Gates of *Edinburgh*, but those Gates were shut against them, and guarded by the City-Guard. As the Rebels had no proper Engines for forcing open the Gates, this prevented them from getting Possession of that City, which, if they had, would have furnished them with so great a Provision of Horses, Arms, and Ammunition, and they would have been joined by such Numbers of Men, that I am afraid the King's Army must have decamped from *Stirling*, it not being then above 1700 Men, tho' it was called many thousands in the *London Gazette*. If this had been the Case, the Rebels would soon have got the entire Possession of *Scotland*, and might soon have entered *England* with a formidable Army, which might have been of the most dangerous Consequence, considering the great Party that was then in *England* ready to join them. Upon this Occasion the Citizens

of *Edinburgh* in general behaved with such Fidelity and Steadiness towards the present Royal Family, and acted with such Vigour, that had they been actually guilty of the Contempt put upon the Crown by the Murder of *Porteous*, their former Services would plead for Compassion and Forgiveness from his Majesty, and all those who are Friends to his Family.

I have hitherto argued, Sir, upon the Supposition, that every Word of the Charge against the Provost and Citizens of *Edinburgh* is true; and even upon that Supposition, I think, I have shewn, that the Charge can no Way justify such an extraordinary Method of Proceeding; that punishing the City of *Edinburgh* for the Fault of its Magistrates or Citizens must be an Injustice done to every private Man of that City who is innocent; that such Precedents are always dangerous, and more dangerous in this Case than any other; that the Punishment proposed to be inflicted on the Provost is too severe; that the Stripping the City of *Edinburgh* of any of its Rights or Privileges will be a Breach of the Articles of Union, and a publick Injustice done to the whole People of *Scotland*; that the Penalties proposed to be inflicted on that City can be of no Service to the Publick, but on the contrary may probably be of great Prejudice both to the Publick and the City; and that, were the Citizens of *Edinburgh* really guilty of the Crimes laid to their Charge, their Services to Liberty and the Protestant Succession may plead for Compassion and Forgiveness. These Arguments, I hope, will have great Weight with every Gentleman that hears me, even suppose the Charge had been fully proved; but if it should come out that no one Word of it has been proved; if it should appear that the Provost was guilty of no Crime, nor of any Neglect or Omission, but what a provident, a vigilant, and even a resolute Magistrate, might have been guilty of upon the like Occasion; if it should appear that no Citizen of *Edinburgh* has been guilty of any criminal Action, or of any Omission, that is in the least blamable, surely the Arguments I have made use of must be irresistible.

For this Reason, Sir, I must beg Leave to consider the Behaviour of the Provost and Citizens of *Edinburgh*, according to the Proofs before us, at the three different Periods mentioned by the Counsel at the Bar; and first with respect to their Behaviour before this Mob happened. It has been proved by several Witnesses of good Credit, that the Report of the Mob's being resolved to hang *Porteous* was spread only among Women and Children, and that it was by all Men of Sense treated as a foolish Surmise: Nay, it has been proved that even Mr. *Porteous* himself treated it as such. Yet the Provost was so vigilant

vigilant as to refuse not to treat it as such, and therefore he had determined in Council, that the whole *three* Companies of the City Guard should march on the *Wednesday*, which was the *only Day* he and most others had heard was intended, as the Day on which the Mob were to attempt executing their wicked Purposes; and he had determined further in Council, that on that Day both he and the other Magistrates, as also the whole Members of the Town-Council, should attend with the Barges of their respective Offices, in order to strike the Populace with the same awe, and to be ready to quell any Mob that should begin to appear. The Provoost therefore cannot at this Period be accused of any Neglect or Omission; and as for the Citizans, it has not been proved that any of them had certain Information of such a Design, and concealed that Information: Those who heard any Thing of it, heard it only from foolish Women and Children; and they were so far from concealing, that they told publicly what they had heard, which was all they could do upon any such Information.

Then, Sir, with respect to the Behaviour of the Provoost and Citizans at the Time the Tumult happened, and during the Time it lasted: It has been proved that the Moment he heard a Tumult was beginning, he ordered the Captain of the Guard then on Duty to draw out his Men, and not only resolved, but presently followed the Captain, to put himself at the Head of the Guard; which was more than could be expected from a Man of his Age and Education. But in this brave Resolution he was disappointed by the Mob's having got Possession of the Guard. Upon this, what did he do? Did he run and hide himself, as many would have done upon finding that the Mob were Masters of the Town? No, Sir, he remained in the Streets, he consulted with his Fellow-Magistrates, and in the very Eyes of the Mob, tho' not, I am sure, to their Hearing, he gave those Orders which, by the whole Company were thought the most proper, and, indeed, the only Orders that could be given: He sent an Hon. Gentleman of this House for the Assistance of the King's Troops; he likewise sent one of the Magistrates upon the same Message, left the first should be intercepted; and he sent a third Gentleman after the first, in order to explain and add to the Orders first given. As the Provoost was no military Man, nor knew exactly the commanding Officer's Instructions, he had all the Reason in the World to expect a verbal Message, sent by a Gentleman of such Distinction, would, at such a Conjunction, have been successful, especially as the Messenger was well known to the Commanding Officer. Therefore if he had done no more, if he had quietly waited at the Tavern, or some other more private Place, in

expectation of the Assistance he had sent for, his Conduct would have been blameless. But this he did not rest satisfied with, he sent for the AG. of Parliament against Riots, in order that he might read the Proclamations as soon as he could find an Opportunity; with the *few* Persons he had along with him, he made two several fruitless Attempts to disperse the Mob; he pushed these Attempts as far as any Man of Prudence and Courage would have done, according to all the Witnesses that have been examined, except one whose Evidence is, in my Opinion, suspicious. He did not retire till after some of his Company were wounded, and the Mob began to call out to him. I am, indeed, surpris'd that some of his Company did not lose their Lives: If it had not been the most regular and the most sedate Mob I ever heard of, I am sure some of them would; and tho' the Purpose of that Mob was certainly most wicked and atrocious, yet to the Honour of the lower Rank of People in that Country I must say, I am surpris'd, considering they were for so long a Time Masters of a rich and opulent City, that no more Murders, nor any Rape or Robbery, were committed. Notwithstanding these fruitless Attempts, the Provoost did not despair of being able to quell the Mob, and prevent Mischief: When he saw the regular Troops did not come to his Assistance, he proposed to raise the Train'd Bands of the City; but in this he was disappointed by the Wife of that Person who had the keeping of the Master Rolls, and who, it seems, was himself at that Time in the Keeping of his Wife; for she would not allow any Person to speak to him, nor deliver him any Message. Besides he could get no Access to the City Magazine of Arms; so that if he had got the Muster Rolls, he could not arm the Militia. Then he proposed to ring the Alarm Bell; but in this likewise the Mob had taken Care to disappoint him, by having taken Possession of the Tower or Steeple in which it hung. And when all his Designs proved abortive, when he saw it was impossible to prevent the Mischief intended; he then sent out Spies to intermix among the Mob, in order to discover who were the Actors. From all which I must beg leave to say, Sir, with all due Respect to the Bill now before us, that in this Period of Time, the Provoost of Edinburgh deserves, in my Opinion, the Thanks rather than the Censures of Parliament; and as to the Citizans, it has been proved, that several of them came to the Assistance of the Provoost, and with him endeavoured to quell the Tumult to the imminent Danger of their Lives; and as soon as the Faces of those principally concerned in the Tumult, could be known, either by those sent out by the Provoost with a View to make such Discoveries, not by a worthy Member of

of our own House, who has long resided in that City, and has with great Honour and Reputation gone thro' all the chief Offices in it; notwithstanding his having met Crowds of them going out of Town, as he returned from the Commanding Officer of the Troop; I say, whereas of the Actors guilty Faces could be known by either of these Persons, it is to me a full Proof, no Citizen of Edinburg was concerned in the Riot.

Lastly, Sir, as to the Behaviour of the Provost and Citizens after the Riot, I am surpris'd to hear it found fault with, since no Fault has been proved, no Neglect or Omission has been so much as mentioned by any of the Witnesses, from which the least Penance can be taken, to blame the Conduct of either; and the Attorney and Solicitor General for Scotland, two Members of your own House, have testified for the Lord Provost that he was zealous, indefatigable, and keen, in promoting whatever could contribute to the Discovery of any of the Rioters or Murderers. They have told you, that near 200 Persons were examined upon this Occasion; without being able to discover, or to form so much as a Suspicion, that any one Citizen of Edinburg was any way concerned in the Riot, except one poor Apprentice Boy, who had made his Escape, and has never since been heard of. I am really at a Loss to conceive, what Gentlemen would have had the Provost or the Citizens of Edinburg to have done upon this Occasion. No Gentlemen can think the Provost ought to have put his Citizens to the Torture, in order to make them confess what they knew nothing of? Thank God! Our Laws allow of no such arbitrary and cruel Proceedings. Or do Gentlemen think the Citizens of Edinburg ought to have come and accused one another, without the least Ground for any such Accusation? I must say, I am surpris'd, the great Reward that was offered has not produced a true Information; but, I thank God! it has not produced a false one.

The Citizens of Edinburg, Sir, are so far from being under any just Suspicion of having been concerned in this audacious Riot and cruel Murder, that the contrary, I think, appears from all the Circumstances that have been proved, and from the Evidence of all the Witnesses that were examined at Edinburg, or that have since been examined at this Bar. It appears that all the principal Actors were Country Fellows, whose Faces were not known to any of the Inhabitants of Edinburg; either high or low; and it has been proved at your Bar, that there was a Report in the Country about Edinburg, especially at

Dalkeith, a Village seven Miles from Edinburg, and situate in a Country full of Coal Mines and Colliers, who are a Sort of People very proper for such a desperate Attempt; I say it has been proved, that, at that Place, there was a Report, 10 or 12 Days before the Tumult happened, that a Conspiracy to murder Persons, if reproach'd, had been formed by the Friends of one Ballantine, a young Man of that Town, who was one of the Persons murdered by Persons and his Guard, at the Execution of Wilson. These two Circumstances make it highly probable, that the principal Actors in this Riot and Murder, were Country Fellows, who had stole into Edinburg for that Purpose; and this riotous and rebellious Spirit of theirs does not proceed from any Oppression in the Government or civil Magistrates of that Country, as has been strongly insinuated; but from a few formal Preachers, lately started up in that Country, who by their Sermons and otherwise, infill into the Minds of the Vulgar and Ignorant such enthusiastic Notions as are inconsistent with all Government, by making Sedition and Rebellion a Principle of their Religion. * From this Cause I am inclin'd to think, the Tumult at Edinburg proceeded; and to this is owing that ill-judg'd Fidelity of the Guilty towards one another, by which the Secret was before the Execution made impenetrable, and by which the Discovery of the Persons concerned has since been rendered impossible. But of the Inhabitants of Edinburg, I am convinc'd, there are very few tainted with such Principles, because they seldom or never hear any such Doctrines.

I confess, Sir, it appears a little odd, that such an audacious Tumult should have happened, such a wicked Purpose should have been so successfully perpetrated in the City of Edinburg, without any Fault or Neglect in any of the Persons entrusted with the Government of that City; but after the most impartial Enquiry, I can find no Reason to blame the Conduct of any of them, except the Captain of the City Guard. He, indeed, by the Evidence he has given at this Bar, has shewn himself blamable in several Parts of his Conduct. He has told us, that on the Friday before the Mob happened, the Provost gave him Orders to enquire into the Grounds of the Report that had been spread; but he was so far from complying with these Orders, that he went out of Town that very Evening, and did not return till the Monday Evening. He has told us there were 8 or 9 of his Men absent the very Night the

* This Observation was made by his Grace the Duke of Argyll, who has been scandalously misrepresented in the Gentleman's Magazine for October, Page 607. Col. 2. as if his Grace had shewn a Reflection upon the whole Clergy of Scotland, which he was certainly as far from intending, as they are from deserving.

Mob happened; and whether with Leave or without Leave, it was certainly his Fault they were so. He has told us, that when he was first informed of the Mob's gathering, instead of marching with a Party of his Guard to disperse them, which by the Custody of that City, he ought to have done; for in such Cases he was not to wait for Orders from the Provost or any other Magistrate; I say instead of marching to disperse the Mob upon his first Appearance, or instead of staying to defend his Guard House against whatever might happen, he left his Post, he ran away both from the Mob; and from his Post, under Pretence of going to acquaint the Provost with what had happened. Was this a Thing like an Officer? Does not every Gentleman see that this Conduct of his was the Cause of the Mob's getting Possession of the Guard Room, which greatly obstructed their Success; for if they had been disappointed in this their first Attempt, it would have discouraged them so, that they might probably have despaired of being able to execute, and consequently would have desisted from attempting any farther to execute, their chief Purpose. It is no Excuse for the Captain, that the Provost desired him to return to him. That Desire was an Order, and if it had, it was given upon a Supposition of no immediate Danger. When the Captain heard the Mob was up, and his Guard of Consequence in Danger, surely he ought not to have left his Post; he might have sent his Sergeant for Orders from the Provost. Terthis I must add, that the Keeper of the City Muster Rolls seems likewise to be greatly to blame; for if at other Times he was usually under Pericout Orders, at such a Time, at a Time when the City was in such Danger, as he seems to have had some Share in the Government of that City, he ought to have put himself under the Orders of the chief Magistrate, and ought to have attended him for that Purpose.

I think I need not now, Sir, add any Thing in Favour of the three first Amendments proposed; for if I have not said enough for inducing Gentlemen to drop or throw out the Bill now before us, I hope, I have said enough for convincing every Gentleman that hears me, that the first three Amendments proposed, ought to be agreed to; and as to the Fine proposed to be laid on the City of *Edinburgh*, I cannot be the least Protestance for it; for I think it has been proved, as much as a Negative will admit of Proof, that the Citizens of *Edinburgh* had not the least Concern in the Riot that happened, or the Murder that was committed; and I think it appears that the Magistrates did as much as Men in their Circumstances could do, to prevent the Mischief that ensued. Besides this, I think it a dangerous Precedent to lay Fines or Malice on a City, for an Irregularity committed in the

City, when it is proved that some of the Citizens had any Hand in the Committing of that Irregularity; and if the Citizens of *Edinburgh* could be supposed to have been guilty of this Irregularity, I think the Fine proposed is much too considerable, with respect to the Circumstances of the City, which deserve the more to be regarded, because it has been proved, the low Circumstances they are now in proceed from the loyal and vigorous Measures they pursued in the Year 1715; and with respect to the Condition of the Person that was murdered, and the Person to whose Life this Fine is to be applied, I cannot help thinking it excessive; therefore I hope this Amendment will be entirely dropped, or the Fine very much mitigated.

Before I conclude, Sir, I must beg of Gentlemen to consider the dangerous Consequences of this Bill as to the Peace and Tranquillity of *Scotland*, and consequently of the whole Island. The Generality of the People there are already extremely uneasy at the proposing of such a Bill, and at several Steps that have been taken in relation to it. If the Bill should pass, as it is at present; if the City of *Edinburgh*, the principal City of *Scotland*, should be strip of any of its Rights or Privileges, without any Regard shown to its former Services, however such a Step may be look'd on here, it will certainly be look'd on by the whole People of *Scotland* as a Breach of the Articles of Union, and may probably make them ready to embrace the first Opportunity of getting rid of the Bargain they have made; which many of the People of that Country never thought either honourable, safe, or advantageous for them; and if they should once begin to think the Parliament of *Great Britain* has no Regard for the Articles upon which it was made, none of them will ever think it so.

To this 'twas answered in Substance as follows, viz.

Sir, As what has been said in Favour of the Amendments proposed chiefly consists in Reasons against the Bill itself, I shall consider them in that Light, because if I can shew there is nothing in the Bill but what is just and necessary, I shall at the same Time convince Gentlemen, that the Bill ought to be pass'd, and that the Amendments ought not to be agreed to. 'Tis true, the Charge against the Provost and Citizens of *Edinburgh*, consists in their neglecting to prevent the Temote before it happened; in their neglecting to suppress it, or to take proper Measures for that Purpose, after it had happened; and in their neglecting to discover, apprehend, and secure those who were guilty of that odious Riot, and cruel Murder. But this Charge, which is the Foundation of the Bill, is not to be considered as

Negligence only; for he who does not prevent a Crime which he might, and ought to have prevented, has always in Law been look'd on, as some Way guilty of that very Crime; therefore, if it should appear, that the Magistrates and Citizens of *Edinburgh* might, and ought to have prevented this Tumult; or rather Insurrection; or that they might not have suppressed it; or that they might and ought to have discovered, apprehended, and secured the Rioters and Murderers; if it should appear that they neglected any of those Measures which were necessary for accomplishing either of these Ends; the Neglect must then be look'd on as a Sort of wilful Neglect, and consequently they must be look'd on as guilty in some Measure of all those Crimes which were committed; and to every Gentleman who considers their Case in this Light, the Punishments proposed by this Bill must appear merciful as well as mild.

It is with Pleasure, Sir, I observe, that every one who has spoke upon the present Occasion, has express'd the utmost Detestation of the Authors and Actors of that audacious Tumult and cruel Murder, which was not only an Insult upon Majesty, but an open Rebellion against Justice, a Rebellion even against Mercy itself. This makes this Crime the more heinous, and the more extraordinary. In all Ages, in all Countries, the People have generally been on the Side of Mercy. Here in *England* 'twas his Majesty's Inclination of the People, by this merciful softness, that a Criminal has, by this merciful Inclination of the People, been rescued from what they thought a too great Severity in the Laws; but the People of *Scotland* are; it seems, of another Temper. In no other Country, I believe, was it ever heard of, that when the Mercy of a Sovereign has been extended to a Criminal, the People have frustrated that Mercy, by barbarously dragging him before the Tribunal of their own Inhumanity, and embrewing their Hands in his Blood. This is an Action of so black a Dye, that I think a perpetual Brand of Infamy ought to be stamped upon those Magistrates who heard of so barbarous a Design, and yet were so indolent (so call them so worse) as to make no Preparations, nor use any proper Measures, for preventing it; and upon those Citizens, who, while it was perpetrating, had no Courage, nor, it seems, Inclination, to prevent it; and who, when it was over, were so faithful to Rebellion and Murder, as to conceal the Authors and Actors of it.

Sir, when I hear Gentlemen so unanimous in their Detestation of so heinous, so audacious, and so extraordinary a Crime, I am surpris'd to hear some Gentlemen find fault with any extraordinary Method that can be taken, or devised for punishing it. But the Bill now before us is neither an ex-

traordinary nor an unusual Method of Proceeding. It is a Method that has always been taken for punishing Crimes of an extraordinary Nature; and it is a Method so usual, that Examples occur almost in every Session. The Act of Parliament pass'd in the Year 1721, against the *South-Sea* Directors in the Year 1720; the Act for inflicting Pain and Penalties upon the late Bishop of *Rochester* and his Confederates in Treason; the Act against *Banbridge*, the Deputy-Warden of the *Fleet-Prison*; the Act against the late Directors and Managers of the *Charitable Corporation*; and Examples so fresh in every Gentleman's Memory, that I need not take up your Time with explaining or applying them. Only as to the first and last, I must observe, that some Gentlemen were punish'd for being guilty of Neglect only; and I must likewise observe, that some Gentlemen have express'd zealous against this Bill, who were strenuous Advocates for every one of the former.

In order, Sir, to form another Objection against this Bill, a new Doctrine has been broach'd, which I am likewise not a little surpris'd at. It has been said, that it would be unjust to involve the Innocent in the same Punishment with the Guilty, which must always be the Case when you punish a Corporation or Community for the Crimes of the Faults of some of its Inhabitants or Members. Does not every Gentleman see, that if this were established as a Maxim, no Punishment could ever be inflict'd, nor Censure could ever be pass'd, upon any Corporation or Community whatsoever? Punishments are sometimes designed as a Terror to others, as well as for punishing the Guilty; and to make that Terror the more effectual for the End intended, which is to prevent Peoples being guilty of such a Crime, in some Times, or in some Cases, becomes necessary, to make some innocent Persons suffer for the Crimes of the Guilty. Is not this the Case with respect to Treason, where the innocent Posterity are made to suffer for the Crimes of the guilty Ancestors, in order to terrify Men the more effectually from being guilty of any treasonable Practices? For the same Reason, the innocent Members of a Community must be sometimes made to suffer for the Crimes of the Guilty; because such an Example will make every Member of every Community more active and vigilant in preventing their fellow Members from being guilty of any Crime, or in discovering the Authors, and bringing them to condign Punishment, after any Crime has been committed. This is a Maxim in Politicks so just and necessary, that we have Multitudes of Examples upon our Journals, where Cities and Corporations have not only been fined, but have been un-

inhabited, or Strip of their most valuable Rights and Privileges, for Crimes in which it could not be supposed that all the Inhabitants were voluntarily assisting, or any way concerned *.

We have been not only told, Sir, that this Bill is unjust with respect to private Men, by involving the Innocent in the same Punishment with the Guilty; but we have likewise been told, that it is a Breach of the Law of Nations, and an Injustice done to the whole People of Scotland. The former Charge I have shewn to be without any Foundation; because it is often necessary for the Preservation and Welfare of Society; to make the Innocent suffer for the Crimes of the Guilty; and now I shall beg leave to examine the latter. There is no Man has a greater Regard for the People of Scotland and for the Articles of Union than I have. I shall never give my Consent to any Thing that may seem to be an Injury to the one, or an Infringement of the other. But in the present Case, I can see no Ground for pretending that this Bill imports a Breach of any Article of the Union, or that it will be an Injury to the Whole or any Part of the People of Scotland. The Rights and Privileges of the Royal Boroughs of Scotland are, 'tis true, secured by the 21st Article of the Treaty of Union; but as the United Kingdom is, by the 18th Article of the same Treaty, made subject to the same Parliament or legislative Power, a Condition must be supposed to be implied in every Article, for making it liable to such Alterations as the Parliament of Great Britain shall afterwards think necessary for the Preservation, or even for the Good of the Whole. Upon this Maxim it certainly was; that the Right of Patronages was restored to Scotland, by a Parliament since the Union; tho' there is nothing more firmly and more unalterably established by the Articles of Union, than the Presbyterian Church Government, Religion, Worship, Discipline and Privileges, as they stood established at the Time of the Union. And tho' we were to suppose no such Condition implied in this Article, yet the Security thereby stipulated can relate only to those Rights and Privileges which are essential to the Whole, or to any one of the Royal Boroughs in Scotland. It cannot be supposed to mean, that the Parliament of Great Britain shall never be able to make the least Alteration or Amendment, with respect to any Right or Privilege, which any one Royal Borough was then in Possession of. And much less can it be supposed to mean, that the Parliament of Great Britain shall never have it in its Power to punish, or even to disfranchise, any Royal Borough in Scotland for the most

heinous Crime it can be guilty of. This Bill cannot therefore be supposed to be a Breach of any Article of the Union; and as to the People of Scotland, it is certainly their Loss, tho' it is what all good Men must desire, to live in Peace and Security; therefore no Step taken, nor any Punishment inflicted, with a View only to prevent Mobs and Riots, can be an Injury to the Whole or any Part of the People of that Country.

As for the City Guard, and the *Nether-Bow Gate*, they are so far from being among the essential Rights and Privileges of the City of Edinburgh, that I really look upon them both as Nuisances; and as to the former, it is so far from being an essential Right or Privilege; that we know it was but lately established; it was established since the Revolution; and ever since it was established it has been found to be a great Expence, and of very little Service to the City; so that tho' those two Regulations are put into this Bill by Way of Punishments, I really look upon them as Favours done to the City; because the Taking away of the Guard will free the City of a great Expence; and the laying open the *Nether-Bow Port* will open a free Passage to the King's Troops; to come to the Assistance of the Magistrates when required, which will be a better Defence to the Inhabitants than they have ever yet found in their Guard. As the King's Troops are not to be admitted to keep Guard in the City, as they are not to enter it but when required by the Magistrates, they cannot, 'tis true, defend them against House-Breakers, Street-Robbers, or little Insults in the Streets; but for this Purpose they may keep Watch and Ward as formerly, or they may appoint Watchmen, as we have in the Cities of London and Westminster. And with respect to the Revenue of the City, it cannot now be collected without keeping Officers at the Gates, and by them the City Revenue may be collected, and Smuggling prevented, as well when the Gates are open, as when they are shut.

I am, indeed, surpris'd to hear it said, Sir, that neither the *Nether-Bow Gate* nor the City Guard were of any Service to the late Turkish, or contributed any Way to encourage it. The Mob probably did not know how easily a Gate might be blown open by that warlike Engine called a *Petard*, nor do I know if the King's Troops in the *Canongate* were furnished with any such; therefore we must suppose the Mob put great Confidence in their being able to shut the Gates, in order to prevent the Troops from entering; and their Attack upon the Guard proceeded more from a View of Seizing upon the Soldier's Arms, than from any Fear of them; in

* Many of these Precedents were quoted, but we have not Room to repeat them

which they had most surprizing Success: From which, I think, I may justly conclude, that the City Gates contributed greatly to encourage the Mob to undertake so bold an Attempt, and that the City Guard was of great Service to them in the Execution of it.

I shall grant, Sir, a Barricade may be soon made by a numerous Mob, even in a wide Street, especially if they have concerted their Plan so well as this Mob seems to have done; but no Barricade can be so soon made as a Gate may be shut, and the Shutting of a Gate may protect them till they have made their Barricade; which this Mob would certainly have done, had they thought how easily a Gate might be blown up, or had they been under the least Suspicion that the regular Troops would have been sent for in a regular Manner. I shall likewise grant that his Majesty, if he pleases, may lodge as many Troops in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, as it can conveniently contain, and may give such Orders to those Troops as he thinks proper and legal; nay, we may, I believe, even address his Majesty for that Purpose; tho' I do not know if it would be quite so regular, because it would be some Sort of Infrachment upon that Part of the Prerogative, by which his Majesty must always have the absolute Command over his Army. But when we are by a Bill to provide for the Safety of a City, we are not to consider what his Majesty may do, or what he may do upon an Address from this House; because tho' it should now be done, it may hereafter be neglected; and, I hope, no Gentleman supposes, we ought to put a Clause in this Bill, for obliging his Majesty to lodge a Regiment of his Troops always in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, with Orders to leave their Garrison as often as the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* shall require.

That the City of *Edinburgh* shewed great Fidelity and Attachment to their Sovereign in the Year 1715, I shall be far from disputing; but, Sir, it was their Duty to do so; it was their Interest; they would have suffered irreparably if they had done otherwise; they would have betrayed their own Liberties and Properties, as well as those of the whole Nation; therefore they cannot, from their Services at that Time, plead a full Pardon for a most heinous Offence lately committed: They may from thence plead for a Mitigation of the Punishment they deserve; and I am sure there is no Punishment in this Bill equal to what such a high Insult upon the Crown ought to meet with. But whatever Stead their Guard or their Gates might stand them in upon that Occasion, surely a Regiment of his Majesty's Troops will always stand them in better Stead than their Guard; and if a Barricade be as good a Defence as a Gate, even in Case of a Rebellion, they can be in no Danger from having one of their

Gates laid open. For my Part, I am apt to think neither their Guard nor their Gates would at that Time have defended them from the Rebels, if his Majesty's Troops had not marched speedily to their Assistance; and therefore, that City, as well as the whole Nation, must own their Obligations to the noble Duke, who then commanded at *Stirling*; who, notwithstanding his having so small a Number of Troops under his Command, notwithstanding his being attacked by two Armies of Rebels at once, one of them much superior, and the other very near equal to him in Number, yet managed so much like a brave and expert Commander, as to secure both the Capital of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the important Pass at *Stirling*, against all the Designs and Stratagems of the Enemy.

With respect to the Provoost, Sir, 'tis true, the Punishment prescribed by the Bill might be made very expensive and inconvenient to him, if we had the Misfortune to be under a severe or revengeful Administration. But this Misfortune cannot happen to us during his present Majesty's Reign; therefore we need not be so cautious of putting it in the Power of the Crown to aggravate the Punishment: Nor ought this to be a Precedent to any future Parliament, if they have the least Ground to suspect the Power to be granted would be made a cruel Use of; but I am far from thinking such a Power could be legally made such an Use of as has been represented. The Prisoner may, indeed, be removed from one Prison to another, as often as the Secretary of State shall direct; but I do not think he could be loaded with Irons, unless he should attempt to make his Escape; nor do I think he could be denied the Use of Pen, Ink, and Paper, nor could his Friends be denied Access to him; so that it would always be in his Power to let his Friends know where he was, a going; and he might see them as often as he had a Mind.

Thus, Sir, if the Charge against the Provoost and Citizens of *Edinburgh* be true, I think, I have shewn, there is nothing extraordinary in this Method of Proceeding; there is no Injustice either private or publick in the Bill, nor can it be looked on as any Infringement of the Articles of Union; and I have likewise, I think, shewn, there is no Severity in any of the Punishments that are to be inflicted, nor any Thing that appears in the least ridiculous; but I am sure it would be very ridiculous to pass a Bill with such a Preamble, a Preamble which must make every Reader expect the highest Pains and Penalties to follow; and yet to inflict no Pain or Penalty by that Bill, except only the rendering one Gentleman incapable of holding any Office or Place of Magistracy. Of such a Bill it might be properly said, *Parturient Mater,*

Mason, &c. Therefore if the Charge be true, I hope every one of the Amendments will be disagreed to.

And now, Sir, give me Leave to examine the Truth of the Charge, which I shall consider distinctly according to the three Periods that have been mentioned. As to the Behaviour of the Provost and other Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, before the Tumult happened: 'Tis true, we have no positive Proof of the Provost's having been apprized of the Mob's intending to execute their Purpose on the *Tuesday* Night; but if he was not, it was certainly owing to his supine Indolence and Inattention; for it has been proved, that *Tuesday* Night was generally talked of, as the Time appointed. *Baily* and *Dis* are both positive as to this Fact; and by an authentick Copy of an Examination upon Oath, taken before an honourable and learned Gentleman I have in my Eye, after that Tumult, it appears that the Deponent swore to this Effect, or rather in these Words, That on the *Thursday* or *Friday* before that Tumult happened, a Man came into his Master's Shop, and informed both him and his Fellow-Servant, that *Tuesday*, then, next was the Day appointed for revenging innocent Blood, and that he hoped they, the Deponent and his Fellow-Servant, would not fail to attend, and assist those who were to hang the bloody Murderer *Porteous*, by ten o'Clock at Night, upon the Signal given, which was to be a Ruff of a Drum. From hence it appears, that if the Provost and Magistrates of *Edinburgh* were ignorant of the Design's being intended to be executed on the *Tuesday* Night, they were very little inquisitive or concerned about the Peace and Welfare of their City.

But suppose, Sir, they heard nothing of its being intended to be executed before *Wednesday*, did they take any Measures to prevent it on that Day? They say they had resolved to do great Things; but can it be pretended they had actually done any Thing? Even on the *Tuesday* Night they had given no Orders, nor had they distributed Ammunition to their own Guard. Considering the Report that was spread, considering the violent Malice the Populace shewed against *Porteous* at his Trial, surely the Magistrates had as great Reason to call the regular Troops to their Assistance at that Time, as at the Execution of *Wilson*; they had no other Reason for calling them at that Time but a general Rush; they had no certain Information of an intended Rescue. As they had some Information of a Design to murder *Porteous* on the *Wednesday*, they ought certainly to have begun to provide against it on *Tuesday* in the Afternoon. Their whole Guard should have begun at that Time to be upon Duty, and a Detachment of the regular Troops ought

to have been called in on the *Tuesday* at Noon, and kept there till the *Thursday* at Noon. But there were other Methods by which they might have prevented the Design, without putting themselves to this Trouble. They might have removed *Porteous* to the Castle, or to the *Canon-Gate* Prison, in both which Places he would have been safe against the utmost Efforts of the Mob. If the Magistrates had but placed a small Detachment of their Guard in the *Talbooth*; or had they placed a Detachment in the *Judiciary* Room, which commands the *Prison* Gate, the Mob could not have forced the Gate, they would have been exposed to a continual Fire, by which they must have been killed as fast as they approached. In short, Sir, so many Methods might have been taken for preventing this Tumult and Murder, so many easy and obvious Means were neglected, that I must say I have some Suspicion, the Provost, or some of those who had the Guidance of him, were fully apprized of this seditious Design, and that they were resolved to connive at it, or at least not to take any effectual Means for preventing it.

Then, Sir, as to their Behaviour during the Time of the Riot: The Provost must have known, at least he ought to have suspected, a verbal Message would not be a sufficient Authority for the Commanding Officer to march to his Assistance. There was no Fault in sending the Hon. Gentlemen I have in my Eye with a verbal Message to the General; and his undertaking such a dangerous and difficult Errand, shewed his Zeal for the Honour of the Crown and the Service of his Country. But the Provost ought not to have rested satisfied with this; as soon as he returned to the *Tavern*, he ought to have wrote a Letter to the General, positively requiring his Assistance, and empowering him to use whatever Means he should think proper for forcing his Way into the Town: Of this Letter he ought to have sent off a separate Messenger with each; in order that if one failed the other might make his Way good; for there were several Ways of getting out of the Town, besides going out at the Gates; and in many Places a Man may, with very little Assistance, get out over the City Walls.

But, Sir, I should be glad to know, why the Provost did not send for Assistance from the Castle; the Commanding Officer has told us he stood ready prepared with the best Part of his Garrison, and with proper Instruments for quelling a Mob, and would have marched to the Assistance of the Magistrates, if they had sent for him. This Assistance was much nearer than that in the *Canon-Gate*, and no Gates or Barricades to prevent a Messenger's getting thither. The

A
 Neglecting to send for this Assistance I must look on as a *supine*, if not a designed Neglect; and the Neglecting to read the Proclamation I must look on as another Piece of Neglect of the same Nature; for tho' the Troops had come from the *Canon-Gate*, the Proclamation not having been read before-hand, the Troops must have remained inactive for an Hour after their Arrival, and in that Time the Mob might have executed their bloody Purpos. We have been told of the brave Efforts the Provost, and those with him, made to quell the Mob; but one of the Witnesses, I mean *Stewart*, has given us a quite different Account; for he has told us that he and *three* or *four* more disarmed some of the Mob, and with those very Arms drove them to some Distance; and that if they had been vigorously supported by the Provost and his Company, they might probably have drove the Mob quite away from the Prison. From hence, I suppose, the Provost's Efforts to suppress the Mob were not very strenuous; nor, indeed, does it seem probable, since no dangerous Wound was received by any one of either of the Parties engaged.

B
 Lastly, Sir, Let us consider the Behaviour of the Provost and Magistrates after the Tumult. We have been told, he sent out Persons to intermix with the Mob, in order to discover the Rioters; but what was the Consequence? One of those very Persons came back, and said he knew one of them; and accordingly, it seems, told his Name: But was the Man thus named ever taken up or prosecuted? I should be glad to know what is become of him; for if he has not made his Escape, surely he ought to have been apprehended and prosecuted long before this Time. Then after the Murder was actually committed, and the Mob generally dispersed, we have been told that some of the Magistrates went and saw several of the Rioters then standing about the murdered Person, and that they actually seized one of them; but what then? They let him go again, upon this Pretence, that they had no Prison to put him in. Had not they their Guard-Room? Might not they have put him into a Chamber in any private House, with two or three City Officers to guard him? Might not they have sent him to the *Castle*? Might not they have sent him to the *Canon-Gate* Prison or Guard-Room? Sir, there were many Ways to have secured him, if those who seized him had had an unfeigned Inclination to do so.

C
 Now, Sir, as to the Behaviour of the Citizens at those several Periods. As the Report was common among them before the Tumult happened; if all of them had not favoured the Design, some of them would certainly have been at the Pains to trace it a little, and would have warned the Magistrates

D
 of their Danger. When Journeymen and Servants were so publicly invited to assist, and were informed of the Day, the Hour, and the Signs, we can hardly suppose their Masters remained utterly ignorant of the Design; therefore we must suppose it was favoured by Masters as well as Servants. Then during the Tumult, we have been told, these were not above 40 or 50 actually concerned in the Murder, and that there were at least 1500, some say 4 or 5000, in the Streets; most of these must have been Citizens, and were not they criminally passive, to allow such a Handful of Men to commit such a horrid Murder in the Heart of their City, without the least Opposition? Were they not still more criminal for not joining their Provost and Magistrates, when they saw them in the Streets, endeavouring to suppress the Tumult? And supposing all the principal Actors were Country-Fellows, it can hardly be supposed but some of them must have been known by some of the vast Multitudes of Citizens that were in the Streets. But those Citizens were afterwards as faithful in concealing the Murderers, as they had before been passive in allowing them to commit the Murder.

E
 From what I have said, Sir, I think it will appear, the Charge is true in every Article; therefore I must be of Opinion, we ought to pass the Bill as it is; but if you agree to the *three* first Amendments proposed, if you leave the City their Gate and their Guard; you must agree to the 4th Amendment proposed; you must subject the City to a Fine at least: Surely, you would not pass a BILL, the Preamble of which lays such a heavy Charge upon the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, without inflicting any one Punishment upon those Citizens. The subjecting them to a Fine can no Way be supposed to be a Breach of the Articles of Union, or any Way unjust. There are many Examples of this Sort of Justice in *England*. A Township is to be amerced, if they suffer a Murderer to escape. The Hundred makes good the Damage to a Person robbed within the Hundred; and by a late Statute, a City, Town, or Hundred, may be obliged to make good the Damage, if a Church, Chapel, or Meeting-House, be riotously demolished. Even in *Scotland*, we know that the Magistrates of *Glasgow* were all carried Prisoners to *Edinburgh*, and the City afterwards fined in a very large Sum; by Act of Parliament, on Account of a Riot, which happened in that City. There cannot therefore be any Thing unjust or extraordinary in subjecting the City of *Edinburgh* to a Fine; and considering the

F
 Atrociousness of the Crime, I am sure the Fine proposed cannot be said to be too much. As to any Apprehensions Gentlemen may pretend to have of the Reinstatement of the

Scott, in Case we should pass this Bill into a Law, I cannot think there is the least Ground for them: That Nation smarted sufficiently for their Rebellion in the Year 1715, therefore, I believe, they will not be very forward to renew any such Attempt, or to have Recourse to Arms, against their lawful Sovereign, however they may unjustly imagine themselves injured, lest the Remedy, as they found it then, should prove much worse than the Disease. But if we have any Reason to apprehend any Thing from the Scots at this Time, and upon this Account, it is with me a strong Argument for passing the Bill without any Amendment; because I am sure, they never will rebel on this Account, unless they are resolved to rebel at any Rate; and if that be their Resolution, I should much rather wish they would begin it now, and on this Account, than that they should begin it on an Account which might procure them many unwise Friends in England, or at a Time when we might not perhaps be in so good a Condition to defend ourselves.

The Reply was to the following Effect, viz.

I shall grant, Sir, that where a Magistrate by any egregious and supine Negligence, allows a Crime to be committed, which he may easily, and ought to have prevented, he might be considered as some Way guilty of that very Crime; but surely, when a Magistrate does all he could, when he uses every Expedient any of those about him could suggest, for preventing the Committing of any Crime, he ought not to be deemed guilty of that Crime in any Degree, because it afterwards appears, that he might have used other Measures, by which the Committing of the Crime might have been prevented; for the Deficiency of human Prudence and Foresight appears in nothing more than this, that there is hardly any Misfortune happens to us, but what upon Reflection we find might have been easily prevented, if we had foreseen all the Circumstances before they happened, as clearly as we see them after they have happened. The unfortunate Person, whose Conduct is now under our Consideration, I shall not suppose to be one of the wisest or most ready-witted Men in the World; but I am convinced there are many now find Fault with his Conduct, who would have been guilty of the same Mistakes, and perhaps worse, if they had been at that Time in his Situation.

As for the Crime that was then committed, I shall most readily join with other Gentlemen in declaring my Detestation of all those that were concerned in it; but I am surprized to hear Gentlemen represent it as one of the most cruel, that was ever committed by the People of any Country. In all Countries, Sir, where the legal Punishment is not proportioned to the Heinousness of the Offence,

the People are apt sometimes to interpose: Where the Punishment is too severe, they too apt, as often as they can, to prevent the Effect of legal Justice; but when the legal Punishment is not so severe a Punishment as the Crime deserves to meet with, they in that Case sometimes take Occasion to administer what may be called popular Justice. Of this we have had lately several Examples in England, especially with respect to the Crime of Perjury. Within my Memory, there have been 2 or 3 Men murdered upon the Pillory by the Mob of Westminster; and yet I have never heard it said that the People of England were of a cruel Disposition, nor was there ever any Bill of Pains and Penalties brought into Parliament against the City and Liberty of Westminster, for neglecting to prevent such audacious and cruel Murders. In such Cases the People may be said to bring the Criminal before the Tribunal, not of their Inhumanity, but of their Justice; and tho' they sometimes punish with Death, yet they cannot truly be said to embroil their Hands in the Blood of a Criminal, who ought to have been hanged by the Law, if the Punishment had been proportioned to the Crime.

When I say this, Sir, I would not have it thought that I approve of any of the Murders that have in this Manner been committed in Westminster. No, Sir, I think the Distribution of popular Justice, as well as Mercy, ought in all Cases to be prevented; but how? By proportioning the Punishment in all Cases to the Crime, by shewing Mercy to all that deserve it, and to none that do not. I likewise would not have it thought that I approve of the Murder of Porteous, when I say what I am going to say of that unlucky Criminal. But some Gentlemen have talked so much of the Cruelty and Barbarity of his Murder, that they seem to have quite forgot the Murders he had committed, and for which he was condemned by the Laws of his Country. As this may bias Gentlemen a little in their Opinion with respect to this Bill, I must beg leave to explain that Matter a little. Before the Riot-Act, Sir, the Laws of Scotland were so far from allowing the Use of Fire-Arms for quelling Riots, that in the Act of King James VI. of Scotland and 1st of England, which indemnifies the Magistrates of Edinburgh and their Assistants, if any Person should be killed by them in quelling a Riot, there is this express Provision, *providing it be with long Weapons, and not by shooting Haquebuts, or the like.* By Haquebuts is there meant the Fire-Arms then usually made use of. Now by the Riot-Act how does this Case stand? If any Man fires, or gives Orders to fire, upon a Mob before the Proclamation is read, or before the Hour after reading is elapsed, he certainly must be tried by the Law, as it stood before that Act was made;

and in *Scotland* the Jury must always bring it in, Murder, or *Se Defendendo*; or if they bring it in special, the Judges must determine it to be the one or the other; there being no such Thing as *Manslaughter* in that Country. Even in *England*, I believe, the Jury would always bring it in, Murder, if the Person who fired, or gave Orders to fire, was under no great Necessity of Firing; because no Man can be supposed to fire deliberately, or to give deliberate Orders to fire upon a Crowd of People, without a malicious Intention; unless he be brought under a Necessity to fire, either in Defence of his own Life, or for the Sake of executing that Duty which the Law commands him to execute; and as neither of these was the Case of *Porteous* at the Execution of *Wilson*, therefore, if he either fired or gave Orders to fire, which the Jury had found, and the People believed he had, he was certainly guilty of all the Murders then committed. So that whatever Neglect the Provost or Magistrates of *Edinburgh* were guilty of, I hope it will not be thought that *Porteous* was altogether innocent; at least he certainly was not so in the Eyes of the People.

There are, without Doubt, many Precedents of the Parliament's proceeding by Bill against real Criminals or notorious Offenders; all the Precedents that have been mentioned were for punishing most flagrant Crimes; but this is, I believe, the first Bill of Pains and Penalties that was ever brought in against Men who had been guilty of no Crime, nor, I think, of any very gross Negligence or Oversight. There are likewise many Precedents of grievous Punishments inflicted upon Communities; but most of them are such as I hope will never be followed in this Reign; for I shall always think severe Punishments a bad Method to prevent Crimes: It is the Method usually made use of under tyrannical Governments; therefore, I hope, I shall never see it established or practised in this Kingdom. For this Reason I shall always be against punishing the Innocent for the Sake of the Guilty; because I think all the Ends of a good Government may be answered without such Severity, and I shall never be for any of those Measures, that are proper for answering the Ends of a bad.

The Articles of Union, Sir, are Fundamentals which ought not to be altered, nor can be altered, even by a *British* Parliament, without the almost unanimous Consent of both Nations. Some of the Articles, indeed, are by an express Clause in the Article itself made alterable by the Parliament of *Great Britain*; but the 21st Article is none of those; and what makes that Article still more unalterable, as I had the Honour to be a Member of that *Scottish* Parliament which made the Union, I remember this very Article was proposed to be made alterable by the Parliament of *Great Britain*; a Motion was

made for that Purpose, and after a long Debate, the Motion was, upon a Division, rejected by a great Majority. If the People of *Scotland* in general should by Petitions desire an Alteration of any Article, and the People of *England* should not oppose it, the Parliament might then certainly take it into their Consideration, and might do as they thought fit. This was the Case, or pretended to be the Case, with respect to Patronages; for, 'tis well known, there was at that Time a very considerable Part of *Scotland* who favoured that Bill, and the Majority of the *Scottish* Members in both Houses were for it; which is very far from being the Case of the Bill now before us. But besides, Sir, 'tis a Mistake to say, the Restoring of Patronages was an Infringement of any Article of the Union; for that Article which secures the *Presbyterian* Church Government, secures it as established by the 5th Act of the second Session of the first Parliament of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and by the Declaration of the Estates, containing the Claim of Right, dated *April 11, 1689*; both which are expressly recited in the Preamble of that Article; and since Patronages were not taken away either by that Act, or by the Claim of Right; since they were taken away by a subsequent Act, I mean the 23d Act of the same Session; therefore it cannot be said that the Method of presenting Ministers in *Scotland* by a popular Election, was established by any Article of the Union; consequently the *British* Parliament had a full Power to restore Patronages, whenever they had a Mind.

As Watching and Warding in *Edinburgh* has been taken away by Act of Parliament, they cannot return to it, nor can they appoint Watchmen, without an Act of Parliament; so that if you take away their Guard, you leave them quite defenceless against House-breakers, Street-Robbers, and dissolute Fellows: And as to the Collecting their Revenue, or preventing Smuggling, surely an Officer, with a Gate shut in the Night-Time, may do both more effectually, than half a Dozen can do without any Gate. Then in case of a Rebellion, such as that in the Year 1715, the Government may perhaps have so much Occasion for their Forces elsewhere, as not to be able to spare a Regiment either to be quartered in the Cannon-Gate or Castle, which was really the Case at that Time. 'Tis true, the City of *Edinburgh* did nothing then but what was both their Duty and their Interest; they did nothing but what they thought was both their Duty and their Interest; but if ever such a Thing should happen again, this Bill may cause them to look upon both their Duty and Interest as engaged on the other Side of the Question; for I am sure no Gentleman in this House will preach up passive Obedience to that or any other Part of the Nation.

With

With respect, Sir, to the Year's Imprisonment to be inflicted on the Provost, it seems to be allowed, that it would be too severe, if the Government should please to make it so; but say Gentlemen, we are sure this Government will not; and therefore it can be no Rule to a future Parliament, when we happen to be under a rigorous Administration. Sir, can we suppose any future Parliament will tell their Administration so? Can we suppose that any Gentleman will rise up in this House and tell a Prime Minister, *What such a Parliament did can be no Rule for us, because the Nation was then under a wild Government, whereas we are now under a cruel one.* I am much afraid, Sir, I shall never hear such a free Speech in Parliament, even should there be Occasion for it, which I hope there never will. The worst Precedents are often made under the best of Kings; and being once made, it becomes dangerous not to allow them as Precedents under the Reign of a bad one; when they are certainly made a wrong use of, therefore the good Opinion some of us have of the present Administration, will not, I hope, lead us into the Making a Precedent, which may hereafter be made a bad Use of; and surely the Preamble of the Bill can be no Reason for our doing a wrong Thing, because we may alter it at pleasure.

Now, Sir, I must beg leave to answer some of these Objections that have been made to the Behaviour of the Provost and Citizens, in order to fix upon them, what 'tis pretended, they are to be punished for, a criminal Neglect. As to Mr. Baily and Mr. Dth, I think it is a sufficient Objection to their Evidence, that neither of them ever went near the Provost to acquaint him with what they had heard; for if they believed there was any Ground for what they heard, they were in Duty bound to do so. But besides this, the Character of one of them has been made sufficiently known to you, by some of your own Members. We have therefore much the strongest Reason to believe the general Report was for the *Wednesday*; we have not the least Proof of the Provost's having ever heard that any other Day was appointed; and it was most natural to suppose *Wednesday* would be the Day, if any such Thing was intended, because the Mob could, not till then, be certain that any Reprieve had been granted. Supposing then *Wednesday* to be the only Day the Provost had ever heard of, he had taken sufficient Resolutions for that Day, considering the Report was repeated to him by every Body as an idle Report; and it would have been imprudent to have issued any Orders in pursuance of those Resolutions, before *Tuesday* Night; because it would have been giving Notice to the Mob of what was intended against them, which might have made them resolve upon an immediate Execution, of their

Design. As for the other Proceedings which 'tis pretended, the Provost might have taken for the Security of *Parsons*, they were impossible, or very imprudent. To remove *Parsons* was what the Provost could not do, he was by his Sentence to be kept in that Prison, and carried from thence to the Place of Execution; and to plant Detachments of the Guard in the Prison, and the Judiciary Room, would have been very imprudent; because it would have weakened the Guard, by which Means the Mob might the more easily have got Possession of the Guard-Room and Town; which, if they had once done, they would certainly have set fire both to the Prison and the Judiciary Room, if the Soldiers had fired, and killed any one of them.

As the Provost was no military Man, as he knew not what express Instructions General *Moyle* had, he had good Reason to believe, and certainly did believe, that a verbal Message at such a Conjunction, delivered by a Gentleman of such Credit and Character, would have been sufficient. This prevented him from desiring any of his Friends to run the Risk of carrying a written Order, and likewise prevented his making any Application to the Commandant in the Castle; to whom he had never applied upon any former Occasion, nor did he know that he could upon any Pretence leave his Garrison. As for the Attempts made by the Provost to quell the Mob, all the Witnesses agree he did as much as a Man of Prudence and Courage ought; which Testimony cannot, I think, be in the least impeached by *Stewart's* Evidence, considering how he perjurated in several Circumstances, and the Improbability of what he says; and as for his reading the Proclamation, it was of no Use, because if the Troops had come to his Assistance, there would have been no Occasion for firing, or they would have had a good Pretence for firing before they got into the Town; for if none were concerned in the Tumult but such as then appeared active in it, they would have disappeared upon the first Approach of the Troops; but if most of those who were in the Streets were actually engaged to assist in case of Need, as soon as they heard of the Troops beginning to march, the Town Magazine, and every Gun-Smith's, Sword-Cutler's, and Powder-Shop in Town would have been broke open and strict in an Instant; and the Troops would certainly have had a Fire made upon them from the Mob, upon their first Approach to the *Nether-Bow*; for the Misdemeanor of the Mob in *Scotland* generally is, that they do not content themselves with Clubs, Stones, and Brick-bats, but immediately fly to Arms, and else upon them wherever they can find them.

But above all I am surpris'd, Sir, to hear the Conduct of the Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*, after the Tumult, found fault with,

when we have the Testimonies of two Honourable and learned Gentlemen of this House in his Favour. We have been told one of those Persons he sent out to make Discoveries, returned, and said, he believed he knew one of the Rioters. Yes, he did so; but have not we been told that, that very Person afterwards refused to confirm what he had said upon Oath? And as to the Person that was seized next Morning and afterwards discharged, if there was any Fault in that, it was none of the Provost's, for he was not there, nor was any Way consulted in the Affair. But the Truth is, there was no Pretence for detaining that Person: Those who seized him had no Ground of Suspicion against him, nor could they say they had seen him guilty of an illegal Action; unless staring upon the Body of a Man hanging upon a Sign-Post be a Crime by the Law of Scotland, which I am told it is not. In short, Sir, the Provost of Edinburgh seems to be like an unfortunate General, who has lost a Battle by the Fault of one of his Under-Officers: That very Officer endeavours to find fault with his Conduct, and to shew how he might have prevented the Defeat by a different Disposition, or by doing such and such Things, which it is always easy to shew, and to give plausible Reasons for, after the Action is over. But upon such Occasions, if a Man does all a prudent Man could do, if he neglects no good Measure suggested to him, surely he is not to answer for the Success. Bad Success may be a Reason for condemning a Man in a Turkish Divan, but never will, I hope, in a British Parliament. If it ever should, we may begin with Disabilities and Imprisonments, but we shall come at last to Decollation or the Bow-String.

As for the Behaviour of the Citizens before and after the Tumult, there is not the least Proof against them, there is nothing but Conjecture; and tho' it may be laid down as a Rule in this House, that a Community may be punished for the Fault of some of its Members, yet, I hope, Sir, this will never be done upon Conjectures only. Then as to the Behaviour of the Citizens during the Riot, there is one Scotch Act of Parliament, which will justify their Conduct against every Thing that has been said against it. I mean an Act passed in the ninth Parliament of Queen Mary of Scotland, intituled, *An Act for Stanching Tumults within Burghs*. By which it is enacted, That none of the Subjects shall convene or assemble within any Burrough for suppressing a Tumult, or arm themselves with any warlike Arms for that Purpose, without Orders from the Magistrate; so that the Citizens of Edinburgh, tho' assembled in the Streets, could not by Law attempt to suppress the Tumult, or to arm themselves for that Purpose, without Orders from the Pro-

vost; and why the Provost could give no such Orders had been already explained.

Now, Sir, as to the Fine that has been proposed, I am sure it can be justified by no Precedent either in England or Scotland. The Amercing of a Hundred, if they allow a Murderer to escape, or obliging the Hundred to make good the Damage in Case of a Robbery within it, takes Place only if the Escape or Robbery was in the Day-Time; this Murder at Edinburgh was in the Night-Time: The obliging a City, Town, or Hundred, to make good the Damage, when a Meeting-House is riotously pulled down, stands enacted by that famous Law called the Rice-Act, which is a Law that I hope will never be extended either by Statute or Practice. And the Money paid by the City of Glasgow, was not by Way of Fine, but by Way of Damages, according to a Bill of Damages proved in Parliament by the Gentleman who suffered: To which I must add, that that Tumult at Glasgow, I believe, happened in the Day-Time, and therefore was more heinous with respect to the City of Glasgow, than this that happened at Edinburgh. Surely it cannot be said that this 2000*l.* is to be paid by Way of Damages to the Relief of Parsons; for the City of Edinburgh has already made her a full Satisfaction on that Account.

Before I have done, Sir, I must declare, that in this whole Affair of the Tumult at Edinburgh, I think the Commanding Officer of his Majesty's Troops acted both like a wise Man and a good Officer. I am sorry it should ever be necessary to call his Majesty's Troops to the Quelling of any Riot: I am sure they were never designed for that Purpose: It is a Service by which they never can gain any Honour; and it is a Service which has been for many Ages sufficiently performed in Britain by the Civil Magistrate, without the Assistance of regular Troops; therefore no Officer ought ever to lead his Troops out to any such Service, without the most express and explicit Orders in Writing from that Civil Magistrate; whose Orders he is by his Instructions obliged to obey; in order that that Civil Magistrate, and not he, or the Troops under his Command, may be made to answer for any Thing that may happen to be done contrary to Law: In this Case therefore, the Commanding Officer was greatly to be commended for refusing a verbal Message, and yet the Provost is no Way to blame, because this is the first Time the Question has come in dispute, and therefore he might at that Time believe, that a verbal Message would be sufficient.

Sir, as I am no Scotchman, as I never was in that Country, I may be allowed to add a few Words in favour of it. I am sorry any Thing should ever happen in Parliament, that should give the least Occasion to make any

new Distinctions between the Nations of *England* and *Scotland*, which has been one of the unlucky Consequences of bringing in such a Bill; I wish it may be the only one. I am sure, if ever a Nation deserved good Usage from another, the *Scots* deserve it from us. At the Time of the Union, and in that Treaty, they trusted their All to our Honour, our Justice, and our good Nature. They made Terms, 'tis true, but they trusted the Performance of those Terms entirely to our Honour; because they reserved to themselves no Power, no legal Power at least, to compel a Performance. For this Reason I shall always be extremely cautious of doing any Thing, or giving my Assent to any Thing, that may be thought to be a Piece of Injustice or Partiality even by the *Scots* themselves. I should be grieved to see my Countrymen taking Advantage of the Superiority of their Numbers in both Houses of Parliament, in order to cram any Thing down the Throats of the People of *Scotland*; and therefore, whatever Proposition may be made in Parliament, relating to *Scotland*, its being so unanimously opposed by the whole *Scotch* Members, as this has been, will always with me be a very strong Reason for voting against it.

Some Gentlemen seem to have very little Apprehensions from any Resentment the *Scots* can shew; but if by Injustice and Oppression we should unite that whole Nation against us, they may come to make us feel their Resentment as they have often done before. In such a Case we are not to trust to the Superiority of our Power. In *Edward* 1st's Time our Power was at least as much superior as it is at present. *Edward*, by Stratagem or otherwise, got the greatest Part of *Scotland* to submit to him; and if they had met with civil and just Treatment, that Submission might have continued: But they were oppressed, and that Oppression raised such a Spirit among the People, that a private Gentleman, *Sir William Wallace*, opposed with Success for many Years the whole Power of *England*, and I may add, of many of the Nobles of *Scotland*. 'Tis true, that Gentleman was at least infamously betrayed by some of his own Countrymen, and was executed at *London*; but what was that to the Purpose? it did not allay or abate the Spirit of the People; *Sir William* did gloriously in the Cause of his Country, and his Countrymen found a new Leader in King *Edward*'s own Court, who restored them to their Liberties and Independency; for a brave and desperate People will always find a Leader, when a favourable Opportunity offers for calling them to Arms.

We are not to form an Idea of what we have to apprehend from the Resentment of the People of *Scotland*, when all united together, from what happened in the Year 1715. We know there was but a small Part

of that People engaged in that Rebellion; and small as it was, if the Promises that had been made to them by their Friends in *England*, had been performed, I am afraid they would have shook, if not overturned the *British* Throne. They had at that Time neither a Leader experienc'd in War, nor Friends that could give them any Assistance. Accidents may, if Occasion offers, furnish them with the former, and Experience will make them look out for such Friends as they may depend on. For this they cannot be at a Loss: We know how many ancient Leagues have been between *France* and *Scotland*: We know what Honours and Privileges the *Scots* formerly enjoyed in that Country: We know what Respect and Esteem they still meet with; and deservedly meet with, in that Country. They have more than once greatly contributed to prevent that Country's being conquered by *England*; and if we should reduce them to the fatal Necessity of submitting to the one, or of being oppressed by the other, they may hereafter contribute towards *England*'s being conquered by *France*. We are now by the Union made one and the same People: While we continue so, as we are an Island, as we are in some Manner a World by ourselves, we may, by good Management, give Laws to the World; but if we should revive our old Distinctions and Animosities, we shall expose ourselves to be not only invaded and insulted, but perhaps conquered, by our Neighbours upon the Continent. In Case of any such Misfortune, the People of *England* will always be the greatest Sufferers, as they have always heretofore been; because, as we enjoy the most fertile and best Part of the Island, the Conquerors will settle here, and will rather court the Friendship, than be at the Pains to conquer the Country of the People of *Scotland*. If Gentlemen would consider this, I am sure they would avoid every Thing that might in the least tend towards reviving the Distinction and Animosity that subsisted so long, and so much to the Detriment of each, between the People of the *South* and *Northern* Parts of this Island; and as this must be the certain Consequence of the Bill now before us, I wish it had never been mentioned, I am sure it ought not to be passed.

After having thus put my own Countrymen in Mind of their Interest, of their Duty, I must beg leave to put the People of *Scotland* in Mind, that it is their Interest, as well as Duty, to preserve the ancient and happy Constitution of both Kingdoms. If they have a Mind the Articles of Union should be observed, if they have a Mind the Interest of their Country should be regarded, they must oppose all Measures which may render the *British* Parliament entirely dependent upon the *British* Court. If we should ever fall under

under such a Misfortune, that a British King or a British Prime-Minister should have it in his Power to issue his Orders to his Parliament, and that these Orders should for selfish Ends be blindly obeyed by a Majority in each House of Parliament; I say, if ever we should fall under such a Misfortune, the People of Scotland must expect; the Articles of Union will be no more regarded than the fundamental Maxims of the British Constitution. Both will be often sacrificed to the Whim of a Court; or to the Safety, the Ambition, or the Revenge, of a Court-Favourite; but if ever such a Case should happen, which God forbid I hope the People of Scotland will impute nothing that may then happen to them, as the Injustice or Ill-Nature of the People of England; but to that which must then be the Misfortune of both, the Ill-luck of being subject to a whimsical Court, or a revengeful Court-Favourite.

Having thus given the Substance of what was said for and against the Amendments proposed to this Bill, as well as the Bill itself, as fully as we could possibly spare Room for, we shall now acquaint our Readers, that the principal Speakers for the Bill, in all the Debates that happened in the House of Lords, were, the Lord Curzon, the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Sandwich, the Earl of Albemarle, the Lord Down, and

the Lord Loughborough, and those against the Bill were, the Duke of Arundel, the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Cornwall, and the Earl of Ferrers. In the House of Commons, the principal Speakers for the Bill were, Sir Robert Walpole, Sir William Yonge, John Wynn, Esq; General Wode, Mr. Anson, Mr. Sturt, Mr. G. Sturt, and Henry Fox, Esq; and those against the Bill were, Sir William Wynn, Sir John Boscawen, William Sturt, Esq; the Lord Pembroke, Mr. Henry G. G. Esq; the Lord Grey, the Lord G. G., Duke of Devonshire, Esq; John E. Esq; George A. Esq; Peter L. Esq; and John O. Esq;

We have now given some Account of all the very remarkable Debates that happened in last Session; therefore shall conclude with returning Thanks to our unknown Correspondents, who sent us Abstracts of any Debate that happened, or any remarkable Speech that was made; for as we have not published those Abstracts in the same Form they were sent us, these who sent them will see, they have been of great Use to us in drawing up the Substance of the Debate; therefore we hope they will be so far from taking amiss, our not publishing what they sent, in the very Form they sent it, that they will repeat the favour, as often as they have an Opportunity.

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