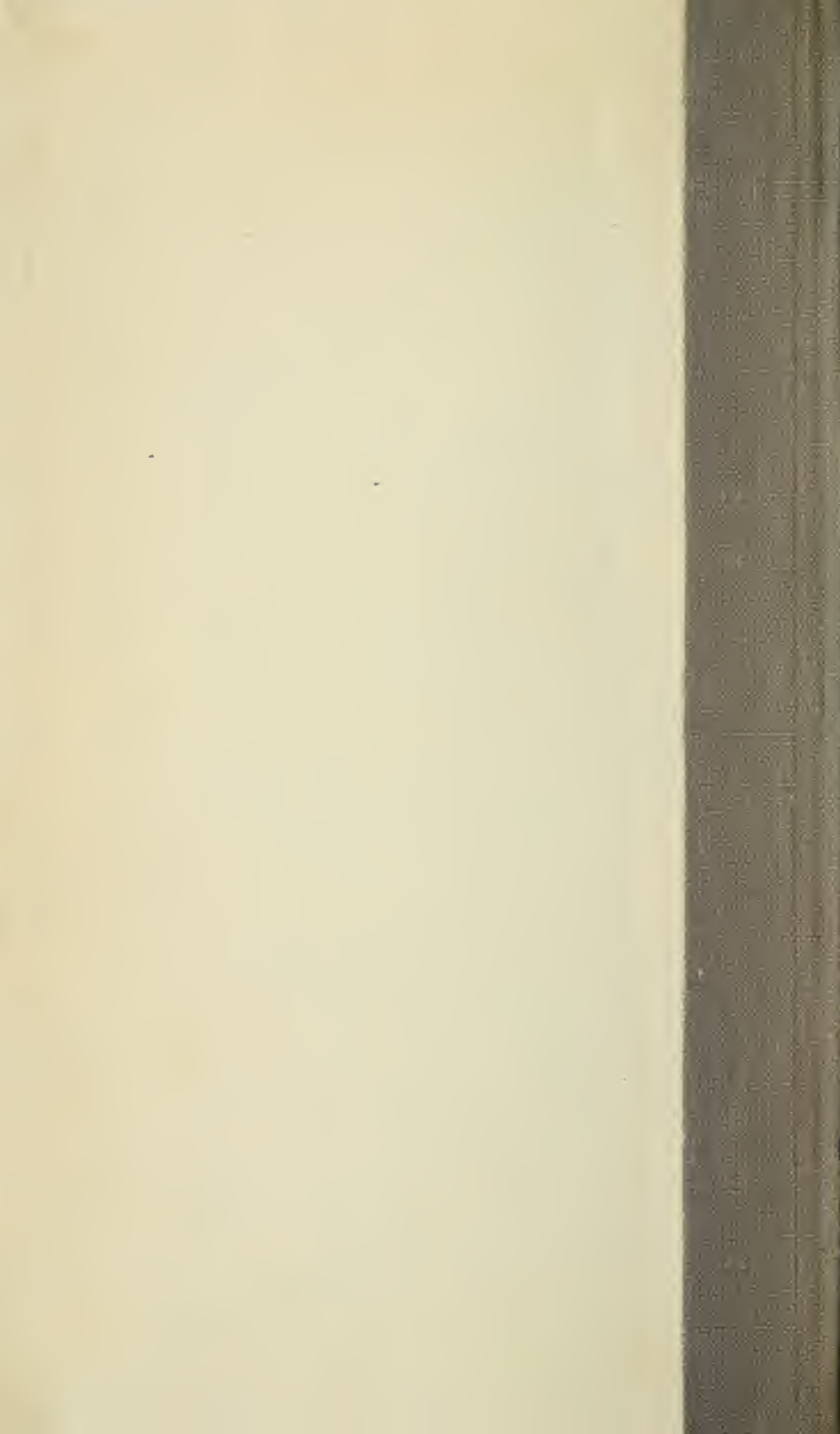
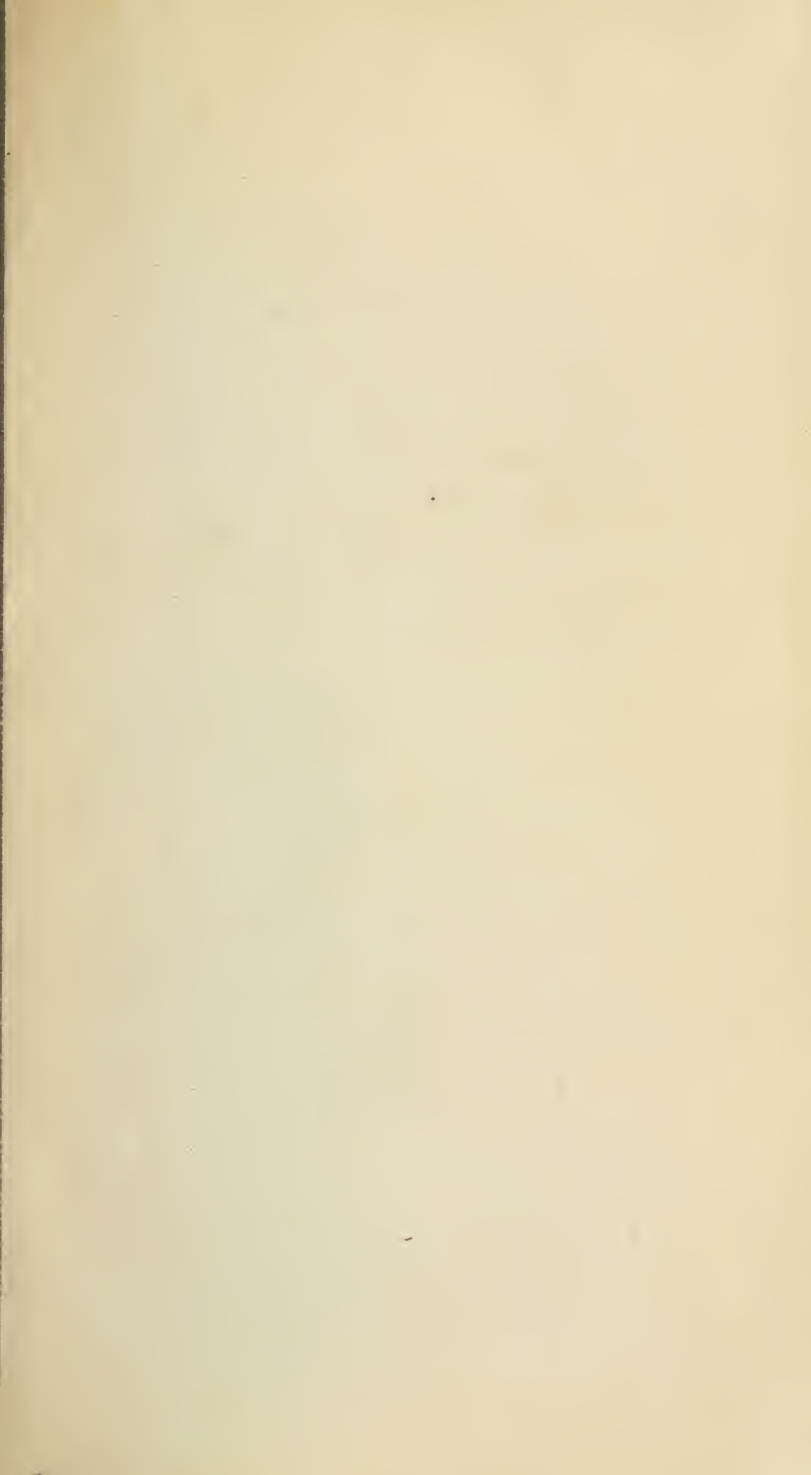
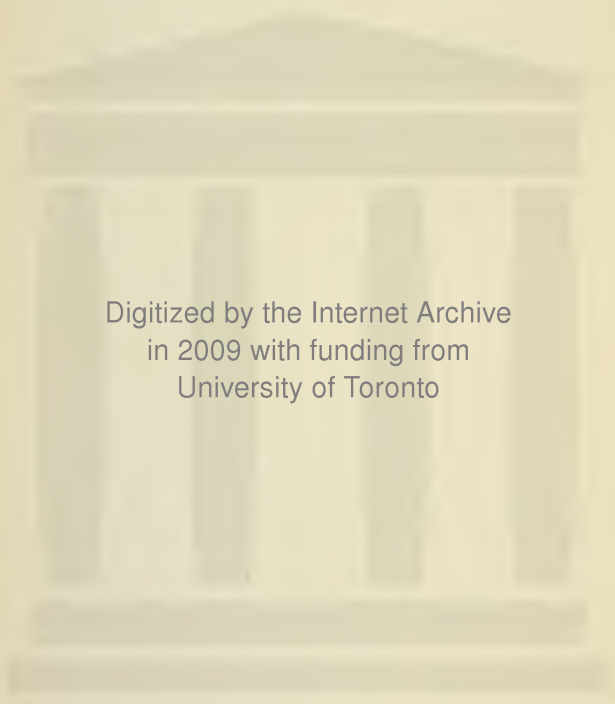


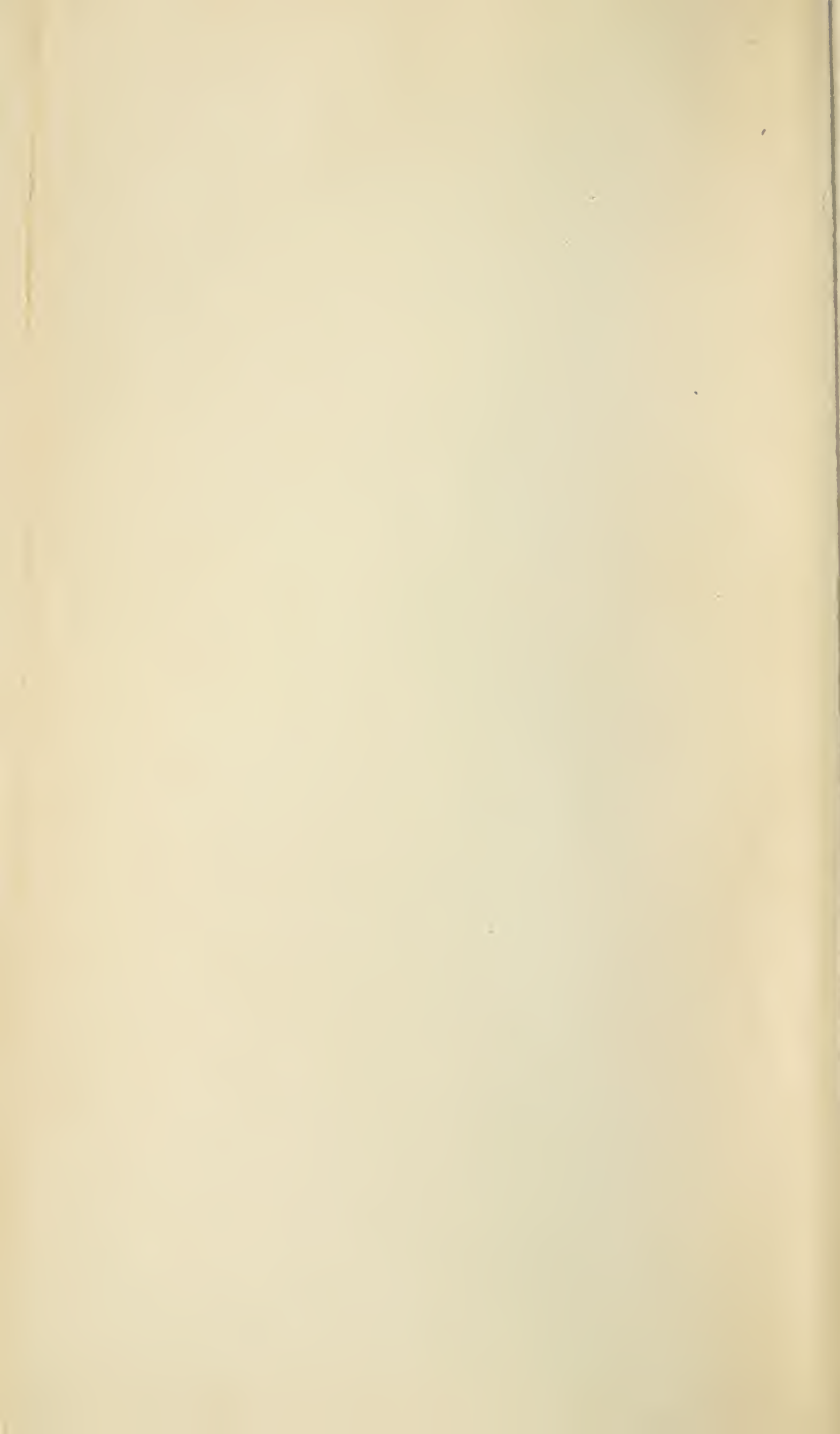
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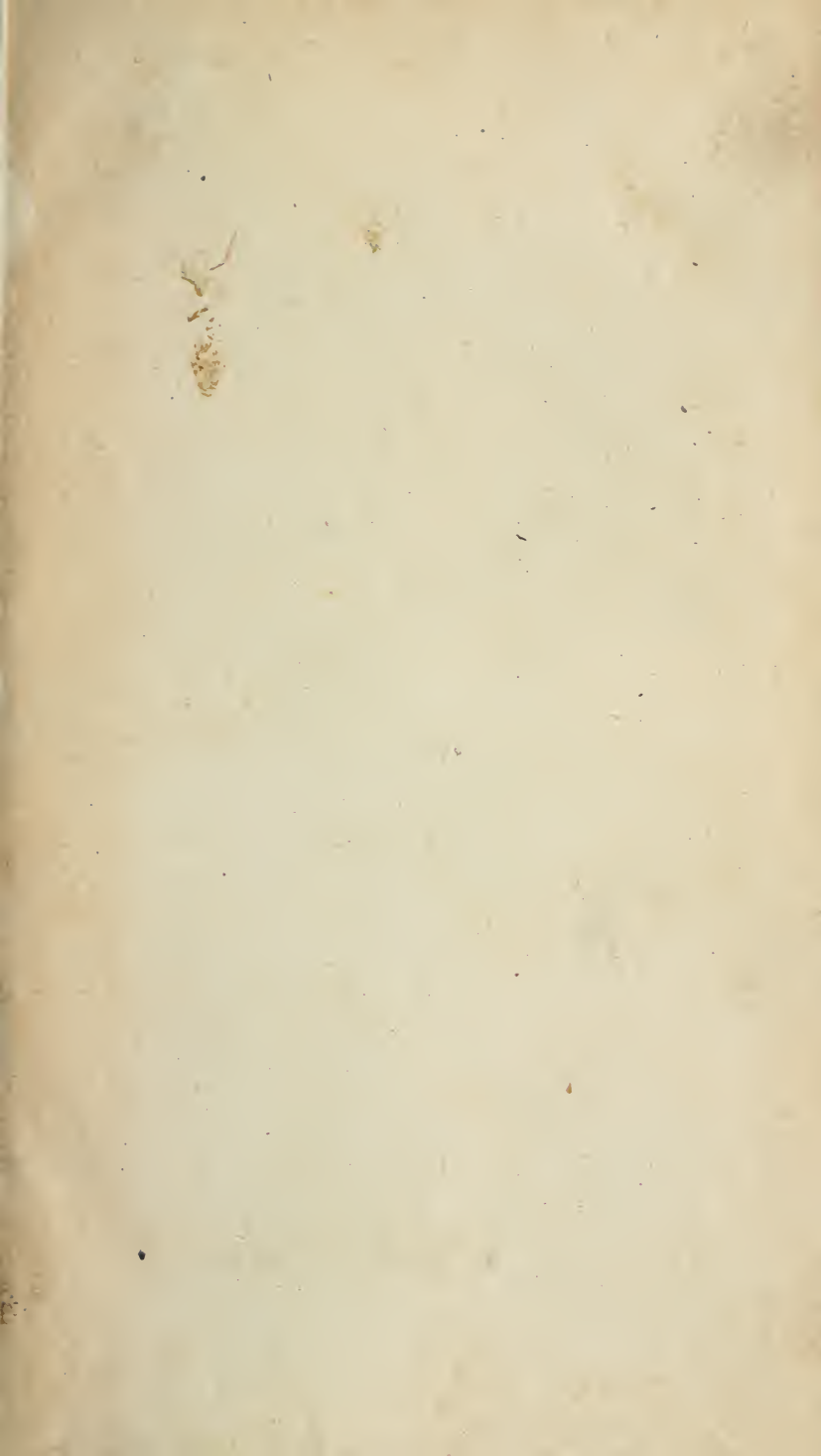






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MEMOIRS
H E C E . B
A OF THE
L I F E,
AND
CONDUCT,
O F

Dr. *Francis Atterbury,*

Late Bishop of Rochester,

FROM

His *Birth*, to his *Banishment*.

Address'd,

To the Rt. Hon. WILLIAM PULTENEY, Esq;

*Ille erat unus timendus ex omnibus, sed tam diu, dum
mœnibus urbis continebatur. Omnia norat : omni-
um aditus tenebat : appellare, tentare, sollicitare
poterat, audebat : erat ei Concilium ad Facinus ap-
tum : concilio autem neque Lingua, neque manus de-
erat. Hunc ego Hominem tam acrem, tam paratum,
tam audacem, tam callidum, tam in Scelere vigilan-
tem, nisi ex domesticis Insidiis compulissẽm ; non fa-
cile hunc tantam molem mali a cervicibus vestris de-
pulissẽm.*

Tull. in Cat. Orat. 3.

LONDON: Printed in the Year, M.DCC.XXIII.
(Price Two Shillings.)

MEMORANDUM

FILE

TO THE

SECRETARY

OF THE

NAVY

DEPARTMENT

WASHINGTON

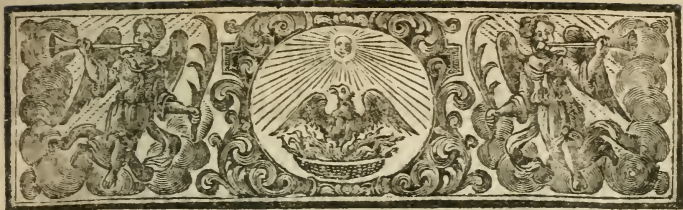
1914

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T O

The Right Honourable
William Pulteney, Esq;

Chair-man of the C O M-
MITTEE of the Honourable House
of Commons, &c.

S I R,



Should think it my Duty to
own my Obligations to the
Committee's great Care in
digesting the Papers that
concern'd the late Bishop of *Rochester*,
and for their judicious Observations
upon them, which have done me
much Service in the following *Me-
moirs* ; but that the Voice of the *Par-
liament* is the Voice of us *All*, and each
private Acknowledgment is concen-

ter'd in the *publick* Thanks of the Nation.

To bring to Light Designs of a black and destructive Nature, cover'd with Obscurity, and carry'd on in *such Disguises, as the most artificial Dexterity could contrive* *: To draw the Conspirator from his lurking Place, even, tho' fled, to hide himself, *to the Horns of the Altar* ; and to set him out, *discover'd and amaz'd*, to the View and Detestation of Mankind, was a Work more peculiarly deserving your great Skill and Penetration, your Accuracy and consummate Judgment, as it had a good Aspect upon the publick Justice, and tended to satisfy Mens Minds both in the Reality of his Guilt, and the Condignity of his Punishment.

What I have done in these Papers, is with a Design subservient to that End. I thought, that to give some Account of a Man, who had made Noise enough here, and was likely to

* See the Lord Chancellor's Thanks to the Committee of the House of Lords.

to make Figure enough Abroad, might not only be some Entertainment to the Curious, but that, to consider him likewise in his several Capacities; to remark his Learning and other Abilities; to trace the Springs and hidden Motives of his Actions; and to disclose the Temper and predominant Passions of his Mind, might be of collateral Use, and some assisting Evidence to the Truth of the Allegations in the Bill against him.

'Tis a melancholy Consideration, Sir, that publick Justice should need any Pen or Apology to support it, or the Complaints in a *Speech*, wherein a Man is suppos'd, even at the Expence of Conscience, to make the best of a bad Cause, should be of more Efficacy to raise uneasy Murmurs, than the united Voice of the Legislature to appease them. *O conditionem miseram, non modo administrandæ, verum etiam conservandæ Reipublicæ*, we may justly say, when we see People thus repining at their Preservation, and grown Sick, and displeas'd

pleas'd with their Escape from Danger!

There is a remarkable Instance of this Murmuring and discontented Spirit among the Jews in the 16th Chap. of *Numbers*. There was a Confederacy, it seems, in the Camp, among the *Heads* of some Tribes, and a Design (as in modern Terms we call it) to subvert the Constitution both in Church and State: God was pleas'd, however, to interpose visibly in the Defence of the Government, and made *the Earth open her Mouth and swallow up the principal Conspirators*. This was a Judgment of such a terrible Aspect, as was enough, one would think, to frighten the most rebellious into Silence and Submission; and yet, the Persons, who were present at this miraculous Conviction of Guilt; who heard the Cries of their Companions *as they went alive into the Pit*; and who fled from their Tents, *lest the Earth should swallow them up also*: These very Persons, I say, the very next Day, came taunting and murmuring against Moses, and
against

against Aaron, saying, ye have kill'd the People of the Lord.

The most dangerous Conspiracy that we meet with in the *Roman History* is that of *Catiline*, a Man every Way qualify'd for such a desperate Enterprize, and yet, when the Consul, so renown'd for his vigilant Conservation of the Common-weal, had discover'd and defeated his Designs, and, by the mere Force of his Eloquence, driven him out of the City ; he was blam'd by the Party, as one that had banish'd an innocent Man *, and invented a Plot for his own Purposes and private Revenge : He was upbraided, too, with the Meannéss of his Family †, and told of an arrogant Assump-

* *At etiam sunt, qui dicunt a me in Exilium ejectum esse Catilinam, quod ego si verbo assequi possem, istos ipsos ejicerem, qui hæc loquuntur.* Tull. in Cat. Orat. 2.

† There is something very remarkable in what the Historian tells us of this *Catiline's* Speech and Behaviour in the Senate-House. *Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso vultu, voce Supplici, postulare a Patribus, ne quid de se temerè crederent : ea familia ortum, ita ab adolescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bonâ in Spe haberet : ne existimarent, sibi patri-*
cio

Assumption of Power, that did not belong to a Person of his Obscurity.

We have an Instance in our own Chronicles, Sir, not unparrallel to what is now before us. In the unhappy Reign of *Rich. 2.* the Duke of *Gloucester*, a turbulent Malecontent, together with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Abbot of *St. Albans*, and several great Men of his Party, had conspir'd to seize the Person of the King, and the chief of his *Ministry*, with a Purpose to murther *All*, except the King (for the Consciences of some of them, it seems, would not allow them to go so far.) The Conspiracy was discover'd, by one of the Confederates, to the King: The King, upon calling a Parliament, laid the whole Matter before the Commons: The Commons, at the Bar of the House of Lords, impeach'd the Duke of *Gloucester*,

cio Homini, cujus ipsius, atque Majorum plurima Beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdit a Republ. Opus esse; cum eam servaret M. Tullius inquilinus Civis urbis Romæ. Vid. Sal. Bell. Cat. p. 25.

cester, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, with several others, of High Treason : They were afterwards all attainted, but the Archbishop, out of Respect to the Sanctity of his Character, was only banish'd, and his Goods confiscated.

Never was there a fuller Discovery, or a more equitable Prosecution of any Conspiracy than this ; and yet, the Clamours and Invectives of the Party, upon this Occasion, undiscourag'd, and conniv'd at too long, assisted the Contrivances of that vile Incendiary the Archbishop so far, as to facilitate, first, a foreign Invasion, and then a dolorous Disposition of that unfortunate Prince.

'Tis no Wonder, indeed, that such opprobrious Cavils and Insinuations should be current among us ; but 'tis a Pity, and may prove fatal, if they should abate the Zeal, or cramp the Sinews of any Man's Administration for the publick Good. The great *Roman* Minister, that I was just speaking

†

ing

ing of, made another Use of Peoples Murmurings against him, viz. the Obligation, that his Advancement in the *State* laid upon him, to be more solicitous for its Preservation, more negligent of the Peoples Envy, and more courageous in the Execution of Justice against Guilt*.

Bé there all the Popularity then that we please in such moving Strains as these ? “ You have stripp’d me of my
 “ Substance, my Preferments, my Functi-
 “ on, my Office, and then sent me where
 “ I cannot subsist ; you have sent me
 “ among Strangers without a Tongue,
 “ without Feet, without Money, and
 “ then hinder’d others, even my very
 “ Children, as well as Friends, from
 “ performing Humanity to me † : And all
 “ this

* *Præclarum vero populo Romano refers Gratiam, qui te, Hominem per te Cognitum, nulla commendatione Majorum, tam mature ad summum imperium, per omnes Honorum Gradus, extulit ; si propter Invidiam, aut alicujus Periculi Metum, Salutem Civium tuorum Negligis.* Tull. in Cat. Orat. 1.

† See the Bishop’s Speech, p. 26, 27.

“ this, after a long and close Confinement,
 “ when harass’d with ill Usage, decrepid
 “ with old Age, and worn out with Sick-
 “ ness ;” Yet, we may fairly ask the
 Question, Were these Things any
 Let or Impediment to him, in the
 gay Time of his guilty Contrivances?
 Was bodily Infirmities, or domestick
 Sorrow, the Sense of his Children, or
 the Endearments of Friends ; nay,
 Was our Religion, our Laws, our
 Liberties, our Lives, all to be ha-
 zarded in *One* bold Attempt, any Bar
 to his Correspondences, or any Re-
 straint upon his Criminal Consultati-
 ons? *Olim istuc, olim, cum ita animum*
induxti tuum, quod cuperes, aliquo pacto
Efficiendum tibi.† He should have
 thought on this, when he set before
 him all the miserable Consequences
 of a Civil War, and, for the Gratifi-
 cation of his dear Ambition, embrac’d
 them *All* ; when he saw before his
 † 2 Eyes

† Ter. Andria. Act. 5. Sc. 3.

Eyes the promiscuous Destruction of Friend and Foe, the Conflagration of Cities, the Devastation of Countries; Rapine, Rage, and Ruine, and all the Dissolution of Fire and Sword; and yet espous'd to himself the Guilt and Danger of being a *Principal* therein. He then relinquish'd his Friends; he then forfeited his Country, and devolv'd the Issues of his own Crime upon his Posterity: When he first engag'd in that desperate Cause; and will he now complain of hard Usage, when *he only eats the bitter Fruit of his own Ways, and is fill'd with his own Devices?*

*Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac Republicæ virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus Suppliciis Civem perniciosum, quam acerbissimum h stem, coercerent.** That Right, which every Government has to preserve and defend itself, that Piety, which every one owes to his
Coun-

* Tull. in Cat. Crat. r.

Country, and Loyalty to his King, makes it *Cruelty* to spare, not to *punish*, where Designs are so *destructive*. 'Tis an Abuse of the Word, and a wrong Notion we have of *Lenity*, when we apply it to the Fomenters of *Rebellion*. That Master of a Family, says *Cicero*, † who would suffer a Servant to murder his Wife and Children, to set Fire to his House, and strike at his own Life with Impunity, is not *meek* and *merciful*, but *cruel* and *inhuman* to the last Degree: And to Persons, who have *this*, and much more in their Projection, *Severity* is

Com-

† *Etenim quero, si quis pater familias, liberis suis a servo interfectis, uxore percisa, incensa Domò, supplicium de Servo non quam acerbissimum sumpserit, utrum is clemens ac misericors, an inhumanus & crudelissimus esse videatur? mihi vero importunus, ac ferreus, qui non dolere ac Cruciatu nocentis, suum Dolorem Cruciatumque lenierit. Sic nos, in his Hominibus, qui nos, qui Conjuges, qui Liberos nostros, trucidare vcluerunt; qui singulas unicujusque nostrum Domos, & hoc univ-
sum Reipub. Domicilium delere conati sunt, si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habebimur, si remissiores esse vcluerimus, summæ nobis Crudelitatis in Patriæ Civinunque pernice, fama Subeunda est. Tull. in Cat. Orat. 4.*

Compassion to our Country, and where 'tis due ; and *Lenity*, a *Mercilessness* of the worst *Denomination*.

It was Prudence in our Governours, therefore, when they were resolv'd to put an effectual Stop to all traiterous Negotiations for the future, to shew an Instance of exemplary Justice upon *One*, who had merited their utmost Indignation, and yet set their Authority at Defiance ; *One*, who had triff'd with Oaths himself, and, by his Practice, taught others to *make a Mock* at Perjury ; had wounded Religion, profan'd his Holy Office, and brought an odious Imputation upon the whole Order, by his frequent Prevarications ; to shew an exemplary Justice upon him, I say, *that others which remain might hear and fear, and thenceforth commit no more such evil amongst us.* Deut. 9.

20.

His

His Preferments and Honours, were the Pensions and Donations of the Crown, and it was but right to reassume them, when the *one* was in Danger of being converted to the Enemy's Use, and *the other*, had been lost and forfeited by Disloyalty. His Heart and Affections were gone from hence, and plac'd on the other *Master*; and 'twas giving him his Wish, rather than inflicting Penalties upon him, to send him, not among *Strangers*, as he complains, but to his *own Company and Confederates*. *

I am figuring to myself, Sir, the Joy and Solemnity of that Day, when he shall come to meet his *old Friends and Fellow-Sufferers*, as they call them, those *Splendid Exiles*, and *Romantick Heroes*, that have barter'd Happiness for a Name, and sold their Country for Poverty and Rags, O, *qui Complexus, & gaudia quanta !* With
what

* *Ut non eiectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad suos esse videatur.* Orat. i.

what Pleasure will their *Mock - King*, and his *Starv'd Minions* listen to their Prelate's Eloquence, and even for a while forget their Hunger and griping Wants, while he recounts the Situation of Affairs here, and magnifies, in his Manner, the Number of his Friends, and Justness of his Cause: I am fancying, I say, (when he comes to his own Story) with what Bitterness of Speech he will inveigh against the Vigilance of a *Ministry*, that no Conspiracy, tho' never so cunningly manag'd, can escape; with what Indignity he will treat the *Justice* of *Parliaments*, which no *Character* or *Consideration* could pervert; and with what seeming Derision mention the KING's most *Sacred Name*, tho' he inwardly dreads, and trembles at the *Sound*.

So spake th' Apostate Angel, tho' in Pain,

*Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep Despair.**

But

* Milton.

But to return : The State of the whole Matter was certainly this--- That there was a Disease got into the very Vitals of the Kingdom, which was to be expell'd ; That the Government had been pester'd with Plots and Insurrections too long, to have any farther Patience ; That something was to be done by Way of Prevention, and to extinguish the Pretender's Hopes for ever ; That Conspiracies were of too dangerous a Nature to be dally'd with, and not punish'd with Severity when found out* ; That the Bishop, on many Accounts, was become a fit Object of such Severity ; His Punishment might be of Use to give others Warning ; and a probable Means to allay the Factions, and recover the Peace and Tranquility of the Nation.

*

These

* *Cœtera Maleficia tum persequere, ubi facta sunt : Hæc nisi provideris, ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra judicium implores. Capta urbe, nihil sit reliqui victis.*
Orat. Catonis in Sal. Bell. Cat. p. 45.

xviii *Dedication.*

These were the Sentiments of the Legislature. And after all, Where are the mighty Penalties that so deeply affect him? I know of none, except it is, his being remov'd from an Opportunity of incurring more Guilt, and of procuring more Mischief to himself, as well as his Fellow-Subjects. He has a fine and plentiful Country before him, if he can but be contented, and Liberty to settle in it, where he pleases: He has an Opportunity of repairing his Health, by the Change of Air, and the Use of such Medicinal Waters, as are proper in his Case; He has an Intercourse, *even here*, granted him by a *Privy-Seal*, and the Comfort of seeing or hearing from his Children indulg'd him: He has had Money enough, more from private Benefactions, than his Preferments wou'd ever amount to; and, (what some wou'd count a valuable Thing, and many make bold to assume, without any legal Imposition,

position) a total Vacation from the Cares and Fatigues of his Function, for Life. So that, with a small Variation, he may justly say, *It is well for me that I have been afflicted, for indigent came I into the Tower, but Opu- lent shall I go out : My Friends gave more, than the Parliament took away ; therefore, blessed be the Name of my Friends.* *

This, Sir, in my Opinion, is the *Whole* of the Severity against him ; but such, as have more frightful Notions of it, have nothing else to do, but to look on him, and learn to be good Subjects.

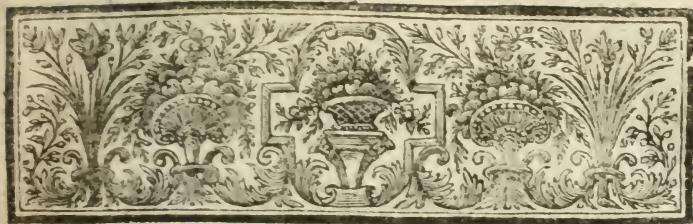
I am, SIR,

Your most Humble,

Most Devoted Servant,

PHILALETHES.

* Alluding to the Close of his Speech.



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ERRATA. Pag. 77. l. 8. for *qui Escam*, r. *quiescam*. p. 100.
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instead of, Finally, to conclude: Now, r. CONCLUSION.
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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE,

WRITINGS, and CONDUCT

OF

Dr. Francis Atterbury,

Late Bishop of Rochester.



THE Case of *Dr. Francis Atterbury*, late Bishop of *Rochester*, has been so long the Subject of a Parliamentary Consideration, and has occasion'd such various Speculations and

B

disse-

different Resentments in Mankind; that the Publication of some true and authentick Memoirs, relating to so remarkable a Man, cannot but be an Entertainment of some Curiosity: And to consider him thro' all the Stages of Life, both in his publick and private Capacities, as a Man of great Wit and Intrigue, both as a *Divine* and *Politician*, a *Scholar* and *Senator*, a *Peer* and *Prelate* of this Nation, may possibly be a Means to settle our Judgments, both with Regard to his real Merit, and the Righteousness of the Law that has pass'd against him.

IN what Manner a Subject of this Nature is to be handled, the Wisdom of the Government has happily set us an Example, by ordering him to be treated with the Respect suitable to his Character, during his Confinement in the Tower; by guarding him against the Insults and Outrages of the People, when he was brought to the Senate-House at any Time; and by granting him some Favours and Indulgencies peculiar, when he came to make his Defence at the Bar: And if this Treatment was then thought his Due, when Mens Passions were up, and Resentments run high against him, it can hardly, after such an Interval of Time, be deem'd any dangerous Civility, I hope, to take a Review of his past Conduct in such a just and impartial Manner, as, to pay to his Character, what is strictly its Due, without

out deducting any Thing from it, but what he himself has thought fit to forego.

HE is now gone and dead, as it were, to us, and it were cruel and inhuman to insult over his Fall, or injure his Memory; he has satisfy'd the Severity of the Law, and when the Law is satisfy'd, the Government is pleas'd, and every Fellow-Subject is allow'd to pity and compassionate the Sufferer. I must be excus'd therefore, if, in the following Sheets, I represent Things nakedly as I find them, without any severe Invectives against the Miserable. I make myself indifferent in the Question, and am, indeed, pre-determin'd in no Particular, unless it be in this, to set the Parts and Abilities of this Gentleman in such a Light, as may recommend him to other Countries; may endear him to Men of all Religions and Persuasions, and gain him a welcome Reception wheresoever he goes.

HIS Notions were a little singular, and his Temper of Mind somewhat too warm for this cold and torpid Climate; they may possibly thrive better, and meet with more Encouragement, when some Degrees nearer the Sun: And it will be a great Pleasure to me, as well as some Commendation to this Work, to hear that our Loss of him has prov'd his Gain; that his Banishment is turn'd into Preferment, and that any Thing I was capable of Writing contribu-

ted to his Advancement Abroad. And in Confidence of this good News, I proceed now to give the World such an Account of him, and of his Transactions, both publick and private, as I have, with some Labour, been able to compile. I think myself, however, no farther concern'd to enter into the minute Particulars of his Life, than to acquaint my Reader that he was the Son of the Reverend Dr. *Atterbury*, Rector of *Milton* near *Newport-Pagnel* in *Buckingham-Shire*. He was educated at the Royal Grammer-School of *Westminster*, and from thence elected to *Church-College* in *Oxford*, where he was soon distinguish'd for his fine Wit, and polite Erudition, and gave the publick a remarkable Instance of the Excellency of his Poetic Vein, in an admirable *Latin* Version of Mr. *Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel*. A Specimen of which will, I hope, be acceptable, and the more so, because this Piece is only to be met with in the Closets of the Curious.

*In pious Times, e'er Priest-craft did begin,
Before Poligamy was made a Sin;
When Man on Many multiply'd his Kind,
E'er One to One was, cursedly, confin'd:
When Nature prompted, and no Law deny'd
Promiscuous Use of Concubine and Bride;*

Then,

*Then, Israel's Monarch, after Heaven's own Heart,
 His vigorous Warmth did variously impart
 To Wives and Slaves: And wide as his Command,
 Scatter'd his Maker's Image through the Land.
 Michal, of Royal Blood, the Crown did wear;
 A Soil ungrateful to the Tiller's Care:
 Not so the rest; for several Mothers bore
 To God-like David, several Sons before.
 But, since like Slaves his Bed they did ascend,
 No true Succession could their Seed attend.
 Of all the numerous Progeny was none
 So Beautiful, so Brave as Absalom:
 Whether, inspir'd by some diviner Lust,
 His Father got him with a greater Gust;
 Or that his conscious Destiny made Way,
 By Manly Beauty to Imperial Sway.
 Early in foreign Fields he won Renown,
 With Kings and States Ally'd to Israel's Crown:
 In Peace the Thoughts of War he cou'd remove,
 And seem'd as he were only born for Love.*

Latinè Redditum.

*Cognovère pias nondum pia secula fraudes
 Arte Sacerdotum, nondum vetuere maritos*

Multiplici

Multipli celebrare jugo connubia leges ;
 Cum Vir *sponsarum* numeraverat agmen, & uni
 Non servire toro, fato adversante, coactus
 Plurima fertilibus produxit stemmata lumbis ;
 Cum stimulos Natura daret, nec legibus ullis
 Et sponsæ & lenæ vetitum est *commune* cubile ;
 Tunc *Israelis*, cælo cedente, Monarcha
 Concubitu vario vernas, nuptasque fovebat :
 Quaque erat Imperij limes, ibi messe feraci
Transcripta Archetypi *sparsim* generatur imago.
 Ornavit Regale caput Diadema *Michalis* ;
 Cultori ingratum, vel quod sterilescerat, arvum :
 Non aliud par hujus erat ; nam plurima mater
 Jam pridem multos utero fatis ubere natos
Jessidi peperit. Sed sacra cubilia vernæ
 Cum premerent, soboles *obliquo* tramite Sceptrum
 Arripuit, spurioque fuit de sanguine Princeps.
 Has inter stirpes eluxerat *Absolon*, ipsâ
 Nec formâ inferior, cessit virtute nec ulli.
 An magè divino Pater inspiratus amore
 Ipsum progenuit *major* libidinis æstro
Præcoci ingenij, vel quod bene conscia fata
 Felicem dederint ad Sceptra *virilibus* ansam
 Formæ *ornamentis*, & iter proclive parassent,

Huic *Fama* in campis sonuit *matura* remotis
 Inviſtumque Ducem agnorant ſocialia Regna :
 Pace minas oculis, animoque excuſſerat arma
 Quælibet, ut natus tantum *videatur* *amori*.

AN equal Elegance has he ſhewn, in his
 Engliſh Poetical Compoſitions, as will appear,
 in the juſt Epigrammatical Turn of thoſe
 Verſes which he wrote upon the Lady's
 white Fan, whom he afterwards made his
 Wife.

Flavia, the leaſt and flighteſt Toy,
Can with reſiſtleſs Art employ :
This FAN, in meaner Hands would prove
An Engine of ſmall Force in Love ;
Yet ſhe, with graceful Air and Mien,
Not to be told, or ſafely ſeen,
Directs its wanton Motion ſo,
That it wounds More, than Cupid's Bow ;
Gives Coolneſs to the matchleſs Dame,
To ev'ry other Breſt a Flame.

WHILE he continu'd in the Univerſity,
 there happen'd, upon a ſlight Occaſion, a
 very famous Controverſy of Wit and Learn-
 ing, wherein he is ſaid to have borne no in-
 conſiderable Part, tho' it was thought proper
 at

at that Time, to have the Honour of it devolv'd upon another. The Occasion of the Dispute, as I remember it, was this, The Honourable Mr. *Boyle*, now Lord *Orrery*, was a Student in *Christ Church*, and under the Tuition of Dr. *Atterbury*, when about the Year 1695, he oblig'd the World with a new Edition of *Phalaris's* Epistles; but complains in the Preface, of Dr. *Bentley*, the King's Library-keeper, upon the Account of a certain Copy, that might have assisted the Edition, had he not deny'd him the Inspection of it, *pro sua singulari Humanitate*. These Words so exasperated the Doctor, that he instantly thought upon Revenge, and finding a Passage in Sir *William Temple's* *Miscellanies*, * wherein he gives vast Commendation to *Æsop* and *Phalaris*, as *two Ancients*, that had excell'd, in their Way, all that ever was wrote by *Moderns*; he hereupon founds

a

* It may be affirm'd, in Favour of the Ancients; That the Oldest Books we have, are still in their Kind the best. The two most Ancient that I know of in Prose, among those we call Profane Authors, are *Æsop's* Fables, and *Phalaris's* Epistles, both living near the same time, which was that of *Cyrus* and *Pythagoras*. As the First has been agreed, by all Ages since, for the greatest Master in his kind; and all others of that Sort have been but Imitations of his Original; so I think the Epistles of *Phalaris* to have more Race, more Spirit, more Force of Wit and Genius, than any others

I

a long Letter to his Friend Dr. Wotton, who had the State of *Ancient and Modern Learning* then under his Pen, telling him, that the Epistles, which went under *Phalaris's* Name, were not to be rank'd among *Ancient Compositions*†; that they were of much later

I have ever seen either Ancient or Modern. I know, several Learned Men (or that usually pass for such, under the Name of Criticks) have not esteemed them Genuine; and Politian, with some others, have attributed them to Lucian: But I think he must have little Skill in Painting, that cannot find out this to be his Original. Such Diversity of Passions, upon such Variety of Actions and Passages of Life and Government; such Freedom of Thought, such Boldness of Expression; such Bounty to his Friends, such Scorn of his Enemies; such Honour of Learned Men, such Esteem of Good; such Knowledge of Life, such Contempt of Death; with such Fierceness of Nature, and Cruelty of Revenge, could never be represented but by him that possessed them. And I esteem Lucian to have been no more capable of Writing, than of Acting what Phalaris did. In all One Writ, you find the Scholar or the Sophist; and in all the Other, the Tyrant and the Commander. Vide Sir William Temple's Essay upon Ancient and Modern Learning, Page 58.

† *That some of the Oldest Books are the best in their kinds, the same Person having the double Glory of Invention and Perfection; is a Thing observed even by some of the Ancients. Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 33. p. 397. But then the Authors they gave this Honour to, are Homer and Archilocus, one the Father of Heroic Poem, and the other of Epode and Trochaic. But the Choice of Phalaris and Æsop, as they are now Extant, for the two great inimitable Originals, is a Piece of Criticism of a peculiar Complexion, and must proceed from a Singularity of Palate and Judgment. See Dr. Bentley's Letter to Dr. Wotton, p. 7.*

Date than their pretended Author, and probably the Work of some Modern Sophist. This he does with a great Shew of recondite Learning, but not so much to convince the World of Sir *William's* Mistake, as to disparage the *Oxford* Edition, and represent the honourable Person concern'd in it, as insufficient for the Work, devoid of all critical Knowledge, and unacquainted with the Author he pretended to publish. It was not long however before there came out an Answer to this Elaborate Piece of Dr. *Bentley's*, but such an Answer, as perhaps never appeared in any Language before: It may be justly call'd the Pride and Glory of the *Moderns*, and a Confutation of all that can be said in Preference of the *Ancients*. There is such an Eloquence of Stile, and Justness of Expression, exact Method, tierce Wit, fine Raille-ry, and genteel Satyr thro' the whole, that whoever is minded to be curiously entertain'd for a while, let him read it; whoever desires to overcome in the Philological Way, let him make it his Pattern, and learn to imitate it. He will soon perceive therein, such a Strength of Genius and Warmth of Invention guided by Art, and kept *in* by the Laws of correct Writing, such an easy Display of Learning, happy Declensions of his Adversary's Force, and foiling him frequently at his own Weapon, as will induce him to be of my Opinion, *viz.* that Dr. *Bentley* was
certainly

certainly cut down by some eminent *Master*, however decent it might be thought at that Time, for a young Gentleman to give him the *Coup de Grace*, and sharpen it with this Sarcaſm, *Pallas te hoc vulnere Pallas im-molat, &c.*

WHAT may convince the World of the Truth of this common Conjecture, is the Figure that he makes in another ſam'd Controverſy, wherein he avowedly ſtands alone, and treats his Adverſary, (no leſs an Adverſary than the Reverend Dr. *Wake*, preſent Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*) in the ſame keen Manner.

To give my Reader a ſmall Inſight into the Grounds of this Controverſy it may not be improper to ſet before him, the Source from whence the Diſpute aroſe.

ABOUT the Year 1696, there came out a Pamphlet, ſuppoſed to be written by the Reverend Dr. *Binckes*, occaſion'd by the Interruption of *Convocations*; and intituled, *A Letter to a Convocation Man, Concerning the Rights, Powers, and Privileges* of that Body. The Principal Matters which that Author inſiſted on, were, 1^{ſt}. The Clergy's Right to frequent Synods, according to the Canons of the Chriſtian Church and Conſtitution of this Realm. 2^{dly}. Their Right of meeting and ſitting in Convocation as often as a new Parliament meets and ſits. And 3^{dly}. A Right of treating and deliberating about ſuch

Affairs as lie within their proper Sphere, and of coming to fit Resolutions upon them, without being necessitated, antecedently to qualify themselves for such Acts and Debates, by a Licence under the Broad Seal of *England*. The Opinions of Men in both Houses of Convocation, were strangely divided about these Questions: Some thought them Rights intirely due to the Clergy, and essential to the Being of Ecclesiastical Synods; Others, introductive of too bold an Independancy, and Encroachments upon Regal Authority, not to be borne. Among those of the latter Opinion, appear'd Dr. *Wake*, and in the Year 1697, published his Book, Entitled, *The Authority of Christian Princes over their Ecclesiastical Synods asserted; with particular Respect to their Convocations of the Clergy of the Realm, and Church of England*. The Design of which Work, was, as he declared in his *Appeal*, &c. no other than to defend the *King's Supremacy*; "I
 " was not so little acquainted, says he, with
 " the Tempers and Designs of a certain Par-
 " ty among us, as not to know that my
 " Undertaking would be likely to displease
 " Those, who think any the least *Authority*
 " that is given to his present *Majesty*, to be
 " an Encroachment either upon their *Civil* or
 " *Ecclesiastical Rights*." And, in another Place, "Thus far, 'tis plain, (adds he) they
 " have gone towards it, that as they have
 " before

“ before shewn the *Church* to be out of
 “ the Protection of the Prince, so they will
 “ by and by declare the Prince to be out
 “ of the *Bosom* of the *Church*, &c” —

The World seem'd to be satisfy'd with Dr.
Wake's Sentiments, till, in the Year 1700,
 Dr. *Atterbury* publish'd (without his Name)
 an Answer to his Treatise, and thus accosts
 the Reader, in his Preface: “ I confess I
 “ came to Dr. *Wake's* Book, with Expe-
 “ ctations of finding there, whatever was
 “ necessary to set this Matter in a clear
 “ Light; the Bulk of the Work, the Ap-
 “ pearance of Learning it carry'd, and
 “ the great Authority by which it endea-
 “ vour'd to recommend itself, all seem'd to
 “ promise Exactness. But upon perusing it,
 “ to my Surprize, I found that it was a
 “ shallow, empty Performance; written
 “ without any Knowledge of our Constitu-
 “ tion, any Skill in the particular Subject
 “ of Debate; upon such Principles as are
 “ destructive of all our Civil, as well as
 “ Ecclesiastical Liberties; and with such
 “ Aspersions on the Clergy, both Dead
 “ and Living, as were no less injurious to
 “ the Body, than his Doctrine.

THE very best Construction, continues, he that
 has been put upon Dr. *Wake's* Attempt by Can-
 did Readers is, that it was an Endeavour to
 advance the Prerogative of the Prince in
 Church Matters as high, and to depress the
 Interest

Interest of the Subject Spiritual as low as ever he could, with any Colour of Truth. But surely this itself is no very creditable Account of it. Those Casuists that have taken Pains to instruct Men, how near they may possibly come to a Sin without actually Sinning, have not been reckon'd the honestest Part of their Profession. And those Divines, who read Lessons to Princes, how to strain their Ecclesiastical Power to the utmost without exceeding it, and oppress their Clergy Legally, are not surely the best Men of their Order. They are Church-*Empsons* and *Dudleys*; and usually find the Fate of such wretched Instruments, to be detested by the one Side, and, at last, abandon'd by the other.

WERE all that Dr. *Wake* says strictly true and justifiable, yet whether the labouring the Point so heartily as he does, and shewing himself so willing to prove the Church to have no Rights and Privileges, be a very decent Part in a Clergyman, I leave his Friends to consider. The World, I fear, is so ill natur'd as to believe that seldom any Man is over busy in lessening the publick Interests of that Body to which he belongs, who does not hope to find his private Account in it. But, when All a Man advances is not only ill design'd, but ill grounded, and his Principles are as false as they are scandalous (as I have evidently prov'd.

prov'd his to be) there are no Names, and Censures too bad to be bestow'd on such Writers, and their Writings.

It was the Abhorrence I had of this unworthy Treatment which the *Reputation* and *Rights* of the Order have found from Dr. *Wake* and of the *Slavish Tendency* of his *Principles*, in Respect both to *Church* and *State*, that gave me Resolutions of exposing the Weakness and Insincerity of his Attempt, and of doing Right to Truth, and an injur'd Constitution.

To this Book of Dr. *Atterbury's*, Dr. *Wake*, in the Year 1703, publish'd a Reply, in Folio, entitled, *The State of the Church and Clergy of England, &c.* In the Preface whereof, he makes this Complaint, " Upon my first Perusal (of what
 " Dr. *Atterbury* had wrote) I saw a Spirit of Wrath and Uncharitableness, accompanying'd with such an Assurance of the
 " then unknown Author's Abilities for such
 " an Undertaking, as I had hardly ever
 " met with in the like Degree before. I
 " perceiv'd that he desir'd, in the direct
 " Reverse of what I had profess'd, to be
 " look'd upon to have written with Care
 " and Deliberation; to have fully search'd
 " into his Subject, and to have been no
 " less plentifully stor'd with Materials of
 " all Kinds for the perfect clearing of it.
 " And tho' I do not think a Man of Pride
 " and

“ and Arrogance, full of himself, and a
 “ Despiser of all others, to be generally
 “ the best qualify’d to know either *Him-*
 “ *self*, or the *Truth*; yet I hop’d I should
 “ here find somewhat to clear the One, and
 “ thereby to attone for, if not to justify, the
 “ Other.

“ IN my Examination of the whole Book,
 “ I found in it enough to commend the Wit,
 “ tho’ not the Spirit of him who wrote it. ---
 “ To pay what is Due even to an Adver-
 “ sary; it must be allow’d that Dr. *Atter-*
 “ *bury* has done all that a Man of forward
 “ Parts, and a hearty Zeal could do, to
 “ defend the Cause which he had espous’d.
 “ He has chosen the most plausible To-
 “ picks of Argumentation; and he has gi-
 “ ven them all the Advantage that either
 “ a sprightly Wit, or a good Assurance
 “ could afford them. But he wanted one
 “ Thing, he had not *Truth* on his Side:
 “ And *Error*, tho’ it may be palliated, and
 “ by an artificial Manager, such as Dr.
 “ *Atterbury*, without Controversy, is, be
 “ disguis’d so as to deceive, sometimes, even
 “ a wary Reader, yet it will not bear a
 “ strict Examination. And accordingly I
 “ have shewn him, notwithstanding all his
 “ other Endowments, (in which if he plea-
 “ ses he shall have my free Consent to
 “ stand above me) to have deluded the
 “ World with a meer Romance; and from
 “ the

“ the one End of his Discourse to the other
 “ to have deliver’d a History, not of what
 “ was really done, but of what it was his
 “ Interest to make it believe had been
 “ done. ——— This I can with great Sin-
 “ cerity profess, and having said it, I shall
 “ have done; *I have not willingly mista-*
 “ *ken, much less have I misrepresented,*
 “ *any Matter of Fact; I have not know-*
 “ *ingly conceal’d any Thing that made*
 “ *against Me: I have asserted nothing but*
 “ *what I verily believe to be the Truth;*
 “ *and I have defended it with nothing*
 “ *but what, after a diligent Examination,*
 “ *I take to be True.* Under this Assu-
 “ rance I cheerfully commit myself, and
 “ my Cause, to the Judgment of all Wise,
 “ and Charitable, and indifferent Persons.
 “ For the rest, and particularly for Dr.
 “ *Atterbury* they have their Liberty; let
 “ them *Think*; let them *Speak*; let them
 “ *Write* as they please of Me.

I RELATE these Passages, to let my Rea-
 der know, with what Spirit and Resolu-
 tion these two Disputants enter’d the Lists:
 How they behav’d, and to whom the Vi-
 ctory fell, is not so well decided. Men
 speak variously, and according as they are
 affected: But the general Opinion is, that,
 however *Truth* might be on Dr. *Wake’s*
 Side, yet the *Appearance of it* was cer-
 tainly with Dr. *Atterbury*; and that, what-

ever he might want in Point of Argument and Fact, he abundantly supply'd by the Elegance of his Stile, his fine Turn of Thought, and Copiousness of Invention; so that, from a dry and intricate Subject, he has furnish'd out a very curious Entertainment for his Reader. The Consequence of the Debate, however, prov'd very advantageous to them both. Dr. *Wake* was soon promoted to the Bench of Bishops, and Dr. *Atterbury* had instantly his Dr. of Divinity's Degree presented him, by the University, and some Honorary Preferments, not long after, conferr'd upon him, for his Performance. All this while he made a considerable Figure in the Church, both as an able Divine, and an eminent Preacher; which is the next Prospect wherein we are to consider him.

AT what Time he enter'd into Holy Orders is not so well known, nor so material to our present Enquiry, 'twas probably before he left the University, and some Time before his Father died, because he certainly made Application to the present Earl of *Nottingham* to succeed in the Rectory of *Milton*, and upon a Preference given to Dr. *Wotton*, there commenc'd, ever after, no good Understanding, between these two great Men. Being disappointed in his Expectation of this Preferment, which he then call'd the Height of his Ambition, and the Matter of his
Option,

Option, the more, because it was the Place of his Birth, he betook himself to Town, where, in a short Time, he distinguish'd himself in such a Manner, that, two Years afterwards, we find Him made Chaplain to *their* MAJESTIES, and Preacher at *Bridewell*; before the President and Governours of this Hospital, and those of *Bethlehem*, on the 16th of *August*, 1694, being the Election-Day, he preach'd a remarkable Sermon in *Bridewell-Chapel*, intitled, *The Power of Charity to Cover Sin*. 'Twas the second that he publish'd, and how fruitful soever he might seem in his Invention, upon the Subject, yet there is certainly an unwarrantable Singularity in his Doctrine, and a palpable Mistake in the Sense of his Text, *Charity shall cover a Multitude of Sins*. 1 *Pet.* iv. 8. *i. e.* not that this Virtue has any Power in it to make an Attonement for any Sins that we ourselves commit; but the plain Sense, in my Opinion, is, that *Charity*, or a sweet and candid Disposition of Mind, which the Apostle says *hopeth all Things, and believeth all Things* for the best, hides and conceals a Multitude of other Men's Offences, as being willing to make their Failings as few as may be, and to put the best Construction upon their *dubious* Actions. So that it is not our own, but other Mens Sins that *Charity* hides; a true Doctrine, and wisely calculated for the Peace of the

World, and Benefit of human Society. But the contrary Opinion is inconsistent with Truth, and destructive of the Notions we have of God and Godliness; for as the Rev. Mr. *Hoadley*, (now Bp. of *Hereford*) in his *Exceptions* to this Sermons, some Years after, 1708, truly says, “ *If God will accept of one Duty* “ *in Lieu of many others, and if our Perfor-* “ *mance of that shall be our Justification, not-* “ *withstanding our Omission of many others.* “ *This is a Sort of Salvation, in my Judg-* “ *ment, unworthy of the Nature of Man to* “ *receive: and unworthy of the Nature of* “ *God to offer. Let me, therefore, (adds* “ *he in the Conclusion) intreat you to re-* “ *view the groundless and pernicious Do-* “ *ctrine you have unwarily taught on this* “ *Subject: Consider, if Charity ought to be* “ *represented as founded upon a Temper in-* “ *consistent with Innocence, and an unspot-* “ *ted Conscience; as productive of Vice, and* “ *Folly, and Madness; as leading to the* “ *Neglect of the Principal Branches of it-* “ *self; and the like: And whether it be-* “ *comes a Christian Divine to set the several* “ *Parts of God’s Law at Variance, and* “ *to make the Performance of one of them,* “ *an Attonement for the Neglect of others,* “ *as indispensibly requir’d; or having done* “ *this, whether it does not become him to* “ *make Reparation for so great an Injury* “ *as must arise from hence to the Gospel,*
and

*and to the Interest of Virtue in the World.**
 Dr. *Atterbury* thought not proper to reply to these *Exceptions*; whether he esteem'd 'em not of sufficient Consequence to be answer'd, or was already fatiated in contesting with that acute and learned Disputant.

FOR not long before, there happen'd a very warm Dispute between these two, upon Account of a Sermon which Dr. *Atterbury* Preach'd at the Funeral of Mr. *Tho. Bennet*, wherein he endeavours to prove, that were there no Life after this, 1. Men would really be more miserable than Beasts; and 2. The best Men more miserable than the worst, so far as Happiness or Misery are to be measur'd from pleasing or painful Sensations; which, upon the Supposition of no future State, he says, are the true Measures of them. This Doctrine was founded upon the Words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. 15. 19. *If in this Life only we have Hope in Christ, we are of all Men most miserable.* But Mr. *Hoadley* shews, and I think with a great deal of Clearness, that he hath both widely mistaken the Sense of his Text, and advanc'd Positions thereupon, that are dangerous and immoral. That the Words of the Apostle consider Christians in a State of bitter Persecution, not of Ease
 and

* See, Mr. *Hoadley's Tracts*, p. 224. collected into One Vol. 8vo. Anno 1715.

and Tranquility, and their Misery as the Consequence of the World's ill Usage of them, more than any Restraint or Self-denial, that they are bound to put upon their Appetites. *The Apostle, says he, speaks of Christians professing Faith in Christ; You speak of Persons practising the Moral Precepts of Religion: The Apostle speaks of the Condition of such Christians, in a State of the most bitter Persecution; You speak of the Condition of Virtuous Persons, in the ordinary Course of God's Providence. The Apostle means nothing by his Assertion and Supposition, but to shame ignorant unwary Professors of Christianity, out of a Denial of a general Resurrection; You on the contrary, draw from your Supposition and Assertions, an absolute Argument for the Certainty of a future State. So that upon the Review, it seems evident, that you have mistaken the Assertion itself, which the Apostle layeth down in the Text; the Persons concerning whom he intends it, the Times to which he manifestly limits it, and the Conclusion which he design'd should be drawn from it* * . Nor is it only this Misinterpretation of the Text that he blames, but when he comes to examine into the Doctor's Positions, he finds them so grossly Culpable.

* Vid. *Bp. Hoadley's several Tracts, the First Letter to Dr. Francis Atterbury*, p. 111.

pable, and argues against them with such a warm Commendation of Virtue, and Disparagement of Vice, that I could not but think it no disagreeable Entertainment to the Reader, to set before him, a Passage or two to that Purpose. *One would have thought, says he, speaking of the Position, that Brutes are happier than Men; that even supposing no Other State after This, it were some Advantage to be made capable of knowing God; of imitating him; of seeing him in his Works; of studying and finding out Truth. One would have thought, that the Pleasures of true Learning and sound Sense, the Pleasures of Friendship and honest Society, of interchanging mutual good Offices, of contributing to the Ease and Happiness of our Fellow Creatures, and of the Practice of many Virtues, which are Happiness itself, might have been worth the mentioning; but it seems, these are nothing in themselves, when compar'd with the noble Pleasures which the Beasts so freely enjoy. Is it of no Account, says he, speaking of the other Position, That wicked Men are not so miserable as the good; that wicked Men follow their Inclinations in Contradiction to their Reason? Or is this an happier State, than to follow Reason and imitate God, in Contradiction to Inclination? Does not the latter necessarily leave the Man in an happier present State, than the former? Or*

are

are the *Lashes of Conscience* of no manner of *Consideration*? Is it of no *Account*, that the *intemperate Pursuit of the Pleasures* the *Wicked* chuse, destroys even their own *Design*, and leads them into a *Thousand Sickneses, Disturbances, Perplexities, Deaths*, which the *virtuous* keep off by their *Temperance and Chastity*, and *Command over their Appetites*? Is it of no *Account*, that *Envy, Malice, Revenge, Insatiable Desire of Riches or Honours*, are present *Unhappineses in themselves*, and that the *Virtue* contrary to them, are *Peace and Harmony, and Quiet*? Is it of no *Account*, that many *Vices* impair the *Health*, destroy the *Vigour of the Mind*, hasten *Death*, ruin *Estates*, disturb *Families*, render Men the *Scorn and Contempt of the good Part of the World*? Is it, lastly, of no *Account*, that wicked Men are as liable to *Sickness and Afflictions* as the good, and want those *Supports in them*, which the good and upright enjoy; nay, that their very *Successes in this World*, are very frequently the *Occasions and Instruments even of their present Ruin and Unhappiness*? Your *Positions*, says he, (speaking at last of the evil *Tendency of his Doctrine*,) *deprive the Cause of Virtue of a very good and proper Argument to recommend it to the Tryal of any Persons who are Strangers to it, viz. that it will contribute even to their present Happiness,*
much

much more than *Vice*; that it will more consult the *Ease* of their *Minds*, the *Health* of their *Bodies*, the *Increase* of their *Estates*, the *Establishment* of their good *Name*, all which are, in their several *Degrees*, present *Happiness*. Your *Doctrine* robs even *Christianity* itself, of an excellent *Argument*, viz. That the *Moral Virtues* it recommends, are in themselves infinitely preferable to the *Vices* contrary to them, and much more conducive to the present *Happiness* of *Man* as well as *Future*. It seems to contradict several *Texts* in *Scripture*, which declare at least thus much, that in the ordinary *Course* of *God's Providence*, the *Virtuous Man* does more truly enjoy *Happiness*, even in this *Life*, than the *Wicked*; and gives a wide *Encouragement* to *Men* that have no *Faith*, or a very weak one, concerning future *Rewards*, to disturb *Human Society*, by their inordinate *Pursuit* of *beastial Pleasures*. *

THIS home Charge, and heavy Imputation soon drew, from Dr. Atterbury, a *Vindication* of himself, and his Positions, in a large Preface affixt to his Volume of Sermons, 1708, wherein, by the Help of some Explanations and necessary Restrictions, he endeavours to assoyl the Credit of his Do-

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ctrine,

*Vide Ibid. p. 114, &c.

Strine, and, by a long Induction of Authorities, and learned Names, to avoid the Charge of Novelty, and shew the World, that the general Current of Divines, (of *English* Divines especially,) was of his Opinion. This *Vindication*, however, was wrote with so keen and Satyrical a Pen, that it drew from his Adversary, in a *Second* long Letter, which he wrote to Dr. *Atterbury*, this heavy Complaint, “As for
 “the uncharitable Usage I have met with
 “from you, without the least Ground, unless for being of a different Opinion, and
 “representing this Difference to you, seriously and gravely, *I pray God not to*
 “*lay it to your Charge.* My Civility you
 “have return’d, by supposing the worst that
 “can be suppos’d of me: By charging me,
 “not with involuntary Mistakes, *but wicked and impious Designs.* The Cause
 “that I maintain is, the Cause of Infidelity, Deist, *Ægyptian*, Rash, Insincere, Malicious, Base, Dishonest, Ignorant, and the like, are the *Christian*
 “Complements which, with an happy Variety of Expression, you pass upon One,
 “who acted a very different Part towards you, and who now forgives you, well
 “knowing, that all the Provocations you can
 “offer cannot justify, what they well deserve, the Return of the like, from a *Christian.*”

It must be own'd, indeed, that Dr. *Atterbury*, in most of his Controversial Pieces, has been Invective enough, and dealt out his Wit and Satyr at a most unmerciful Rate, which, perhaps, may give Pleasure to some Sort of Readers, but contributes very little to the Establishment of Truth: There is one Light, however, wherein he always appear'd advantageously, and with all the Accomplishments imaginable, and that is, in the *Character* of a PREACHER; and herein I am now come to consider him.

THOSE that treat of the Eloquence of the Pulpit, and the Qualifications that are requisite to make an Eminent Preacher, insist more especially on this, that, both in natural, and acquir'd Abilities, he be sufficient to instruct the Reason, and move the Passions of those that hear him. And in Order hereunto they require, 1st, A sound Judgment, and strong Reasoning. 2ly, A laudable and becoming Use of Invention. 3ly, A Stile and Language that benefits the Pulpit. 4ly, A clear and perspicuous Method. 5ly, A Skill in all Parts of human Literature. And, 6ly, A great Discretion and Prudence in chusing proper Subjects,

E 2

and

* Vide Mr. *Hoadley's* Second Letter to Dr. *Atterbury*, *ibid.* Page 207.

and adapting them to Times and Seasons; In all which Regards, among the many great Preachers of our Age, no one, that ever I knew, had happier Talents than Dr. *Atterbury*. His Person was very well made; he had a Gracefulness in his Behavior, and a Kind of Majestick Gravity in his Looks, that bespoke him Reverence, wheresoever he came. His Voice was not strong, but there was something so sweet in his Pronunciation, and so insinuating in his Address, as gain'd him the Possession of an Audience whenever he began to speak: Besides this, he had a quick Penetration, an exquisite Understanding, an easy Comprehension, a sprightly Fancy and Imagination, and solid Judgment and good Sense; all united and combin'd together. No Man had a finer Taste, or was better acquainted with all Kinds of polite Learning than he: No Man was a greater Master of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Writings of all eminent Divines, both *ancient* and *modern*, than he: No Man understood the Points in Dispute between us and the Church of *Rome*, as well as Dissenters of all other Denominations, better than he; but that which gave him a particular Lustre above his Brethren, was the Sublimity of his Subject, which he always either found, or made so, before he left it; the Clearness and Connexion of his Reasoning, the Strength and Purity of his
Stile,

Stile, and that peculiar Art, whereby he first instructs our Understanding, and then by a pleasing Violence, seizes upon our Passions, and leads them Captive where he will, and just as he pleases. To justify in some Measure, this Commendation of him, it may not be improper to set before my Reader, some few Passages out of his Sermons, by way of Illustration of what I have said, and Encouragement of others, to the Perusal of them. In his Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons, on the Anniversary for the Restauration of King CHARLES the II. speaking of the visible Interposition of Providence, in such miraculous Events as attend States and Kingdoms, he has something very magnificent and sublime, *viz.* “ Since we
 “ are apt to forget God’s Administration of
 “ the great Affairs below, *says he*, when they
 “ go on evenly, and regularly, He is pleas-
 “ ed by awakening Notices, now and then,
 “ to put us in Mind of it; to present to our
 “ View some astonishing Revolution of State,
 “ *like a glaring Comet hung up in the Air,*
 “ *whose irregular Motion and Appearance,*
 “ *shall sooner lead our Thoughts up to the*
 “ *Author of Nature, and imprint a deeper*
 “ *Awe of him upon us, than the Sight of*
 “ *the whole Host of Heaven in orderly Ar-*
 “ *ray, continually moving round us.* ” * In
 the

the same Sermon, and on the same Subject, he gives a fine Turn to a common Thought, and, in his manner of expressing it, is extremely beautiful. “ Were it not for such
 “ surprizing Revolutions of Affairs, *says he,*
 “ which disappoint the Devices of the Crafty
 “ Ones, and make the Heads of the ablest
 “ and most experienc’d Lookers on, giddy
 “ at the Sight; God would, in the Opinion of
 “ many of his Creatures, be shut out from
 “ the Government of the World, and the Honour of his Conduct would be devolv’d upon
 “ some of the mean and subordinate Instruments of it, *those poor Insects, that sit*
 “ *upon the Wheels of State, and imagine*
 “ *themselves to be the Authors of all its Mo-*
 “ *tions, and able to check, or to quicken them,*
 “ *at their Pleasure.* ” * And to mention one Beauty more, in the same Sermon, we have the justest, and perhaps the noblest Description of our present happy Constitution, that can be met with in any Author whatever. “ We of this Island, *says he,* enjoy
 “ a Constitution, wisely moulded out of all
 “ the different Forms, and Kinds of Civil
 “ Government, into such an excellent and
 “ happy Frame, as contains in it all the Advantages of those several Forms, without
 “ sharing deeply in any of their great Incon-
 “ veniencies. A Constitution nicely pois’d
 “ between

* Vide *ibid.* p. 12.

“ between the Extrems of too much Li-
 “ berty, and too much Power, and whose
 “ severall Parts have a proper Check upon
 “ each other, when any of them happen to
 “ tread awry : Where the Prince is cloath’d
 “ with a Prerogative, that enables him to do
 “ all the Good he has a mind to ; and wants
 “ no Power, but what a good Prince wou’d
 “ not, and an ill Prince ought not to have ;
 “ where he governs, though not absolutely,
 “ yet gloriously, because he governs Men,
 “ and not Slaves ; and is obey’d by them
 “ chearfully, because they know, that in
 “ obeying him, they obey those Laws only,
 “ which they themselves had a Share in con-
 “ triving. A Constitution where the exter-
 “ nal Government of the Church is so close-
 “ ly interwoven with that of the State, and
 “ so exactly adapted to it in all its Parts, as
 “ that it can flourish only, when that does ;
 “ and must, as it always has hitherto done,
 “ decline, die, and revive with it. In a
 “ Word, where the Interest of Prince and
 “ Subject, Priest and People, are perpetu-
 “ ally the same, and the only fatal Mistake,
 “ that ever happens in our Politicks, is, when
 “ they are thought to be divided. ” *

WITH what Art and fine Insinuation he
commends, and even comes up to the Digni-
 ty of Kings and Crown’d Heads, we see in
 the

* Ibid. p. 29.

the two different Characters, which he has drawn of the *Two great Princes*, that he liv'd under. "To the Influence of this Day, "it is owing, (speaking of King *William*, of "Immortal Memory, says he) that we have "at the Head of our Troops, and our Coun- "cils, a Prince, that has happily join'd to- "gether the extreams of Martial, and Poli- "tical Virtues; and knows as well how to "govern a free People, by their own Laws "and Customs, as to command Legions: Who, "whether in the Cabinet, or in the Field, "is still equally in his Sphere; and is always "indifferent therefore, either to War, or "Peace, any farther, than the One, or the "Other shall conduce to the good of his Peo- "ple, and the general Interest of Mankind. *
Nothing certainly can be a finer Stroke of Oratory, or a juster Commendation of that Heroic Prince; and in like manner of our late gracious Queen ANNE. "She wears the "Crown of her Forefathers, says he, to "which she is Entitled by Blood, and which "was plac'd on her Royal Head, not only "with the Free Consent, but with the Uni- "versal Joy and Acclamations of her Sub- "jects. She rules a Willing People, not by "the Terror of Rods and Axes, but with the

* Vide *Sermon before the House of Commons*, May 29, 1701. p. 22.

“ the indulgent Tenderneſs of a Common
 “ Parent ; ſhe deſires rather to be Belov’d,
 “ than Fear’d by them, and takes the trueſt
 “ Way toward ſecuring their Utmooſt Love,
 “ by ſhewing, in every Step of her Gracious
 “ Conduct, that She entirely loves them. She
 “ hath no Intereſt, can have no Intereſt, Se-
 “ parate from Theirs ; and upon *Her*, Ma-
 “ lice itſelf cou’d never faſten a Suſpicion,
 “ of Her purſuing any Meaſures, which aim’d
 “ rather at her Own Glory, or Advantage,
 “ than the Common Good of *England*. † ”

WITH what Dexterity he *cautions*, and
 even while he is imploring our Prayers and
 Interceſſions for *Princes*, gives them a Ca-
 talogue of the Snares and Temptations they
 are expos’d to, and a kind Memento to avoid
 them, we have an Inſtance in the ſame Ser-
 mon. “ With what Difficulties is their Ad-
 “ miniſtration, (ſpeaking of crown’d Heads)
 “ ſays he, often clogg’d by the Perverſeneſs,
 “ Folly, or Wickedneſs of thoſe they go-
 “ vern ? How hard a Thing do they find it,
 “ to inform themſelves truly of the State of Af-
 “ fairs ; where Fraud, and Flattery ſurrounds,
 “ and takes ſuch Pains to miſlead them ? How
 “ nice a Taſk is it to diſtinguiſh between
 “ the Counſels which are given out of Private
 “ Intereſt, and Thoſe, which a Care of the
 F “ Publick

† Sermon before the Houſe of Commons, March 8,
 1703-4.

“ Publick Good suggests; and to steer their
 “ Course aright, between the Extreams, of
 “ allowing too much Liberty, and affecting
 “ too much Power? To what Daily Dangers
 “ are their Persons expos’d, from the At-
 “ tempts of Treachery and Violence; How
 “ particular and pressing are the Temptations,
 “ to which the Height of Power, they have
 “ attain’d, make them liable? They are
 “ above the reach of Fear, Reproof, and
 “ most of those outward Checks, which God
 “ hath plac’d as Guards upon private Mens
 “ Virtue; and are, on that Account, in
 “ great Danger of letting loose their Appe-
 “ tites and Passions into all manner of Ex-
 “ cesses, without an extraordinary Degree of
 “ God’s Restraining Grace; which, it there-
 “ fore becomes and concerns us, to beg of
 “ *Him, and for Them.* †

WITH what Allurements he *persuades* and
 even draws our reluctant Natures to the Ap-
 probation of such Virtues, as are repugnant
 to the Ways of the World, and the common
 Bent of Mankind: His *Discourse of Religi-
 ous Retirement*, is, throughout, a lively Pat-
 tern, and, in its Kind, a curious Master-
 piece indeed. Speaking of that Dissipation
 of Thought, which our conversing much in
 the World occasions, he pleases me with
 these Words. “ To retrieve ourselves from
 “ this

† Ibid. p. 11.

“ this ill Effect, *says he*, it is requisite to re-
 “ tire frequently, and to converse much with
 “ (what We above all things Love, and yet
 “ above all things hate to converse with)
 “ Our Selves; to inure our Minds to Recolle-
 “ ction, to fix them on the greatest and most
 “ concerning Objects, those which Religion
 “ suggests; till the busy Swarm of vain Ima-
 “ ges, that besets us, be thoroughly dispers’d,
 “ and the several scatter’d Rays of Thought,
 “ by thus Centring in a Point, do, by little
 “ and little, warm our Frozen Hearts, and at
 “ last produce an Holy Flame.” And again,
 speaking of those turbulent Passions, that
 are excited by the same bad Cause, he not
 only delights me, but wins me over by his
 sweet Persuasion. “ Wouldst thou then be
 “ free from Envy, and Scorn, from Anger,
 “ and Strife, *says he*, fly from the Occasions
 “ of them; steal away from the great Scene
 “ of Passion and Business into thy Privacy;
 “ shut the Doors about thee, *Commune with*
 “ *thy Own Heart, in thy Chamber, and*
 “ *be still.* There all Annimosities are for-
 “ gotten, all Pursuits, all Competitions cease;
 “ there all Marks of Distinction are laid aside;
 “ the Great and the Lowly, the Prince and
 “ the Subject are upon the Level; equally
 “ under the Eye of one Common Master, de-
 “ sirous of pleasing Him, and mindless of
 “ lesser Interests and Concerns. There the
 “ Vanities and Vexations of this World are

“ shut out, and the Considerations are let in ;
 “ and our Soul enjoys the sweet Content-
 “ ment and Repose, which it enjoys no
 “ where else, on this side Heaven. †

WITH what strong Arguments, as well as Eloquence, he *convinc*es Gain-sayers, and establisheth the great Points of our most Holy Religion ; his whole Sermon of *The Excellency of a Standing Revelation* ; with what powerful Motives, and warm Applications he exhorts us to our Duty ; his several Discourses *concerning The Power and Merit and Impediments of Charity* ; and with what strong Consolation he refresheth the Mind under Worldly Losses, and alleviates the Sting of all dolorous Incidents ; his excellent Doctrine of *Acquainting ourselves with God*, upon any such Emergency, is a convincing Testimony. My Reader will not be offended, if I transcribe a Passage or two out of these, to give him a better Perception of what it is I mean. In his *Excellency of a Standing Revelation*, speaking of the Advantages thereof, above any extraordinary Appearance for the Attestation of Religion. “ There is a like Difference between
 “ the Ways in which these several Proofs
 “ operate, *says he*, as there is between the
 “ several Impressions made upon Thoughtful
 “ Minds,

† Vide *Sermon before the Queen*, March 23, 1704-5.
 p. 16.

“ Minds, by the Works of Art, and of Na-
 “ ture. The Works of Art, which are most
 “ nice and curious, strike and surprize us most
 “ upon the first View ; but the better ac-
 “ quainted we are with them, the less we
 “ wonder at them : Whereas the Works of
 “ Nature will bear a Thousand Views and
 “ Re-views, and will still appear New to us :
 “ The more frequently, and narrowly we
 “ look into them, the more Occasion we
 “ shall have to admire their fine and subtle
 “ Texture, their Beauty and Use, and Ex-
 “ cellent Contrivance. The same may we
 “ say of the Standing Evidences of the Gos-
 “ pel, ” * &c. And in another Place, speak-
 ing of the Incongruity of Proofs extraordi-
 nary, and fresh Revelations for the Confuta-
 tion of Infidelity.† “ It is below the Majesty
 “ of God, *says he*, by an Immediate Inter-
 “ position of his Omnipotence, to be appeal-
 “ ing every Day to his Creatures, for the
 “ Truth of his Religion ; an endless, and
 “ unbecoming Task, to be put upon offering
 “ Supernatural Proofs, for the Conviction of
 “ impious Men, as oft as their Infidelity shall
 “ be pleas’d to demand them ! Not so doth
 “ he proceed in the Government of the Na-
 “ tural World : He made it indeed at the first,
 “ after

* Vide *Sermon before Her Majesty*, Octob. 28, 1705.
 p. 20. † Ibid. p. 29.

“ after a Miraculous and Incomprehensible
 “ Manner; but he steers and directs the Affairs
 “ of it, ever since, by standing Rules and
 “ Laws, and by the ordinary Ministry of Se-
 “ cond Causes. With Equal Wisdom has he
 “ Temper’d the Conduct of the Moral World
 “ also.

IN his several *Recommendations of Pub-
 lick Charities*, speaking of the Number and
 great Variety of them. “ Here are the Wants
 “ of grown Men and Children, *says he*, of
 “ the Soldier, the Seaman, and the Artifi-
 “ cer; of the Diseas’d, the Maim’d, and the
 “ Wounded; of Distracted Persons, and Con-
 “ demn’d Criminals; of sturdy wandring
 “ Beggars, and loose disorderly Livers; nay
 “ of those, who counterfeits Wants of all
 “ Kinds, while they really want nothing,
 “ but due Correction, and hard Labour; at
 “ one View, represented to you. * So that
 “ this Great Receptacle of Miserable Objects
 “ of every Kind, (as he has it in another
 “ Place) seems to be like that Medicinal *Pool*
 “ *at Bethesda*, where there were Virtues
 “ proper for every Malady; all Infirmities
 “ were equally cur’d in Those, who had the
 “ Happiness to get into it. I can carry the
 “ Parallel no farther, I thank God ——— for
 “ the Prudence and Vigilance of its Gover-
 “ nours, as it hitherto *has*, so, I question not,
 “ *will*

* Vide *Spittal Sermon*, April 26, 1709. p. 19.

“ will take Care, that (Contrary to what
 “ happen’d to the *Impotent Man* in that
 “ Story) They, who have *most need* of the
 “ *Pool*, shall ever have the Happiness to get
 “ *first* into it. Impartiality is the Soul of
 “ Mercy, as well as Justice; and adds far-
 “ ther Degrees of Use and Beauty, to the
 “ most Useful and Beautiful Thing in the
 “ World.” * In the former Sentence, the
 Enumeration is surprizingly artful and judi-
 cious; there is such an happy Brevity in it,
 as our Modern Sermonizers are absolute Stran-
 gers to. A *Knaggs*, or a *Sacheverell*, out of
 their Fœcundity of Words, and Sterility of
 Invention, would have made a Page of eve-
 ry Member in it; and spun out to a Volume,
 what he has comprized in a few Lines, from
 his Ignorance of their Method of Writing,
 and long Acquaintance with much better Au-
 thors. The Break in the latter Sentence, and
 Moral Reflection that follows it, are Two
 Beauties of an extraordinary Nature, and
 not inferior to some of the brightest Figures
 and justest Sentiments that are to be found
 among the *Ancients*. In another Place, speak-
 ing of the probable Perpetuity of these Pub-
 lick Charities. “ They have stood the Test
 “ of all Times and Revolutions, *says he*, even
 “ of such, as scarce spar’d any thing that
 “ was

* Vide *The Power of Charity to Cover Sin. Preach’d*
 August 16, 1694. p. 23.

“ was truly Sacred and Venerable. When
 “ Sacrilegious and Rebellious Hands had
 “ *raised* the Church, *even to the Foundation*
 “ *thereof*, and laid the *Honour* of the Crown
 “ *low in the Dust*; yet still, struck with a
 “ Reverence for these awful Charities, they
 “ suffer’d them to stand undiminished, un-
 “ touch’d, amidst the common Ruins; and
 “ what the Malice and Frenzy of that Time
 “ spar’d, we have Reason to hope, may con-
 “ tinue for ever !” * And again, speaking of
 the Invisible Blessing of God, attending and
 augmenting these Charities. “ I take it to
 “ be an Argument of God’s peculiar Blessing
 “ upon them, *says he*, that the Expences of
 “ some of them have always much exceeded
 “ their certain Annual Income, but seldom or
 “ never their Casual Supplies. I call them
 “ *Casual*, in compliance with the common
 “ Form of speaking, tho’ I doubt not, but
 “ that they owe their Rise to a very particu-
 “ lar Direction of Providence. The Over-
 “ seers of these Bounties seem to me, like
 “ those who live on the Banks of *Nile*,
 “ who plough up their Ground, and sow their
 “ Seed, under a confident Expectation, that
 “ the Soil will, in due Time, be manur’d by
 “ the overflowing of that River, though
 “ they neither see, nor know the true Cause
 “ of it.”

The

* Vide *Spittal Sermon*, April 26, 1709. p. 10. &c.

The Idea is full, and the Comparifon a curious Illuftration of the fecret and hidden Supplies, which, by the Direction of God, feed the great Funds and Repositories of publick Charities.

IN his *Acquaintance with God, the beft Support under Afflictions*, there is something very moving and affecting, in thefe Words.

“ Oh the fweet Contentment, the Tranquility, and profound Reft of Mind, that he enjoys, who is a Friend of God, and to whom God *therefore* is a Friend; who hath gotten loofe from all meaner Purfuits, and is regardless of all lower Advantages, that interfere with his great Design of knowing and loving God, and being known and lov'd by him; who lives as in his Sight always, looks up to him in every Step of his Conduct, imitates him to the beft of his Power, believes him without Doubt, and obeys him without Referve; defires to do nothing but what is agreeable to his Will, and refolves to fear nothing beyond, or befide, his Difpleafure: In a Word, who hath resign'd all his Paffions and Appetites to him, all his Faculties and Powers, and given up his Soul to be poffeffed by him, without a Rival. Surely fuch an one has, within his Breaft, that *Divine Peace*, which paffeth all Underftanding; is inconceivable by thofe that are Strangers to it,

“ and unutterable, even by those on whom
 “ it rests.” † And when he comes to treat
 of the Benefit of such Religious Exercises,
 he makes the Queen, (for whose Consolation
 this Discourse was calculated) perhaps, one
 of the most compleat Complements that ever
 she heard from the Pulpit. For speaking of
 King *David's* Practice, in this Respect,
 “ ’Twas this, *says he*, that enabled him to
 “ fulfil the publick Character of a Religious,
 “ Just, and Merciful Prince, and Father of
 “ his People; ’twas this that aw’d him in
 “ his Retirements, when the Eyes of Men
 “ were far from him; that gave Life and
 “ Wings to his Devotions; that carried him
 “ thro’ various Difficulties and Temptations;
 “ that supported him under all his Troubles
 “ and Afflictions. — *When I am in Hea-*
 “ *venes*, said he, *I will think upon God;*
 “ *when my Heart is vexed, I will com-*
 “ *plain.*

“ He might have thought on many Things,
 “ which are usually look’d upon as Reliefs
 “ to afflicted Minds: He might have endea-
 “ vour’d to raise himself, by reflecting on the
 “ happy Circumstances of his Royal State,
 “ on his Power, and Wealth, and Worldly
 “ Splendor; on the Love and Reverence that
 “ Way

† Vide *Sermon Preach’d before the Queen*, October
 31, 1708.

“ Way paid him by his Subjects; *on his*
 “ *Fame that was gone out into all Lands,*
 “ *and on the Fear of him that was fallen*
 “ *upon all Nations;* on his Potent and Nu-
 “ merous Alliances, his Signal Success and
 “ Triumphs. But he renounces all these weak
 “ and insufficient Supports, and betakes him-
 “ self to that, which was worth them all,
 “ and which alone cou’d Administer true
 “ Comfort to him. *When I am in Heavi-*
 “ *ness, I will think upon God.* There is ve-
 ry fine Address in this Enumeration of the
 Queen’s Felicities, under the Person of King
David; and a wonderful Delicacy in tem-
 pering the Complement so, as neither to of-
 fend Modesty, nor incur the Imputation of
 Flattery; as neither to make the Hearer
 blush, nor the Speaker appear too bare-fac’d,
 in what he says.

WITH what Severity he *Reproves*, and
Chastises an Impious Nation for the Iniqui-
 ties thereof, his Sermon *on a Day of Pub-*
lick Humiliation, is a loud and lasting Testi-
 mony.

“ WHILST a Foreign War devour’d our
 “ Strength, and drain’d our Treasures, *says*
 “ *he,* still Luxury, and the Expences of
 “ Life increas’d at Home; nor were they
 “ check’d, even by our Disgraces and Mis-
 “ fortunes. Our National Humiliations were
 “ ridicul’d by impious Mock-feasts; wherein
 “ the Execrable Murder of our Martyr’d

“ Sovereign was annually Commemorated,
 “ with Circumstances of so much Indignity
 “ and Scorn, as cannot be spoken of with
 “ Decency, nor reflected on without Horror.
 “ The House of God itself hath been pro-
 “ fan’d by Riots; abominable Impurities,
 “ not to be mention’d, have been openly and
 “ daringly practic’d; *Isa. 3. 9. We have de-*
 “ *clar’d our Sin, as Sodom, and have not*
 “ *hid it.* The Fundamental Articles of our
 “ Faith, have been oppugn’d from the Prefs;
 “ Mysteries have been derided; the Immor-
 “ tality of the Soul hath been denied; the
 “ Christian Priesthood set at naught and vi-
 “ lified; and even the *High Priest of our*
 “ *Profession*, the Blessed Jesus himself,
 “ treated by a Blasphemous Pen, * with as
 “ much Scorn and Malice, as when he ap-
 “ pear’d before the Bar of *Pilate.* *Hath a*
 “ *Nation so us’d their Gods, which are yet*
 “ *no Gods?* Or so vilified the Persons, which
 “ belong’d to their Worship and Service? *

How dark so ever this Night-Piece of
 our Iniquities may be, yet ’tis no hard Matter
 to discern the Warm and Inanimated Zeal of
 the Preacher, his Strong and Nervous Elo-
 quence, and the *Spirit* and *Power* of one of
 the ancient Prophets breaking out, and blazing
 in

* Vide a *Passage* in the Axe laid to the Root of
 Christianity, cited from a Book, Entitled, The History
 of the Growth of Deism. * See his Fast Sermon 1707-8.

in upon us, in these Reproofs and Exprobrations.

I MENTION but one Sermon more, Preach'd before the *London* Clergy, in Vindication of the Doctrine of *Non-resistance*, and in Confutation of some Positions in the Reverend Mr. *Hoadley's Measures of Obedience to the Civil Magistrate*; which is wrote with such a Pure and Elegant Stile, as excells all Modern Compositions of this Kind, and seems to come up to the Dignity and Standard of the Ancients. The Man is in his Element, and at Home, as it were, while he is writing in the *Latin* Tongue; there is nothing forc'd or unnatural, nothing labour'd or affected in what he says, but every thing comes from him with that Ease and Freedom, and Volubility of Diction, that Fall of Period, and Turn of Expression, as if he had been a Native of Ancient *Rome*, Contemporary, and Rival to the Renowned *Tully*: A rare Specimen, of what he is able to do, and what the Learned World may expect from his Retirement, if he will but set himself down to write in this Language; now, that he has an happy Opportunity of Study, and a Cessation from all other Business, during his Life!

I should be injurious to the Merit of Dr. *Atterbury's* Writings, should I forget his Dedication of his Volume of Sermons to Sir *Jonathan Trelawney*, 1708, then Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, and Prelate of the most noble

ble Order of the Garter; wherein he has painted his Patron in the most beautiful Colours, and given us some Masterly-strokes of his exquisite Address, by way of Panegyrick. For, speaking of the Bishop's Generosity to him, " I mention not this Instance
 " of your Lordship's Goodness to me, *says*
 " *he*, with any View of distinguishing myself from others: For you have done nothing in my Case, but what you have frequently practic'd, since the Time that Divine Providence, for the good of his Church,
 " rais'd you to the Episcopal Dignity; nothing, but what has been successively acknowledged by all those, who have prefix'd your
 " Right Reverend Name to their Labours, from the Learned and Venerable Dr. *Po-*
 " *cock*, down to the mean Author of the following Sermons." Again, speaking of his free and disinterested Manner of conferring Favours: " You have been so far from ever
 " putting any Man in Mind of what you have done for him, that you would never
 " bear to be put in Mind of it yourself; and have not been more careful to prevent Solicitations, than to avoid Acknowledgments. You had the Thanks of your own
 " Conscience, and you neither needed, or desired any other." Once more, speaking of his Translation to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*: " Permit me, *says he*, MY LORD,
 " to congratulate your Accession to a See,
 " which

“ which will afford you such a Sphere of Ac-
 “ tion, as you were made to fill ; which will
 “ furnish you with many welcome Opportu-
 “ nities of doing good, of rewarding Merit,
 “ of cherishing Piety and Vertue, of encou-
 “ raging Persons, distinguish’d by their Learn-
 “ ing, their undaunted Assertion of Divine
 “ Truths, and undissembled Zeal for our
 “ admirable Constitution both in Church and
 “ State ; which will, in short, enable you
 “ to carry on all those excellent Designs, to
 “ which your Upright and Bountiful Heart is
 “ religiously inclin’d. What may we not
 “ promise Our Selves from the Influence of
 “ your Lordship’s Conduct, in so eminent a
 “ a Station ? From your known Courage and
 “ Fervency in the Cause of God, and his
 “ Church ? From the Greatness of your Mind,
 “ the Goodness of your Intentions, and the
 “ Soundness of your Principles ? From that
 “ Habitual Love of *worthy Deeds*, which
 “ you contracted so early, and have by long
 “ Practice confirm’d ? And from your Expe-
 “ rience of the Success that has attended you
 “ in all you have suffer’d and done for the
 “ Publick. ” And so he goes on in Strains
 of Eloquence, and Turns of Compliment,
 that a *Pliny* himself might not be asham’d
 of, had he liv’d in our Days, in our Nation,
 and understood *English*, as well as this ex-
 cellent Orator.

HITHERTO

HITHERTO we have consider'd Dr. *Atterbury* as a Person of great Learning and Ingenuity, a fine Writer, and a fine Preacher; and from the whole, we must be forc'd to make the same Judgment of him, as did his Learned Friend Dr. *Smalridge*, late Bishop of *Bristol*, when, upon his presenting him to the Upper House of Convocation, as Prolocutor, he stiles him *Vir in nullo Literarum genere hospes, in plerisque Artibus & Studiis diu & feliciter Exercitatus, in maxime perfectis Literarum Disciplinis perfectissimus*. One who is well acquainted "with all Parts of Literature, long and " successfully exercis'd in most Arts and Studies, and most accomplish'd and perfect " in those Sciences which admit of the greatest Perfection." In his Controversial Capacity, he was sometimes too severe upon his Adversary; but this is imputable to the natural Fervor of his Wit, more than any Bitterness of Mind or Propense Malice. *Sit igitur venia, sit laudi, sit gratitudini Locus*; (as his Friend speaks for him) *si quid forte asperius, si quid ardentius, si quid liberius effuderit; Lector paulo humanior id non Odio, non livori, nec arrogantiae tribuit; sed aut ingenio suapte Naturam aliquantulum praeservido, aut fortasse Iracundiae, in milite pro aris focisque acriter dimicante, in filio ab injuriâ & vi Matrem suam eripiente, facile ignoscendae. Quod si plures in illius Scriptis*
effulgent

effulgent Virtutes, si Res tractaverit cognitu difficiles, utiles, jucundas; si eas validissimis argumentis firmaverit, si puro ac dilucido sermone in ipsis Legentium animis inscripserit, eruditioni apud eruditos, Eloquentiæ apud disertos suus constet bonus. i.e.

“ Be there then Room left for Pardon, for
 “ Praise, for Gratitude? If some sharp,
 “ warm, or free Expressions have come from
 “ him, a Reader of any Humanity will not
 “ attribute them to Envy, Resentment, or
 “ Arrogance, but to a Temper of itself too
 “ warm, or perhaps to Passion, easily pardon-
 “ able in a Soldier, who contended for all
 “ that is dear to us, in a Son endeavouring to
 “ rescue his Mother from Injury and Violence.
 “ But if there is an Overballance of Beau-
 “ ties in his Writings; if he has treated of
 “ Things in themselves difficult, useful, plea-
 “ sing; if he has confirm’d them by the
 “ strongest Arguments; if he has imprinted
 “ them in the Mind of the Readers by a Pu-
 “ rity and Perspicuity of Stile; it is fit that
 “ he receive the Applause to Learning
 “ from Men of Letters; from the Eloquent,
 “ the Honour due to Eloquence.

IN his Sermons, however, he is every Way
 Inexceptionable and Praise Worthy. There
 is that Exactness of Method, and Justness
 of Thought, those Weighty Arguments, Ju-
 dicious Reflections, Easy Address, and Un-
 affected Eloquence running thro’ the Whole;

as denote him the celebrated Preacher that he was, and not undeserving this Commendation of his Friend : *Quo Audientium plausu apud Populum, apud Magistratum, apud Clerum, apud Senatores, apud Aulicos è Rostris frequenter concionatus est ; Qua facundiâ & Mariæ in calum jam receptæ aures sæpe demulsit, & Sororis animum gravi ac recenti dolore fere oppressum recreavit !*

“ With what Applause has he often preach’d
 “ before the People, the Magistrates, the
 “ Clergy, the Senate, and the Court ! How
 “ oft has the late Queen MARY (now gather’d to the Saints above) been charm’d
 “ with his Eloquence ! And what Address
 “ did he use in tempering the Soul of her
 “ * SISTER, when She was almost oppress’d and overcome by her late Affliction. †” The Truth is, his Talent, in this Regard, was so very remarkable, that it may not be improperly said, that he owed his Preferment to the Pulpit, nor any hard Matter to trace him, thro’ his Writings, to his several Promotions in the Church.

IN the Year 1692, when he was only *Student of Christ-Church*, he preach’d before Queen MARY, on the 29th of May, a Sermon about *The Duty of Praise and Thanksgiving*,

* Queen Anne.

† The Death of the Prince of Denmark.

Thanksgiving, which, in all Probability, recommended him to be *Chaplain to their Majesties* : And it was his famous Discourse on *The Power of Charity to Cover Sin* ; that induc'd the Governors of *Bridewell-Hospital* to chuse him their Preacher, and afterwards recommend him to the Lectureship of *St. Brigit's*.

WHILE he continu'd in this Station, the Convocation-Controversy sprung up, and his *Vindication of the Rights, Powers, and Priviledges*, of that *Venerable Body*, (which he publish'd in 1700) gain'd him great Applause among his Brethren, and prov'd a successful Step to his Preferment afterwards.

IN the Year 1701, he preach'd before the *Hon. House of Commons*, and gave such an accurate Description of our *Constitution*, both *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical*, and such a fine Commendation of King WILLIAM, as was a great Means to continue him *Chaplain* after the Queen's Decease, and when others were remov'd from that Honourable Office.

QUEEN ANNE, upon her Accession to the Throne, made him her Chaplain, and advanc'd him afterwards to the Deanary of *Carlisle*, very probably, for the *Amiable Character* he had given her in his Sermon before the *House of Commons*, on the 8th of *March* 1703-4.

SIR *Jonathan Trelawney*, then Lord Bishop of *Exeter*, made him Archdeacon of *Totness*, and Canon-Residentary of *Exeter* 1707, for the Reason he assigns in his Elegant Dedication to that Prelate, and wherein he has made him an ample Amends. “These
 “ Favours, says he, were not the Effects of
 “ Importunity, or the just Rewards of Domestic Service; they sprung not from
 “ Dependance or Acquaintance, being bestowed on One who was little known to
 “ your Lordship, otherwise than by his honest Endeavours to retrieve the *Synodical Rights of the Clergy*, whereof, You, my
 “ Lord, have been all along, to Your Great
 “ Honour, the avow’d Patron and Defender. *

SIR *John Trevor*, a great Discerner of Men and their Abilities, was so struck with his Fame, and charm’d with his Eloquence, that he made him Preacher of the *Rolls-Chapel* in 1709.

THE Convocation of the Clergy chose him unanimously their Prolocutor 1710, in thankful Remembrance of what Honour he had done them, when he *magnify’d their Office*, and evinc’d the Dignity of the Priesthood, in a florid Discourse before the *Sons of the Clergy*, not many Months before.

’Tis

* Vide, *Dedication of his Volume of Sermons*.

'TIS certain, that his *Elegant* and *Pathetic* Sermon upon the Death of P. GEORGE, design'd to move the Passions, and calculated for the Consolation of the Queen, had this Effect, that it gain'd him the Deanary of *Christ-Church* 1711, notwithstanding the Competition of Dr. *Smalrdige*, no Contemptable Candidate, and the warm Applications that, by Men of Power and Authority, were made in his Behalf; and 'tis not unlikely that the Remembrance of the same Sermon plead-ed in his Favour, and mightily befriended the Earl of *Oxford's* Recommendation of him: When the Queen was pleas'd, in the Year 1713, to promote him to the Bishoprick of *Rochester*, the Height of his Preferment, but not of his Ambition, for 'twas the *Primacy of all England* that he ultimately aim'd at; and, had not the QUEEN'S unexpected Death prevented him, his Schemes were laid so well, as to have carry'd it.

THUS happily was Dr. *Atterbury* endow'd with the Gifts of Nature, and the Embellishments of Erudition: He had an Affluence of Fortune, and the Favour of Great Men; the Applause of his *Brethren*, and the Patronage of two *Crowned Heads* to glory in; a Tide of Preferments successively coming in upon him, and a Sphere of Action, considering his several Dignities in the Church, commensurate to his Spirit. Add to this, that he was really prosperous in his Family,
having

having but one Son, a Youth of pregnant Parts, and advantageously seated in the University of *Oxford*, and but one Daughter, remarkably dutiful, and happily marry'd to a Man of Worth and Consideration in the World ; and we cannot but think, that a Person in these Circumstances, and attended with such Blessings, both Spiritual and Temporal, might have been content with his Condition ; at least, might *have study'd to be Quiet, and Done his own Business*, whatever became of his Usefulness to the *Publick*, and *adorning the Doctrine of Christ in all Things*. But the Misfortune was, he wanted one Thing, he wanted Humility, and had too much of a contrary *Passion*, to make him easy and contented in any State of Life. “ ’Tis the proud Man, (says a
 “ very excellent Author) that thinks himself
 “ worthy of all Honours, and fit for all
 “ Employments, and competent for all
 “ Charges ; and this makes him aspire, and
 “ grasp at all : This makes him mount, till
 “ he becomes giddy with the Height ; till
 “ he forgets *how*, and *by whom*, and *to what*
 “ *Purpose*, he ascended ; and hence necessarily
 “ he becomes vain, and rash, and mischievous,
 “ and ungrateful in his Station. ’Tis the
 “ proud Man, who, as he thinks he merits
 “ all he gets, so he repines at all he misses ;
 “ and this makes him discontented and en-
 “ vious, and so highly unjust, as to think
 “ his

“ his private Disappointments a sufficient Title for him to quarrel, and move, and overturn the World. 'Tis the proud Man, lastly, that is censorious and calumniating, and undutiful in all Relations ; and the Reason hereof is this, because the Progress is natural from an Opinion of ourselves to the despising of others ; as natural, as it is for a Bladder to mount above the Water, when once it is fill'd with Wind. †

I HAVE hitherto done all imaginable Justice to Dr. *Atterbury's* Character ; and that I may not be thought to injure him in this Particular, I shall set before my Reader (which is the next Light we are to view him in) some Passages in his Private, and some Transactions in his Publick Capacity ; as soon as he was invested with any Degree of Authority, and consequently in a Condition to exert his *Spirit*.

UPON the Nomination of Dr. *Grabme* from the Deanery of *Carlisle* to that of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. *Atterbury* was appointed to succeed him. But either thro' an Ignorance of the common Forms of intitling himself to his new Preferment, or (what I rather imagine) thro' an over-hastiness to see himself in Possession of it, he took out his Instruments before his Predecessor had resign'd it

† See *Young's Sermons*.

it. A Mistake that he afterwards endeavour'd to rectify in a very extraordinary Manner.

To let my Reader, in some Measure, into the Knowledge of this, he is to be inform'd, that Mr. *Nicholson*, now Bishop of *Londonderry*, in his second Volume of his Historical Library of *England*, had describ'd Conventions, as *Synods meeting at the Summons of their President, prorogueable by him at his Pleasure, and liable to the Pains and Penalties enacted by the Statute of Submission in Hen. VIII's Time, upon their Disobedience*. This brought upon him the Severity of Dr. *Atterbury's* Pen, in his Book of the *Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation*. Mr. *Nicholson* had, by his Historical Library, got himself great Reputation: He had been, during King *William's* Reign, a firm Party-man, and *High*, as we call it, in his Principles of Church-Polity. But some Persons, for whom Dr. *Atterbury* writ, were so highly offended at this free Declaration of his, that *now*, he was to be run down, his Learning vilify'd, his Skill in the Northern Languages (in which, after Dean *Hickes*, he was deservedly esteem'd the greatest Man in *England*) ridicul'd, and himself treated as a cunning temporizing Man, and apostate from the Truth. It was not long, however, before he came to *London*, and, in the Year 1701;
pub-

publish'd a Pamphlet in his own Vindication, which not only clear'd him of all injurious Imputations, but gain'd him fresh Credit likewise, and a full Declaration in his Favour from those, that had any Knowledge in *Saxon* Literature. Dr. *Smith* liv'd not long after King *William*, and Sir *Christop. Musgrave*, who had then a sufficient Interest at Court, recommended Mr. *Nicholson* to the vacant Bishoprick of *Carlisle* very powerfully, and prevail'd. Mr. *Nicholson* was then no more than Master of Arts, and therefore he apply'd to his own University for his Doctor's Degree, an usual Compliment paid to Persons rais'd by the Crown to such an Exaltation in the Church; but they deny'd it him, tho' nominated, if not consecrated Bishop, even when they had voluntarily given it to Dr. *Atterbury*, but just before. The *Oxonians*, however, bethought themselves at last, and sent him his Degree by a *Diploma*, when it was too late, as he was going into his own Country, and after he had obtain'd it at *Cambridge*, upon proper Recommendations. These Transactions nettled Bishop *Nicholson* not a little; and when he perceiv'd that Dr. *Atterbury*, soon after, was put into the Deanary of *Carlisle*, with a Design, as he suppos'd, to curb and insult him, he was resolv'd but barely to do him Justice, and no more than what was his Duty. What therefore he demanded of the

new-appointed Dean, when first he came to wait on him, was a formal Resignation from Dr. *Graham*, of the Deanary, which, he told him, he could not admit him to, till he had. The Dean seem'd to laugh at this Demand, as being conscious of his Strength, and the Support he had from Secretary *Hedges*, and other great Men above. But the Bishop was obstinate; "he knew of no Law, prohibiting any Man to hold two Deanaries at the same Time, nor any Person, of sufficient Power, to controul him in the Exercise of his Episcopal Authority;" and so the poor Dean, to his no small Mortification, was kept a whole Month at *Carlisle*, unadmitted, and slightly regarded, till the Resignation, insisted on, was produc'd. This Resignation, however, upon Examination, was found to have a Flaw in it, which, upon his Return to *London*, he endeavour'd to rectify, as we said, *in a very extraordinary Manner*. He saw, that the Date of the Resignation was almost a Month subsequent to that of *his* Collation, which render'd the *latter* null and invalid; and therefore he took this Method to amend it, which, if it had succeeded, must have run into a more extravagant Error.

FOR on the 9th of *January*, 1704, Mr. Dean of *Carlisle*, by the Interest of Mr. *S----*, invites the Dean of *Wells* his Predecessor to a *certain Place*, that was to make
the

the Plot the more successful : At this Place, and in some singular Company, on *January* 10, he desires the Dean of *Wells* to Antedate his Resignation ; and instead of the 5th of *August*, to date it on the 8th of *July*, that so it might be reconcil'd to his Letters-Patents of Collation.

THE Dean of *Wells*, at the first Motion, thought this to be a very odd Proposal, and before he could think of coming into it, he desir'd a Day's Time to consider of it. Within that Time, he prudently consults with an able Civilian and other Friends, and receives from them this Advice, " That Dr. *Atterbury*'s Letters-Patents being Register'd, and " his own Resignation Inrolled in Chancery, " to offer at any Alteration of them when " they stood upon Record, would be very " Ill and Scandalous, as well as Dangerous " Practice." The Dean of *Wells* found this Opinion to be agreeable to his own Judgment, and to his Sense of Integrity and Honour ; and therefore the next Morning he sent a civil Letter to Dr. *Atterbury*, and excus'd himself from meeting on that Occasion that Day, because he could not possibly comply with his Desires of altering the Date of his Resignation. When Dr. *A.* saw that this Design would not take, there was still another Step made, that seems wider than the other : For a Friend of his did, on the *Saturday* following, make a Motion to a considerable

siderable Officer in the Chancery, that the Date of the Resignation might be alter'd in the Roll itself; but this Proposal was likewise rejected, I presume, with great Indignation, as if it had been a Snare to incur the Forfeiture of a Place. And so the publick Instruments are still irregular, and the Doctor's Title Null and Void, as the World will apprehend from this strange working of his own Fears.

ALL I shall say more, is only this: In our Civil Law, that is to govern us very much in our Church Affairs, if such a Practise of the Alteration of Dates had succeeded, it must have been call'd *Crimen Falsi*; and the bare Attempt of doing it, is in the same Law *Subornatio Falsi*.

THIS Account is taken from a small Tract, entitled, *A Letter from the South, by Way of Answer to a Letter from a Northern Divine*, giving an Account of a Strange Attempt made by Dr. A-----, towards antedating the Resignation of his Predecessors in the Deanary of *Carlisle*.

BUT this is not the only Instance of his Antedating Faculty. An Interest of his own, when in Prosperity, and under the gay Ideas of an advantageous Preferment coming to him, may well be presum'd to tempt him to it; when, merely to give *Sam* and *Joseph*, his trusty Servants, as he calls them, a little Place or two in *Westminster - Abbey*,
he

he could reconcile it to his Conscience, † under a close Confinement, an ill State of Health, and a Temper of Mind, that should be wean'd, one would think, from such *Tricks* and *Collusions*. But of this by the By.

Dr. *Atterbury* continu'd a considerable while in the Deanary of *Carlisle*, battling and squabbling with the Bishop, in a very scandalous Manner, as the Papers of those Times give us an Account ; but the Bishop prov'd too hard for him, and foil'd him in every Attack ; the Chapter forsook him, and, except Dr. *Todd*, as I remember, oppos'd his Proceedings : so that, he grew weary of the Place, made it for some Time a perfect *Sinecure*, and at length obtain'd a Remove.

I HAVE dwelt the longer on this Northern Affair, because, both the Time and Scene of Action being so distant, it may possibly be a Piece of History, that few People are acquainted

† See the Appendix of the Papers relating to the Bishop of Rochester, Pag. 52, where there is this Passage : " Since I know not what may happen to me, I am determin'd, while I am possess'd of all my Rights, as Dean, to fill up the two vacant Places, that are, without Controversy, in my sole Gift ; and to that End, shall enclose a Paper, dated at some Distance of Time, which you may put in the Sub-Dean's Hands, and desire him to produce, when there is a proper Occasion." You need not let him know, it was not written when dated, nor how long you have had it in your Custody.

acquainted with ; and I meant it too, for a thorough Specimen, once for all, of the Doctor's Temper and Disposition, being willing to pass by many Instances, like these in his Private Life, as a Work of too invidious a Nature, for any Writer to be too prolix in.

FROM the Deanary of *Carlisle* he was remov'd to that of *Christ-Church*, and set over a great and flourishing College, where he himself had receiv'd his Education, and consequently many interfering Obligations to study the Quiet and Prosperity of the Place. But no sooner was he settled there, 'till *all* ran into Disorder and Confusion. The Canons had been long accusom'd to the mild and gentle Government of a Dean †, who had every Thing in him that was endearing to Mankind, and could not therefore brook the wide Difference that they perceiv'd in Dr. *Atterbury*. That imperious and despotick Manner, in which he seem'd resolv'd to carry every Thing, made them more tenacious of their Rights, and inclinable to make fewer Concessions, the more he endeavour'd to grasp at Power, and Tyrannize. This Opposition rais'd the Ferment, and, in a short Time, there ensu'd such Strife and Contention, such bitter Words, and scandalous Quarrels among them, that

'twas

† Dr. Aldrich.

'twas thought adviseable to remove *him*, on Purpose to restore Peace and Tranquillity to that *learned* Body, and that other Colleges might not take the Infection. A new Method of obtaining Preferment, by indulging such a Temper, and pursuing such Practices, as least of all deserve it !

IN a Word, (for I am minded to pursue him no farther thro' his almost innumerable Quarrels and Conflicts) where-ever he came, under one Pretence or other, but chiefly under the Notion of asserting his Rights and Privileges, he had a rare Talent at fomenting Discord, and blowing the Coals of Contention, which made a Learned * Successor, in two of his Preferments, complain of his hard Fate, in being forc'd to carry Water after him, to extinguish the Flames, which his Litigiousness had every where occasion'd.

THE Truth is, his Temper was chiefly made up of *Irafcible* Qualities, and had very little in it of that mild and merciful, that peaceable and forgiving, that tender and compassionate Spirit, which the Scripture recommends, as the Chief Characteristicks of a good Christian. His Resentment of Injuries was quick and lasting, his Remembrance of Favours done him, soon gone. The Instruments of his Advancement, he
us'd

* *Dr. Smalridge.*

us'd to call *Scaffolding*; what Wood it was made of he matter'd not, and what became of it, when the House was built, and his Turn serv'd, concern'd not him; and accordingly, this Imputation is left upon his Gratitude, that there are few or none of his Friends and Patrons, but what, at one Time or other, he hath quarrell'd with: His Inclination to do kind Offices was not great; and when he did any, 'twas generally with such Reserve and Unwillingness, and after such a Course of Teazing and Importunity, as extinguish'd the Obligation every where, but in his own Breast: *There* his Services were held Meritorious, and a great deal was usually plac'd to the Account of him, he had any Way befriended.

BUT I must not forget the Resolution I laid down to myself of not entering into his Private Character, any farther, than what is necessary to illustrate the Temper and Inclination of his Mind.

---*Vitiis nemo sine nascitur, optimus ille
Qui minimis urgetur.** ---

AND so we go on to take a View of him now, in his *Publick* and *Political* Capacity.

11

* Hor. Saty. 3 Lib. 1.

IT was not long after the Revolution, when Dr. *Atterbury* appear'd in the World, and had furnish'd himself with such *Principles*, as then generally prevail'd, and do still support our *happy Constitution*. In the Preface to his Answer to Dr. *Wake*, he gives us a full Declaration of these *Principles*, occasion'd, as we may imagine, by some injurious Insinuations against him. “ *Disaffection*, says he, *to the Government*, as the Charge is usually manag'd, is a Word, only made Use of by those, that are in Favour, to keep others out : It is a Reproach taken up, on Purpose to justify premeditated Designs of oppressing Men ; for so the Soldier said, that the Countryman whistled Treason, when he had resolv'd to plunder him ; *and then he goes on* : If, to be a true Lover of *England*, its Monarchy, and Episcopacy ; If to have the utmost Esteem for the Heroick Qualities, and Matchless Merits of our Prince ; and to think no Instance of Respect and Duty, that Subjects can pay him, too great, while they take Care to preserve their *own Rights and Privileges* ; If to prefer the true Interest of the *Protestant Religion*, and the Preservation of our *Civil Liberties*, to all Considerations, and for these (among other) Ends, to pray heartily for the Continuance of our *present Government*, both in Church and State ; If these

“ be Instances, and Marks of *Disaffection*,
 “ then I must own myself *Disaffected*, and
 “ not otherwise.” In those publick Discour-
 ses, wherein he may be suppos’d to discover
 his Political Sentiments, we always find him
 on the Side of the Revolution ; highly com-
 mending the PRINCE *in Being*, and the
 Form of Government under which we live ;
 openly declaiming against Popery and Su-
 perstition ; using, with some Freedom, the
 late King of FRANCE, and making no Man-
 ner of Compliment to the PRETENDER.
 “ To this Deliverance, (says he, in a Ser-
 “ mon preach’d before the QUEEN on the 5th
 “ of *November*) to this Day’s *double Deli-*
 “ *verance*, it is owing, that we are freed
 “ from the Fears of Papal Superstition and
 “ Bondage ; that we enjoy all our Religi-
 “ ous and Civil Liberties, all that is dear
 “ and valuable to us, in Respect of this
 “ World, or another ; and even that we
 “ see *her* on the Throne, (the Throne of
 “ her Royal Ancestors, design’d this Day for
 “ Slaughter) who, by sitting *there*, protects
 “ and secures us in all those Enjoyments.
 “ You are the Descendants of those, (says he
 “ in his Sermon before the Sons of the Cler-
 “ gy) who, as they have shut out Popery
 “ in the most effectual Manner, by only
 “ paring off those Corruptions it had grafted
 “ on pure and genuine Christianity ; so did
 “ they stand boldly in the Breach, when
 “ it

“ it meditated a Return, and for ever si-
 “ lenc’d the Champions of that baffled Cause,
 “ by their immortal and unanswerable Wri-
 “ tings. So that *you*, their *Sons*, were at
 “ the Altar itself, (if I may so speak) *ini-*
 “ *tiated* by your Fathers, as the Great *Car-*
 “ *thagénian* was by his, into an *Heredi-*
 “ *tary Aversion to Rome.*” And once
 more, speaking of the late King of *France*
 in his Fast-Sermon, before the Lord-Mayor,
 1707, “ The Haughty Monarch, says he,
 “ whose Heart, God at last, by our Means,
 “ hath humbled, was grasping at Universal
 “ Empire, preparing Chains for the Necks
 “ of Free States and Princes, and laying
 “ Schemes for suppressing the Ancient Li-
 “ berties, and removing the Ancient Boun-
 “ daries of Kingdoms. Nor was he satis-
 “ fy’d in subduing Mens Bodies, unless he
 “ enslav’d their Souls also, and made the
 “ pure Profession of the Gospel give Way
 “ to *Superstition and Idolatry*, wherever he
 “ had Power to expel the one, and establish
 “ the other. Nay, he pretended to give
 “ Laws even to our *Succeſſion* here at Home,
 “ and to impose a PRINCE upon us, who
 “ should execute the Designs He had form’d
 “ against our *Civil and Religious Liberties.*”
 These, and many more Passages, to the same
 Purpose, that might be extracted out of his
 Writings, are enough to convince us, that
 Dr. Atterbury, at first, set out into the World

with the Principles of a *Whig*, highly satisfy'd with the Reasons of the *Revolution*, and the Justness of the *Protestant Succession*, and so continu'd for some considerable Time of his Life. How he came to alter his Sentiments, and join himself to a *different Party*, may possibly be resolv'd into *that restless Ambition*, which increas'd with his Exaltation, and had some concurring Circumstances, at that Time, to inflame it.

It was in the latter End of the Queen's Reign, when Dr. *Atterbury* was promoted to the See of *Rockester*, at a Time, when his Friends were in full Possession of Power, and Designs were carrying on, at least by some of 'em, highly prejudicial to the *Protestant Succession*. The TREASURER seem'd to act the wary Part ; and, as if he had been poisoning the *two Successions* in his Hand to find out which weigh'd heavier, before he determin'd his Choice : For this Reason, He kept Mr. *Harley* Residentiary at *Hanover*, and disclos'd a Correspondence of a Dangerous Consequence to the King, even while he gave Encouragement to Sir *Pat. Lawles*, the Abbot *Gaultier*, and other of the Pretender's Agents here at Home. But the SECRETARY was more open in his Proceedings ; and, what is to be lamented, drew a *Person of excellent Worth and Consideration*, whom he had made a *Tool* in the last Campaign or Two, into the same Confederacy with him,
and

and now as *jocundly* has left him in the *Lurch*: He not only gave up all the Advantages of a *Prosperous* and *Expensive* War into the Enemies Hands, by a *Destructive* and *Pernicious* Peace, but under the Pretence of adjusting some disputed Articles in the Treaty, made frequent Journies into FRANCE, and frequent Visits to the PRETENDER; had settled the Terms of his Succession in private Conferences, and was fitting out an *Embassy* to give a publick Sanction to it.

A Person of Dr. *Atterbury's* Principles, may be suppos'd to be startled a little, when he found himself in such Company, and when such Proceedings were on Foot; but the common Sophistry which then prevail'd, *viz.*

“ That the PRETENDER was, in his Heart,
 “ no Papist, however necessitated to profess
 “ himself so, while he liv'd in a foreign
 “ Country, and by the Contributions of
 “ those of that Religion: That as soon as
 “ he return'd, and had gain'd an Independ-
 “ dency, he would have Leisure to examine,
 “ and had Judgment enough to discover the
 “ Fallacy of it: That, *however*, he would
 “ not fail to call a free Parliament, where-
 “ in our Civil, as well as our Religious
 “ Rights, should receive their Confirma-
 “ tion; wherein the Church should be esta-
 “ blish'd in full Power, Consciences truly
 “ tender indulg'd, and Property of every
 “ Kind

“ *Kind more inviolably secur’d than ever.*” (As the Penner of his Declaration, suppos’d to be a lately-return’d Vis-——nt, sets the Matter out Gloriously.) This common Sophistry, I say, as it was then infectious, might possibly catch Dr. *Atterbury*, (as well as it did other warm Heads, which have since retracted their Error) and being often inculcated with strong asseverations, reconcile him, at length, to a Cause, which at first might not please him so well, as being repugnant to his former Notions.

THERE WAS, moreover, another Temptation hard at Hand, that might contribute not a little to blind the *Eyes of his Understanding*. *Lambeth* was just opposite to *Westminster*, and the Prospect of Power and Primacy among his Brethren, as well as the Sight of a spacious Palace, was scarce to be resisted : The Archbishop was grown very infirm, and, according to the Course of Nature, could not subsist long : The QUEEN had conceiv’d a good Opinion of Dr. *Atterbury*, and her *Successor*, for ought he knew, might entertain a *Better* : The Treasurer was apparently his Friend, and the rest of the Ministry might promise him their Concurrence. The only Rival he had to dread, was Dr. *Robinson*, lately return’d from the Congress of *Utrecht*, and big with Expectances from the *little Merit* he had in negotiating a *Scandalous Peace*. His Character

rafter, however, declin'd apace ; and those who had advanc'd him to the Bishoprick of *London*, before his Return, were so much asham'd of him, when they came to detect his Ignorance and Hebetude, and Incompe-
tency for *that Charge*, that they wish'd him any where out of Sight, at *Sweden*, or *Denmark* again, to relide and Merchandize, or write his short Histories just as he pleas'd, rather than disparage their Recommendation by his daily and visible Insufficiency ; so that there was no great Appearance of Danger from that Quarter.

IN this Situation was Dr. *Atterbury's* Affairs ; expecting either a Translation to the Primacy of *Canterbury*, in Case of a Vacancy, or, what he might covet as much, an Accession of some Secular Dignity (the Pri-
vy-Seal was then very much talk'd of) to the Prelacy, that he had ; when, all on a Sudden, God sent out among the Chief of the Ministry a Spirit of Discord and Confusion, to bring to *Naught* the *Babel* they were raising, and to hasten their own Destruction. The Occasion of this Disagreement among them is not so well known, we think proper to ascribe it to an *immediate Direction of Providence*. But however it was, in that Conflict for Power, Lord *Be-----ke* had the Superiority, Lord *Ox-----rd* had the White Staff taken from him, and the Bishop was left to follow what Party he lik'd most,
which,

which, at that Time, prov'd the *Victorious*. By this Breach, however, among the *Great Ones*, their Measures were disconcerted, their Mutual Confidence lost, and their Affairs run to such Distraction, that notwithstanding the dangerous State of the QUEEN's Health, which encreas'd daily, and threaten'd them with the worst of Consequences; yet, they cou'd never again cement, or form any compact Body, or enter into any settled Resolutions, until the QUEEN died, and the Act of Succession (as in this general Confusion, there was none bold enough to Gain-say it) had its Effect, and took Place. The Truth is, if there was a Design to set aside the *Protestant Succession* in the *Illustrious House of HANOVER*, those, who were suspected to be most deeply concern'd in it, bore their Disappointment with a good Grace: They seem'd as well satisfy'd with his Majesty's peaceable Accession to the Throne, and attended the Solemnity of his Proclamation with as chearful a Look as any; tho' some will not stick to say, that there were many Aching Hearts under Smiling and Hypocritical Countenances on that Day. However that be, 'tis certain, that, in a short Time, they recover'd themselves so far from their Fright, as to lay no small Claim to the King's Favour. " The King, they gave out, intend-
 " ed to become an universal *Father* to his
 " People, and not to caress any particular
 " Party :

“ Party : His Religion, said they, was
 “ nearest a Kin to the Church of *England*,
 “ and most consonant to those high Doctrines
 “ in it, that they profess’d ; and the Form
 “ of his Government Abroad, cou’d not but
 “ countenance their Notions of *Passive Obe-*
 “ *dience*, and other Exaltations of the Royal
 “ Prerogative.” Upon these Presumptions,
 they promis’d themselves an equal Share, if
 not a Superiority above their Fellow-Subjects,
 in the KING’S Affections ; and accordingly
 none were speedier in their Congratulations,
 and warmer in their Oblations of Service,
 than they. The Lord Viscount *Bo---g---ke*
 was not only one, that first sign’d the *Royal*
Proclamation, but sent an Early Account
 thereof to the Court of *Hanover*, with great
 Expressions of Joy, and Tenders of his Duty,
 however he came soon after to be remov’d
 from his Office of Secretary of State. The
 Earl of *M---* writ an artful Letter to his
 Majesty, dated *August 30, O. S. 1714*, de-
 siring *him not to Credit any Misrepresentation,*
which Party-Hatred might possibly
make of him, but to accept him, for as
faithful and dutiful a Subject and Servant,
as ever any of his Family had been to the
Crown, or himself to his late Mistress the
QUEEN. The Duke of *O-----d* went to
 wait upon the King, in all the State and
 Magnificence imaginable, upon his first land-
 ing at *Greenwich*, and even *outdid himself*,

as well as the rest of the Nobility, in the Splendor of his Equipage, to testify his greater Reverence and Respect; but was soon given to understand, *that his Majesty had no longer Occasion for his Service, in the Quality of Captain-General, but would be glad to see him at Court.* The Earl of Ox----d, tho' he was not in Company the Night the King Landed, was one of the Earliest next Morning, in Hopes of a Kinder Reception, from the Sense of some *Secret Practices*; but 'twas with much ado, that he obtain'd the bare Honour of Kissing his Hand, without ever exchanging one Word with his Majesty. Nay, the very Bishop of *Rocheſter*, soon after the Coronation was over, offer'd to present the King (with some View, no doubt, of standing better in his Favour) with the Chair of State and Royal Canopy, his Perquisites, as Dean of *Westminster*, but the Offer being rejected, with some Neglect, it stuck to his Heart, I have been told, and turn'd to Resentment and Indignation.

THESE Instances of Insinuation and ready Address to his *Majesty*, I thought proper to mention, in order to let my Reader see, that Pride, Ambition, and a disappointed Hope, were the true Motives of such Men's Disaffection; That the greatest Tories in the Nation would have serv'd his *Majesty* very willingly, had he continu'd them in their Offices and Administrations; That they *then*
begun

begun to meditate a Revolt, when they found their Prince's Favour alienated, and Places of Power and Emolument confer'd on others; That the *Pretender*, consequently, owes them no great Thanks for their present Allegiance to him, when the first Fruits of it were so liberally offer'd to another; has no great Reason to depend on their Fidelity, who have made him no more than a Center to their Disgusts, and a common Refuge in Distress; nor any Confidence to place in their Services, which spring from Necessity more than Choice, and may at any Time be withdrawn by any *Act* of *Grace*, and Revocation of *Attainders*.

*Qui tali Auxilio, & Defensoribus istis
Indiget, ille miser.*

THE Party finding themselves thus excluded from the King's Favour, and destitute of all Hopes of attaining their Employments again, resolv'd upon other Measures, and betook themselves to another *Master*. *Bo-----ke* and *Or-----d* made their Escapes into *France*, and thence threaten'd *England* with a sudden Invasion: The E. of *M-----* went into the Highlands of *Scotland*, and there began a formal Rebellion: *Foster*, in *Northumberland*, was actually in Arms, and many more Conspirators were ripe for an Insurrection: The *Pretender's* Declaration, artfully

fully penn'd enough, and adapted to the prevailing Discontents of the Nation, was posted up in most Market-Towns, and, in some Places, his Title proclaim'd. In this Juncture of Affairs, 'twas thought needful, by most *Bodies* of Men, to give the Government all possible Assurance of their Fidelity and Allegiance ; and accordingly there was publish'd a Declaration of the *Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops in, and near, London, testifying their Abhorrence of the present Rebellion ; and an Exhortation to the Clergy and People under their Care, to be zealous in the Discharge of their Duties to his Majesty King GEORGE.*

BUT this Declaration the Bp. of *Rocheſter* refus'd to sign, and drew a very *worthy* and *well-affected Prelate*, † I dare say, into the same Refusal. “ What ! shall I sign a Paper, “ says he with himself, for the Benefit of “ those that will do nothing for me ? Shall “ I recognize the Title of him that has already discarded me from his Favour and “ good Esteem ? Shall I discountenance an Undertaking that may perhaps turn up *Trump* “ for me at last ? What will my good Friend, “ the D. of *Or----*d say, if he should come “ and see my Hand to this infamous Libel ? “ How will he upbraid my Pusillanimity and “ Want of Gratitude, to enter into any Combination against him, and how must the “ *PRETENDER* look upon those *that do all this ;*

† *Bishop Smalridge.*

“ that pray against him, that address a-
 “ gainst him, that swear against him, and
 “ abjure him upon every Turn? At other
 “ Times there may be a Dispensation for
 “ these Things, but this is a Critical Jun-
 “ cture, and none knows who may be up-
 “ permost, and therefore e’en fight Dog fight
 “ Bear, *Ego propria in pelle qui Escam.*”
 This, certainly, was the Hidden Language
 of the Man, and the true Reason of his not
 coming into the *Declaration*, tho’ the pre-
 tended one was, a just Offence taken at
 some Unbecomming Reflections cast upon a
 Party, that were not inferior to any, in Point
 of Loyalty, as he said. The Passage is this:
We are the more concern’d, that both the
Clergy and People of our Communion should
shew themselves hearty Friends to the Go-
vernment upon this Occasion, to vindicate
the Honour of the Church of England, be-
cause the Chief Hopes of our Enemies seem
to arise from Discontents artificially rais’d
amongst us, and because “ some who have va-
 “ lu’d themselves, and have been too much
 “ valu’d by others, for a pretended Zeal for
 “ the Church, have join’d with Papists in
 “ these wicked Attempts,” *which, as they*
must ruine the Church, if they succeed, so
they cannot well end without great Re-
proach to it, if the Rest of us do not clear-
ly and heartily declare our Detestation of
such Practices. The Reader may judge,
 whether

whether there be any Thing in these Words so exceptionable, as to countenance such a Behaviour, at such a Time, had there not been some other Purposes to be serv'd by such an Act of Disloyalty.

THAT Rebellion, however, was happily quell'd by his Majesty's wise Counsels, and successful Arms, conducted by the Duke of *Argyl* in *Scotland*, and the Lord *Carpenter* in *England*, two consummate GENERALS, train'd to the Art and Glories of War from their Youth ; carrying Terror in their very Names, and commanding Victory, wherever they led such courageous Troops, under the Auspices of so good a KING.

AFTER *this*, the Land was at Rest, 'bating some small Troubles at the Subsiding of such a Ferment, and the moderate Severity, inflicted on such as were Principals in the Rebellion, deterr'd some from the like Attempt, and reduc'd others to a better Mind. Those, however, who had escap'd from Justice into other Countries, uneasy in Exile, and impatient of Return, were always plotting something against the Government, they had their Friends and Agents here, Zealous enough to serve them, but stunn'd a little at their late Disaster, and not recover'd enough as yet, to put their Projects in Execution. Mens Fears must be forgot, and their Courage return, before they can be put upon a Second Desperate Enterprize, after a
tho-

thorough Defeat once. Something must be done, too, to alarm the Passions and angry Resentments of a People, before a Conspiracy can be feasible, or any Invasion meet with Encouragement and Abettors. This retarded the Enemies Designs so long ; but when they perceiv'd Things ripe for their Purpose, the Scars of the Civil War worn off, and Mens Fears asleep, thro' the Mildness of the Government, they soon sent over Instructions to their Friends, in both Houses of Parliament, in what Manner to pave the Way, and prepare the Minds of Men, before they open'd the new Scheme of their intended Invasion.

NOTHING, certainly, is so popular and spreading, as Declamations against evil Ministers, and Protestations against publick Usurpations and Wrongs. This some of the Party knew very well, and therefore set themselves to Work, in the last Session of the late Parliament, to spy out the weak Sides of the Government, and discover some false Steps, as they thought, which the best Ministry in the World, thro' the Exigency of Affairs, may sometimes be compell'd to make. The Bishop of *Rocheſter* was certainly a very active Man in this Affair : He drew up the Reasons for some of the Protests with his own Hand, and therefore it may not be amiss here, to enquire a little into the probable Views and Tendency of such

such Proceedings. Thus, for Instance, it might be very reasonable for some Members of the House of Lords, to enquire into the *Causes* of contracting so large a Navy Debt, and the best Methods of preventing the like for the future; * as, Whether employing great Numbers of Sea-men for several Years last past, more than are provided for by Parliament, † Whether not paying his Majesty's Ships off upon their Return from their Voyages, but continuing them in Pay during the Winter, ‡ or, Whether victualling them by any other than Victuallers appointed to that Service, be not the chief Causes of such Contractions. ‡‡

BUT then, to tell it Abroad, as they do in the several Forms of their Protestations, That the Liberty of the Subject is grossly invaded, That the Seamen are us'd with unnatural Severity, and *kept Prisoners*, as it were, *in floating Castles*, That the Navy is hazarded, Trade endanger'd, and unnecessary Expences of the publick Money incurr'd by remote Expeditions, and intermeddling with Wars that we have no concern in; is first raising, and then speaking to, the Disgust of the People. 'Tis alienating the Affections of the People from the

* Vide *Protests of the House of Lords*, Nov. 13, 1721.

† Decemb. 5, 1721.

‡ January 13, 1721-22.

‡‡ February 1, 1721-22.

the King and Government, without any Colour of Reason, after a Committee appointed to inspect this Matter, had given it for their Resolution, --- *That employing more Sea-men than usual, and keeping his Majesty's Ships in Pay all Winter long, was necessary for the Safety of the Kingdom, and the Tranquillity of Europe, and not repugnant to the Advice and Approbation of Parliament.** In like manner, It might not be unbecoming the Care, or Curiosity of some Men in that House, to move for an Address to his Majesty, to lay before them the Instructions given to the Lord Carteret, as Minister and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Sweden; † the Instructions given to Sir George Bing (now Lord Viscount Torrington) in relation to the *Spanish* Fleet in the *Mediterranean*; ‡ the Treaty of Commerce, whereby the former Treaties of Commerce are renew'd with *Spain*; §§ and the several Treaties, Instructions, and Orders, in relation to the *British* Squadrons being sent into the *Baltick* for several Years last past, to know whether the Act of Settlement has not been infring'd by these several Northern Expeditions.** But then, to tell the People *without Doors*, when they are not able to

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carry

* Vide *Protests of the House of Lords for the Year* 1721, Jan. 25, & passim.

† Nov. 15.

‡ Decemb. 19.

§§ Nov. 20.

** Jan. 25.

carry their Point *within*, that the Birth-right of the Peerage, to enact Laws, and enquire into the Observation of them ; The Freedom of Parliaments, -and known Rules of the Constitution, are invaded ; That wicked and guilty Ministers are screen'd and embolden'd, and the King himself, in Effect, has broken his Coronation Oath ; That the War with *Spain*, begun in the Time of Peace, was unjustifiable in itself, and prejudicial to the Nation on sundry Accounts ; That the Act of Settlement was infring'd by engaging in Wars on account of the King's foreign Dominions ; and the Powers lodg'd in his Hands, are unreasonable to a great Degree, unknown to the Constitution, injurious to our common Liberty, repugnant to the Lenity of our Government, and such as render Him rather terrible than amiable to his Subjects : What is this but sowing the Seeds of Disaffection and Sedition, propagating an ill Opinion of every one in Power, and sounding a Trumpet to Men's Passions and angry Resentments ? Once more, it might be popular enough to plead for admitting the City of *London's* Petition, concerning the Amendment of the *Quarentine Act*, then depending in their House, * for admitting the Clergy of *London's* Petition, concerning

* Vide *Protests for the Year* 1721, December 6.

cerning the *Quakers Bill*, authorizing their Affirmation or Declaration to be valid, † and for rejecting such Clauses, as are for removing Persons infected with the Plague, or healthy Persons out of infected Families, to a Lazaret or Pest-house, and for drawing Lines or Trenches about any City, Town, or Place infected : ‡ But then, to become Mutinous upon a Disappointment, and to proclaim it aloud, because they are out-number'd by Votes, and because the major Part of that August Assembly chanc'd to think such Proceedings might be of dangerous Tendency, a Prelude and Example towards introducing *tumultuous Petitions* ; to proclaim it aloud, I say, that all Freedom is vanish'd, and the Liberty of Petitioning, which is the Birth-right of an *Englishman*, gone ; that Men, who think themselves under Hardships, from which they desire to be reliev'd, have reason to look upon it, as a new and greater Hardship not to be heard ; That there is a military Power erecting within the Kingdom, in Time of Peace, and such Schemes going on, as must be executed with Barbarity and military Force ; That no Man's Person is safe, or Property secure, when he may be haul'd away, and his House ransack'd, upon every sorry Information, and the great and opulent

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City

† January 17.

‡ December 13.

City of *London* become a Prey and Booty to cruel and voracious Soldiers ; This certainly is inflaming Mens Discontent with a Witness, representing all Things near and dear to us, as lost and gone, without a bold Push to recover them, and irritating *that Great Hive of People* to issue out, arm'd, and prepar'd for Action, upon a proper call. In a Word, he that considers the Time and Manner of these Protests being publish'd, by what Hands some of them were drawn up, and with what Severity of Expression most of them are pointed, will easily perceive, that they were not so much intended to push at some particular Ministers, whose Place, in the King's Favour, was the just Reward of distinguish'd Merit, as to favour a general Insurrection and Revolt ; to tell the People, in short, that the Laws were abominably violated, their Rights and Liberties taken from them, and the whole Constitution so totally subverted, that nothing but a Revolution could repair and re-establish it ; that Matters were now come to the same *Crisis* they were in, in 1688 ; and consequently, the *Pretender* might be restor'd, for the same Reasons, and upon the same Principles, that his Father Abdicated.

THESE, certainly, were the Uses, for which, these Protests, at least by some artful Managers in the House, were design'd and calculated, and were soon discern'd to be so,
by

by the Discovery of a black and dangerous Conspiracy, *carry'd on by Persons of Figure and Distinction here at Home, in Conjunction with Traitors Abroad, in order to Place the Pretender on the Throne of these Kingdoms.* Various Methods were attempted, (as the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons informs us) and various Times fix'd, for putting this Design in Execution. The first Intention was to have procur'd a regular Body of Foreign Forces to Invade these Kingdoms, at the Time of the late Elections; but the Conspirators being disappointed in this Expectation, resolv'd, next, to make an Attempt, at the Time, it was generally believ'd, his Majesty intended to go to *Hanover*, by the Help of such Officers and Soldiers, as could pass into *England* unobserv'd from Abroad, under the Command of the late Duke of *Or----*d: He was to have landed in the River, with a great Quantity of Arms, provided in *Spain* for that Purpose; the *Tower* at the same Time was to have been seiz'd, and the City of *London* made a Place of Arms: But this Design being also disappointed by many concurring Events, the Conspirators found themselves under a Necessity of deferring their Enterprize, till the breaking-up of the Camp: During which Interval, they labour'd, by their Agents and Emisseries, to corrupt and seduce the Officers and Soldiers of the Army,
and

and depended so much on their Defection, as to entertain Hopes of placing the *Pretender* on the Throne, tho' they should have no Assistance from Abroad. The Government had sufficient Reason to suspect Dr. *Atterbury*, who had been at the Head of the *Protesters* to be no small Agent in this Conspiracy, and did therefore order him to be apprehended. To this Purpose, two Officers, the Under-Secretary, and a Messenger, (as we have the Matter recounted in a Letter to *Paris*, suppos'd to be wrote by Mr. *Kelly*) on *August* 24, 1722, went, about two a-Clock in the Afternoon, to the Bishop's House at *Westminster*, where he then was, with Orders to bring him, and his Papers, before the Council. He happen'd to be in his Night-Gown, when they came in, and being made acquainted with their Business, he desir'd Time to dress himself; in the mean Time his Secretary came in, and the Officers, &c. went to search for his Papers; In the sealing of which, the Messenger brought a Paper, which he pretended to have found in his Close-Stool, and desir'd that it might be seal'd up with the rest. His Lordship observing it, and believing it to be a forg'd one of his own, desir'd the Officers not to do it, and to bear Witness, that the Paper was not caught with him; but notwithstanding, they did it; and tho' they behav'd themselves with some Respect to him, yet they allow'd the Messengers

to

to treat him with the utmost Insolence ; who pull'd and haul'd him about, and said, that if he did not make more Haste, and put on his Shirt, &c. they would carry him away naked as he was : Upon which, he desir'd his Secretary to see his Papers all seal'd up, and went himself directly to the Cock-pit, where the Council waited for him. How this agrees with what the Author of *the Letter to the Clergy of the Church of England* tells us, I cannot conceive, unless we can imagine, that those, who were appointed to secure him and his Papers, and at the same Time commanded to treat him with all the Respect he speaks of, forgot the Orders of their Superiors, and fell into unwarrantable Ill-usage of him, of their own Accord. However this was, when he came before the Council, He behav'd with a great deal of Calmness, and They, with much Civility towards him : He had Liberty to speak for himself as much as he pleas'd, and they listen'd to his Defence with a great deal of Attention ; and, what is more than ordinary in such Cases, after he had withdrawn, he had twice Liberty to re-enter the Council-Chamber to make for himself such Representations and Requests as he thought proper. 'Tis said, That while he was under Examination, he chanc'd to make Use of our Saviour's Answer to the Jewish Council, while he stood before them. *If I tell you, you will not believe me, and if I*
also

also ask you, you will not answer me, nor let me go. Luke 22. v. 67, 68. Which, some accounted (I think without much Reason) an Arrogant Assumption in him, and a kind of Indignity put upon the Council. After three Quarters of an Hour's Stay at the Cockpit, he was sent to the *Tower* privately, in his own Coach, and without any Manner of Noise or Observation.

How he behav'd, and what Reception he had within those Walls, is neither so material, nor so certainly known, as to deserve a particular Narration ; tho', if his own Account may be credited, the Usage he met with was not so commendable, as might be wish'd ; for his Complaint to the House of Lords is this ----- “ I have been under a
 “ very long and close Confinement, and
 “ have been treated with such Severity and
 “ so great Indignity, as, I believe, no Pri-
 “ soner in the *Tower*, of my Age and Fun-
 “ ction, and Rank, ever was ; by which
 “ Means, what Strength and Use of my
 “ Limbs I had, when I was first committed
 “ in *August* last, is now so far declin'd, that
 “ I am very unfit to make my Defence, a-
 “ gainst a Bill of such an extraordinary Nature :
 “ The Great Weakness of Body and Mind
 “ under which I labour, such Usage, such
 “ Hardships, such Insults, as I have under-
 “ gone, might have broken a more resolute
 “ Spirit, and much stronger Constitution, than
 “ falls

“ falls to my Share.” And, in that Letter of his, which was intercepted 26 *February*, 1722-3, there is a Passage of very dark and ambiguous Import. “ You may, says he “ to his Friend, when you see *Br---*, impart the Story of that Villainy to him, and “ desire his Advice upon it ; at what Time, “ and in what Manner, it may be proper “ for me to bring that Matter upon the Stage, “ and shew what extraordinary Methods “ are taken to *get at me*, and beg the Lords “ Protection in the Case against such vile “ Practice. I hope *William* has not given “ in to it, and then my Way will (some “ Time or other) be clearer towards a Complaint ; whenever it is proper, I think the “ Rascal, my Neighbour, may be summon’d “ before the Lords, and made to tell, who “ employ’d him to proffer such Sums, and “ be punish’d by them for such Practices.”

* Who the Person is, that he stigmatizes with this Odious Character, is not so apparent ; *no one*, certainly, that the Government employ’d or authoriz’d to use him ill, much less to oppress, by Methods of Violence and Corruption, as he, in the Warmth of his Resentment seems to insinuate, That Thought is abhorrent to Men of Honour and Integrity,
N howe-

* See Appendix, In the Papers relating to the Bishop of Rochester, p. 30.

however, an unhappy Misunderstanding between him, and Col. *Williamson*, the Deputy-Lieutenant of the *Tower*, from his very first Commitment, might foment a Jealousy and Suspicion in him of *I know not what*. But let that pass : The Commitment of a Bishop, upon a Suspicion of High-Treason, as it was a Thing rarely practis'd, since the Reformation, so it occasion'd various Speculations among the People. Those that were the Bishop's Friends, and pretended to the greatest Intimacy with him, laid the whole Odium of the Matter upon the Ministry. They knew the Bishop so well, they said, his Love to our Constitution, and Attachment to the Protestant Succession, his profess'd Abhorrence of Popery, and settled Contempt of the *Pretender*, such Caution, and Prudence, and Circumspection in all his Actions, as would never allow him to engage in an Attempt of subverting the Government, so hazardous in itself, and so repugnant to his Principles, and therefore they imputed *All* to the Malice and Management of a great Minister of State or two, who were resolv'd to remove him, on Account of some personal Prejudices, as well as the constant Molestation he gave them in Parliament, and the particular Influence and Activity he had shewn in the late Election ; and in this Persuasion they continue still, obstinate, and more confirm'd, since *Kelly*, at the Bar of the House of Lords, has solemnly,

lemnly acquitted him from any Knowledge of the Conspiracy or criminal Correspondence with him, and resolv'd all into the pure Invention and Contrivance of *Neynoe*, a Wretch brib'd with Money, and fair Promises, to devise a Plot, and supposititious Letters, that others might have an Handle to pull down the Pride of that haughty Prelate, and squeeze other innocent Persons, as he expresses it. † Those that were Friends to the Ministry, were of a contrary Opinion, that the Bishop was secretly a Favourer of the *Pretender's* Cause, and had formerly been tampering with Things of that Nature, even in the Queen's Time, and while his Party was excluded Power; but, upon their Re-admission, relinquish'd that Pursuit, and his Confederates therein, and became a good Subject again: They urg'd, that the Influence, which the late Duke of O-----d had over him, assisted with his own private Ambition and Revenge, might prompt him to many Things, contrary to his declar'd Sentiments, and inconsistent with that Cunning and Caution, which, in other Cases, he was Master of: And, to obviate the Difficulty of the *Pretender's* Bigottry, and his Averſion to Popery, they talk'd of a certain new-invented Scheme of his, not to

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receive

† See Kelly's *Speech*, p. 16.

receive the *Pretender*, whose Principles were incurable, but his *Son* only, into the Kingdom ; That he was to be educated a Protestant in the Church of *England*, and the Bishop made Guardian and Lord-Protector during his Minority : A prodigious Design, and not unlike the Ambitious Spirit of the *Man*, tho' he had not the Luck to accomplish it !

THESE, and many more Speculations, amused the World at that Time, and Men judg'd of Things, according as their Affections ran, 'till a *Report* from the Committee of the House of Commons was publish'd, which set the Conspiracy in a right Light. What the Bishop is chiefly charg'd with in that Report, is, carrying a traiterous Correspondence Abroad, in order to raise an Insurrection in the Kingdom, and to procure foreign Forces to invade it ; and, to support this Accusation, there are three Letters produc'd, to General *Dillon*, the late Lord *Mar*, and the *Pretender* himself, under the feign'd Names of *Chivers*, *Musgrave*, and *Jackson*, which are of a dangerous Nature. I shall not trouble my Reader with the Letters themselves, † since the Observations, the Committee has thought fit to make on them, will

† The Reader may see them in the Report from the Committee of the House of Commons, p. 42, &c.

will more fully shew him both their Contents and Tendency.

1. THIS *Dillon* is a profess'd *Roman Catholic*, who appear'd openly in Arms against the late King *William*, in *Ireland*, and being oblig'd to leave that Country, so long ago as the Capitulation of *Limerick*, has ever since adher'd to the same Cause in foreign Parts, and is, at present, more active and industrious, than any other of the *Pretender's* Agents, in exciting a Rebellion in these Kingdoms : Whereupon the Committee observes, that, as the different Professions of these two Persons could lay no Sort of Foundation for any Intimacy or Intercourse between them, so the long Absence of General *Dillon* makes it highly probable that their Acquaintance could not have commenc'd before his leaving these Kingdoms ; and cou'd only have proceeded from their being long united and confederated in the common Support of the same wicked Cause ; and yet their Intimacy is such, that the Bishop acknowledges the Receipt of several Papers from *Dillon*, together with Directions for communicating them, which the Bishop owns he obey'd so far, as he judg'd it proper for the Service ; and yet some of these Papers appear to have been from the late Duke of *Ormond*, who is attainted, and others probably from the *Pretender*, whom he has so often abjur'd. He advises *Dillon* to press the Sol-
liciting

liciting Supplies, and owns he has been desir'd to undertake that Province himself, but that he had hitherto declin'd it; not from such Restraints, as should naturally have arisen in the Mind of one of his Character and Function, but merely on Account of some former ill Success and Mismanagement, in which, he owns, he had been deeply concern'd. He afterwards advises *Dillon* to use the same Caution which he himself intended, of not trusting any thing of Importance to the Post, endeavouring to act, within the Shelter and Safe-guard of the Laws, for subverting our happy Constitution, and not so much sollicitous to avoid the Guilt of Treason, as to escape the Punishment due to it, by saving himself from the Danger of legal Conviction.

2. THE Lord *Mar* had openly appear'd in Arms in *Scotland* against his Majesty, and since that, had a Post of the greatest Confidence and Trust near the *Pretender*, and yet, in his Letter to him, he owns the Receipt of one by *Kelly*, together with verbal Instructions; which, to cut off all Excuse of Surprise or Inadvertency, he says, he carefully consider'd, and yet intirely agreed to. He then mentions his present sad Circumstances, but comforts himself, that, as they will not permit him soon to act openly, so neither is there, he thinks, an immediate Occasion for it, some Time being necessary towards ripening

ripening Matters ; so that when a proper Opportunity should have offer'd, the Mask was to have been thrown off, and he was openly to have avow'd the Cause, which, hitherto, he had supported only in Disguise.

3. THE Laws of the Land account it High Treason to hold any Correspondence with the *Pretender* himself, or any of his Agents ; and yet in his Letter to the *Pretender*, he owns the Receipt of one from him, and, to shew how well he deserv'd that Confidence, he himself (who best knows the Thoughts of his own Heart) declares, that if the *Pretender* guess'd at his right Mind, he dares say, it is agreeable to his own. He then encourages him to hope for a Second Opportunity, *viz. the King's Departure to his foreign Dominions*, tho' not every Way so favourable as the first, *viz. the Time of the Elections*, which was elaps'd : He afterwards takes to himself the Merit of some Writing, which he had drawn up, and transmitted to the *Pretender*, after it had first pass'd the View and Approbation of the Persons concern'd ; tho' he says, that it had been kept back a great while, in hopes that *Deeds* might have accompany'd *Words* ; and lastly, as soon as God should restore him to his Health again, he promises to employ it in the Prosecutions of his Treasons ; but, in the mean Time, desires Leave to withdraw himself, seemingly, from any Engagements of
that

that Kind, that he might return with greater Zeal and Activity to destroy this Church and State, by placing a *Popish Pretender* on the *Throne*, in violation of the most sacred Oaths, so frequently taken by him. † These Letters and Observations upon them, were the chief Foundation of the Resolution taken in the House of Commons on *March 11. That Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester was principally concern'd in forming, directing, and carrying on a wicked and detestable Conspiracy, for invading these Kingdoms with a foreign Force, and for raising Insurrections and a Rebellion at Home, in order to subvert our present happy Establishment in Church and State, by placing a Popish Pretender upon the Throne.*

THIS Procedure, to punish by Way of Bill, occasion'd many warm Debates in the House of Commons : Those that oppos'd it, made use of such Arguments as these : --- That by the Rules of natural Justice, Laws should be first made for the Direction of Mens Obedience, before they can be deem'd Guilty ; that where there is no antecedent Law, there is properly no Transgression ; and to punish *therefore* by a Law, made after the Offence

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† See the Report from the Committee of the House of Commons, p. 45, 46. See Votes of the House of Commons.

mitted, was repugnant to Reason, and contrary to Justice ; That Bills of Attainder were always Blemishes to the Reigns wherein they pass'd, and might be detrimental to the Interest and Security of his Majesty's Government ; That they were injurious to the *Judicial Power* of the House of Lords, and destructive to the Use of *Juries*, the distinguishing Priviledge of the People of this Nation, prejudicial to the known Liberty and Safety of an *English* Subject, and never to be us'd but in Cases of extream Necessity, and where the Preservation of the State plainly requir'd them, as, in the present Case, there was not that Call and Necessity ; That the greater the Crime and Accusation against any Person was, the clearer and more convincing should the Evidence against him be ; That anonymous and decypher'd Letters, forc'd Constructions, Hear-says, and Inuendo's, were no Conviction of the Bishop's Guilt ; no Grounds to support the Allegations in the Preamble of the Bill, for *inflicting Pains and Penalties upon him* ; no Evidence that would be *accepted* in any other Court of Judicature ; but a Case, which, if *admitted*, would be a fatal Precedent, such as might in Time come Home to them all ; and make their latest Posterity *rue*. Mr. *Kelly*, in his Speech, (which I crave Leave to mention here) has something remarkably *pathetick* concerning the Effects

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of such extraordinary Proceedings. “ The
 “ first extraordinary Bill that, I believe,
 “ ever pass’d in *England*, says he, was that
 “ of the Earl of *Strafford*; and how much
 “ personal Prejudice was in his Prosecution,
 “ and how fatal that Bill prov’d in its Con-
 “ sequences, I need not mention, since the
 “ Royal Martyr himself has, in his dying
 “ Words, call’d it, *An unjust Sentence*, and
 “ imputed all his Misfortunes to it. And
 “ pray, my Lords, why was the SENTENCE
 “ *unjust*, but because it was not supported
 “ by Law? --- and to the eternal Honour
 “ of this House be it said, that when the
 “ Proofs upon his Tryal were not found Le-
 “ gal, they refus’d to find him Guilty. But
 “ when this extraordinary Method was ta-
 “ ken, and the Torrent of the Times bore
 “ down their usual Justice, then the Flood-
 “ Gates of all these Miseries were open’d,
 “ which overwhelm’d and suck’d the Con-
 “ stitution; and of which, some of your no-
 “ ble Predecessors had so strong and lively
 “ a Sense, as to declare, in this very House,
 “ that they would be sooner *torn in Pieces*
 “ than come in to such illegal Proceedings;
 “ and so sell a Sacrifice to the Love and
 “ Laws of their Country. To which I shall
 “ only beg Leave to add one Observation,
 “ that, I am sure, is but too well known to
 “ that Right Reverend Bench.—— That, of
 “ all the Prelates, who advis’d his Majesty
 “ to

“ to the passing of that fatal Bill, not one
 “ of them escap’d the Violence of those very
 “ Persons, whom they endeavour’d to oblige
 “ by that Advice. These, my Lords, were
 “ the unhappy Effects and fatal Consequences
 “ of one extraordinary Bill ; and what
 “ those of another may prove, the great Director
 “ of all Things only can foresee.”

THOSE that argu’d for the Bill, alledg’d--
 That this was a Case of the utmost Necessity,
 and wherein the Security of the Government
 was highly concern’d ; That the Conspiracy
 in itself was dangerous, as well as detestable ;
 big with Mischiefs of all Kinds, and destructive
 of every Thing that was valuable among us ;
 That the Conspirators had carry’d it on with
 the utmost Cunning, as well as Wickedness,
 and screen’d and secur’d themselves under
 the Shelter of the Law ; That, tho’ there
 appear’d no legal Evidence against them, yet
 there was such a Complication of Criminal
 Circumstances, as amounted to the Force,
 tho’ not the Formality, of Evidence, and
 such, as, in the Judgment of the Legislature
 (which was not ty’d down to the common
 Rules of other Courts) might be reputed a
 reasonable Conviction ; That in short, there
 was no other Way of bringing Offenders,
 notoriously guilty, tho’ artfully disguis’d,
 to condign Punishment ; and yet, to let them
 escape, would be giving Comfort and Encouragement
 to such Practices for

the future, and promising Indemnity to clandestine Treason ; That this Way of Proceeding has always been allow'd in Cases of the like Nature, in the Case of Sir *John Fenwick*, in the Case of the intended Assassins of King *William* the 3^d, and, if us'd, cannot fail of having more Advantages to the State, than pernicious Consequences, attending it : That, if ever it was needful, now is the Time to appear strenuous in the Cause of the present Establishment, and to defeat the Designs of the *Pretender* and his Agents for ever, by letting them see, that there is no Design, tho' never so deeply laid, and covertly carry'd on, that can escape the *Vigilance* of the Ministry, or any Person, tho' never so high in Station, or sacred in Function, (let him hide his Deeds of Darkness in what Obscurity he pleases) but must expect to be punish'd, when once he is detected : That the Bishop, in particular, who had been so troublesome to the Government, and turbulent in his Proceedings, who had added Perjury and Perfidy to his undutiful Behaviour, and by his ill Example, impair'd, in others, a due Sense and Consideration of publick Oaths, ought, *least of all*, to expect Favour and Indulgence, but rather more Rigour and unrelenting Severity, as his Guilt had been more Heinous, his Example more Pernicious, and his Obligations to act otherwise more numerous and coercive.

THESE

THESE were the Arguments, which, at that Time, prevail'd both in the House, and elsewhere. And accordingly, a Bill was brought in, on *April* the 4th, to inflict certain Pains and Penalties on *Francis* Lord Bishop of *Rochester*, and a Copy of the Preamble, wherein all the Chief Charges against him were contain'd : “ As that he had been
 “ deeply concern'd in forming, &c. a wicked and detestable Conspiracy, and had
 “ been a principal Actor therein ; that he
 “ had done this, by traiterously consulting
 “ and corresponding with divers Persons *here*,
 “ to raise an Insurrection in this Kingdom,
 “ and procure foreign Forces to invade it ;
 “ that he had done this, by traiterously corresponding with the same wicked Intent,
 “ with the *Pretender* himself, and other
 “ Persons *Abroad* employ'd by him, knowing them to be so employ'd ; that his Design
 “ in all this, was to depose his Majesty King
 “ *George*, to subvert our present Constitution
 “ both in Church and State, and to place a
 “ *Popish Pretender* upon the Throne ; in
 “ consequence to deprive us of our Religion,
 “ Laws, and Liberties, to involve us in
 “ Blood and Ruin, and to subject us to the
 “ Bondage and Oppression of *Romish* Superstition and Arbitrary Power.”

* THESE Charges, I say, and Accusations against him, were sent by the Sergeant at

* See *Preamble to the Act*.

at Arms, and Notice withal given him, that he had the Liberty of Council and Solicitors granted him, and all other Things necessary for his Defence.

THE Bishop, 'tis plain both by his intercepted Letter at the *Tower*, and his own Acknowledgement to the Lords, expected nothing more, than an Impeachment to be lodg'd against him, but never prosecuted, as in the Cases of the Lord *Danby* and the Earl of *Oxford*; † but when he perceiv'd that the Commons intended to proceed against him *by Bill*, and to treat him with a more unavoidable and expeditious Severity than he imagin'd, he was a little surpriz'd at first, and seem'd to express the Symptoms of such a Fear, as may, in some sudden and unexpected Cases, be incident to the boldest Man. He recover'd himself, however, in a short Time, and, with a Resolution to make the best Defence he could, but such as was consistent with his Honour and Dignity, he sent his Petition to the House of Lords, *March* the 29th, praying for their Direction and Advice, as to his Conduct in that Conjunction, and what their Lordships Opinion might be, in relation to a standing Order, *prohibiting, on a Penalty, any Lord to appear, either in Person, or by his Counsel, before*

† See his Speech.

before the House of Commons, to answer any Accusation there.

THE Debates among the Lords, upon this Occasion, were many ; the Priviledges peculiar to their *House* were largely insisted on, and the late Intrenchments made upon them, by the Commons, loudly complain'd of ; but, at last, it was carry'd by a great Majority, * that the Bishop, being only a Lord in Parliament, and no Peer, might, without any Diminution to the Honour of that House, appear in the House of Commons, if he thought fit, and in what Manner he thought fit, to make the best Defence, and Vindication that he could. The Bishop, however, was not well pleas'd with this Concession, nor willing to try his Fate where he thought himself injur'd and prejudg'd already, and therefore sent a Letter on *April* the 4th to the *Speaker* of the *House of Commons*, acquainting him with the Reasons that had determin'd him, not to give that House any Trouble, concerning a Bill therein depending against him, but should be ready to make his Defence and Plea against it, when it came to be argu'd *in another House, whereof he had the Honour to be a Member*. It so happen'd, that a Letter, which fell into the Ministry's Hands, was seal'd with the Seal of an Impression very much like, if not the very same with the Seal, which
had

* 78 to 32.

had been observ'd on a certain criminal Letter, † for which he was accus'd ; a Circumstance, this, not to be neglected, because it might conduce to ascertain those Letters to be his, as well as confirm some other Instances, that pointed at his Guilt ; and therefore Orders were immediately sent to the *Tower*, to seize all the Seals that were found about him or his Servants, and to bring them instantly away, to have their Impressions compar'd. Col. *Williamson*, in this, did no more than he was commanded ; but, on the 5th of *April*, the Bishop sent a Petition to the House of Lords, complaining, that the said *Williamson*, assisted by Persons under his Authority, had, by Violence, search'd him, carry'd away two Seals, and seiz'd a Paper in his Pocket, which was a Letter to his Solicitor ; search'd his two Servants likewise, and taken away a Seal from one of them ; *and thereupon praying, that, as a Lord of Parliament, and Member of that House, he might have Relief and Protection.*

WHAT made this Complaint the more remarkable, was, his having a Bill depending against him in the House of Commons at this Time, and the Benefit of Counsel and Solicitors allow'd him for making his Defence: It seem'd a little hard, therefore, and un-

† It was a Letter directed to Mr. Dubois, seiz'd among the Bishop's Papers.

unreasonable, that his Letter to his Solicitor should be seiz'd, or any Thing forcibly wrested from him, that related to his Vindication: A Violation of the Rules of natural Justice, as well as the fundamental and known Laws of the Realm, some call'd it, *that any Person, and more especially a Lord of Parliament, being under Imprisonment and Accusation of High Treason, should, by Terror, or other Violence, be, in any Degree, disturb'd in, or disabled from, making his Defence*; * but the Thing being judg'd necessary at that Time, and directed by the Ministry, to enable them to make a farther Discovery, the Petition was dismiss'd by a great Majority †, and the Commons proceeded with their usual *Zeal and Vigour*, till, on the 9th of *April*, they pass'd the Bill against him, which enacts, " That, after the 1st of *June* 1723, he shall be depriv'd of all his Offices, Dignities, Promotions, and Benefices Ecclesiastical whatsoever, and that, from thenceforth, the same shall be actually void, as if he were naturally dead; that he shall, for ever, be disabled, and render'd incapable from holding or enjoying any Office, Dignity, or Emolument, within this Realm, or any other his Majesty's Dominions; as also from

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" exerci-

* See the *Protests of the House of Lords*, p. 12.

† 56 to 24.

“ exercising any Office, Ecclesiastical or Spi-
 “ ritual whatever ; that he shall suffer per-
 “ petual Exile, and be for ever banish’d this
 “ Realm, and all other his Majesty’s Do-
 “ minions ; that he shall depart out of the
 “ same by the 25th of *June* next ; and if he
 “ return into, or be found within the Realm,
 “ or any other his Majesty’s Dominions, af-
 “ the said 25th of *June*, he, being thereof
 “ lawfully convicted, shall suffer as a Felon
 “ without Benefit of Clergy, and shall be
 “ utterly incapable of any Pardon from his
 “ Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors : That
 “ all Persons, who shall be aiding and assist-
 “ ing to his Return into this Realm, or any
 “ other his Majesty’s Dominions, or shall
 “ conceal him within the same, being law-
 “ fully convicted thereof, shall be adjudg’d
 “ guilty of Felony, without Benefit of Cler-
 “ gy : That if any of his Majesty’s Subjects
 “ (except such Persons as shall be licens’d
 “ for that Purpose under the Sign Manual)
 “ shall, after the 25th of *June*, hold any
 “ Correspondence in Person with him, with-
 “ in this Realm, or without ; or by Letters,
 “ Messages, or otherwise, or with any Per-
 “ son employ’d by him, knowing such Per-
 “ son to be so employ’d, they shall, on Con-
 “ viction, be adjudg’d Felons without Be-
 “ nefit of Clergy : And, Lastly, That Of-
 “ fences against this Act, committed out of
 “ this

“ this Realm, may be try’d in any County
 “ within *Great Britain*.” †

THESE were the several Pains and Penalties which pass’d into an Act, against Dr. *Atterbury* the 9th of *April*; and the same Day Mr. *Yonge* was order’d to carry it to the Lords, and desire their Concurrence.

SOME that were ignorant of the Reasons why Dr. *Atterbury* appear’d not in the House of Commons, imputed it to a Consciousness of Guilt, or a certain Despair of doing himself any Good by the best Vindication; and, notwithstanding his Declaration to the contrary, expected the same Thing from him, when the Bill came up to the House of Lords. But they little understood the Temper of the Man, or what a Gratification it was to his Spirit, not only to be the *Person remark’d* for a few Days, but to have a probable Chance, likewise, of transmitting his Name to Posterity, in the *Annals* of an *illustrious Prince*, which he must have ever despair’d of, had he continu’d within the Bounds of his Function. He knew that the Sense of his Guilt would vanish among Men, but the Remembrance of his Punishment, if it had any remarkable Severity in it, would remain*,

P 2

and

† See *Abstract of the Acts of last Session*, p. 38.

* Equidem Ego sic existimo P. C. omnes Cruciatos minores quam facinora eorum esse: sed plerique Mortales

and in Time, perhaps, operate for his *Recall*, if he could but palliate some Matters, and give a fair Gloss to others, in the Course of his Defence. These Thoughts, and a Conscioufness of his own Abilities, made him resolve to make the best of this Opportunity, let the Event prove what it wou'd; and accordingly, on the 6th of *May*, about 9 in the Morning, he went, accompany'd with the Deputy-Governour, in his Coach, and attended with a strong Detachment of Foot-Guards, from the *Tower* to *Westminster*, when the Bill was first read, and a long Procefs began, which continu'd for above a Week, and had too great a Variety of Occurrences in it to find any Place in this short Narrative. The Temper of the Mob is the most unaccountable Thing in Nature; nor is there any certainty which Way, at any Time, it will take: Blindness goes before it, and its Censures or Applauses are guided by Madness and Caprice*: A *Sa-----l*, not long ago, was its great Doating-piece, but now the great Supporter of
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tales postrema meminere, & in Hominibus impiis, Sceleris eorum obliti, de pœnâ differunt, si ea paulo Severior fuerit. Vid. *Cæsaris Orat. in Sal. Bell. Cat.*

* Non enim est concilium in vulgo, non ratio, non discrimen, non diligentia: Semperque sapientes ea, quæ populus Fecisset, ferenda, non semper laudanda duxerunt. *Cic. pro Cn. Plancio.*

that *Sa-----l*, the Composer of his Speech, the Manager of his Defence, the Director of his Conduct, and the Curb and Restraint upon his mad and immerigerous Spirit, at that critical Juncture, falls under their Clamours and Insults, notwithstanding the Sacredness of his Character, and is forc'd to appeal to the House of Lords for Safety and Protection.

WICKED and pragmatical Men, or Dissenters of any Kind, may put themselves *officially* at the Head of a Rabble, and insult a Prisoner more virulently, perhaps, because he is a *Prelate* : But, that the Ministry had no Hand in these Disorders, that the Persons thus outrageous, were neither employ'd, encourag'd, nor conniv'd at by them, (however Suggestions of this Nature came to be made in the House) is plain, from the speedy Stop that was put to them, the strict Orders that were given to seize and secure all that were guilty of such Inhumanity, and the due Care taken to execute these Orders, by the Guards defending his Person, and the Magistrates committing all such to Prison, as were remarkably insolent ; so that, all the Week after, he pass'd along the Streets very quietly, and without Molestation, being pity'd, rather than revil'd ; and became the Object of Mens Commiseration at last, more than their Reproach. So easily are the angry Passions of a *good-natur'd People* asswag'd, and so soon do the tender Resentments of
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Human Nature take Place again ! The examining of Witnesses on both Sides, the explaining and enforcing Matters that were difficult, the arguing Points of Law that were abstruse, and the great Emulation in the Counsel ‡ to prove him Guilty, or to prove him Innocent, as their different Purpose and Intention was, took up most of the Week. (The Bishop all the while behaving with a becoming Magnanimity, and doing every Thing that a knowing and sagacious Man could do, in his Defence) 'till on *Saturday May 11*, he was allow'd to speak for himself.

THE Speech, which we have publish'd, seems to have been very imperfectly taken ; it wants a great deal of his justness of Method, and exactness of Thought ; it has not that nice Connection of Matter, and easy Transition of Period, that I have observ'd in his other Writings ; but, such as it is, the Reader may perhaps give a Guess at the Form and Design, by this short Analysis that I venture to give him of it.

THE

‡ *Sir Const. Phipps, and Will. Wynne, Esq; were the Bishop's Counsel, and Mr. Jos. Taylor and Mr. Morris, his Solicitors.*

THE Speech then, as it appears to me, consists of three Parts ; 1st. A Preface, 2d. A Confutation of the Charge against him, and, 3d. A Conclusion.

- I. IN the *Preface*, he complains, first, of the long Confinement, and other Severities that he had suffer'd in the *Tower* : Then tells the Lords why he did not defend himself before the Commons, because, both by the Resolution of that House, and the Preamble of the Bill, he found himself prejudg'd : Then enumerates several Hardships he had labour'd under, and some reasonable Requests that had been deny'd him, during his Tryal : And so proceeds,
 1. FROM its *Want of Evidence* to support it, and,
 2. ITS *Improbability* to be true.
- II. 'To a Confutation of the Charge.
 1. THE Charge against him in general is, A wicked Design to subvert the Government, by deposing the King, and placing the *Pretender* on the Throne ; and, in order to this,
 1. TRAITEROUSLY consulting with Persons at Home to raise a Rebellion, and,
 2. TRAITEROUSLY corresponding with Persons Abroad to procure an Invasion.
 1. THE traiterous Consultation at Home must be between him, and the Persons suspected and nam'd in the Report ; such as Lord *Strafford*,

Strafford, L. *North* and *Grey*, L. *Orrery*, and Sir *H. Goring* ; but with these, he is very far, he says, from having had any great Familiarity, or they any *Traiterous Consultations* with him ; having seen some of them, not in one, others, not in two Years last past ; having never din'd with *one*, and but once with *another*.

2. THE traiterous Correspondence Abroad is of three Kinds :

1. THREE Letters sent to Gen. *Dillon*, the Lord *Mar*, and the *Pretender*, which the Bishop dictated to *Kelly*.
2. TWO Intercepted Letters from *Mar* and *Dillon*, in answer to these. And,
3. A FOREIGN Correspondence carry'd on by *Kelly*, with the Bishop's Knowledge and Approbation.

1. THE three Letters, suppos'd to be dictated on *April* the 20th, 1722, the Bishop says, he could not be concern'd in ; because the concurrent Testimonies of his Servants, *that no Stranger came near him about that time*, and the Incompetent Evidence of the Post-Office-Clerks, who, at such a Distance of Time, might not remember Mr. *Kelly's* Hand-writing, seems to clear him.

2. THE two Letters in answer, were sent on purpose to be intercepted, and to fix the other upon him, because they describe

scribe him and his Circumstances in such a glaring Openness, as, had they been genuine, must have been inconsistent with the Rules of *Reserv'd Writing*.

3. MR. KELLY, he owns, he had some Knowledge of, but no Manner of Intimacy with him, nor any Communion in his Correspondence, as Mr. *Kelly* himself had declar'd in the House of Lords, and his Servants testify'd upon Oath, That they neither knew his Name nor Face, he came so seldom, and 'tis hardly to be thought, that he would have enter'd into Secrets of so dangerous a Nature with so slight an Acquaintance.

3. THE only Thing then that the Charge rests upon, is *Neynoe's* Evidence, and an Hearsay-Evidence, such as *his* was, is (as he shews from a Passage in Sir *John Fenwick's* Bill of Attainder) of small Weight and Consideration, in Cases of this Nature. Then he goes on to represent this *Neynoe*, as a pragmatrical Pretender to Secrets, that he knew nothing of, a cowardly corrupt Creature, that would swear backward or forward, say or unsay any Thing for Fear or Pay, and a profligate Wretch, that had thrown away his Life, rather than venture to stand to the Truth of what he had own'd before his Death ; and so proceeds to the

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2. HEAD

2. HEAD of Confutation, the *Improbability* of the Charge, with regard to him. For, had he been concern'd in any traiterous Designs against the Government, 'tis probable to think, that he had made the late D. of O-----d, whom he always highly regarded, and not the Earl of Mar, who had left the *Pretender's* Party, his Correspondent ; that he had sent his Letters by some secret Way, and not committed them to the publick Post ; and that some Foot-steps, at least, of such a Correspondence, would have appear'd, either among his Papers that were seiz'd, or from the Testimony of some credible Witness ; but for a Man of his recluse and retir'd Life, unacquainted with the Arts of War, and active only in his proper Sphere, to engage in a Conspiracy, when his Heart was full of Grief for the Loss of a Wife, and his Head busy'd in Buildings and Books, and Controversies of another Nature, is a Thing incongruous, and destitute of all Probability. Here then is (for now I will give my Reader a Sketch of the Bishop's own Language, that cannot so well be epitomiz'd.) “ Here is a Plot, of a Year
 “ or two standing, to subvert the Govern-
 “ ment with an Armed Force;---An Inva-
 “ sion from Abroad;---An Insurrection at
 “ Home ;---Just when ripe for Execution,
 “ it is discover'd ;---And 12 Months after
 “ the

“ the Contrivance of this Scheme, no
 “ Consultation appears, no Men corre-
 “ sponding together, no Provision made,
 “ no Arms, no Officers provided, not a
 “ Man in Arms, and the poor Bishop
 “ has done all this.

“ What could tempt me to step thus
 “ out of my Way ? Was it Ambition,
 “ and a Desire of climbing into an higher
 “ Station in the Church ? There is not a
 “ Man in my Office farther remov'd from
 “ this than I am, &c. Was Money my
 “ Aim ? I always despis'd it too much,
 “ considering I had Occasion for it ; for,
 “ out of a poor Bishoprick of 500 *l. per*
 “ *Annum*, I have laid out 800. I took
 “ not one Shilling for Delapidations, and
 “ the rest of my little Income has been
 “ spent, as is necessary, as I am a Bishop,
 “ &c. Was I influenc'd by any Dislike
 “ of the Establish'd Religion, and secret-
 “ ly inclin'd towards a Church of greater
 “ Pomp and Power ? I have, my Lords,
 “ ever since I knew what Popery was, op-
 “ pos'd it ; and the better I knew it, the
 “ more I oppos'd it. I began my Study
 “ in Divinity, when the Popish Contro-
 “ versy grew hot, with that immortal
 “ Book of *Tillotson's*, when he undertook
 “ the Protestant Cause in General, and as
 “ such, I esteem'd him above all. You
 “ will pardon me, my Lords, if I men-

“ tion one Thing : Thirty Years ago, I
 “ writ in Defence of *Martin Luther*,
 “ and have Preach’d, Express’d, and Wrote,
 “ to that Purpose from my Infancy ; and
 “ whatever happens to me, I will suffer
 “ any Thing, and, by God’s Grace, burn
 “ at the Stake, rather than depart from any
 “ material Point of the Protestant Religi-
 “ on, as profess’d in the Church of *Eng-*
 “ *land*. Once more : Can I be suppos’d
 “ to have a Favour to Arbitrary Power ?
 “ The whole Tenour of my Life has been
 “ otherwise : I was always a Friend to
 “ the Liberty of the Subject, and, to the
 “ best of my Power, constantly maintain-
 “ ed it : I may have been thought mista-
 “ ken in the Measures I took to support
 “ it, but it matters not by what Party I
 “ was call’d, so my Actions are uniform.”

III. IN the Conclusion, he sets before the
 Lords the Grievousness of the Penalties
 to be inflicted upon him ; the Insufficiency
 of the Evidence to prove him in the least
 Degree guilty ; the fatal Consequences of
 making Precedents in such extraordinary
 Proceedings ; and then closes all, with
 this solemn Declaration of his Innocence,
 which, if not true, *the Lord have Mercy*
upon his Soul.

“ I have, my Lords, taken up much of
 “ your Lordship’s Time, yet I must beg your
 “ Attention a little longer. Some Part of
 “ my Charge has been disprov’d by direct
 “ and full Evidence, other Parts of it are not
 “ capable of such Disproof, nor indeed re-
 “ quire it ; there I rest. But, my Lords,
 “ there is still a Way allow’d of Vindica-
 “ ting myself : It is generally negative, *i. e.*
 “ by protesting, and declaring my Innocence
 “ to your Lordships in the most deliberate,
 “ serious, and solemn Manner, and appeal-
 “ ing to God, the Searcher of Hearts, as to
 “ the Truth of what I say ; as I do in what
 “ follows.”

*I am charg’d in the Report with direct-
 ing a Correspondence by Mr. Kelly, but I
 solemnly deny that I ever, directly or in-
 directly, saw a single Line of any of these
 Letters, ’till I met with them in Print,
 nor were the Contents of any of them ever
 communicated to me. I do, in the next
 Place, deny, that I was ever privy to any
 Memorial to be drawn up, to be deliver’d to
 the Regent ; nor was I ever acquainted
 with any Advantage to be made, on the
 King’s going to Hanover, or at the Time of
 the Elections ; nor did I hear the least Ru-
 mour of the Plot, to take Place, after the
 breaking up of the Camp, ’till some Time
 after Mr. Laver’s Commitment. I do with
 the*

the same Solemnity declare, that I never collected, remitted, receiv'd, or ask'd any Money of any Man to facilitate these Designs, nor was I ever acquainted with, or had any Remittances whatever from any such Persons, as did : That I never remitted, or drew any Declaration, Minutes, or Paper, in the Name of the Pretender, as is generally charg'd upon me ; and that I never knew of any Commission issu'd, Preparations of Arms, Officers, or Soldiers, or Methods taken to procure any, in order to raise an Insurrection in these Kingdoms : All this I declare to be true, and will so declare, to the last Gasps of my Breath.

“ HAD the Charge been as fully prov'd
 “ as asserted, it had been vain to make Pro-
 “ testations of my Innocence, tho' never so
 “ solemn ; but as the Charge is supported by
 “ the slightest Probabilities, and which can-
 “ not be disprov'd, in any Instance, without
 “ proving a Negative ; allow the solemn
 “ Asseverations of a Man, in Behalf of his
 “ own Innocence, to have their due Weight ;
 “ and I ask no more, than that they may
 “ have as much of Influence upon your Lord-
 “ ships, as they have of Truth.

“ If in any Account, there shall still be
 “ thought by your Lordships to be any
 “ seeming Strength in the Proofs against
 “ me :

“ me : If by your Lordships Judgments;
 “ springing from unknown Motives, I
 “ shall be thought to be Guilty ; if for
 “ any Reasons or Necessity of State, in
 “ the Wisdom and Justice of which I am
 “ no competent Judge, your Lordships
 “ shall proceed to pass this Bill against
 “ me ; I shall dispose myself quietly
 “ and tacitly to submit to what you do ;
 “ God’s Will be done : *Naked came I*
 “ *out of my Mother’s Womb, and Naked*
 “ *shall I return* ; and whether he gives,
 “ or takes away, *blessed be the Name*
 “ *of the Lord.*”

WHETHER it was this Speech, deliver’d
 with all the proper Graces of an Orator, or
 some other Occurrence that produc’d it, I can-
 not tell ; but on the same Day, a Motion was
 made to have Mr. *Kelly* brought to the Bar
 of the House, on *Monday* Morning, to be
 examin’d upon Oath, on some Parts of the
 Bill depending against the Bishop. This Mo-
 tion was supported by some such Reasons as
 these — That the chief Accusation against
 the Bishop was that of his treasonable Cor-
 respondence, which had not been made out
 by any direct positive Proof, or living Evi-
 dence of the Fact ; that several living Evi-
 dences had deny’d it, and Mr. *Kelly* himself,
 in the most solemn Asseverations, clear’d him
 of it : That Mr. *Kelly* was certainly a com-
 petent

petent legal Evidence in this Matter, no Way incapacitated by the Bill against him even tho' it had the King's Assent, nor under the Influences of Hopes and Fears so much, as Evidences under Commitment and Charges of Treason, and therefore it behov'd the Justice of the House, to have a Matter of such Consequences brought under the most strict and solemn Examination, before the Bill pass'd. This Motion, however, upon the Presumption of too close a Confederacy between *Kelly* and the Bishop, ever to come at the Knowledge of the Truth by this Means, was over-rul'd by a great Majority †; and on *Monday* the 13th, the Bishop was the last Time carry'd from the *Tower*, to hear the Replication of the King's Counsel to his Defence.

THE two Persons, that appear'd upon this Occasion, and have since made their Speeches publick, were Mr. *Reeze*, and Mr. *Wearg*, both Men of great Knowledge and Sagacity in the *Law*, but of different Talents, in Point of *Eloquence*, and who seem to have form'd their *Replies*, designedly, in a different Way. Mr. *Reeze* sticks close to the Matter in Evidence, and enforces the Charge against the Bishop with great Perspicuity and Strength. Mr. *Wearg* answers all Objections,
and

† 80 to 40.

and refutes the Arguments brought for him in an easy soft Manner, and with great Simplicity of Reason. Mr. *Reeve* is wholly employ'd in Facts ; in comparing Circumstances, and compacting them together, in order to corroborate the Proof of the Bishop's Guilt. Mr. *Wearg* attends him and his Counsel throughout, to silence their Complaints, and reply to every Thing they advance, in order to invalidate the Allegations of his Innocence. The one, in short, possesses the Minds of the Lords with strong Convictions against him ; the other dispossesses them of any favourable Impression, that may possibly be made upon them by the Artifice of his Defence. And accordingly, Mr. *Reeve* is strong, nervous, and inforcing ; but Mr. *Wearg*, smooth, easy, and insinuating, both in the Manner of his Expression, and Turn of Period : So that they make up jointly (and might, no doubt, have done it separately, had not their Provinces been otherwise appointed) the full Character of that great *Orator and Pleader* in *Tully's BRUTUS* : *Nihil acutè inveniri potuit in iis Causis, quas Scripsit, nihil (ut ita dicam) subdolè, nihil versutè, quod ille non viderit : nihil subtiliter dici, nihil pressè, nihil enucliatè, quo fieri possit aliquid limatius ; nihil contra grande, nihil incitatum, nihil ornatum vel Verborum Gravitate, vel sententiarum, quo quicquam*

R
esset

esset elatius.† Mr. Reeve's Speech is so succinctly compact and uniform, that there is no separating any Part of it ; the Curious must be content, as he will be delighted, to read the whole ; but the Preface in Mr. *Wearg's* Reply, is what stands distinct, and to me seems an excellent Flower of Oratory.

“ IT must be admitted, my Lords, says
 “ he, that the Reverend Prelate at the Bar
 “ has made his Defence, with the utmost
 “ Force, and Beauty of Eloquence. Was I
 “ capable of answering it in the like Man-
 “ ner, which I own I am not, yet I should
 “ not think myself at Liberty to do it, un-
 “ der the present Circumstances ; for, tho'
 “ it may be excusable, in a Person, upon his
 “ Defence, to make use of that powerful
 “ Instrument of Error and Deceit, which
 “ always imposes upon the Reason, and mis-
 “ guides the Judgment, in Proportion as it
 “ affects the Passions ; yet, I cannot think
 “ the same Methods justifiable in a Person,
 “ employ'd to carry on the Prosecution : I
 “ shall therefore examine the Force of what
 “ has been offer'd on Behalf of the Reverend
 “ Prelate, stript of the Ornaments and Co-
 “ lours of Rhetorick.”

THUS he begins, and goes on accordingly, 'till he comes to his Conclusion, which is

† Vid. Ciccr. de Claris Orat. p. 577. Ex Edit. J. Bleau.

worded thus : “ The last Thing press’d by
 “ the Reverend Prelate, is, a Solemn Pro-
 “ testation, I cannot say of Innocence, be-
 “ cause it seems to me to be conceiv’d in
 “ such Terms, as not to contradict any Part
 “ of the Charge insisted upon by the Counsel
 “ for the Bill. It is chiefly calculated to an-
 “ swer some particular Circumstances of
 “ Time, without any Denyal of the general
 “ Charge, or the least Declaration of Affe-
 “ ction, or Loyalty towards his present Ma-
 “ jesty. But if his Protestations amounted
 “ to a direct and positive Denyal of the
 “ Charge, they ought not to have any
 “ Weight with your Lordships ; since this
 “ is a Defence equally in the Power of the
 “ most Guilty, as well as the Innocent : *A*
 “ *little Proof is better than many Protestations.*
 “ And I cannot help observing, upon
 “ this Head, and I hope his Lordship won’t
 “ impute this Observation to Ill-nature, but
 “ a Sense of my Duty, which obliges me
 “ to make all proper Observations, that it
 “ appears, his Lordship has not always that
 “ strict Regard to Truth which he ought to
 “ have, by the Papers taken upon his Ser-
 “ vant at the *Tower*.

“ THE Nature of the Punishment has
 “ been much talk’d of in the Course of these
 “ Proceedings, and great Lamentations
 “ made upon it, but surely without any Rea-

“ son ; for I may venture to affirm, this is the
 “ mildest Punishment that ever was inflicted
 “ *for such an Offence.* His Life is not
 “ touch’d ; his Liberty nor Property affect-
 “ ed: He is only expell’d the Society, whose
 “ Government he disapproves, and has en-
 “ deavour’d to subvert ; and depriv’d of the
 “ publick Employment, which the Govern-
 “ ment had entrusted him with : The En-
 “ joyment of his Life, his private Estate,
 “ and his Liberty under any other Govern-
 “ ment that may be more agreeable, is al-
 “ low’d him. This is scarce to be call’d a
 “ Punishment, being nothing more, than
 “ what was absolutely necessary for the pub-
 “ lick Security. The Commons of *Great*
 “ *Britain* have done their Part towards pro-
 “ viding for *this Security*, and I don’t doubt
 “ but it will meet with the Concurrence of
 “ your Lordships.” *

WHEN the whole Matter, after these Re-
 plications, came to be debated in the House of
 Lords, there was never such a Profusion of
 Eloquence (if I may so call it) as in that
 Assembly, and on that momentous Affair ;
 each labouring to annoy, or assuyl the Bishop ;
 as they thought him innocent, or guilty of
 pernicious Designs against the Government.

Some

* See the Replies of Thomas Reeve and Clement
 Wearg, *Esqs.* p. 15. 22. & passim.

Some Pieces of this Kind (especially from Lords, as remarkable for their Knowledge of the Laws, as for their Skill and long Exercise in Oratory) would be a curious entertainment to my Reader ; but, as the Authors of them seem determin'd to make them of private Use only, I must content myself with giving him a View of what has appear'd in the World ; being willing to have done an equal Justice to every one, had the Reasons for *Passing*, been made as publick, as those for *Protesting* against, the Bill. †

THE Bishop of *Salisbury*, however, has acquitted himself in this particular, by the Publication of his Speech. 'Tis a plain and unaffected Discourse, full of good Sense, and favouring of much Knowledge in our Laws, both Civil and Ecclesiastical. But, what is most remarkable, He takes therein more especial Notice of such Things as were address'd, both by the Bishop and his Counsel, in a more peculiar Manner, to the Bench of Bishops. He shews, that to deprive a Bishop of his Preferments, and prohibit him the Use and Exercise of his Function for Life, is neither contrary to the Canons and Discipline of the Church, nor to the Laws and Ordinances of God : That the Text to *Timothy*,
of

† See the Protest of the House of Lords upon this Occasion, at the End of these Memoirs.

of *not receiving an Accusation against an Elder but before two or three Witnesses* * is, consequently, nothing to the present Case : (It respects only the Conduct of Bishops toward their Presbyters) Nor is any Part of the Judicial Law of *Moses* to the like Purpose, of any Manner of Obligation to us ; and so going on to prove, first, the Lawfulness, and then Prudence and Expediency of the Bill, he comes at last to this warm and pathetick Conclusion. “ It is now above a
 “ Year since the Plot was first discover’d ;
 “ a Plot of a most desperate Nature, to seize
 “ the Persons of the *King* and *Prince*, and
 “ to bring in a *Popish Pretender* among us.
 “ The Execution of which, was to be begun by seizing the *Tower*, and attacking
 “ the *City of London* on all Sides, and was
 “ thence to spread itself into all Parts of the
 “ Kingdom. Lord ! What Confusion ; what
 “ Murthers ; what Plundering ; what Burnings must this have caus’d ? Whatever had
 “ been the Issue, the very Attempt must probably have occasion’d the Sacking and
 “ burning of this Great City ; the utter Loss, at once, of Publick Credit ; the Murder
 “ of infinite Numbers of People ; the Astonishment, and Amazement, and Undoing,
 “ of almost all, but of those vile Wretches,
 “ who

* 1 Tim. 5. 19.

“ who would have had the Plundering of
 “ all Sides. If it had gone on, How many
 “ of the noble Lords, that I now see, would
 “ have been, before this, in their Graves?
 “ But I forbear going any farther in this
 “ Tragical Representation; only give me
 “ Leave in the last Place, as a Christian and
 “ a Protestant Bishop, to hope, you will do
 “ your Best, that a *Popish Pretender* may
 “ never be set at the Head of this Church;
 “ one, who must think himself bound in Con-
 “ science to destroy it; and, instead of that
 “ pure Religion, which we now enjoy,
 “ bring in horrible *Superstition* and *Idolatry*,
 “ *Nonsense* and *Tyranny*; attended with
 “ all the sad Calamities, which Popish
 “ Princes always have brought, and always
 “ must bring upon Protestant Countries.”†

AND now, to come to a Conclusion, after
 many long and earnest Debates on both Sides,
 the Lords pass'd the Bill, by a great Majori-
 ty of Voices, * on the 16th; and, on the
 27th of *May*, 1723, the King came to the
 House, and confirm'd it by his Royal Assent;
 having appointed Dr. *Bradford* to succeed
 him; a Person of distinguish'd Probity, and
 in whom the King will never have Reason
 to repent his Choice, whatever an Author of
 im-

† See the *Bishop of Salisbury's Speech*, p. 1 and 10.

* 83 to 43.

impotent Malice and Resentment may insinuate, both to deprectate his Majesty's Prudence, and that Prelate's Worth. *

'Tis reported, that the King pass'd this Bill with some Regret, being much concern'd, as he said, that there should be any just Occasion of dooming, to perpetual Banishment, a Bishop of the Church of *England*; a Man of such Eminent Parts and Learning, and one, who had been so nearly attendant on him, at his Coronation. To alleviate, however, in some Measure, the Severity of this Sentence, and that he might not be entirely cut off from the Comforts of his Children, and Conversation of his Friends, he permitted his Daughter to attend him in his Travels; and, thro' the Hands of her Husband, allow'd him a Correspondence and Intercourse with his native Country. † A glorious Instance of invincible Generosity, thus *to overcome Evil with Good*, and *to heap such Coals of Kindness upon the Head* of an Adversary, as are enough to *melt* him into Shame and Remorse, and reciprocal Love!

DR.

* The True Briton.

† Mr. Morrice having obtain'd his Majesty's Leave to attend the Bishop of Rochester Abroad, by Virtue of a Sign Manual, is allow'd to correspond with any of his Majesty's Subjects, and they with him, in the same Manner, as if the Act, in the last Session of Parliament, against the said Bishop, had not pass'd.

DR. ATTERBURY had now nothing else to do but to settle his Affairs, and dispose of his Effects, and prepare for his Departure. This Indulgence of the King had made him easy ; and the Liberality of his Friends, (for, tho' it was thought Proper for some Reasons to detain him in Custody, during his Stay, yet his Friends, from the Time that his Hearing before the House of Lords was over, had free Access to him) their Liberality, I say, which , on this Occasion, was profusely great, supply'd the Defects of his Fortune, and enabled him to live in a Strange Country, without any Danger of Distress. So that, when the two great Stings, of Banishment, want of Money, and want of Intercourse with the World, were happily remov'd, he took Leave of his Friends (who, the Day before, came, in great Numbers, to bid him their last Adieu) with a great Deal of Serenity and seeming Resignation ; and, on *June* 18, between Twelve and One, at Noon, was carry'd in a Chair, but not in a Lay-Habit, as was reported, from his Apartment in the *Tower*, to the Water-Side ; and thence, in a Barge, appointed to wait on him, (wherein were Mr. *Morrice* and his Spouse, Colonel *Williamson*, and Capt. *Laurence*, Commander of the Man of War, that was to carry him over) he fell down with the Tide, leaving us these Wise, these Salutary Admonitions in his Fate : *Let every Soul be subject*

to the Higher Powers, whether it be to the King, as Supreme, or unto Governors, as sent by him for the Punishment of Evil-doers, and for the Praise of them that do well : For a divine Sentence is in the Lips of the King, his Mouth transgresseth not in Judgment† : His Throne is establish'd in Righteousness, his Favour is towards wise Servants‡ : His Safety in the Wisdom of his Counsellors, and therefore he that walketh uprightly, walketh surely, but he that perverteth his Way, shall be known §§ : An evil Man only seeketh Rebellion, therefore a cruel Messenger shall be sent against him : ** For, tho' Hand join in Hand, no Person shall go unpunish'd, no Weapon employ'd in such a Cause, shall prosper.*

Finally, to conclude : Now, that the Bishop is gone, and we shall never see him more, let us make a Stand, a little, upon this Occasion, and ask ourselves a few Questions ; What it is we mean by giving the Government this Disturbance, or what possible Advantage we can promise ourselves, if we were even able to compass a Revolution in it ? Conspiracies, you see (you see by the Example of *one*, who, perhaps, had the best Head in

* 1 Pet. 2. 13.

† Prov. 16. 10.

‡ Ib. 14. 35.

§§ Ib. 10. 9.

** Ib. 17. 11.

in the Kingdom to manage them) are generally of a dangerous, uncertain, and unsuccessful Nature : They are attended with so many Incidents, and watch'd with such sedulous Indicacy by the State : They require such a Number of Accomplices, have generally Directors of such different Humours and Inclinations, and Under-Agents of such desperate Fortunes and abandon'd Honour, that 'tis almost a Miracle they are not all discover'd, thro' one unruly Passion or other, in a Manner, as soon as they are projected. The Man that is engag'd in such Confederacies, must certainly, then, have an uneasy and distracted Mind. *One* has not Courage, and *another* wants Conduct : *This Man* is too open to keep the Secret ; and *that* too indigent to stand the Temptation of a Bribe ; so that he is in Pain for every one of his Fraternity ; and has not only the Suspicions of the Government, but the possible Perfidy of his own Party to guard against.

WHAT Man, then, in his Senses, would forego the Ease and quiet Enjoyment of himself, and perplex his Mind with Fears and Jealousies and Suspicions of all Kinds, besides the Misgivings of Guilt and Rebukes of a perjur'd Conscience, (if ever he has pledg'd his Fidelity to the State) to embark in a Cause, where, if he miscarries, (and 'tis a Thousand to One, but he does mis-

carry) all that is near and dear to him is thrown away, and lost for ever.

THINK with yourselves, then, my Friends, and Fellow-Subjects, whether it be worth your while to venture the Loss of your Estates and goodly Manors, your Titles and Honours, your Liberties and Lives, and (what is no very pleasant Consideration) to leave your Widows desolate, and your Children Beggars, for the Sake of *one*, whom you know nothing of, but that he is still a *Biggot* to a *contrary Religion*, and was once a *Deferter* of his very *best Friends*, even when they were in *Arms* and ready to fight for him : *One* that is a Stranger, I say, to our Laws and Constitution, has liv'd all his Time under Arbitrary Governments, and whenever he comes, comes from *Rome*, the Mother of *Cruelty* and all *Superstition*, encumber'd with Wants, inflam'd with angry Resentments, attended with long Trains of Priests and Jesuits, and an innumerable *Band* of *hungry* and *revengeful Courtiers*, that will sweep away all, and leave you nothing, but to bemoan yourselves, and lament the Madness of your Choice.

Remember this, therefore, and shew yourselves Men. For while you are thus desirous of Ruine and Destruction, thus Prodigal of your Civil Rights and Domestic Comforts, thus fond of Prisons and Confinements, of Axes and Halters, for a mere

mere Whim, and *Romantick* Notion, you quite *unman* yourselves, and forfeit your Pretensions to the prime Essentials of *Humanity*, and *Caution*, and *Thought*, and *Self-preservation*. Cast your Eyes around, and see; Have any of the Princes of *Europe* espous'd the Cause, that you are so in Love with? Nay, are they not all, most of them at least, in Leagues and Confederacies against it? Its only Support, are a few *desperate* Men, *press'd* into it by Necessity, and ready to *desert* upon the first Occasion. All that have any Love or Consideration of their own Safety, have left it; and those that remain, want but an Intimation of Indemnity, to return; so that, its whole Reliance seems to be upon Providence; and Providence, so far as we can judge of it from Events, has declar'd visibly against it. War is certainly an Appeal to God; and yet, when two Rival Armies were disputing the Title of these Kingdoms, On whose Side did the Decision fall? Who has discover'd since, the Murtherous Designs against the King's most sacred Life? Who has brought to Light this last Conspiracy to depose Him, and enthrone the *Pretender*? Who, in short, has prosper'd him in all his Undertakings, both publick and private; made not only all Opposition fall before him, but the very *Weather* favour his Journeys, and the *Winds* and *Waves* attend on his Designs? If these,

Things

Things, I say, are Demonstrations of Providence, attesting the Justness of a Cause, they are then so many Calls and Admonitions from Heaven to *Honour and Obey the King, and not meddle with such as are given to Change* ‡, lest, happily, we be found not only studying our own Ruine, *but Fighting against God. If Sinners therefore intice you*, (for I come now to close all in the Words of one of the wisest Men that ever was, and with this small Variation, may say) *If Rebels intice you, consent not to them: If they say, "come with us, let us lay wait for Blood: Let us lurk privily for the Innocent, without a Cause"* *: *Let us swallow them up alive, as the Grave, and whole, as those that go down to the Pit. We shall find all precious Substance: We shall fill our Houses with Spoil: Cast in your Lot among us: Let us all have one Purse. Walk not ye in the Way with them: Refrain your Feet from their Paths; for their Calamity shall rise suddenly* †: "The Face of Justice, of angry Justice, shall be against them, and *the Lamp of the Wicked shall be put out.* ‡

APPEN-

‡ Prov. 24. 21.

† Prov. 24. 22.

* Ib. chap. 1, v. 10.

‡ Ib. v. 20.



APPENDIX.

THE
PROTESTS
OF THE
House of LORDS,
In Relation to a BILL depending against
FRANCIS,
Lord Bp. of ROCHESTER.

Die Mercurii, 15 Maii 1723.



HO *DI* *E* *ter* *tia* *vice* *lecta* *est*
Billa, entitled, An Act to inflict
Pains and Penalties on *Francis*,
Lord Bishop of *Rochester*.

The Question was put whether this Bill
shall pass?

It

It was resolv'd in the Affirmative.

Content - - - - 83.

Not Content - 43.

Dissentient.

I. Because the Objection, which we thought lay against the Bills of *Plunket* and *Kelly*, that the Commons were thereby, in Effect, let into an equal Share of Judicature with the Lords, does hold stronger, as we apprehend, against the present Bill; since by Means of it, a Lord of Parliament is in Part try'd and adjudg'd to Punishment in the House of Commons, and reduc'd to a Necessity, either of letting his Accusation pass undefended in that House, or of appearing there; and, as we take it, derogating from his own Honour, and that of the Lords in general, by answering or making his Defence in the Lower House of Parliament.

II. Because we are of Opinion, that the Commons wou'd be very far from yielding to the Lords, any Part of those Powers and Privileges, which are properly theirs by the Constitution, in any Form, or under any Pretext whatsoever; and it seems to us full as reasonable, that the Lords should be as Tenacious of the Rights and Privileges which remain to them, as the Commons are on their Part.

III. We

III. We think this Bill against a Lord of Parliament, taking its Rise in the House of Commons, ought the rather not to have receiv'd any Countenance in this House ; for that as it appear'd to us by the printed Votes of the House of Commons, that House had voted the Bishop guilty of all the Matters alledg'd against him in the Bill, before the Bill was brought into that House, and consequently, before the Bishop had any Opportunity of being heard ; and altho' there be nothing absurd in passing such a Vote, in order to their accusing by an Impeachment, yet it seems to us absolutely contrary to Justice, which ought to be unprejudic'd, to vote any one guilty, against whom they design to proceed in their Legislative Capacity, or in the Nature of Judges, before the Party has an Opportunity to be heard ; or the Bill, which is to ascertain the Accusation, is so much as brought in.

IV. We are of Opinion, that no Law ought to be pass'd on purpose to enact, that any one be guilty in Law, and punish'd as such, but where such an extraordinary Proceeding is evidently necessary for the Preservation of the State ; whereas the Crime offer'd to be prov'd against the Bishop of *Rochester* is, as we apprehend, his partaking in a traiterous Conspiracy against the Government, which Conspiracy, by God's Blessing,

T

is

is detected, and, as we hope, disappointed, without the Aid of such a dangerous Proceeding, as we conceive this to be.

V. Because there are certain known and establish'd Rules of Evidence, which are part of the Law of the Land, either introduc'd by Act of Parliament, or fram'd by Reason, and the Experience of Ages, adjusted as well for the Defence of the Life, Liberty, and Property of the Innocent Subject, as the Punishment of the Guilty; and therefore these Rules are, or ought to be, constantly adher'd to, in all Courts of Justice; and, as we conceive, should be also observ'd till alter'd by Law in both Houses of Parliament, whenever they try, judge, and punish the Subject, tho' in their Legislative Capacity; but since in many Instances in this, and two other Proceedings by Bill, * we have been taught by the Opinion of the House, that these Rules of Evidence need not to be observ'd by the Houses acting in their Legislative Capacity, we clearly take it to be a very strong Objection to this Manner of Proceeding, that Rules of Law made for the Security of the Subject, are of no Use to him in it, and that the Conclusion is very strong, that therefore it ought not to be taken up, but where clearly necessary, as before affirm'd; and we desire to explain ourselves

* *Against Plunket and Kelly.*

selves so far upon the Cases of Necessity excepted, as to say we do not intend to include a Necessity arising purely from an Impossibility of convicting any other Way.

VI. If it be admitted, that traiterous Correspondence in Cyphers, and Cant Words, may, to a Degree, be discourag'd by this Sort of Proceeding, in which Persons, as we think, are convicted on a more uncertain Evidence than the known Rules of Law admit of, yet, we are of Opinion, That Convenience will be much more, than outweigh'd by the Jealousy it must of necessity, as we conceive, create in the Minds of many of his Majesty's most faithful Subjects, that their Lives, Liberties, and Properties, are not so safe, after such repeated Examples as they were before, and by the natural Consequence of this Apprehension, an Abatement of their Zeal for the Government may ensue, excepting such Persons as have more than ordinary Opportunities of being well instructed in Principles of the utmost Duty and Loyalty.

VII. We cannot be for the passing this Bill, because the Evidence produc'd to make Good the Recital of it, or that the Lord Bishop of *Rocheſter* is guilty of the Matter, he therein stands accus'd of, is, in our Opinions, greatly defective and insufficient, both in Law and Reason, to prove that Charge,

the Evidence consisting altogether, to the best of our Observation, in Conjectures arising from Circumstances in the Interceptors, or on a Comparison of Hand Writings, resting on Memory only ; and there being, as we think, no Proof of the Bishop's knowing of, or being privy to any of the said Correspondence ; and as to the principal Part of the Charge against the Bishop, and on which, as we think, all the rest does depend, *viz.* the dictating the Letters of the 20th of *April*, 1722, which the House of Lords seem'd to have determin'd that *Kelly* wrote ; we are of Opinion, that the Bishop has, in his Defence, very clearly and fully prov'd, that he did not, nor possibly could dictate those Letters, or the Substance of any Part of them to *Kelly*, either on the Day of their Date, or at any Time during several Days next before, or next after the Day of their Date, nor was in any Capacity to write them himself, tho' the Letters must have been wrote within that Compass of Time : And we are, on the whole, of Opinion, that the Proof and Probability of the Lord Bishop of *Rochester's* Innocence in the Matters he stood charg'd with, were much stronger than those of his Guilt,

Strafford.

Strafford,
Bruce,
Poulet,
Dartmouth
Craven,
Hay,
Bathurst,
Gower,
Weston,
Exeter,
Willoughby, Br.
Cowper,
Bingley,
Scarsdale,
Salisbury,
Montjoy,
Cardigan,
Anglesey,
Foley,
Osborne,

Uxbridge,
Arundel,
Guilford,
Middleton,
Hereford,
Stawell,
Denbigh,
Northampton,
Fr. Cestriens,
Litchfield,
Asburnham,
Trevor,
Compton,
Masham,
Berkley Strat.
Pomfret,
Brooke,
Oxford
and
Mortimer.

I Dissent for the 6th and 7th Reasons of the foregoing Protestation, and for the following Reasons :

I. Because this extraordinary Method of Proceeding by Bills of this Nature, against Persons who do not withdraw from Justice, but are willing to undergo a legal Tryal, ought, in my Opinion, to be supported by clear and convincing Evidence ; and I apprehend

prehend there has been nothing offer'd to support the Allegations set forth in the Preamble of the Bill, to inflict Pains and Penalties on *Francis* Lord Bishop of *Rocheſter*, but what depends upon decypher'd Letters, forc'd Conſtructions, and improbable Inuendo's.

II. I conceive, that the Examination of *Philip Neynoe*, taken before the Lords of the Council, not ſworn to or ſigned, which appears to me to be the Foundation on which the Charge againſt the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* is built, has been, in my Apprehenſion, ſufficiently prov'd by the poſitive Oaths of three Perſons, two of which have been for ſeveral Months in ſeparate Cuſtodies, confirm'd by other Circumſtances, to have been a falſe and malicious Contrivance of the ſaid *Neynoe*, to ſave himſelf from the Hands of Juſtice, and to work the Deſtruction of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

III. I do apprehend, that the Letters of the 20th of *April*, which are ſuggeſted to be wrote by *George Kelly*, aliàs *Johnson*, and dictated by the Biſhop, have not been ſufficiently prov'd to be the Hand-writing of the ſaid *Kelly*: But on the contrary, it appears, to the beſt of my Judgment, that the Letter of the 20th of *Auguſt*, (ſtopp'd at the Poſt-Office, and from which the Clerks of the Poſt-

Post-Office, on their Memory only, swear, they believe the said Letters of the 20th of *April*, to be the same Hand-writing, tho' they never compar'd two original Letters together during all that Time) has been prov'd by three credible Witnesses, concurring in every Circumstance of their Testimony, and well acquainted with the Hand-writing of the said *Kelly*, not to be his Hand-writing: And I conceive, that the Difference they have observ'd in the Hand of the said *Kelly*, upon which they ground their Opinions, is sufficiently supported, by comparing the said Letters of the 20th of *August*, with the Letters wrote by the said *Kelly* to the Lord *Townshend* and Mr. *De la Faye*, during the Time of his Confinement.

IV. I do not apprehend, that any Proof has been offer'd to support what has been so much insisted on, and justly esteem'd Essential to the Charge, that the Bishop of *Rochester* dictated the Letters of the 20th of *April*; but it has appear'd, I conceive, that there has been no Intimacy between the Bishop and the said *Kelly*; and the Testimony of the Bishop's Servants concurring with the Evidence given on that Head by the Persons, that *Kelly* liv'd in the strictest Correspondency, which leaves, to the best of my Judgment, no Room to doubt, but that the Acquaintance

quaintance between them was slender, and publick ; and to suggest from thence, that the Bishop dictated the Letters of the 20th of *April*, when it appear'd, that for many Days before, he could not possibly see the said *Kelly*, is, in my Opinion, repugnant to Reason, and contrary to Justice.

WHARTON.

FINIS.



Francis, Lord Bacon :

OR, THE

C A S E

OF

*Private and National Cor-
ruption, and Bribery,*

Impartially Consider'd.

Address'd to all *South-Sea* Directors,
Members of Parliament, Members of
State, and Church-Dignitaries.

By an ENGLISHMAN.

*It shall not be fit for us to importune so Judicious a Se-
nate, who know how much they hurt the INNO-
CENT, that spare the GUILTY.*

B. JOHNSON'S Sejan.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the *Oxford Arms*
in *Warwick-Lane.* M.DCC.XXI.

(Price One Shilling.)

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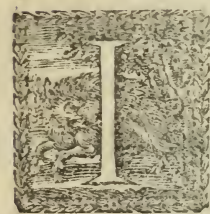
1889

1890



TO HIS GRACE,
The Most NOBLE,
P H I L I P;
Duke, Marquifs, and Earl
of *W H A R T O N*.

MY LORD,



I MUST own I shall
want your Pardon for
the Presumption of
throwing these Sheets
at your Feet, without *Your* GRACE's
Leave to warrant me in it: A
Presumption which is owing to
my Unhappiness in not being
personally known to You, and at
a Loss how to be introduced to
YOUR GRACE.

A 2

FF

IT is, indeed, in some sort a Crime against Ceremony ; but a much less Crime than those *Dedicators* commit, who abuse a Great Man with his own Leave, by libelling him with Praises, which every body are ready to agree he has no Title to.

FLATTERY, MY LORD, is not design'd to have any Portion in this Address ; there are Reasons for which YOUR GRACE is more strongly entitled to these Sheets than any other Nobleman in *England* : and for those Reasons only, they are with all Humility inscrib'd to You. It is YOUR GRACE's Zeal and vigorous Behaviour, in the greatest Assembly in *Europe*, that draw this Address of
Thanks

Thanks upon You : The Resolution you have shewn in prosecuting the *known* Betrayers of your Country, and your Accuracy in searching out the *latent* Traytors, (who, like Miners in a Siege, work unseen, and finish their Designs with more sure Destruction) have distinguish'd YOUR GRACE as a *Patriot*, that has the Welfare of these Nations much at heart, and is both compassionate, and resentful, of the Injuries with which they are wounded.

THE World allows to *Cicero* as great Praise for detecting and prosecuting those concern'd with *Catiline* in his Conspiracy, as to *Fabius*, or *Scipio*, for the greatest Conquests obtain'd in the Field :

Nor

Nor shall we owe less to those Patriots, who distinguish'd themselves against *This* Conspiracy; which, tho' differing in Circumstances, resembles It in its Consequences: nay, is bigger, we may say, of Mischief than *That* of *Catiline*, by as much as the Ruin of a whole Country is a more pernicious Piece of Villany, than the Burning of any single City.

IT was observ'd to the eternal Praise of *CICERO*, that he was *resolute* and *bold* in the Senate; Virtues at that time peculiarly necessary, when the Criminals were of such Power and Sufficiency, as to be able to shock the State. May YOUR GRACE have the *Success*, as you have the *Resolution*;

tution, of this Great Man ! You come to the Business furnish'd with all his discerning Faculties ; and the same unwearied Application appears in YOUR GRACE to trace these Frauds to their most hidden Sources.

CICERO had been long inur'd to Pleadings at the Bar, and train'd up his Eloquence in private Causes, before he signaliz'd himself to the State by That Discovery : YOUR GRACE has had the Advantages of no such Exercise ; but You start upon the World at once with all the Powers and Address of a consummate Orator, and able Statesman. You emulate Him in all his Graces, without lessening those happy Talents by *his* Prolixity, or Self-Admiration. IT

IT has been look'd upon as the Misfortune of this degenerate Age, that Many think they are chosen into Offices to serve themselves, and not the Publick: Wealth and Acquisition of Fortune to these, is all the Fame they pant after, or hope to be recorded for ; and Poverty with a clean Heart seems a Disgrace infamous and unsupportable : Such Great Men, as my Lord HALIFAX has finely observ'd, are remarkable for Nothing but their Greatness; like prodigious Mountains, whose Heights astonish us, but when we come to examine them, we find they produce neither Herb nor Plant.

YOUR GRACE has very different Sentiments of Nobility ; your
Breast

Breast burns with the Emulation of other Honours, than what are deriv'd from vast Estates, and a Pomp of Titles. You think like *CATO*, that a Nobleman ought not to be a private Man, *Non Sibi, sed Patriæ natus*.

BUT I am stepping into a Character, which They, who do not know YOUR GRACE'S Virtues, will think Flattery; and they, who envy them, will hate for eclipsing their own. I was almost going to wish, that YOUR GRACE may continue the Hatred of the Latter, who make such a despicable Figure in Greatness; that is, that you may shine out still in full Lustre, and animate those to such real Grandeur by your bright Ex-
a
ample;

ample, that every Nobleman of *England* may be a *Patriot* for his Country : That the Interest and Honour of the Publick may be so much their Concern, that Self-Interest and fordid Views may not dare to shew themselves in that Illustrious Body. I am, with the most profound Respect,

MY LORD,

YOUR GRACE'S *most*

Devoted and Obedient

Humble Servant,

Britannicus.



T H E
P R E F A C E.



I was an old Law among the Locrians of Italy, as we are inform'd by very good * Authorities, That the Man who propos'd to make any new Law, should be obliged to do it with a Rope about his Neck, in which he was to be strangled forthwith, if he fail'd of carrying his Point, and the Majority determin'd his Proposition prejudicial to the Publick.

I DON'T find that there is any such Custom now subsisting in any part of Cristendom; and the Reason, perhaps, may be, because all our Neighbouring Monarchies are Absolute, and their Laws made

* Diodor. Sicul. Polybius. Hierocles apud Stobæum. Demosthen. in Timocratem, &c.

made by the Edicts of the King only. Had this peculiar Custom obtain'd in our Constitution, I am in doubt whether the Advantage, or Prejudice of it, would have been greater.

ON the one hand, it would rid us of a Number of busy Fools (for Fools will be meddling, let the Consequences be never so hazardous) and it would contribute to deter Knaves (who have ever little private Views of their own) from offering their Schemes to the Ruin of the Publick: as, on the other hand, indeed, it might hinder just and wise Men from promoting Laws for the Good of their Country; since none are so diffident of their own Parts and Opinions, as Men of sound Sense and solid Judgment. Therefore, I believe, it will be allow'd, that our Constitution, as it stands, is infinitely preferable to that of the old Locrians, and liable to fewer Inconveniences.

WITH us every Member of the Legislature is at liberty to propose what he esteems to be for the Interest of the Subject; which, being consider'd and weigh'd by the whole Body, whenever a Difference of Opinion arises, they are immediately to divide, and the Matter is carried, or rejected by the Majority: And, certainly, it is but reasonable to suppose, that there is most Wisdom, most Honour, and most Virtue, in the greater Number. Again, if some Inconveniences, which were not foreseen, should attend a Law that was design'd for the Good of the Commonwealth, the same Power, that enacted, may and will alter, or utterly repeal it, where the Remedy does not come too late.

I AM led into this Consideration from the present Clamours of a ruin'd People, and from the vigorous
and

and publick-spirited Resolutions of both Houses to redress their Injuries. It must be a Comfort to every Sufferer in this Calamity, who gave a Vote for the Election of a Member, to see his Representative in Parliament bravely labouring to do him Justice, by punishing those Miscreants who have been the Cause of it; and, like a skilful and wise Physician, searching into the unseen and latent Sources of the Distemper, before he ventures to apply the Remedy, lest he should apply it in the wrong Place.

THE Learned in Physick know, that the Infection often lies remote from the Part where its Symptoms first shew themselves; so that if an Arm be corrupted, and it spread to the Hand, it would be ridiculous to think of curing a Malignity, that reaches so high, by cutting off a Finger. It is much the same thing in the Case of the South-Sea: If the flagrant Frauds of that Affair have taken rise from some undiscover'd Springs, and yet only appear'd in the Persons of the Directors; the bare sacrificing of those servile Wretches, will hardly content or stop the Resentments of an exasperated People.

NOR will the Names of those Honourable Members be forgot to Posterity, who shall, upon this Occasion, go thro' with an Enquiry, so essential to support the Honour of their King, and the Welfare of the People; both which, we have too much Reason to fear, have been equally abused in the Management of this Project. I have somewhere read a Story of a Member of the House of Commons, who, when a Bill was brought in by the Court-Party, which he judg'd would be of pernicious consequence to the People, oppos'd it with all the Vehemence and Interest imaginable; and when the Tide of its Abettors run

too strong against him, finding his *Honest Endeavours* to no purpose, he petition'd the *House*, that the *Borough*, for which he serv'd, might be exempted from that *Law*. Pity it is, that his *Name* is not recorded to *Posterity*; and that he has not a *Monument* of *Marble* to perpetuate the *Memory* of so glorious an *Integrity*! Nor *Gold*, nor *Preferment*, could bribe him so much as to be silent in a *Cause*, where the *Duty* of a *Patriot* commanded him to speak.

U P O N the Mention of this worthy Gentleman, I cannot help looking back on some noble Patriots of our own, who, while this pernicious *Affair* was depending, gave their *Opinions* against it with so much *Candour* and *Strength* of *Argument*; and who, like *Prophets*, foretold every step of the *Mischiefs*, which at this instant overwhelm us. I don't doubt, but every *Honourable Member* thought he was serving his *Country*, while he promoted this fatal *Scheme*; but I can't help giving the *Preference* to the *Wisdom* of those, who saw *Effects* at such a distance, and discover'd the *Traces* of *Villany* and *Mischief* lurking under the *Masquerade* of *publick Service*, and the *Interest* of the *Nation*.

IT has often happen'd in private, as well as civil *Life*, that we will not believe the *Danger* of *Things* till the *Evil* is come upon us. It puts me in mind of a *Fable* in *Æsop*, very much a propos to our *Circumstances*.

THERE was a *Country Fellow* at work a sowing his *Grounds*, and a *Swallow* (being a *Bird* famous for *Providence* and *Foresight*) call'd a *Company* of little *Birds* about her, and bad them take good notice what that *Fellow* was a doing. You must know
(says

(says the Swallow) that all the Fowler's Nets and Snares are made of Hemp or Flax; and That's the Seed that he is now a sowing. Pick it up in time, for fear of what may come on it. In short, they put it off, till it took Root; and then again, till it was sprung up into the Blade. Upon this, the Swallow told them once for all, that it was not yet too late to prevent the Mischief, if they would but bestir themselves, and set heartily about it; but finding that no heed was given to what she said, she e'en bad Adieu to her old Companions in the Woods, and so betook herself to a City Life, and to the Conversation of Men. This Flax and Hemp came in time to be gather'd, and wrought, and it was this Swallow's Fortune to see several of the very same Birds that she had forewarn'd, taken in Nets, made of the very Stuff she told them of. They came at last to be sensible of the Folly of slipping their Opportunity; but they were lost beyond all Redemption first.

GOOD Counsel, as Sir Roger L'Estrange observes, is cast away upon the Arrogant, the Self-conceited, or the Stupid, who are either too proud to take it, or too heavy to understand it. So Cautions, or the common Ways of anticipating, or defeating Conspiracies, are below the Wisdom of Men of Intrigue and Cabal; till, at last, a Faction comes to be too hard for the Government.

I HAVE but one thing more to add, and then shall conclude my Preface. It was very justly observ'd in a late Paper, the Reputation of which is every day rising in Town, that * the Security of Property, and the Freedom of Speech, always go together in Free Governments: † But to do
publick

* † London Journal, N^o 80.

publick Mischief, without hearing of it, is only the Prerogative and Felicity of Tyranny.

I MAY be thought, perhaps, by some, to speak with too much Liberty in the following Discourse; but let them remember, that if there be any thing either in the Arguments or Examples, which tallies with the Conduct and Characters of Persons living, I make no Applications. If any body has a mind to take the Scandal to Himself, much good may it do him.—— Qui capit, ille facit.



Francis;



Francis, Lord Bacon :

O R,

*The CASE of National
Bribery, &c.*



SHALL begin this Discourse with a very noble, and at this Juncture, no less seasonable Observation, tho' it be in Fact of a much later Date than what is pretended. *Zaleucus*, the Lawgiver of the *Locrians*, (and who, like many of our present Set of Lawgivers, was at first of very mean Descent and Expectations) is made to introduce that System, which he compiled for the Use of his Countrymen,

B

with

with this formal Preface: * *That every Member of a Commonwealth, in the first place, ought to believe there are Gods; which they will be convinced of, by looking up to Heaven and the World, and considering the Beauty and Order of all things there. The Consequence of this Persuasion seem'd to Him, that we should thereby be oblig'd to honour the Divine Powers, and have a stricter Regard to our own Actions and Conduct; that we should shew much less Reason, than we are willing to allow our selves, if, while we observ'd so just and beautiful a Regularity above, we could suffer our selves to be so wild and eccentric, as I may say, in our Motions below.*

NOW the nearest Pretence that we have of imitating this Divine Regularity, must be by the Provision of good and wholesome Laws: Laws, establish'd by the *Wisdom*, and not the *Caprice* of the Legislators: Laws, promoted neither by *Party-Interests*, nor *Party-Passions*, where the Honour and Safety of the Government is principally consider'd, and the Sanctity of *Power*, and *private Right*, are equally guarded.

IT has happen'd in all Countries, that the Prince very often has been a greater Stranger to the Constitution than his Ministers; and from this Misfortune it has as often happen'd,

* Τὲς καταικύντας τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν, πάντας πρώ-
τον πεπειῶσα χρὴ καὶ νομίζειν Θεὸς εἶναι, αναβλέποντας ἐς
ἑρανδόν, καὶ τὸ κόσμον, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς διακόσμησιν καὶ τάξιν.
Zaleuci Proemium apud Stobaeum.

that Corruption and oblique Designs have got the start of Justice and a Nation's Interest. This is certainly far from being our immediate Case, who have a Prince, whose Wisdom, or Indulgence, is disputed by none but *Jacobites*; and who is happy in a Ministry, that have Resolution and Integrity enough to fall in with his Measures, for the Safety of their Country.

W H E R E Magistrates are in themselves weak, and uninform'd in the Duties of their Charge, they are at best but *Conduits*, to issue out to the People what is infus'd into them at the Passage of their *Ears*; or like that *wooden Head*, so celebrated in King *Charles the Second's* Time, that had a Faculty of rewarding whatever its wise Spectators were pleas'd to say to it. If ever such Machines have been at the Head of Affairs, no wonder that Impositions have spread and flourish'd, and Commonwealths been oppress'd in their Liberties, or Fortunes, thro' the Inability of their Directors, either in feeling, or opposing, the Incroachments of Fraud, and pernicious Practices!

B U T I would not be thought to mean, that *Ignorance* is the only Inlet to *Knavery*; if we look back, indeed, into the Annals of other Ages and Countries, we shall be furnish'd with Instances, that stupid and indolent Princes have been cajol'd, by the Artifices of their designing and self-interested Ministers: but the World is now improv'd in Judgment and Politicks, and the Princes, at least of *Europe*, come to the Task of Power, well read in all the *Arcana's* of *State*, and *Laws* of *Nations*: They know the

Limits of *Prerogative* and *Property*, and false Colours must be put upon indirect Attempts, before they can be drawn in to *wave* their own *Power*, or *infringe* the *Rights* of their Subjects. New Arts now are necessary to an *insidious Statesman*; and because it is impossible to seduce his Prince's Integrity, or impose on his Wisdom, by a true State of Things; he labours to put a plausible Gloss upon his Measures, gilds them over with the popular Appearances of the Nation's Interest, and so *betrays* his Monarch's *Love* and *Indulgence* to his People, to support and countenance the Schemes of a *disguis'd Avarice*, and *lurking Villany*. Nor is he content to abuse the Royal Authority meerly by his own Misrepresentations, another Fetch of Policy is to keep the Royal Ear from being misabus'd: His own Dependants and Minions, the Creatures of his Favour, and Abettors of his Vices, are planted about the King's Person, to block up and intercept the Possibility of Detection. I may be bold to say with *Cicero* upon this Head, *Ubi cumque hoc factum est, improbe factum est; quicumque hoc fecit, supplicio dignus est*. Wherever such Artifices are practised, they are impious in themselves; and whoever it is that puts them in practice, deserves a Punishment equal to his Crime.

I SHALL be yet thought, perhaps, a little too remote from the purposed Subject of this Pamphlet; and that I am only beating the Bush, while all my Readers are expecting that I should start the Hare.

THE Case of my Lord Chancellor BACON, which I toother day dipt into, and which I shall consider

consider in the Sequence of this Discourse, is worthy the Attention of the present Times; and the more so, because the whole Nation is at a Gaze upon the Discovery and Redress of their late Ruin: Such a Scene of flagrant Treachery begins to open, and the Actors and Confederates in it are of such Consequence, that all Eyes and Expectations are employ'd on this single Object. The greatest Satisfaction the poor Sufferers have, under this almost general Calamity, is, that their *honest* and *generous* Representatives in *Parliament* are resolv'd to search into the Source of their Misfortunes, and detect the *secret Springs* and *Machines*, by which so much Fraud has been set on foot and perpetrated.

ALL Points of Guilt have ever been reckon'd to be aggravated from the Quality and Circumstances of the Persons committing them; and the Party that, by *Trust* and *delegated Power*, is put in a Capacity of prejudicing a *Multitude*, and actually does it, is look'd upon with more Horror and Detestation than a *meaner Villain*, whose Baseness only exercises it self on a *private Family*. The Nature of the Crimes, 'tis true, is much the same; but where the Injuries are most extensive, there will always be most Clamour: and for this reason only, to wave all other, the Subornation of Witnesses, to undermine and overturn a private Property, will never be reckon'd to amount to a *Bribery*, accepted to purchase *Indirection* in any *National Case*.

IT must be admitted that the Corruption of great Officers has been almost as old as the
Con-

Constitution of the very Offices they fill'd: Human Nature is so deprav'd, and we have such a Fund of unreasonable Avarice in us, that no Augmentations of *Honour*, no large Allotment of *Salary*, no Superaddition of *establish'd Perquisites*, can confine us to the direct Road of Honesty; but we warp and run byas into sinister Gains, and pollute our Hands and Consciences with illegal Graspings: as much the Distemper of a corrupted Mind, as Convulsions are of a disorder'd Body! It will be as easy to shew, and not impertinent to the present Purpose, that however Bribery may have prevailed in all States and Ages, it has ever been regarded with the utmost Detestation, and discountenanc'd with wholesome Severities.

I WILL not suppose my Readers so unacquainted with their Bible, as not to remember what numerous Injunctions there are in the Holy Text against Corruption, and the perverting of Judgment thro' Bribes. The more *Oriental* Countries, and from whom the *Hebrews* deriv'd a great part of their Laws, had I time to search so deep into Antiquity, call'd Criminals of this sort to a very strict Account. There is a remarkable Instance of this kind recorded of *Cambyses*, a Prince of many insufferable Vices, but famous for the Severity of his Government, and the Strictness of an inexorable Justice. This Prince had a particular Favourite, whom he made a *Judge*; and this *Judge* reckon'd himself so secure in the Credit he had with his Master, that without any more ado, *Causes* were bought and sold in the Courts of *Judicature*, as openly as *Provisions* were in the *Markets*. So
soon

Soon as *Cambyſes* came to underſtand how this ungrateful Wretch had *proſtituted* his *Royal Dignity* for *Gold*; together with the *Liberty* and *Property* of his People, and the *Honour* of his *Administration*; he cauſ'd his Minion to be taken up, and degraded, his Skin ſtrip'd over his Ears; and the Seat of Judgment cover'd with it. He order'd his Son, in the Concluſion, to ſucceed the Father in his Character and Office; and to deliver Judgment from that very Chair: that having this Memorial of his Father's Crime and Infamy before his Eyes, he ſhould never ſlip aſide from the Duty of his Truſt. And thus this Prince, by that ſevere Act of Juſtice, and by the Choice he made of the Son to ſucceed the Father, gave Proofs that his Heart was free from *Perſonal Malice*, and that he hated nothing that belonged to the *Judge*, except his *Villany*.

IF we look a little into the Political State of *Greece*, we ſhall find one Action among their Laws, which they term'd *Δωροδοκίας ὁρμή*, a *Proſecution* for taking *Bribes* to manage any *publick Affair*, or pervert Juſtice. Nor was it thought enough by this Proceſs to puniſh the Receiver, but the Perſon alſo that offer'd Bribes was proſecuted: Now all who were convicted of receiving Bribes, were fined ten times the Value of what they had gain'd, and puniſh'd with the higheſt degree of *Infamy*.

THE Word *Infamy*, to ſuch as are not ſo well verſ'd in the State of *Greece*, may ſeem only a publick Diſgrace, in point of Character and Reputation; and therefore I muſt, in a few words, explain its Conſequences. We are told,
that

that of this *Infamy* (which they call'd *anūia*,) there were three Degrees. * The *First* was, when the Criminal retain'd his Possessions, but was depriv'd of some Privilege, which was enjoy'd by his Fellow-Citizens. The *Second*, when he was for the present depriv'd of the Privileges of Free Citizens, and had his Goods confiscated. And the *Third*, when He, with all his Children and Posterity, were for ever depriv'd of all Rights of Free Citizens, both Sacred and Civil. † And out of those who fell under this last Censure, some were appointed to drudge in the Gallies.

NOR were the *Romans* less express, or rigid, in providing against, and punishing this Corruption. They had, in the first place, their *Repetundarum Actionem*, a Prosecution for the Recovery of such Sums as had been obtain'd, or extorted, by Indirection. And *Sigonius* informs us, that such Moneys were term'd *Pecunie Repetundæ*, nempe, *quæ possent repeti*, which might by the Course of Law be recover'd: namely, such Money as any *Magistrate*, *Judge*, or *Publick Officer*, did either in the Provinces, or in the City, receive as a *Bribe* from the Allies, and Associates, or from the *Roman* Citizens, for the Administration of Justice, or the Execution of any publick Duty.

|| *L. CALPURNIUS PISO* procur'd a Law to pass, whereby a certain *Prætor* was ordain'd

* Andocides de Mysteriis.

† Schol. Aristoph. in Ranis.

|| Cicero in Bruto.

for the Inquisition of this Crime, and for laying a heavy Penalty on the Persons offending.

* *M. JUNIUS PENNUS*, the Tribune, afterwards preferr'd a Law, propounding, That on such as were convicted of Bribery, *Præter Litis æstimationem Exilium etiam Damnato esset irrogatum*; That besides the rating of the Damages, the Person convicted of this Crime should suffer Banishment.

† *M. ACILIUS GLABRIO*, lest the Criminal should evade Punishment thro' any Delays of Court, inforc'd the preceding Laws with one particular Clause, that the Persons brought in guilty of Bribery, *neque ampliari, neque comperendinari possent*, should have no Re-hearing, or Enlargement of Time, no Adjournment of Sentence, or Reprieve of Judgment.

IT is easy, from this short Allegation of Old Statutes, to see what Dread and Abhorrence the *Greek* and *Roman* entertain'd of this base Crime: and it would be no Difficulty, were it not too remote from my Subject, to prove how often and how deeply both those Commonwealths were betray'd thro' its means; how often the Interests of the People were sacrificed to the private Factions, and canvassing for Offices of their Great Men; and how often their véry Constitutions were overturn'd by

* Cicero in Verrem. Velleius Paterculus.

† Cicero in Verrem.

extravagant Donations made to the Soldiery, or by winding themselves into the Bosoms of the Senate. It is a Remark upon the latter of these States, by an * Author in very good Repute among the Lawyers, *Nullâ aliâ re magis Romana Respublica interiit, quàm quod Magistratus Officia venalia erant*: That the Destruction of the Roman Commonwealth was owing to nothing more, than that the Offices of their Magistrates were made venal. We may easily conclude Things were come to a notorious Height of Corruption, when a Foreigner could see so far into their Abuses, that, upon his Departure from Rome, he cry'd out, † *Vale, venalis Civitas, mox peritura, si Emptorem invenias*: Farewell, thou City that art set up to Sale, and only wait'st for a Purchaser to conclude thy Ruin.

IT is now more than time, and I am impatient myself, to draw my Lines nearer to their Centre; and to take a View of what Construction our Laws at home put upon the Crimes of *Bribery* and *Extortion*. The Terms, indeed, are not synonomous, but they are homogeneous in their Operation and Effects.

MY Lord Coke, in his Commentary upon Littleton, is pleas'd to observe, that || *Extortion, in his proper Sense, is a great Misprision, by wresting, or unlawfully taking by any Officer, by colour of his*

* *Ærod. f. 353.*

† *Salust in Jugurth.*

|| *Coke upon Littleton, l. 3. c. 13. sect. 701.*

Office, any Money, or valuable thing, of or from any Man, either that is not due, or more than is due, or before it be due. *Quod non est debitum, vel quod est ultra debitum, vel ante tempus quod est debitum.* For this it is to be known (adds he) that it is provided by the Statute || Will. 1^{mi}, that no Sheriff, or any other Minister of the King, shall take any Reward for doing of his Office, but only that which the King alloweth him, upon pain that he shall render double to the Party, and be punish'd at the King's Pleasure.

YOU have here the Definition of the Crime explain'd, take with it his Comment of the Heinousness of its Nature: * *Of this Term it is said, it is no other than Robbery; and another saith, that it is more odious than Robbery, for Robbery is apparent, and hath the face of a Crime, but Extortion puts on the Visor of Vertue, for Expedition of Justice, and the like.*

TO trace all the Sources of Corruption in great Officers, were to make this Discourse much too prolix, and fill it up rather with Digression than proper Matter. One great Cause, indeed, of Corruption in Magistrates, and Ministers of State, (*but which is far from being the Practice of our Times*) is, when they obtain their Employments by *Bribery, or Purchase*; (which, in this Case, I look upon to be the same thing) I say, when they come into Offices in this man-

|| W. 1. c. 26, &c. W. 1. c. 10. 42 E. 3. 5. 27 Aff. 14. Pl. Com. 68.

*Coke upon Littleton, l. 3. c. 13. sect. 701.

ner, they think they have a Right to take Bribes, which, *mutatò nomine*, they call making the most of their Places; and so the most notorious Subornations have been practised, under the plausible Colour of a Perquisite.

THERE is a Statute * (*Anno 3. Hen. 7.*) against this sort of Bribery, by which it is enacted, That all Deeds of Bargain, Bonds, Promises, or other Assurances of Reward, as well on the part of the Bargainer, as of the Bargainée, shall be void in Law; and so it was judg'd afterwards in the Case of Sir Robert Vernon Cofferer of the King's House, (*Mich. 13. Jac. 1.*) who sold the said Office to Sir A. J. for a certain Sum of Money: And tho' the said Sir A. J. was by the King's Appointment admitted and sworn Cofferer; yet it was resolv'd by Sir Thomas Egerton, then Lord Chancellor, the Chief Justice, and others, to whom the King referred the same, that the said Office was void by the said Statute. And thereupon Sir A. J. was removed, and Sir Marmaduke Darrel sworn (by the King's Commandment) in his Place. For by another Statute made *Anno 31 Eliz.* in the particular Case of Presentations, and for the suppressing of Simony, and such corrupt Agreements, the Act so binds the King, as he cannot present him whom the Law has disabled †.

AND therefore, as my Lord COKE || is pleas'd to observe finely, by the Law of England,

* Coke upon Littleton, l. 3. sect. 378.

† Idem, l. 2. sect. 181.

|| L. 3. sect. 378.

it is further provided, * That no Officer or Minister of the King shall be ordained, or made, for any Gift or Brocage, Favour or Affection; nor that any which pursueth by him, or any other, privily or openly, to be in any manner of Office, shall be put in the same Office, or in any other : But that all such Officers shall be made of the best, and most lawful Men and sufficient. A Law worthy to be written in Letters of Gold, but more worthy to be put in due execution. For certainly never shall Justice be truly administred, but when the Officers and Ministers of Justice to be of such Quality, and come to their Places in such manner as by this Law is required.

WE have yet seen only how the Law disqualifies any Man for *obtaining* an Office by *Bribery* or *Purchase*; and it now remains to be consider'd both what have been, and ought to be the Consequences of abusing the Dignity of any Office, either by *receiving* a Bribe from private Persons for the Execution, or Subversion, of Justice; or for taking Money in any *National* Procedure, and prostituting the *Honour* and *Authority* of the Crown to *illegal Avarice*.

THE Case of Sir FRANCIS BACON, who was created Viscount of *St. Albans*, and Lord Chancellor, is a Presumption of Bribery, (as some have said) for a private Decree, pronounced in the Court of Chancery; and tho' not less unworthy of the Dignity of a Chancellor,

* 12 Rich. 2.

yet much less heinous than the Prostitution of his own Conscience, and the Liberty of the Subject, in one and the same Act.

I THINK it not unnecessary, for Reasons which will very soon be obvious to my Readers, to give first a short Character of this Great Man. (They, who have a mind to know what Estimation he was of among the Learned abroad, may consult Monsieur Bayle, Monsieur Baillet in his Life of *Descartes*, *Gassendus* of *Bacon's* Logick, and *Costar's* Letter to Monsieur *Voiture*.) He was not only the greatest Man in the Law of that Age, but the most knowing in other kinds of Literature; as may be seen by his excellent Tracts in Philosophy, as well as by his Treatises of Law.

AS to his Behaviour in publick Employments, the * Writer of his Life says, When his Office call'd him, as he was the King's Attorney, to charge Offenders, either in Criminal or Capital Causes, *he was never of an insulting or domineering Nature over them*, but always tender-hearted, and carrying him decently towards the Parties, (tho' it was his Duty to charge them) but yet as one that look'd upon the *Example* with the Eye of *Severity*, but on the *Person* with the Eye of *Pity* and *Compassion*. And in Civil Business, as he was Counsellor of State, he had the best way of advising; not ingaging his Master in any precipitate or grievous Courses, but in moderate and fair Proceedings: The King,

* Dr. William Rawley.

whom he serv'd, giving him this Character, that he ever dealt in Business *suavibus modis*, which was the most according to his own Heart.

HERE are all the Qualifications of a faithful, wise, and an able Minister; a Man that seem'd made to draw the Affections of the People upon their Prince; yet all sullied by one inglorious Imputation, which made him at the same time both pitied and despised. Then his Tongue, as a very elegant * State-Writer expresses it, that was the Glory of his Time for Eloquence, that run'd so many sweet Harangues, was like a forsaken Harp, hung upon the Willows, whilst the Waters of Affliction overflow'd the Banks.

THE Historians of those Times are very obscure as to the Particulars of the Fact, (so that I must sift more narrowly into the Substance of the Evidence) and most of them, who have wrote any thing of him, seem willing to think him innocent of the Crime suspected. There is one, indeed, *ex post facto* Circumstance, which, I think, goes a great way to prove him so; that is, his Poverty after he was degraded. † One Eminent Writer says, that he treasur'd up nothing either for himself or his Family; but his fatal Error was his Indulgence to his Servants: But (what is particularly remarkable in his Character, and worthy the Notice of all his Successors to the *Seals*) *his Decrees were al-*

* Willson in his *Life of King James I.*

† Mr. Echard's *History of England*.

ways made with so much Equity, that none were ever revers'd as unjust.

HOWEL says, he writ a very moving Letter to the King a short time before his Death, praying for some little Pension, lest he should be reduced to Beggary. The same Author adds, that his Poverty was owing to his Contempt of Riches, and his Carelessness of Things that concern'd this World.

THIS, in many Cases, would be Proof enough to acquit him in the Breast of every knowing Man; since He, that has Philosophy enough to despise Money, can never be guilty of a base Action to acquire it.

IF the Persons under a present Examination, and Those, who may hereafter be discover'd Partners in the same Frauds and Corruption, have this *purging* Circumstance of *Probity* on their sides; I don't doubt but they will be acquitted, and, I dare answer, that every honest Man will be inclin'd to think them perfectly innocent.

THE Laws, I know, that defend the Liberties and Properties of the Subject, do not oblige every Rich Man to give an Account how he came by his Riches; but, against a Person charged with Crimes, the Case is quite otherwise. There is no Law to confirm a Highwayman in the Property of what he has plunder'd; and the present Delinquents should be put in mind, that tho' they have transacted with so much Secrecy and Cunning, as to make it difficult

ficult to find Proofs against them; yet a sudden great Fortune, without any visible Way that is honest of raising it, gives very strong Suspicions of Knavery: And in *Criminal Cases*, as I shall anon shew, where proper and sufficient Evidence cannot be had, yet *glaring Circumstances* and *violent Presumptions* amount to a Proof.

T H E R E is a Country, as I am told, almost in the same Latitude with us, that not long ago was reputed very rich; many wealthy Companies were establish'd there by Charter, at which, in their General Meetings, or Courts for Business, every Adventurer has a Liberty of haranguing or proposing what he thinks for the Good of the Publick. The Orations of these Assemblies are generally deliver'd in a Style so profound and mysterious, that scarce any one Man can comprehend what another would be at: (But this is the Perfection of Mechanic Eloquence.) Only one Thing is to be observ'd as a standing Rule with them, that if any one has some *knavish* Design in his Head, he is sure to be *loudest* for the *Publick Good*.

I N one of these Assemblies, a certain Person of a *Plebeian* Extraction, but somewhat exalted in *Fortune* and in *Opinion*, told the Company, *he look'd upon that Man to be an Enemy to his Countrey, who would not throw all his Substance into such a Bank, above what would subsist his Family a Week.* This Speech, it seems, had the Effect design'd, coming from the Mouth of a *Patriot* who was supposed to know and have his Countrey's Welfare at Heart: They, who had any Money by them, press'd to become Purchasers,
D while

while *his* Agents were selling, at an exorbitant Price, what he knew not worth above a Ninth Part of the Purchase required. And thus he carried the Fortunes of many Families into his private Coffers.

THE Publick-spiritedness of such a Patriot as this, puts me in Mind of a Story, very much parallel to his Conduct. Several Countrymen being Tenants in common to the same Parcel of Land which they sow'd with Corn; when the Time of Harvest came, the Grain ripen'd for the Sickle, and every one was big with Expectation to reap the Profits of their Expence and Labour; one, among the rest, persuaded them not to take it off the Ground yet, but to stay till it fill'd and harden'd better, and then it would yield double the Quantity of Flower. In the mean time he employ'd several Vagabonds for Hire, who went together in the Night, cut down the Corn, stole it off from the Land, and laid it up privately in his own Barns; while the poor Neighbours, that ought to have shar'd in the Crop, were almost perishing for want of Bread.

IF such a Villany as this had ever happen'd among *us*, I cannot pretend to determine how the Criminal would have been treated; for, I think, our Nation always tempers its Justice with Humanity: But I can guess how he would have been handled at *Athens* or *Rome*. At the *first*, 'tis probable, the enrag'd Populace would hardly have waited for the Formality of Justice, but torn the Delinquent to-pieces in the Fury of their Resentments: At the *latter*, he would have

have been oblig'd to take a Leap from the Summit of the *Tarpeian* Rock.

I F there be any such Persons as these now living, I am much afraid they stand upon a Precipice: And as it is observable, that there is a Weakness in some Constitutions, that if from a low Place they ascend any great Height, it suddenly makes their Heads giddy; if any of these unguarded Climbers are mounted, all that I can say, is, I wish them well *down*.

BUT to return to a further Survey of my Lord *BACON*. Either the Wickedness or Weakness of Great Officers have been the Grievance of the People in many of the Reigns of our *English* Kings. King *JAMES* the *First* we find, (to go no further off for an Instance) was, thro' the Intercessions, and with private Views of his Favourites, notoriously impos'd on in granting Patents to private Persons, (*viz.* Sir *Giles Mompesson*, and Sir *Francis Mitchel*) for giving Licences to Inns, Alehouses, and Makers of Gold-Thread. The Projectors being empower'd by their Letters-Patent, enter'd upon any mischievous and pestilent Measures, by which they could find any Benefit: And, as my * Author says, they grew so ravenous upon the poor People, that they grated them to the Bones, and suck'd out the very Marrow of their Substance.

BUT tho' the Patents were granted to these private Persons, they were but the *Tools* and

* *Wilson's Life of K. James I.*

working Instruments of Mischief. The Corruptions were concerted and abetted by Politicians behind the Curtain, who, had not, however, Subtility enough to skreen themselves from the Odium of Suspicious and Accusation. For their Oppressions were thoroughly ript up and open'd by the House of Commons; who, discovering that the King had some little Profit by these Patents, generously resolv'd to make it up to him another Way : Therefore, they gave him two entire Subsidies; well judging, that those Contributions, that come from the People's Love, flow freely like a Spring-Tide; but illegal Taxes, rack'd from their Bowels, and coming thro' so many Promoters and Catchpoles Hands, run very low, and the King has ever the least Share of them.*

BUT his Temper being thus sweetned by the Goodness of his Parliament, he came to the House, and pass'd Sentence upon the Patents, before the Lords pass'd Sentence upon the wicked Executioners of them.

SIR *Francis Mitchel* was sentenc'd to be degraded, fin'd, and imprison'd; and his Crime proceeding from a base Spirit, his Punishment was answerable : For he was led thro' the City, with his Face to the Horse's Tail, with a Paper on his Breast and Back, declaring his Crime, to suffer the Scorn, Contempt, and Insults of the People whom he had injur'd.

* Idem in ecd. lccc.

A S for *Mompesson*, he had the same Sentence laid upon him, but was not taken; and tho' the King's Proclamation was out against him, he *escap'd* by the means of the *Marquis* of BUCKINGHAM, who was *suppos'd* to have a *Feeling* in these Extortions, as *having been very active* in procuring the Patents.

NONE of the Historians, (at least, as far as I have either read, or can remember) are particular enough, or seem to suppose that my Lord Chancellor BACON had any Feeling in the Affair of these Patents. But I shall bring in one Witness, from whom the Information might not be suspected, who intimates a Bribe in this very Case to have been the Slip which overthrew this Great Man.

“ THE Parliament, says he *, whose Bearing was dutiful to the King, was quick and
 “ minatory against some *vile Persons*, who had
 “ spoil'd the People by *illegal Oppressions*. These
 “ were *Cankermosses, Harpies, Projectors*, who
 “ between the *Easiness* of the Lord Marquis to
 “ procure, and the *Willingness* of the Lord Chan-
 “ cellor BACON to comply, had obtain'd Patent
 “ Commissions for *Latent Knaveries*: Which
 “ Exorbitances, being countenanc'd in the
 “ Court, were grown too strong for any Justice
 “ but the *Parliament's* to root them up. There
 “ the Appeals of the vex'd Subject were heard,
 “ more like to Outcries than Complaints;

* *Bishop Hacket in his Life of Archbishop Williams.*

“ which

“ which fell thick upon Sir *Giles Mompeffon*, and
 “ Sir *Francis Mitchel*, for Fines and Levies rais’d
 “ upon Inns and Alehouses, arbitrary Imposi-
 “ tions, and a Precedent dangerous to spread
 “ even to Shops and Warehouses. Others re-
 “ monstrated against a Pack of Cheaters, who
 “ procur’d the Monopoly of Gold-Thread,
 “ which with their Spinning was palpably cor-
 “ rupted and embas’d. These gilt Flies were
 “ the bolder, because Sir *Edward Villers*, Half-
 “ Brother to the Lord Marquis, was in their
 “ Indenture of Association, tho’ not named in
 “ their Patent: A Gentleman both religious,
 “ and true-hearted to good Ways, who was en-
 “ snar’d by crafty Merchants; and so far ex-
 “ cus’d, that after strict Enquiry, when this
 “ Adulterate Ware came to the Test, it ap-
 “ pear’d that he knew not of the Juggling of
 “ the Patentees, who drew on Grievances with
 “ Threads of Vanity, and Scandal upon the
 “ chief Government with Cords of Iniquity.
 “ Together with these Vermin, (and much
 “ more than these) the *Lord Chancellor* was que-
 “ stion’d, (and without Pity to his excellent
 “ Parts) the Castle of *Munera* (as I borrow it
 “ from Mr. *Spenser*’s Divine Wit) must be quite
 “ defaced. Monopolies and Briberies were beaten
 “ upon the Anvil every Day, almost every Hour.
 “ The Obnoxious, that were brought to the Bar
 “ of Justice, with a Multitude that fear’d to be
 “ in as ill Condition, saw no way for Safety,
 “ but to poison the King with an ill Opinion of
 “ the Parliament, *that it might evaporate into a*
 “ *Nullity.*”

THE Parliament, wearied with long Sittings, (as the same Reverend Author informs us) and great Pains, was content against the Feast of *Easter* to take Relaxation, and was prorogued from the 27th of *March* to the 18th of *April*. The Marquis of *Buckingham* had an Eye in it upon the *Lord Chancellor*, to try if Time would mitigate the Displeasure, which in Both Houses was strong against him: But the Leisure of Three Weeks multiplied a Pile of new Suggestions against him, and nothing was presaged more certain than his Downfal.

IN short, the Opinion of his being faulty spread among the Croud; and Innocency it self then becomes a Crime, when Calumny once sets her Mark upon it. He was immediately dismiss'd from the *Seals*, degraded from his Peerage, and render'd incapable of any Employment of Trust or Honour, only upon the Suspicion of his Briberies. I say, only the *Suspicion*; for the Proofs, I think, (at least at first) were no more than Circumstantial; a Purse of Gold found under the *Chancellor's* Seat.

HAD the House, probably, gone closely to work upon the Question of his Fault, Evidence might have been wanting to amount to a Conviction: But my Lord *BACON*, who knew that all Wounds ake with laying open, and that Circumstances are sufficient to blast a Reputation, took a Method to save the Parliament the Trouble of an Examination. For, in a supplicating Letter which he wrote to them, he ingenuously

genuously acknowledges, * That having understood the Particulars of the Charge, not *formally* from the *House*, but enough to inform his *Conscience* and *Memory*, he found Matter sufficient and full, both to move him to desert his Defence, and to move their Lordships to condemn and censure him.

THIS Confession, join'd with the Clamours of the exasperated Subject, had, 'tis likely, brought a much harsher Judgment upon him than he felt, but that he threw himself and his Cause at the feet of his Judges, with so much Penitence, before he was condemn'd; imploring, † That his penitent Submission might be his Sentence, the Loss of his Seal his Punishment; and that their Lordships would recommend him to his Majesty's Grace and Pardon for all that was past.

IN fine, he was a fit Jewel to have beautified and adorn'd a flourishing Kingdom, if his Flaws had not disgrac'd the Lustre that set him off. We hardly have a greater Instance in History, how *little Compassion* follows the Person of a *Great Minister*, that is once stigmatiz'd with *sordid Corruption*. Tho' he had a small Pension allow'd him by King *James*, who bore him a Respect for his great Learning, yet he wanted to the last; living obscurely in his Lodgings at *Grays-Inn*, where his Loneliness, and desolate Condition, wrought upon his ingenious, and

* *Wilson's Life of King James I.*

† *Idem ibid.*

therefore then more melancholy Temper, that he pined away : And had this Unhappiness after all his Height of Plenitude, to be denied Beer to quench his Thirst. For having a sickly Taste, he did not like the Beer of the House, but sent to Sir *Fulk Grevil*, Lord *Brook*, in the Neighbourhood, (now and then) for a Bottle of his Beer ; and after some Grumbling, the Butler had Orders to deny him *.

YET while I am pitying the Misfortunes of this Great Man, I cannot forbear commending the Honour of that illustrious House of *Peers* who condemn'd him. They judg'd it an Indignity to their Honourable Body, that one should sit among them, *especially in the Quality of their Speaker*, who had been so much as *suspected* of so *scandalous* a Corruption.

IT is very remarkable in the Story of *Julius Caesar*, that Noble Roman, that he dismiss'd his Wife *Pompeia*, whom he very affectionately lov'd, for the very Shadow of an Imputation. Perhaps a Roman of an ordinary Rank would not have been so delicate in the same Circumstance ; but *Caesar*, who was in all Things both Wise and Noble, knew well, that Reputation, when once blacken'd with the least Blemish of Suspicion, never can recover its native Whiteness more ; and particularly when Persons are placed in a Rank above us, we see their Stains as through a magnifying Glass. It happen'd at one of the Women's Sacrifices, solemniz'd in *Caesar's* House, and at which it

* Idem. ibid.

was a Prophanation for any Man to be present. *P. Clodius*, a luxurious young Nobleman, was detected in Women's Cloaths. Whether the young Fellow's Curiosity only led him to see these forbidden Mysteries, or that he had an Intrigue in his Head, it might as well have been suppos'd on any other Lady of the Company : But *Cæsar* thought his Honour oblig'd him to divorce *Pompeia*, alledging, *That Cæsar's Wife ought not to be so much as suspected* *.

MORE Reason had that august Assembly of Peers to think, that a Member of their House, and a first Officer of the State, whose single Decree was of Force to decide the Property of the Subject, ought not to enjoy the Privileges in dishonour of their high Rank, if he was but suspected of so mean a Crime as *Bribery*.

A MAGISTRATE of suspected Honesty may be fear'd because of the Power he is invested with, but must at the same Time be hated and despis'd. The Ministers of the Gospel are oblig'd, for Example Sake, to be strict and uncorrupt in their Lives ; but for much stronger Reasons the Ministers of the State ought to be so. The first are only to exhort, and preach against Vice ; the last are to discountenance and punish it. With what Horror must we look upon a Judge, passing a severe Sentence upon a Criminal for Perjury, Extortion, or Bribery ; if we know, that he has ever practis'd any of the same Crimes ! It puts me in Mind

* Plutarch. in Vita Julii Cæsaris.

of a very Iudicrous Author, who, in his Address to *Tyburn*, makes the following Speech to that awful Tree :

*Could'st thou but judge, as well as execute,
How often would'st thou change the Felon's Doom,
And hang the stern Chief Justice in his Room?*

IN all publick Cases, where the Interest and Safety of the People are concern'd, it must be admitted, I think, that it is indifferent whether a Minister betrays the Prince, or his People, for a wicked Reward to the *Enemy* in the Time of *War*; or enters into pernicious Practices by *confederating* with a Set of *designing Knaves*, to raise an infamous great Fortune to himself, by *impoverishing* the *Subject*, and that Way reducing them to a State of *Captivity*. I know well, the first is declar'd High-Treason by our Laws: And, I believe the last, were it to come upon the Tryal, would be pronounc'd so too. For it is one establish'd Maxim in the Law, that, *Ubi eadem est Ratio, ibi eadem est Lex*. No one Statute can foresee or include all Circumstances of being criminal; but where-ever there is the same *Reason* for *punishing*, there the *Law* ought to be the *same*.

IN my Lord BACON's Case, the Punishment was equal to the Crime; there were Circumstances to give a Suspicion of Bribery, and therefore he was unqualified for the Service of the Publick. But had it been prov'd, that he had been a private Instrument of Extortions; that he had been a Gainer by a Fraud, which prov'd the Ruin of Thousands: had he taken an im-

menſe Sum of Money, as a *Premium*, from wicked Men, for ſuſpending the Execution of ſome Laws, or for putting others in Execution, which he was obliged to do by the Duty of his Great Office ; it is not to be doubted, but, in this Caſe too, his Punishment would have been equal to his Crime.

IF there be in the World a Wretch in Office, who has built his own Fortune upon the Ruins of Twenty Thouſands of his Fellow-Subjects ; (the meanest of whom is more *honest*, and as *well-born* as himſelf) this Monster, like a Beaſt of Prey that has worried the whole Flock, ought, in common Juſtice, to be hunted down and deſtroy'd.

WHEN a Prince has the Miſfortune to be ſerv'd by ſuch , as can be bound by no Ties but thoſe of private Intereſt, he's exactly in the Condition of thoſe Animals, which the Heathen Priests fed up for Sacrifice, deſtin'd to fall, whenever they can get a ſatisfactory Price for him. A covetous and mercenary Man in Office can never be honeſt ; it is a Contradiſtion in Nature and common Senſe ; and we may as well call an Adulterer chaſte. Our own Hiſtory, carefully examin'd, would furniſh a Number of Proofs of this Propoſition.

WHEN King *Charles* the *Fiſt* , in the Beginning of his Troubles , went to *York*, his General, the Earl of *Holland*, had found out a Perſon, who was willing to give him Ten Thouſand Pounds for the Procuratiſon of a Barony. The General went immediately , and deſir'd the
Dignity

Dignity might be conferr'd : That Monarch , who had very right Notions of Honour, could not consent to prostitute the *Dignity of Peerage*, which was design'd to distinguish those, who had deserv'd well of their Country , and as a Reward for great and virtuous Actions, upon a mean and unworthy Person , therefore resolutely thought fit to refuse the Earl. The mercenary , treacherous Favourite dissembled the Sting and Resentment of this Refusal, and parted with all the Appearance of Loyalty , and Acquiescence to his King's Pleasure : But, from that Minute betray'd him in all his Counsels. Unhappy, Virtuous Monarch ! who , consulting nothing but the Honesty of his own Nature, never believ'd any Man a Villain till he found him to be such.

PRINCES have but scanty , or rather no Opportunities of looking into the private Lives of Men, the best and most certain Way of Judging of Dispositions : And therefore it is no Wonder that they should often be mistaken in the Choice of their Servants. The Disguises Men put on, to work themselves into Preferment, may easily deceive a Prince, who knows them but by Appearances. For the Smiles of a Courtier, and of a Harlot, have been frequently compar'd, and so has their Honesty.

SOMETIMES, indeed, one would think Kings very curious in the placing of their Promotions ; when Birth , Quality and distinguishing Characters are over-look'd , and a few Men are pick'd out, from among many Millions of Subjects, and from the Meanest of the People,

People, for the Service of the Publick. Now the Vulgar have no Reason to grumble at these Elections, and at seeing a Parcel of themselves toss'd up into a Rank that demands Respect : For the Prince is acknowledg'd to be the Fountain of Honour ; and the Respect we are oblig'd to pay to such, is to their Office, not to the Men. In all Degrees of Civil Life, there is a Kind of Civility due to the Servant for the Sake of the Master ; but whenever any of these Mushroom Favourites come to be degraded, our restrain'd Respect immediately breaks out into the most virulent Contempt.

ONE very fatal Consequence, that too often attends vehement and sudden Promotions, whether the Persons dignified are Laymen, or of the Clergy, is, that they mount the Chariot of Preheminence like unskilful *Phaetons*, without knowing either the Management of the Reins, or the Road they are to drive in. The Result of their Ignorance is to lay down false Maxims of Policy to themselves ; as, that the Trust of Power is only committed to them, to be subservient to the Pleasure of the Donor ; to take care that the Prince never wants Money, however unjust the Schemes for Raising it are ; (*Lucri bonus est Odor ex re qualibet*) and lastly, tho' ever first in their Consideration, to amass a private Fortune to themselves.

I HAVE not been uncurious, nor indiligent, in canvassing the Histories of our Country, to see the Turn and Genius of our Ancestors and their Times, in Circumstances and Facts relating to the Subject now before me ;
for

for I know this Maxim to be perfectly just,
That Example is ever more prevalent than Pre-
cept.

I HAVE made one Observation, from a Survey of past Times, which I believe will be pretty generally admitted ; which is, That whenever we see the People's Hearts united in Love towards the Person of the Prince, we may without Enquiry be satisfied, that he is serv'd by Ministers, wise, faithful and honest. On the contrary, it is as obvious, that almost all the Shocks of State, and signal Misfortunes of our Princes, have proceeded from, and been owing to, the Corruption of their Servants.

THERE is a very particular Passage, I remember, in a noted * *French* Author, not a little applicable to the Premises, and which therefore I shall not scruple to transcribe. He is insinuating, (and let him answer for his own Positions) that while an *ill Ministry*, alledging their Master's *Name* and *Countenance*, commit Outrage with *Impunity* ; tho' the Prince sins not himself, yet he forbears not to be guilty : That his Ignorance is unpardonable, and his Patience no Virtue ; and that the Disorders which either he knows not of, or which he suffers, are imputed to him before God, even as if himself had made them. With a great deal of Reason, therefore, (continues he) that Prince, who was according to God's own Heart, in express Terms desires him, and that in the Fervency

* Aristippus of *Monsieur de Baizac*.

of his most ardent Prayers, That he would *cleanse* him from *secret Faults*, and acquit him from the Sins of others : These last Words signifying, that *Kings* ought not to content themselves with a *personal* and *particular Innocency* ; and that it matters nothing for *them* to be *just*, if they lose themselves by the *Injustice* of their *Ministers*.

IT is a great Question with me, whether the Depravity and Vileness that Human Nature is capable of, do not shew themselves more conspicuously in the Persons of *Statesmen*, than any other Degree of Mortals ? I shall give but one Reason for this Opinion, but one which is founded on Practice.

WHEN they are discover'd in their Designs, and justly cast off by their abused Prince, tho' he had rais'd them from Meanness and Obscurity ; their common Artifice is to employ the great Fortune, which they have stolen from the Publick, in forming a Party and Faction against their Prince : They insinuate, That their Disgrace proceeded from their Love to the People ; and, with all the wicked Arts of Ingratitude, they misrepresent his Honour and Justice ; and immediately, from Persons that deserve to be *hang'd* as *Traytors* to the Subjects, set up for their *Patriots*.

THESE violent Methods, which their Inveteracy has made use of, have often made weak Princes sit down with Injuries, and content themselves with the bare Dismissal of an overgrown Favourite. But the Multitude are not
of

of this acquiescing Temper ; an Indignity against their Honour , or an Incroachment on their Rights (*manet altâ mente repostum*) is treasur'd up too strongly in their Resentments to be tacitly flurr'd over : And tho' the unhappy Prince has consented to shut his Eyes, and stop his Ears against the Corruptions of a faulty Minister ; his Forgiveness has been worse in its Consequences than the Prosecution he dreaded to stir up. We need no greater Demonstration of This, than what actually happen'd in the Case of *Gaveston*, and the Two *Spensers* , in the Reign of *Edward II.*

THE Sufferings of the People were so great from the Oppressions of these wicked Favourites, that their Discontents at last broke into an open Rebellion. It is said, that *Gaveston* got Possession of the Heart of that weak Prince to such a Degree , that he fill'd the Court with nothing but Buffoons, Parasites, and such vile Instruments of Pleasure ; and drew the King from all Thoughts of noble and worthy Enterprizes.

BY these Lures of Pleasure, and Compliances to his Weaknesses, the King's Attachment to this unworthy Minion so exasperated the Nobility, that they had Recourse to Arms ; which, however, had no other Consequence than the Death of *Gaveston*, whom they took and executed without any Form of Law, notwithstanding the King's Solicitations to save him : one of the Lord's alledging, that it was better he should perish so, than the Nation be involv'd in a Civil War.

THIS might have been a Caution for Life to this unhappy Prince, not to trust the Reins of Power again into the Hands of any new Favourite. Yet after this, he fell into the same Weakness with Respect to the Two *Spensers*, who govern'd his ductile Temper as they pleas'd. These being possess'd with a Spirit of Pride and Rapine, were carried to such intolerable Actions and Oppressions, that the People groan'd under the Tyranny of their Administration, and *Gaveston* with good Reason was wish'd for again. This drew on a second Rebellion, whose Event was much more fatal than the former; for the Two *Spensers* were not only hang'd, but the King oblig'd to resign both Crown and Dignity.

A PARLIAMENT was summon'd, by which it was adjudg'd and declar'd That King *Edward* was unfit to govern the Kingdom any longer; and the following Articles were alledg'd against him:

THAT, during the Course of his whole Reign, he had been *mised* and *govern'd* by *others*; who gave him *evil Counsel* to the Dishonour of himself, and the Destruction of the Church and his People, not *considering* or *knowing* whether it was *good* or *evil*.

SECONDLY, That he would never submit to good Counsel, nor the good Government of his Kingdom; but neglected the Business of the Realm, and gave himself to Works and Employments unbecoming his Station.

THAT

THAT by his Pride and Cruelty, he destroy'd the *holy Church* and her chief Ministers ; *imprisoning* some, and *distressing* others ; and also that he *executed*, *imprison'd*, *banish'd*, and *disinherited* many *great* and *noble* Men of the Land.

THAT whereas he was bound by Oath to do Justice to all, he only observ'd his *own Profit*, and the *Avarice* of his *wicked Counsellors*.

AND, lastly, That he *abandoned* his Kingdom, and endeavour'd to destroy it , and his People ; and, what was worse, by the Default of his Person he was become *incorrigible*, and past all Hopes of Amendment : All which Charges were so notorious, as not to be gainsaid.

THE Miscarriages of this Prince were owing only to Nature, who had not given him a Soul fit for Empire ; and we need only appeal to his Character for Confirmation of it , as it stands in our gravest Historians.

UNDER this King, says One * , who could neither gain nor keep, the Nation endur'd all those Calamities, which could proceed from the Weakness and Levities of a Child. His very Nature was so passive and complying, that he seem'd 'not only to have been govern'd, but even actuated by his Favourites ; who directed and carried him as they pleas'd , commanded his Person and Kingdom , and only made use of his

* Mr. Echard's *History of England*.

Name, to countenance their own Villanies. For this Prince was not, like some of the former, ruin'd by a violent Grasping at unlawful Power; but by meanly subjecting himself to the Power and Guidance of others. And as Pride, Obstinacy, and Ambition, were the Vices that embroil'd some of our former Reigns; so Easiness, Complacency, Submission, or rather Subjection, were the Ruin of This. In short, he was more *weak* than *wicked*; and his *Exorbitances* met with as *great*, or *greater*, in his *People*.

THE Extract which I have made in Relation to this Prince, may seem to have withdrawn me too far from my Argument; but, I dare say, whoever will give themselves the trouble of weighing it in all its Parts, will perceive it not to be so distant from the Question in Debate. If I do not all along keep religiously to Instances arising from Cases of *Bribery* and *Corruption*, it will amount to the same, if I shew that Extortions in any Minister, and racking the People by exorbitant and illegal Demands, by the Countenance of Power, and pretended for the Service of the Prince, whenever they are conniv'd at, or pass'd over without Censure and Correction, have prov'd fatal to the Peace of the Commonwealth.

IT is an old Observation, that the Custom of *cunning* Favourites is rather to do *great*, than *good* Actions. Great Officers are sometimes, by the very Terms of their Promotion (which, by the Way, is Brocage and Purchase of their Offices, and within the Statute already quoted,

Anno

Anno 12 *Rich.* II.) under Obligations of supplying their Prince's Necessities ; as was the Case of the great *Cardinal WOLSEY*, who had undertaken the King should never want, as long as he might manage the Publick Affairs. And what does this Great Man in Pursuance of these Conditions ? He makes out Commissions into all the Counties of *England*, for Levying the Sixth Part of every Layman's Goods, and the Fourth of the Clergy, for the particular Service of the King. The People in general were so disgusted at this Extortion, that they were ready to break out into a Rebellion ; alledging not only their own Poverty, but that the Commissions were against Law.

IT was necessary that this Affair should be call'd to the Question ; and the Cardinal was prepar'd to screen himself by a sophistical Apology, That he had done nothing *without first Advising with the Judges* ; who positively affirm'd, the King might lawfully demand any Sum by Commission ; and that the Council of State confirm'd this Method. However this adventurous Politician's Schemes might be privately authoriz'd by his Master's Knowledge, the King thought it safer to consult the Force of *Popular Discontents*, than to have a *Scrupulous* Regard to his *Statesman's* Character, resolv'd to disavow the whole Proceeding, and (by Letters to all Parts) declar'd to his People, that he expected nothing from them but by way of Benevolence.

THO' Cardinal *Wolsey* might, probably, have finger'd a Part of the immense Sum to have been rais'd by this Project ; yet the Project it
self

self neither falls under the Infamy of *Eribery* or *Corruption*. It was the Enterprize of an arbitrary Minister, who was confident of Impunity, and thought himself safe in the Favour, and under the Protection of his Prince; since the Money to be collected was in his Name, and for his particular Service.

'TIS true, it was a flagrant Abuse of Power, and a heavy and unmerciful Exaction upon the Subject: But Imputations of a later Date, if as true as they are suspected and proclaim'd to be, stand in a very different Point of Light. To make the *Regal* Authority subservient to its own *Dishonour*, is a Boldness sufficiently *black* and *scandalous*; but meanly to *confederate* with *Knaves* and *Mechanicks*, in a Fraud to *cheat the People*, looks more like the Vice of one bred up in the Mysteries of a *common Thief*, than the Policies of a *Statesman*.

BUT if this Attempt of *Wolfey's*, as I have above observ'd, does not amount to the Guilt of *Bribery* and *Corruption*, I shall, by an Instance fetch'd from a succeeding Reign, prove, that one, who was both an *ARCHBISHOP* and a *CHANCELLOR*, negotiated the Affair of *National Bribery*, brought over the *Parliament* and *Nobility* to his Schemes, and was partial in his very *Equity* upon the Bench, to such as he knew not to be of his Faction and Opinion.

WHEN the Treaty of Queen *MARY's* intended Marriage, with the Emperor's Son, was first discover'd here at Home, the *House of Commons* were much alarm'd at it, and sent
their

their Speaker, and Twenty of their Members, with an Address to her not to marry a Stranger : In which they shew'd so much Heat and Resentment, that the Court judg'd it necessary to dissolve the Parliament.

UPON this, *Gardiner* let the Emperor know, that the Jealousies rais'd upon Account of the Match, were so strong, that unless very extraordinary Conditions were offer'd, it might occasion a Rebellion : And he further wrote to him, that large Sums must be sent over, both to gratify the Nobility, and enable them to carry the Elections in the next Parliament against all Opposers. Accordingly, there were no less than Four Hundred Thousand Pounds sent over, and *divided* at the Discretion of *Gardiner* and the Emperor's Ambassadors. Nor did this designing *Prelate* make a less base Use of his Power, as *Chancellor*, to oblige all People to comply with him ; for, in his Court of *Chancery*, no *Favour*, or *Common Justice*, was shewn to Persons who were not of his Interest.

AFTER this, another Parliament was chosen ; but the most considerable Members were corrupted by *Gardiner*, who gave them Pensions, some of Two Hundred, and some of One Hundred Pounds a Year, on all Occasions to secure their Voices ; and then, it seems, the Articles for the *Queen's* Marriage were digested, and approv'd of.

BY this Example, we may see, when the Publick is once corrupted, how easy it is for a wicked Minister to gain his pernicious Ends.
And

And this may be prov'd by an Example of a different Nature from that of *Gardiner*, which is of *Spurius Cassius* amongst the *Romans*. This *Spurius* having some ambitious Designs in View, thought of winning over the People to his Interest, by doing them good Offices; the first whereof was, to sell them those Fields which the *Romans* had taken from the *Hernici*. But his Ambition was seen thro'; so that when he harangu'd the People, and offer'd to give them that Money which the Corn was sold for, (the Senate had caus'd to be brought from *Sicily*) they refused it, looking upon it to be a Bribe, and thinking that *Spurius* had a Design upon their Liberty. But had that People been corrupted in their Natures, they could not have refused this Bribery; which had the Appearance of a free Donation: So that they would have open'd him that way to Tyranny, which, by their Virtue, they shut against him. But had *Spurius* liv'd in the Time of *Marius* and *Sylla*, when publick Virtue grew debauch'd, and the People were tainted with the Vices of Avarice and Luxury, he could not have miscarried in his Designs: So, on the other Side, if *Sylla* and *Marius* had liv'd in the Days of *Spurius Cassius*, their Attempts would have been crush'd in the very Egg. Therefore, by a Parity of Circumstances, we may conclude, that had *Gardiner* liv'd in our Days, (tho' he was both a *Bishop* and *Chancellor*) he would have been expos'd to Infamy, and suffer'd some shameful Punishment, for attempting, what he in his own executed with Success.

BEING thus let into the Mystery of *Bishop Gardiner's* Conduct, there is no great Room to

wonder why the Parliament never call'd him to any account for these Corruptions. Had they but threaten'd any Persecution against him, no doubt, he would have made their Defection publick. Or, on the other hand, if the *few* uncorrupted Members had made any steps against him, or their Brethren, who were guilty of taking the Bribes, the stirring up the Discovery might have turn'd to their own Confusion. The delinquent Party would have been alarm'd, and join'd for their common Defence; and, of consequence, being the most *numerous*, would have *overcome*, if not *expell'd*, their *Accusers*. GARDENER, therefore, shew'd a masterly Address in Roguery, when he made Those, who were to be his Accusers and Judges, Partners in one common Bribery with him.

THE Reflections, that naturally arise from such a Circumstance, call to my mind a beautiful Sentiment in one of *Shakespeare's* Plays. A corrupt Judge, having sentenc'd a Man to die for debauching a young Lady, whom he is afterwards willing to marry, the Sister of the Party condemn'd, comes to entreat for her Brother's Life; when the Judge, enamour'd of her, and reflecting with himself on the Nature of his wild Desire, breaks out into this sententious Reasoning :

*Thieves for their Robberies have Authority,
When Judges steal themselves !*

A Sentence so plain, as well as beautiful, that it needs no Application,

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BUT

BUT to return to my Subject. In Confederacies of this kind, where None are in the Secret but the Parties guilty, it is no easy matter to fix their Guilt. Nor can I think of any Expedient in such Cases, but that common one which is practis'd towards Highwaymen, of giving Pardon and a Reward to one for discovering the rest of his Gang. This Encouragement seldom fails of Success; for the same Argument, that prevail'd with them to commit one Roguery, induces them to commit another. The Friendship of Villains, that is always link'd on Self Interest, is soon dissolv'd, when more is offer'd for their Treachery.

ONE of the greatest Hopes the Subject has from the present Examinations before the two Houses, is, that the Directors will be so sifted and canvass'd in their Frauds, that in their own Defence they will be oblig'd to unravel the inmost Mysteries of their Schemes; and to save their own Lives, detect the Concurrence of others in their Villanies, who have not only been Sharers in the Booty, but Confederates in giving Spirit and Motion to their Designs. If, upon any such Discoveries to be made, Persons should be concern'd, who either by Trust of Power, or Dignity of Office, ought to have oppos'd and stifled the Growth of Villany: If, I say, any Such, for the Lucre of a sordid Bribe, have prostituted their Honours and Consciences, and basely conniv'd at the Destruction of ten Thousand Families; 'tis to be hoped, that neither their Wealth nor Quality will secure them from Punishment; and that the Wisdom and
Power

Power of the Parliament will provide against the Deficiencies of the Law, where it does not reach to Crimes that our Ancestors could either foresee, or hold possible to be put in Practice.

IT is, indeed, a Reproach of a long Standing to us, as a Letter in one of our News-Writers * too truly observes, that *the Inhabitants of these Islands are more liable to Bribery, than any other People under the Sun*; and that no Rank among us has been free from this Taint, seems pretty plain from a Statute there likewise mention'd, and made by *Canutus the Dane*; a little before the Conquest; whereby it is enact'd, *That if any Judge should take a Fee, he should forfeit his Head to the King.*

I SHALL transcribe a part of two subsequent Paragraphs, in the abovemention'd Letter; because, I think, the Author, is not so plain as some of his Readers could wish, in relation to what he says of my Lord Chief Justice C O K E.

HE tells us, " That at the Assizes holden at
" *Lincoln, (Anno 23 Ed. I.)* Sir William Thorpe,
" Chief Justice of the King's Bench, having
" taken a Bribe of Ninety Pounds from five
" Persons to stay a Writ of *Exigent* against
" them; and being tried for the Bribery, and
" convicted, was sentenc'd to be hang'd, and
" *have all his Lands and Chattels forfeited.*

* London Journal, N^o 81.

“THUS stood the Law in the Time of
 “ *Edward the Third*. My Lord *Coke* indeed
 “ says, *This President ought not to be followed*.
 “ But as he produces no Act of Paliament that
 “ has repealed the Statue, (*Anno 20 Ed. I.*)
 “ we may venture to say, *the Law, stand so at*
 “ *this Day*——And such as have read the History
 “ of the Times, in which my Lord COKE
 “ lived, will, without much Difficulty, find
 “ out the Reason, why his Lordship *would not*
 “ *have this Precedent follow’d.*”

MY Intention is to add a few Words here
 for the sake of Those, who have either not read
 the History of those Times. or else may have
 forgot what they had read in a private Circum-
 stance.

THE truth is, Sir *Edward Coke*, the Chief
 Justice, was himself suspected of having re-
 ceiv’d a Bribe; for he had heard and determin’d
 a Cause at the Common Law, and some report
 there was juggling in the Business. * Nor was
 it an idle Report, as we may find from the Se-
 quel; for the Matter was so aggravated soon
 after, that my Lord *Coke*, as the same Author
 informs us, was brought on his Knees at the
 Council-Table, and among other Things ob-
 jected against him, he was charg’d, That, while
 he was the King’s Attorney, in the Beginning
 of his Reign, he had conceal’d a Statute of
 Twelve Thousand Pounds, due to the King

from the late Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, wherein he deceiv'd the Trust reposed in him *.

WHETHER this Statute were conceal'd *gratis*, and without any Consideration paid for the Service, I shall leave to be determin'd by my Lord *Coke's* best Friends, and most zealous Defenders.

YET the Charge of *Bribery* and *Extortion* against the Lord *Treasure SOMERSET* was aggravated by this very Lord *Chief Justice COKE*; and the Sentence against him was pronounc'd by my Lord *Chancellor BACON*, who himself was tainted with the same Infection, and not many Years after perish'd in his own Corruption.

IT may be objected, perhaps. that all Monies offer'd and receiv'd for the Execution of his Office in a great Magistrate, are not to be construed a Bribe, but a grateful Acknowledgment in the Person serv'd, for a just piece of Service done with proper Dispatch. This, indeed, was the Plea of a Treasurer and Bishop, *Walter de Langton*, in the Reign of King *Edward the Second*. He took of the Earl of *Montealto*. then a Prisoner, a hundred Pounds to be a Friend to him, and to let him go free to do his Business. Now this Sum was given, as the Record would insinuate, *de Spontanea Voluntate, &c.* for a Gratuity, and for the Courtesy of the Treasurer; but this sham Colour was soon

* *Wilson's Life of K. James I.*

thrown off, and the Bishop adjudg'd guilty of Extortion and Bribery.

I CANNOT forbear here inserting, (because we will have to do with one honest Instance) to the Eternal Honour of Dr. *Williams*, who was a Keeper of the Great Seal, and an Archbishop, * That he was never sullied with the Suspicion of loving Presents, no not so much as *Gratuidad di Guantes*, as the *Spaniards* Phrase is: Large Sums, it was well known, were brought to his Secretaries, such as might have sway'd a Man that was not impregnable; and pressing Sollicitations were made, that they would throw them at his Feet for Favours already receiv'd: But no man durst undertake the Office as knowing assuredly, *it would displace the Broker, and be his Ruin.*

I HAVE been pretty ample in imbellishing this Discourse with Examples of Persons, who have been guilty both of private and national Briberies and Extortions; and I have shewn occasionally, that it has been the Wisdom of all Reigns, and even where the Parties offending were Minions of the Prince, to call those Persons, who betray'd their Office and the Subject, to the most strict Account.

THIS brings to my Remembrance † one of the Chapters of *Machiavel*, where he makes it his Topick, that in all well-order'd Govern-

* Bp. Hacket in his *Life of ABp Williams*.

† *Machiavel in his Discourses upon T. Livy.*

ments there ought to be publick Accusations and publick Punishments for those who offend against the People. For, *he says*, there cannot be a more profitable or necessary Power given to those who are appointed Guardians of the Liberty of a State, than That of accusing Citizens to the People, or to those that represent the People, or to some Magistrate, or Council appointed for that purpose, whenever they shall offend against the free State.

THIS Order works two very useful Effects in a Commonwealth; the first is, that wicked and ill-affected Men, for fear of being accus'd, attempt nothing against the State: or, if they should, they forthwith, without any Respect, are suppress'd and punish'd. The other is, that it gives way to vent the Humours that grow in Cities in any manner against any Citizens; and when these Humours have not ordinary Vents, they are apt to break out into violent and extraordinary Manners, and so often prove the Ruin of a Commonwealth. But there is not any thing renders a Commonwealth more settled and stedfast, than to ordain it in such a manner, that the Alteration of those Humours, which put it in a Ferment, should have some Outlet appointed by the *Laws*. There are many Examples which evidence this Maxim, but none more than that of *Coriolanus*, as set out by *Livy*.

THE Nobility of *Rome* being angry with the People, and disdaining to suffer them to keep that Share which they had in the Government, by the Creation of their Tribunes, who
pro-

protected them in their Rights, embraced an Opportunity of clipping their Wings of that Power, at a time when the City was in the utmost Want of Provisions, and the Senate had sent to *Sicily* for Corn. *Coriolanus*, a bold Man, and an inveterate Enemy of the Popular Faction, first ventur'd to advise the Senate, that this was the time to chastise the People, and wrest from them that Authority, which so much diminish'd the Power of the *Patricians*, by keeping them low, in Hunger and Want, and not distributing any Corn to their Relief.

IT is impossible to pass by this piece of History, without making a short Remark *en passant* ; which is, * That it was ever counted a Maxim among Politicians, who design'd to enslave the People, that the first Step towards it was to reduce them to Want and Misery. And therefore it is no wonder that wicked Magistrates should always enter upon Measures to impoverish the Million.

THE Populace, it seems, being appriz'd of this Motion of *Coriolanus*, conceiv'd such a virulent Hatred against him, that, had not the Tribunes cited him to appear to defend his Cause, they would have torn him to pieces in their Tumult, as he came out of the Senate-House.

UPON this Accident we are to Note what was said before, that Commonwealths by their

Laws give the Means to vent the Choler, which the Publick have conceiv'd against any one Citizen. For tho', by an orderly Course of Proceeding, a private Citizen should suffer wrongfully; yet this can bring no Disorder on a Republick, since the Execution is done without Civil Commotions, or the Assistance of Foreign Troops, which are the Things that endanger the publick Liberty.

BUT what Mischief might there not have fallen to the Commonwealth of *Rome*, if *Coriolanus* had been slain in a Tumult by the People? This Violence would have been an Offence to the establish'd Laws; this Offence would have created a Fear of Punishment; and this Fear of Punishment would have united them, in their Defence, to secure themselves by greater Outrages: Which, probably, might have ended in the total Subversion of their civil Rights.

NOW this Example alone is sufficient to prove, That publick Accusations and Punishments are necessary, as well as just, against Those who have injur'd the People, tho' it be in Cases which the Wisdom of the Laws had not made penal. A Human Body, if its Constitution be corrupted or impair'd, stands in need of daily Remedies to support it. If a Patient should be afflicted with a new and uncommon Distemper, and his Physician should refuse to apply the Remedy, because this Distemper was not known to *Galen*, or *Hippocrates*; should we not count him very ignorant and foolish? In the same manner a Commonwealth

stands in need of the Provision of new Laws, to regulate new Disorders; and according as they are more dangerous, the Remedies must be the stronger. Nor ought the Quality of the Offenders to be neglected in the Discipline of the Cure; for what my Lord *Halifax* says of Beggars, may very well be applied to Cheats: where the Poor Ones are only whipt, the Great Ones (out of a proportionable Respect to their Quality) ought to be hang'd.

I KNOW, the Partisans (that is to say, the Accomplices) of our present Delinquents will have it, that this is but a popular Clamour rais'd against these Men, and that nothing is so various and deceivable as the Multitude.

BUT I shall beg leave to combat this Opinion, which I take to be one of our vulgar Errors: I say, the Multitude (that is, the People) are both wise and just; that they are Lovers of Truth, and always favour it; and in all Controversies and Divisions, when both Sides of the Question are heard, their Inclinations go with that Side, which appears to have the most Justice.

IT is to be remark'd besides, that the Favourites of the People have ever been of shining Qualities, and endued with social Virtues: nor is it scarce ever known, that a corrupt or wicked Man can make himself popular. They generally pay greater Homage to a Man's Virtues than his Good Fortune; and some, that have made themselves Great by Conquests for their Country, while they have been admir'd, have

yet fail'd to be beloved, for want of Virtues to recommend them. This shows that their Affections and Prejudices are well grounded. It is observable, that for many Centuries the People of *Rome* not above four times repented them in the Choice of their Tribunes; which is a pretty good Demonstration of their Judgment.

MACHIAVEL, in his Discourses upon *Livy* before mentioned, takes notice, that after *Manlius Capitolinus* was dead, the People wish'd for him again, when they no longer fear'd him; and gives it as his Opinion, that could they have had him again, they would have us'd him as they did before, had he taken the same dangerous Measures. This, he says, is not Inconstancy, but Wisdom and Steadiness: It is not impossible, but, by some artful Misrepresentations, the People may be deceiv'd for a while; but let them know the Truth, and you are sure they will defend it.

FROM these two Points being admitted, (and, I hope, they both stand on a good Foundation of Reason) that the People are seldom in the wrong, when the Grounds of their Complaints are general; and that, from the Premises granted, publick Accusations and Punishments are absolutely necessary: it seems a remaining Part of my Business to consider of the Methods of Punishment, and what Reserve of Power there is lodg'd in Attainders, in Cases where the Common Law is silent, or ineffectual.

WE know, that amongst the *Romans*, in the Processes upon Criminal Cases, the Lawyers

were wont to reason upon the Nature of the Crime; and if the Fact were found to be *malum in se*, the Criminal was condemn'd and punish'd without any Precedent. Now, the Judgments and Opinions of those * Antient Lawyers, reduc'd to a Method, is what makes up the Body of the Civil Law at this Day. This, I say, was the Practice of the old *Romans*, before they fell from that Virtue, which has been so much admir'd in them by Posterity. In the Revolutions and Changes of the Affairs of a Commonwealth, Crimes may be committed, that could not before; which I take to be the present Case with us: How impotent then must That Legislature be, that had not a Power of punishing those Crimes, which might have been their Destruction, only because they wanted a Precedent? Must not a Government stand upon a very tottering Foundation, if Villains may make Attempts with Impunity, whenever they can find out a By-way of slipping thro' the Statute-Law?

MY Lord † *Halifax* describes a Sort of Men of a meddling, busy Disposition; who, when there is an Impunity for Cheating, think it a Disparagement to their Understandings not to go into it. That there were some Such not long ago, in the *South-Sea* Scheme, every Man believes; because Some of them were ingenious enough to declare it. If the Project were a Cheat at the Bottom, why should not they have their

* *Vid.* Ulpian. Justinian. Puffendorf. Grotium, &c.

† *In his* Cautions for Choice of Members of Parliament,

Share of the Advantages? But the Cenforious will have it, that Others too were actuated by the same Principles of Honour, only they were oblig'd to manage with more Secrefy, in regard of their being employ'd in publick Offices. Detection therefore by Proof can hardly be expected here. Their Proceedings have been fenc'd and guarded with fuch Subtlety and Precaution, that Presumptions and leading Circumstances can only reach them. What Redrefs then is left? *Nemo feipsum accusare Jure tenetur*: No Body is oblig'd by Law to accuse himfelf; and therefore a Confeflion in them is not to be hoped for. It would be Ingratitude in fuch Men as Thefe, as the fame Lord *Halifax* finely obferves, ever to turn honeft, fince they owe all they are worth to their Knavery.

MY Lord Chancellor *BACON* knew very well, that the Evidence againft him, in his Cafe, could not have come up to affect him at *Common Law*; but knew too he was to be try'd by a Court, whole Power can fupply the Deficiencies of formal Proof: And therefore, in his Letter of Submission to the Houfe of Peers, he tells them, That *their Lordships are not fimplly Judges, but Parliamentary Judges; that they have a further Extent of Arbitrary Power than other Courts; and are not tied by ordinary Courfe of Courts, or Precedents in Points of Strictnefs and Severity.*

IT is, indeed, a very wide, a copious, and an intricate Enquiry, (that neither will lie within the Compafs of this Difcourfe, nor the Capacity of my Pen) to go about to ftate precifely the Power and Privileges of Parliaments; and
in

in what Degrees they can act by their Legislative Power, beyond the Extents of any Judiciary Process. Their Methods of Proceeding, 'tis very well known, are by Attainder and Impeachment. As it has been canvass'd pretty largely in some State-Tryals, by Members of the House of Commons, and Persons learned in the Laws, where, and upon what Circumstances Attainders have been practicable; instead of presuming on any Opinions of my own, I shall extract the chief Topicks of those Great Men upon this Head.

IN the Tryal of Sir *John Fenwick*, there was a very great Struggle in the then House of Commons about the Legality of bringing in a Bill of Attainder against Sir *John*, there wanting sufficient Evidence to convict him at the *King's-Bench Bar*.

Mr. *HARCOURT*, who was strenuous against committing the Bill, objected, That he did not remember any one Precedent for attainting a Person who was in Custody, and forth-coming, but what had been universally branded; and that they were rather Reproaches to the ill Reigns they were made in, and to be mark'd out as Rocks for us to avoid, than Patterns to be imitated.

SIR *Thomas Dykes*, who was of the same side of the Question, granted, That the Parliament had a Power to make such a Law, but he thought it ought not to be used but upon extraordinary Occasions; when the Offenders were so big, that they could not otherwise be brought
to

to Justice ; or, where the Crimes did not fall under the Denomination of the Law.

BUT Mr. *Norris*, on the other Hand, insisted, That there were several Instances where that House had taken Notice of Offences of a less Nature, and for less Reasons, than in the Case of Sir *John Fenwick*, then before them. That the Discretionary Power of Parliaments was like Thunder and Vengeance in the Hands of Providence, and not to be used but upon extraordinary Occasions, and then it ought not to fail. For Men would trifle, and despise that Power, that was not able effectually to exert itself. That as to the Fear of making an ill Precedent, by a new Bill of Attainder, he thought, as the Law stood, he was but a bungling Politician, that could not ruin the Government, and yet not come within the Bill of Treason, to be hang'd for it. Therefore, for the keeping Ministers of State in awe, and that the House might have it in their Power to punish future Offenders, as they saw fit, he was for committing the Bill.

Mr. *ST. JOHN*, (upon a like Occasion, in the Year 1641.) in his Arguments to prove the Legality of the Commons their Attainder against the then Lord *Strafford*, took notice, That here in *England*, the same Law which enabled inferior Courts to judge according to the Laws already made, empower'd the Parliament to make new Laws. And that, tho' double Testimony (according to the Statute made *Anno 1. Ed. VI.*) is to be insisted on in a Judicial Way, yet, in case of a Bill, private Satisfaction to each

each Man's Conscience is sufficient, altho' no Evidence be given at all.

NOR was this the single Opinion of that Gentleman in a single Case; for Mr. Serjeant *Lovel* afterwards, upon the Tryal of Sir *John Fenwick*, observ'd, That one Witness was sufficient to convict the Party of any Treasons till the first Year of King *Edward* the Sixth; and that, as Sir *John* might before that time have been convicted by one Witness, no Body could say, but the Parliament might, justly enough, repeal all or any part of that Law. For the Law was not chang'd by that Act, as to the Crime itself, but only as to the Number of Witnesses that were requir'd to prove it. And he did confess, that the Evidence given was not such as the Law requir'd; but that the House, in their Legislative Capacity, were not confin'd to the Evidence that a Jury must have below. That it had been the Wisdom of all Ages to make Laws to punish such, as by their Artifice would evade the Law. And if a Crime, committed against the Body of a Nation, should go unpunish'd, because the Offender could not be come at in the ordinary Course; the Nation was in a dangerous Condition. And, he thought, an extraordinary Case did deserve an extraordinary Punishment.

Mr. *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, upon the self-same Debate, declar'd, That there is lodg'd in the Legislature a Power to judge those Crimes that are shelter'd from the Law: That inferior Courts, indeed, were to go by the Letter of the Law; and whoever could avoid That, might
escape

escape Punishment there; but the Legislature was not to be dallied with: And if the Offence were of that Nature, that inferior Courts could not reach it, they might go beyond all Forms to preserve the Government.

SIR *William Lowther* said, That where Circumstances were notorious, they were to amount to a Second Witness; as he had heard in *Westminster-Hall*, and in Cases of Life too: as, where one comes out of a Room with a bloody Sword, where one is found murder'd, the Law did presume *that* Man murder'd him, tho' there was only this Circumstance.

NAY, and Sir *Joseph Williamson* went so far, to give his Opinion of the Power of Parliaments, as that They might declare That to be a Crime, that was no Crime before it was committed; and, of consequence, that surely they might determine what they would admit as Evidence.

I HAVE made these Extracts with this particular View, to shew the World by Precedents, that the *DIRECTORS*, however secure they thought and boasted themselves, in having done nothing in which they were accountable to the Law, are not skreen'd from this *Dernier Recourse* of Justice. When once the Complaints and Groans of a cheated Nation come before those august Assemblies, which compose our Parliament, they will not let a People's Ruin go unpunish'd, because Frauds and Injuries have been too subtly couch'd for the Statute-Law either to overtake or redress them.

BUT it may be objected, That these Arguments for the Legality of an Attainder were provok'd on a much stronger Circumstance than is now to be pleaded ; the Crime, on which it was press'd for, was no less than High Treason : and the Consequences of that Crime, the intentional Subversion of the Laws and Government.

THE present Case, perhaps, cannot admit of these Aggravations *totidem verbis* ; but 'tis a Maxim worth observing, that *Salus Populi est suprema Lex* : I believe it will be granted, that the word *Salus* in this Place does not barely signify the Safety, but also the Reputation and flourishing State of the People. It is scarce a Question, surely, Whether our Coin has not been more drain'd, and our Publick Credit more lessen'd by the Contrivances of this Scheme, than by the Force of our Debts, the Weight of Taxes, and the Expence of tedious Wars, all thrown in Balance against them ? We were reckon'd a rich and flourishing Nation, and wanted nothing to make us happy, but to be more united in ourselves, and less divided in Party. Here indeed, we owe a Compliment to the *South-Sea* ; for all Animosities and Party-Distractions are swallow'd up in one general Discontent.

IT is now but just the Revolution of a Century, since the same Game was begun to be plaid in *England* ; and King *James* the First was so sensible of its Consequences, and the Oppression of his People, that in his Speech to
the

the Lords, (21 March, 1621.) he says, (with Application to a Simile he had made) * “ Even
 “ to this Kingdom, the External Government
 “ being as good as ever it was, and I am sure
 “ as learned Judges as ever it had, and I hope
 “ as *honest*, administering Justice within it; and
 “ for Peace both at home and abroad, I may
 “ truly say, more settled and longer lasting,
 “ than ever any before, together with as great
 “ Plenty as ever; so as it was to be thought,
 “ that every Man might sit in Safety under his
 “ own Vine and Fig-Tree: Yet I am asham’d
 “ (and it makes my Hair stand upright) to con-
 “ sider, how in this Time my People have been
 “ vexed, and polled, by the vile Execution of
 “ Projects, Patents, Bills of Conformity, and
 “ such like; which, besides the Trouble of my
 “ People, have more exhausted their Purfes,
 “ than Subsidies would have done. ”

I N short, his Advice was a vigorous Prosecution of the offending Parties, and a Direction, that *they would spare none where they found just Cause to punish.*

I T happen’d, truly, some Great Men were involv’d in the obtaining and sharing the Profits of some of the Grants; and therefore would willingly have had the Matters slept, or the Parliament dissolv’d, to put an end to their Enquiries. Whether either of these two Circumstances are in our Case, it is not my Business to determine. But it may be worth our while to

* Wilson’s *Life of K. James I.*

consider what Archbishop *Williams* wrote to the Marquiss of *Buckingham*, who was most apprehensive of having these Grievances of the People ript up and laid open. * He told his Lordship, " That the Parliament in all it had thitherto undertaken, had deserv'd Praise, as well for their dutiful Demeanor to the King, as for their Justice to his People. That his Majesty's Just and Sacred Prerogative was untouch'd; the Grievances of all that were wrong'd, with Indifferency were receiv'd: which they must sift, or betray the Trust of their Country which sent them. There is no Colour, *continues he*, to quarrel at this General Assembly of the Kingdom, for tracing Delinquents to their Form; for it is their proper Work, &c. But your Lordship is jealous, if the Parliament continue imbody'd in this Vigour, of your own Safety, or at least of your Reputation; lest your Name should be us'd, and be brought to the Bandy. Follow this Parliament in their Undertakings, and you may prevent it: They will seek your Favour, (if you do not start from them) to help them to settle the publick Frame, as they are contriving it. Trust me and your other Servants, that have some Credit with the most active Members, to keep you clear from the Strife of Tongues. But if you assist to break up this Parliament, being now in Pursuit of Justice, only to save some Cormorants, who have devour'd that which must be re-gorg'd, you will pluck up a Sluice which

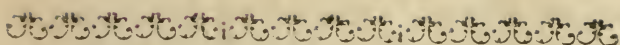
* *Bp Hacket in his Life of ABp Williams.*

“ will overwhelm yourself. The King will find
 “ it a great Disservice before one Year expire.
 “ The Storm will gather, and burst out into a
 “ greater Tempest, in all insequent Meetings.
 “ For succeeding Parliaments will never be
 “ Friends with Those, with whom the Former
 “ fell out. This is negative Counsel, &c.
 “ Those empty Fellows, Sir *Giles Mompeyson*,
 “ and Sir *Francis Mitchel*, let them be made
 “ Victims to the publick Wrath. Let them
 “ be thrown overboard in the Storm; for
 “ there are no Wares in the Ship that may
 “ better be spared. Nay, my Sentence is,
 “ Cast all Monopolies, and Patents of griping
 “ Projections, into the dead Sea after them;
 “ that the World may see that the King, who
 “ is the Pilot that sits at the Helm, is ready
 “ to play the Pump, to eject such Filth as
 “ grew noisom in the Noistrils of his People.
 “ And your Lordship must needs partake in the
 “ Applause; for tho’ it is known that these
 “ Vermin haunted your Chamber, and is much
 “ whisper’d, that they set up Trade with some
 “ little Licence from your Honour; yet when
 “ none shall appear more forward than yourself
 “ to crush them, the Discourse will come a-
 “ bout, that these Devices, which take ill,
 “ were stolen from you by Misrepresentation,
 “ when you were but new blossom’d in Court;
 “ whose Deformities being discover’d, you love
 “ not your own Mistakings, but are the most
 “ forward to recall them.”

I KNOW very well the People will not
 be convinc’d, but that the above Advice is at
 this Day applicable to some Persons, high in
 Quality

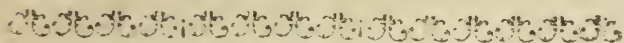
Quality and Power, who lie under the Imputation of being concern'd in the Frauds of the *DIRECTORS*. Be this as it may, the *publick Sufferings* call aloud for as *publick a Redress*. I shall therefore wind up this Discourse, which has already branch'd out into too many Particulars, with the Instance of no less a Man than *Cicero*, against as notorious Corruption and Extortion as ever got footing in a Commonwealth. *Nomen vestrum, Populique Romani, Odio atque Acerbitati scitote exteris Nationibus, Judices, futurum, si istorum hæc tanta Injuria impunita discesserit. Sic omnes arbitrabuntur, præsertim cum hæc omnino Fama de nostrorum hominum Avaritiâ & Cupiditate percubuerit, non istorum solùm hoc esse Facinus, sed Eorum etiã qui approbârunt.* Believe me, you great Judges, your own Reputation, and That of the Nation, will become scandalous and hateful to foreign Countries, if so great Injustice in these Base Men be pass'd with Impunity. For all will conclude, especially when the Infamy of their Avarice and illegal Graspings is in the Mouths of All, that the Injustice does not only come from Them, but from You, who give it a Sanction, by not punishing its Authors.

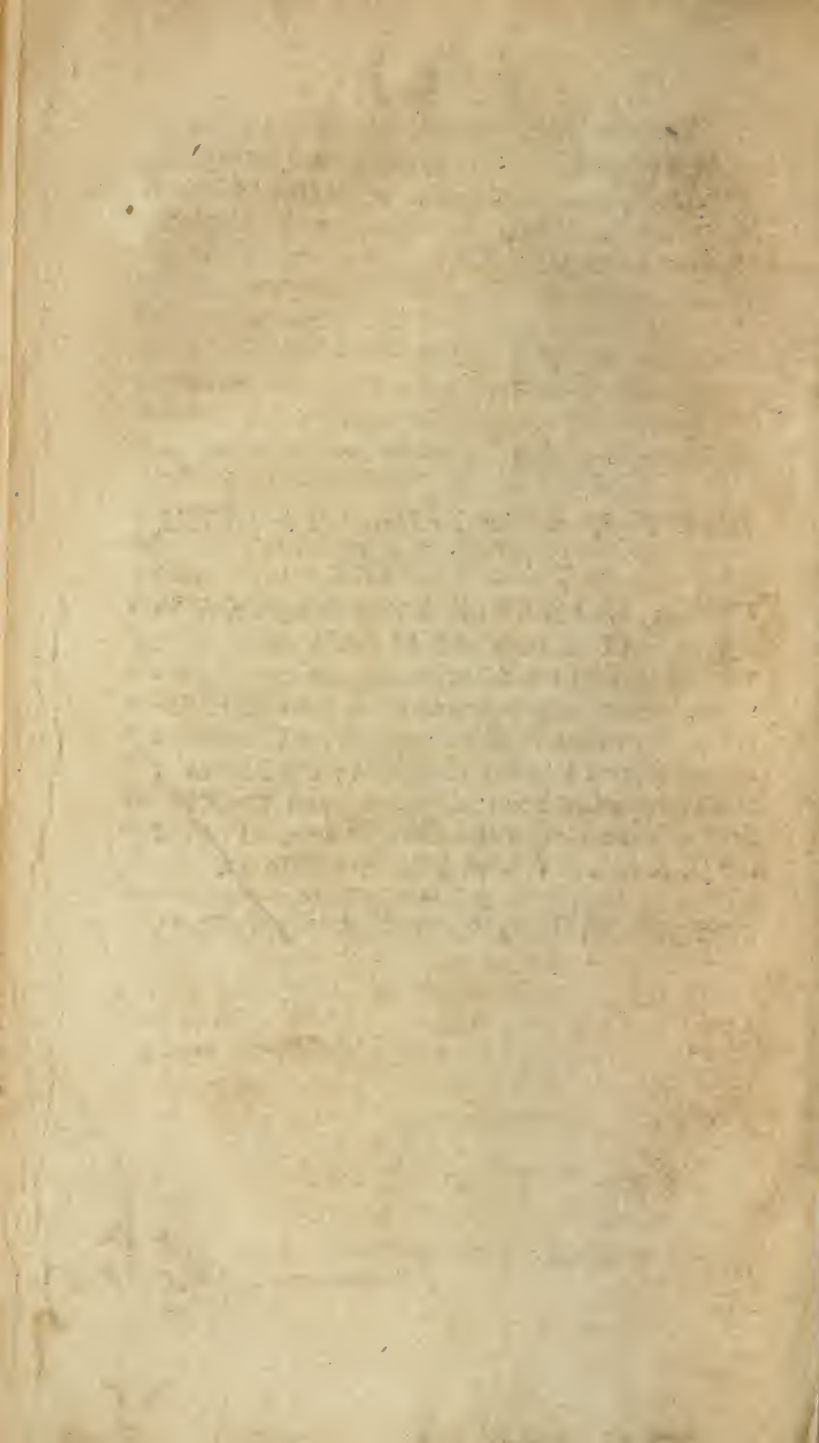
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T H E

P R E F A C E.

IN this Second Edition of Mr. Locke's Life the Reader will find some Enlargements, and many Corrections in the most Material Passages: It was first written in French by Mr. Le Clerc, and Published in the Sixth Tome of his *Bibliothèque Choisie* in the Year 1705; a Book that does not lye in the Way of every Person who would be willing to read the Life of so Great a Man; so that I persuade myself this Translation will be acceptable, even to some who understand French, as well as to many that do not. This Account is but short, too short indeed for the Life of One that Lived to the Age of 73 Years, who spent the best Part of his Time in Business, conversed with Persons of the Highest Rank, was engaged in Matters of the Greatest Consequence, and who bore as Considerable a Character in the World as any Private Gentleman ever did: But there is this to be said for it, that it takes Notice of nothing mean or trivial; and which is more, 'tis Authentic.

Mr. Le Clerc was one of Mr. Locke's intimate Friends, and tho' with many he may be condemned for some particular Opinions, yet I hope we may believe him as to Matters of Fact;

THE PREFACE.

and he gives us Part of this Account upon his own Knowledge, Part he had from the Earl of Shaftsbury, and Part from the Lady Matham. It would be well if all Histories were founded on such good Authority. For the Reader's Satisfaction I shall translate most of the Introduction, or, as I may call it, the Preface of Mr. Le Clerc to this Account.

*" Having been Honoured (says he) with a
" Share in the Friendship of the late Mr. Locke,
" and having received a great deal of Benefit
" from his Conversation while he was in Hol-
" land, and in Reading his Books, I am oblig'd
" by the Laws of Friendship and Gratitude to
" give the World some Account of the Life of
" this Extraordinary Person, and to do what
" lyes in my Power to perpetuate his Memory:
" I am so much the more willing to take the
" Task upon me, because I think this is an In-
" stance very fit to be brought to stop the
" Mouths of those who fancy Piety to be incon-
" sistent with good Reasoning and the Study of
" Philosophy; as if Religion had been calculated
" only for the more unthinking Part of Mankind:
" One might have observ'd in him the Life of
" a Christian, and a diligent and careful Stu-
" dy of the New-Testament, join'd with a
" Delicacy of Wit, and an unusual Accuracy
" of Reasoning; and we may from hence learn,
" that the Piety which has the best Foundation
" is never seen but with the most refined judg-
" ment.*

THE PREFACE.

“ I would it were in my Power to write a
“ full Account of Mr. Locke, and by these
“ means to set such an exact Picture of him be-
“ fore my Readers, that they need but carefully
“ to consider it in order to frame a Just Idea
“ of him. In my Opinion there is no better
“ Way, either to praise, or to find fault, when
“ there is Occasion to do it : But since I could
“ not furnish myself with such Memoirs as are
“ necessary to enable me to write a complete
“ History of his Life, I shall go as far as I can
“ in it with the Materials which are come to
“ my Hands ; and I shall take particular No-
“ tice of those Things which I have learned
“ from the Earl of Shaftsbury, who was brought
“ up under Mr. Locke, and from Madam Ma-
“ sham, Sir Francis Masham’s Lady, at whose
“ House he spent the last Years of his Life.
“ This Honourable Lady, Daughter of the late
“ Famous Dr. Cudworth, (who was one of
“ the greatest Men in England,) has had an
“ Opportunity of getting a perfect Knowledge
“ of Mr. Locke while he lived at her House,
“ and she being every Way qualified to make
“ a Judgment of him, the Light that I have
“ received from Her has been very useful to me
“ in Drawing the Picture of this Great Man.

“ I wish I had entreated this Lady to take
“ from his own Mouth some farther Memoirs
“ of his Life ; but now the Public must be con-
“ tented with those which I have obtained of his
“ Friends since his Death. As for what pass’d
“ about the Time in which he came acquainted
“ with

The P R E F A C E.

“ *with the Grandfather of the Present Earl of*
“ *Shaftsbury, and the Respect that he had af-*
“ *terwards in his House, I owe the Knowledge*
“ *of that to the present Earl, in whom we may*
“ *see what Advantage it is, even to those on*
“ *whom Providence has bestowed the best Na-*
“ *tural Parts, to be brought up by the Care of*
“ *of one who knew the Right Method of Edu-*
“ *cating Youth.*

I shall only add this sincere Wish, That all those who admire the Reason, and embrace the Notions, of the Great Mr. Locke, may imitate his Example in his Piety to God, and Charity to Man.

T H E



THE
L I F E
O F
Mr. JOHN LOCKE.



MR. John Locke was the Son of Mr. John Locke of Pensford, in Somersetshire, in the West of England: The Family had its Rise at a Place call'd Channon Court, in Dorsetshire. He was Born at Wrington, (alias Wrinton, 7 or 8 Miles South of Bristol) and, according to the Parish Register, was Baptiz'd the 29th of August 1632. His Father was Heir to a much greater Estate than he left behind him; and was a Captain in the Parliament Army, in the Civil Wars, under King Charles the First: And it is
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very probable, that at that Time, by the Misfortunes of the War, he lost some Part of his Estate; for his Son us'd to speak of him as a Wise and Sober Man; so that I can't think he either lost it by his Folly, or squander'd it away by his Extravagance. Mr. *Locke* never mention'd his Parents but with a great deal of Respect and Tenderneſs: Tho' they were Young enough when they Married, yet they had but Two Children, of which he was the Eldest: The other, who was also a Son, died of a Phthiſic above 40 Years ago.

Mr. *Locke's* Father took great Care of his Education, and carried himself towards him in such a Manner as his Son hath often commended: He was severe to him while he was a Child, and kept him at a very great Distance; but as he grew up he was more free and familiar with him, and when he was come to Years of Discretion they liv'd together rather as Friends than as Two Persons, One of which might justly claim Respect from the other; insomuch that (as Mr. *Locke* has said) his Father excus'd himself to him for having beaten him once in his Childhood rather in Anger than because he deserv'd it.

Mr. *Locke* began his Studies in *Westminster* School where he continu'd till the Year 1651, from whence he was sent to *Christ-Church* College in *Oxford*, of which he was elected Fellow. Mr. *Tyrrell*, Grandson to the Fa-
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mous *Archbishop Usber*, sufficiently known by his Works, remembers that Mr. *Locke* was then look'd upon as the most Ingenious Young Man in the College.

But altho' Mr. *Locke* had gain'd such a Reputation in the University, he has been often heard to say, of the first Years of his being there, that he found so little Satisfaction in the Method that was prescrib'd them for their Studies, that he wish'd his Father had never sent him to *Oxford*; when he found that what he had learnt there was of little Use to him, to enlighten and enlarge his Mind, and to make him more exact in his Reasonings, he fancied it was because his Genius was not suited to those Studies. I myself have heard him complain of the Method he took in his Studies at first, in a Discourse which I had with him one Day on that Subject; and when I told him that I had a *Cartesian* Professor for my Tutor, a Man of a clear Head, he said he was not so Happy; (tho' 'tis well known he was no *Cartesian*;) and that he lost a great deal of Time when he first applied himself to Study, because the only Philosophy then known at *Oxford* was the *Peripatetic*, perplex'd with obscure Terms, and stuff'd with useless Questions.

Being thus discourag'd by the Method of studying which was then in Vogue, he diverted himself by writing to some Gentlemen, with whom he chose to hold Correspondence for the sake of their good Humour, their pleasant and agreeable Temper, rather than on

the Account of their Learning; and he confess'd that he spent some Years in this Manner. It is not probable that Mr. *Locke* wrote then as well as he did afterwards, when he knew more of the World; but his Letters would without doubt have been very entertaining to all, had they been preserv'd; and since he has been engaged in Public Business, some Persons in *England*, of a very good Judgment, have thought that in Letters of this Nature, for a Fine, Delicate, Turn he was not inferior to *Voiture*; tho' it must be confess'd of his *English* it is not so pure, or so much studied, as *Voiture's French*. In his Two last Letters of *Toleration*, in his Defences of *the Reasonableness of Christianity*, and in his Answers to the Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, late Lord Bishop of *Worcester*, we may see some Passages that are a Proof of this. In those Places where his Matter allowed him to speak Ironically, or to use a little Raillery, he did it with so much Wit as gave Life and Beauty to his Discourse, and at the same Time kept up that Grave and Serious Character which runs throughout those Pieces, and never failed in that Respect which was due to the *Bishop of Worcester*.

Mr. *Locke* did not acquire this great Reputation he had at *Oxford*, (as Mr. *Tyrrell* says,) by his Performances in the Public Disputations; for he was ever averse to these, and always look'd upon them as no better than Wrangling, and that they served only for a
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vain Ostentation of a Man's Parts, and not in the least for the Discovery of Truth, or Advancement of Knowledge.

The Works of *Des Cartes* were the first Books that brought Mr *Locke* (as he himself told me) to relish the Study of Philosophy : For though he did not Assent to the Truth of all his Notions, he found that he wrote with great Clearness, which made him think that it was the Fault of the Author's, rather than his own, that he had not understood some other Philosophical Books.

And thus beginning afresh to Study, and more earnestly than he did before, he applied himself particularly to Physic, tho' this never turn'd to his own Profit, because he did not find that he had a Constitution of Body strong enough to bear those Fatigues, to which they are necessarily expos'd who would have any considerable Practice : But though he never practiced Physic, he was in great Esteem with the most Eminent Physicians of his Time : We have a clear Proof of this in the Dedication of an excellent Book, *De morbis acutis*, published in the Year 1675 by the Famous Dr. *Thomas Sydenham*, where he speaks to this Purpose, " Besides, you know
 " that my Method hath been approv'd by
 " one who hath examin'd it thoroughly, and
 " who is our common Friend, I mean Mr.
 " *John Locke*, who whether we respect his
 " Wit, or his piercing and exact Judgment,
 " or whether we look to his Prudent and Re-

“ gular Behaviour, there is no Person in our
 “ Age that excels him, and there are but few
 “ who are his Equals. This was the Opini-
 on of one of the greatest Practitioners in Phy-
 sic; and One of the Honestest Men that *Lon-*
don had in the last Age: Therefore I shall re-
 peat this Character in his own Words, be-
 cause they are much more expressive in *Latin*;
Nosti præterea quem huic meæ methodo suffragan-
tem habeam, qui eam intimius per omnia perspex-
erat, utrique nostrum conjunctissimum, Dominum
Joannem Locke; quo quidem viro, sive ingenio
judicioque acri & subactò, sive etiam antiquis,
hoc est, optimis moribus, vix Superiorem quen-
quam, inter eos qui nunc sunt homines, reper-
tum iri confido, paucissimos certè pares. After
 the Preface of this Book there are some Ele-
 giac Verses of Mr. *Locke's*, which are indeed
 full of Wit and Fancy, but the Stile of them
 is not altogether Exact or Poetical. He had
 too little Esteem for the Poets to throw away
 much Time in reading them, or to take the Pains
 to imitate them. He signed those Verses in
 this Manner, *J. Locke, A. M. Ex Æde Christi.*
Oxon. He contented himself with the Title of
 Master of Arts, without taking the Degree of
 a Doctor, of Physic; but those that did not
 know him usually called him Dr. *Locke*.
 This he told me when I dedicated to him one
 Part of my Philosophy, in 1692.

In 1664 he left *England*, and went to Ger-
 many as Secretary to Sir *William Swan*, who
 was Envoy of the King of *England* to the
 Elector

Elect^r of *Brandebourg*, and some other *German* Princes : In less than a Year he returned, resumed his Studies at the University of *Oxford*, and among other Things, he applied himself to Natural Philosophy, as is evident from the Journal which he kept of the Changes of the Air, from the 24th of *June* 1666, to the 28th of *March* 1667, for the regular Observation of which he used a Barometer, Thermometer and Hygroscope. This Journal may be seen in the General History of the Air, published by Mr. *Boyle* at *London*, 1692.

While he was at *Oxford* in 1666 he came acquainted with the Lord *Ashley*, who was afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and Lord High Chancellor of *England*; his Lordship had been for a considerable Time indisposed by a Fall, whereby his Chest was so much bruised, that it occasioned the gathering of an Imposthume, as appeared by a Swelling under his Stomach; for the Cure of which, he was advised to drink the Mineral Waters of *Astrop*, and wrote to Dr. *Thomas*, an *Oxford* Physician, to send for some to *Oxford* against his Arrival: But Dr. *Thomas* being obliged at that Time to go out of Town, left his Commission in Charge with his Friend Mr. *Locke*; and the Day after his Lordship's Arrival, the Waters not being ready by Neglect of the Person employed to fetch them, Mr. *Locke* was obliged to wait upon his Lordship to excuse himself, and was introduced by Mr. *Bennet*,
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who came in the same Coach with my Lord: His Lordship gave him a genteel Reception, according to his usual Manner, and was very well satisfied with his Message: When he was about to take his Leave of him, my Lord, who was extremely well pleased with his Conversation, would needs make him stay Supper; and as his Lordship was taken with Mr. *Locke's* Discourse, so Mr. *Locke* was charm'd with my Lord *Ashley*, whose Wit and Civility gave him a distinguishing Character among those of his own Rank.

He was one who had a Quick and Sharp Wit, an Accurate and Solid Judgment, a Retentive Memory, Noble and Generous Sentiments; and with all this, a Gay and Pleasant Temper, which he retain'd in the midst of the greatest Troubles; he had read much, and seen more of the World. In a little Time he got a great deal of Knowledge and Experience, and became the best Statesman in *England*, at an Age when others scarce begin to understand or enquire after Public Concerns. The Employments he had when K. *Charles II.* made use of his Service took him off from his Studies: But he was of so quick an Apprehension, that by once reading a Book, tho' in Haste, he could see its Faults and Excellencies sometimes better than those who perus'd it at their Leisure; besides, he was a Man of a free and easie Carriage, an Enemy to Complements, and not in the least Ceremonious; so that one might converse with him

him without Constraint, and use all desirable Freedom. He carried himself familiarly to all Men, and yet never did any Thing unworthy, or below his Character. He could never suffer what had the least Appearance of Slavery, either in himself, or his Inferiours.

So that Mr. *Locke* did with Pleasure all his Life after reflect on the Satisfaction he receiv'd from his Conversation; and whenever he prais'd him, he did it not only with Respect, but even with Admiration; as those who knew the Penetration and Sincerity of Mr. *Locke*, will from hence form to themselves a high Idea of my Lord *Ashley*; so those who were acquainted with my Lord *Ashley* can't but think that Mr. *Locke* was a Man of an uncommon Genius, when they consider the Value he had for him.

After all this, 'tis no great Wonder that between Two such Persons as these there easily arose an inviolable Friendship. But to continue our History; his Lordship engag'd Mr. *Locke* to Dine with him the next Day, and to drink the Waters, (as he himself had partly design'd,) that he might enjoy the more of his Company. Leaving *Oxford* to go to *Sunning-Hill*, where he drank the Waters, he made Mr. *Locke* promise to accompany him thither, as he did in the Summer of the Year 1667; and when his Lordship afterwards went to *London*, he oblig'd him to promise, that he would Lodge
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for the future at his House. Mr. *Locke* did so; and tho' he never practis'd Physic, his Lordship was intirely guided by his Advice in opening the Imposthume he had in his Breast, which sav'd his Life, tho' it never could be clos'd again.

After this Cure his Lordship had so great an Esteem for Mr. *Locke*, that although he had experienced his Skill in Physic, he ever after regarded it as the least of his Accomplishments. He advis'd him to turn his Thoughts another Way, and would not suffer him to practice Physic out of the House to any but his particular Friends. He would have had him rather apply himself to the Study of Ecclesiastical and Political Affairs, which might have some Relation to the Business of a Minister of State: And Mr. *Locke* succeeded so well in these Studies, that his Lordship began to consult him on all Occasions of that Nature. He not only took him into his Library and Closet, but brought him into the Company of the Duke of *Buckingham*, my Lord *Halifax*, and other Noblemen of the greatest Wit and Learning, who were pleas'd as much with his Conversation as my Lord *Ashley*; for tho' Mr. *Locke* had a serious Air, and always spoke to these Gentlemen in a modest and respectful Manner, yet there was an agreeable Mixture of Wit in his Conversation.

The Freedom which he us'd with Persons of a Superior Rank had somewhat which I
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can't exprefs, that agreed very well with his Character. One Day Three or Four of thefe Lords being met together at my Lord *Affley's*, rather for their Diverfion than Buſineſs, after the uſual Complements were over the Cards were brought, when little or no Diſcourſe had paſſed between them, Mr. *Locke* took Notice of the Game for ſome Time, and then taking out his Pocket-book, he ſeem'd to write ſomewhat with very great Seriouſneſs, one of the Lords having obſerv'd it, ask'd him what it was that he was writing? My Lord, ſays he, I endeavour to get as much as I can in your good Company, and having waited with Impatience the Honour of being preſent at a Meeting of the Wiſeſt and moſt Ingenious Men of the Age, and enjoying at length this Happineſs, I thought it proper to ſet down your Converſation, and I have accordingly ſet down the Subſtance of what has been ſaid within this Hour or Two. There was no need for Mr. *Locke* to read much of this Dialogue, theſe Noble Lords perceiv'd the Banter, and diverted themſelves awhile with improving the Jeſt; they left their Play, and enter'd into a Converſation more agreeable to their Character, and ſo ſpent the reſt of the Day.

In 1668 the Earl and Counteſs of *Northumberland* having reſolv'd to Travel into *France*, they deſir'd Mr. *Locke* to make one of their Company; he readily comply'd with them, and ſtaid in *France* with the Counteſs

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whilst the Earl went to *Rome*. This Noble Lord fell sick in the Way and died, which obliged his Lady to return sooner to *England* than they had designed at first. The Journey was without doubt very pleasant to Mr. *Locke*, for this Lady was every Way accomplished, she spared for no Expence, and where-ever she came, she had very great Honours paid her.

Mr. *Locke* at his Return into *England* lodged, as before, at my Lord *Ashley's*, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer. However, He held his Place in the College of *Christ-Church* at *Oxford*, (of keeping the Changes of the Air,) where he sometimes resided. Whilst he was at my Lord *Ashley's* his Lordship intrusted him with the remaining Part of the Education of his only Son, who was then but about Fifteen or Sixteen Years old, which Charge he carefully performed. This Young Lord being of a very weakly Constitution, his Father thought to Marry him betimes, lest the Family should be extinct by his Death. He was too Young, and had too little Experience to chuse a Wife for himself; and my Lord *Ashley* not having Time to make Choice of a suitable Person for him, desired that Mr. *Locke* would undertake it. This was no easie Province, for tho' his Lordship did not insist upon a great Fortune for his Son, yet he would have him Marry a Lady of a good Family, an agreeable Temper, a fine Complexion, and
above

above all, one that had a good Education, and whose Carriage was as different as possible from the Behaviour of the Court and City Ladies. However, Mr. *Locke* took upon him this Nice Business, and very happily acquitted himself of it; for from this Marriage sprung the present Earl of *Shaftsbury*, with Six other Children, all very healthful, tho' his Father was but weak, and died some Years ago. As Mr. *Locke* had the Care of great Part of the Education of this Lord, so he was entrusted with that of his eldest Son, whom we had the Honour of seeing here in *Holland*, and whose good Sense, Judgment, Fancy, Learning, and obliging Carriage, free from all formal and affected Ceremonies, with a natural and easie Eloquence, plainly shew us that he was Educated by no less Excellent a Person than Mr. *Locke*, of which his Lordship hath testified a grateful Sense on all Occasions, and always speaks of him with Signs of a more than ordinary Esteem.

In the Year 1670, and 1671, Mr. *Locke* began his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, at the earnest Request of Mr. *Tyrrell*, Dr. *Thomas*, and some other of his Friends, who met frequently in his Chamber to converse together, as he himself hath told me. But his Business and Travels hindered his finishing it at that Time. I think it was about this Time that he was admitted Member of the *Royal Society of London*.

In the Year 1672 my Lord *Ashley* was created *Earl of Shaftsbury*, and Lord High Chancellor of England, and gave Mr. *Locke* the Office of Secretary of the *Presentation of Benefices*, which he enjoyed till the End of the Year 1673, when his Lordship resign'd that Post.

Mr. *Locke*, whom this Great Man made Privy to his most Secret Affairs, was joined with him in his Disgrace, and afterwards gave his Assistance to some Pieces, which his Lordship Published to stir up the *English* Nation to have a watchful Eye over the Conduct of the *Roman Catholics*, and to oppose the Designs of that Party.

On this Occasion I cannot pass over in Silence a Remarkable Affair, which was transacted in the Parliament of *England* in 1672. It is well known that at that Time King *Charles II.* in Conjunction with *France*, made War on the *United Provinces*: But the Sums that were remitted from *France* not being sufficient to carry on the War, he thought it necessary to try what the Parliament would raise him. For this Purpose there was a Draught prepared in the King's Council of the Speech which the Lord Chancellor was to make to the Parliament, to perswade them to approve of the War, which that Prince had declared against the *Dutch*. But this appearing too weak to the King and Council, as not pressing the Matter home enough, they thought fit to alter it,
and

and in spite of the Lord Chancellor's Advice, to insert these Words of *Cato*, *Delenda est Carthago*, intimating that it was the Interest of *England* utterly to Ruin *Holland*. This being resolv'd, the Lord Chancellor must pronounce the Speech as it was prepar'd; his Lordship shew'd a very great Concern at this to Mr. *Locke*, and to another of his Friends, who hath since declar'd it in Writing: However, the Lord Chancellor being look'd upon as the Mouth of the King, and not speaking in his own Name, and often contrary to his own particular Sentiments, his Lordship was oblig'd to get it by Heart; and altho' he spake very fluently, and had a great Presence of Mind, yet he was so much disorder'd, that he would have Mr. *Locke* behind him with the Speech, to prompt him if he should be at a Stand. This made a great Noise in *Holland*, and his Lordship was thought very ill of by those who were ignorant of his own Sentiments, and the Office of a Lord Chancellor. But this Noble Lord, in a little Time after, perceiving the Mark that the Court aim'd at, and the Duke of *Buckingham* having shewn him, that not only the Duke of *York*, but even the King, was a *Papist*, (though he conceal'd it, by setting up for a Wit, and by appearing on all Occasions very indifferent as to Matters of Religion,) he left the Court-Party, who in vain tried all Means to keep him in their Interest; his Lordship had so great an Aversion to Popery, Tyranny,

Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power, that tho' he was in other Things very moderate, there was no moving of him in these Respects. This is well known to all those who had the Honour of being acquainted with him, or who have had his Character from them.

However, Sir *William Temple* in his *Memoirs* speaks very much to his Disadvantage, and insinuates, that he was one of the Authors of the War against the *United Provinces* in 1672. But it must be consider'd that he had a private Pique against my Lord *Shaftsbury*, because when his Lordship was Chancellor of the *Exchequer* he was against the King's making Sir *William Temple* a Present of Plate; which he desir'd at his Return from his Embassy, according to a Custom that his Lordship thought was very prejudicial to the King's Treasury; and this is a sufficient Reason why we should give but little Credit to what he says with respect to my Lord *Shaftsbury*. But to return to Mr. *Locke*, in June 1673 he was made Secretary to the Commissioners of Trade, which Office brought him in Five Hundred Pounds *per Annum*. But this Commission expir'd in December, 1674.

In the following Summer, 1675, my Lord *Shaftsbury* thought it necessary for Mr. *Locke* to Travel, because he was very much inclin'd to the Phthysic; He went to *Montpelier*, where he staid a considerable Time. There it was that he came acquainted with the Earl of

Pembroke,

Pembroke, who was then call'd Mr. *Herbert*, (the Name of his Family,) because his eldest Brother was at that Time living. He ever kept up his Friendship with the Earl, and afterwards Dedicated to him his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*; and I have heard him speak of this Lord, as one for whom he had the highest Respect. From *Montpelier* he went to *Paris*, where he became acquainted with Monsieur *Justel*, at whose House the Learned generally met, and there he saw Monsieur *Guenelon*, the Famous Physician of *Amsterdam*, who read the Anatomy Lecture with great Applause. Mr. *Locke* took down his Name, and the Place of his Abode, at *Amsterdam*, and his Friendship was very advantageous to him some Years after, as we shall find in the Sequel. He likewise entred into a particular Friendship with Monsieur *Toignard*, who shew'd him a Copy of his *Harmonia Evangelica*, of which there were but Five or Six complete, and which he has not yet Publish'd, tho' he has been earnestly desir'd to do it. Mr. *Locke* had applied himself particularly to the Study of the *New-Testament*, and we shall see hereafter what were the Fruits of his Labours.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* being reconciled to the Court, (out of an honest Design of being as serviceable as he could to his Country,) was made President of the Council in the
Year

Year 1679, which oblig'd him to desire Mr. *Locke's* Return to *London*, which he accordingly did; but not being wholly recover'd, and finding himself afflicted with an *Asthma*, he could not tarry long There, the Sea-coal which is burnt in that City being so very offensive to him. He was oblig'd from Time to Time to pass some Weeks in the Country, that he might breath in a pure Air; and sometimes he went to *Oxford*, where he still kept his Place in *Christ-Church* College.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* (as I have said) having again taken his Place in the Council, for the Good of the *English* Nation, rather than to carry on the Designs of the Court, which aimed at the Establishment of Popery and Arbitrary Power, fresh Crimes were soon laid to his Charge, and the King sent him to the *Tower*. But he was acquitted in spite of the Intrigues of the Court, and in *December*, 1682, he retired into *Holland*. The late King *William* III. who was then *Prince of Orange*, knowing that his Lordship's only Crime was, that he opposed the Designs of the Court, he was received very kindly There, and made himself a Burgher of *Amsterdam*, lest the King should send to demand him of the States, which by a Treaty is obliged to deliver Traytors to the Crown of *England*, if they are not made Burghers of some Town in *Holland*,
and

and *England* is obliged to do the same with Respect to the States.

Mr. *Locke* did not think himself any longer safe in *England*; for tho' they could not hurt him according to a due Form of Law, yet 'twas possible they might Imprison him, and let him lye there some Time, to the endangering his Health and Life; so he followed his Lordship, who died soon after in *Holland*. It is an Honour to this Province, and to the Town of *Amsterdam* in particular, for having entertained and protected so Illustrious a Refugee, without regarding those former Prejudices which it had received against him on the Account of the Speech which he delivered as Lord Chancellor to the Parliament in the Year 1672. A grateful Sense of this is retain'd in the Family, as the present Earl of *Shaftsbury*, his Grandson, hath often told me. May this Town ever remain a safe Sanctuary to the Innocent, and by its generous Behaviour draw down upon itself the Praises and Blessings of all those who are Lovers of Vertue, not only in its Prosperity, but even when it suffers the sharpest Persecutions.

Mr. *Locke* being at *Amsterdam* about the End of the Year 1683, renewed the Acquaintance; he began at *Paris* with Monsieur *Guenelon*, and got acquainted with his Father-in-Law, Monsieur *Veen*, Senior Phyician of this City, and one of its most skilful and fortunate Practitioners. In *January*, 1684, Mon-

sieur *Guenelon* being to Dissect a *Lioness*, which died of the excessive Cold that Winter, Mr. *Locke* came thither, and became acquainted with several other Physicians. Here he met with Monsieur *Limborch*, Professor of Divinity among the Remonstrants, with whom he contracted a Friendship, which continued during the whole Course of his Life, and which he cultivated after his Return into *England*. I had the Honour also to be acquainted with him some Time after, and have spent several Hours with Pleasure and Profit in his Company; especially after he told me his Mind in Philosophical Matters, which has been the Subject of many an Hour's Conversation. Having his Health better in *Holland* than either in *England* or at *Montpelier*, he there carried on and completed his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, of which he shewed me several Chapters in Manuscript.

Mr. *Locke* had not been a Year out of *England* before he was accused at Court of writing several Pamphlets against the Government, which were said to come from *Holland*, but afterwards were found to be done by other Hands; for this Reason, as was reported, the King sent Orders to Dr. *Fell*, then Bishop of *Oxford*, and Dean of *Christ-Church*, to turn Mr. *Locke* out of his Fellowship in the College. The Bishop, who was a Virtuous and Learned Man, and always had a Respect and Kindness for Mr. Locke, received the

Message

Message with a great deal of Uneasiness, as may be seen by his Actions. He immediately sent for Mr. Tyrrell, Mr. Locke's Friend, to speak with him, and was so convinced of Mr. Locke's Innocence, that instead of executing the Order, he wrote to him the 8th of November to appear and answer for himself the 1st of January of the ensuing Year. In the mean Time he acquainted my Lord Sunderland, then Secretary of State, with what he had done, in these Words, (from which we may learn much of Mr. Locke's Character.) *Mr. Locke being a great Friend of the late Earl of Shaftsbury, and being suspected not to be well affected to the Government, I have had my Eye over him for several Years, but He has always been so much upon his Guard, that after several strict Enquiries, I can confidently assure you, there is no Person in our College, how familiar soever he has been with him, that has heard him say any Thing against the Government, or that any Ways concerns it; and tho' we have often designedly given him Occasion in Public and Private Discourse to talk of the Earl of Shaftsbury, by speaking Ill of him, his Party and Designs, yet we could never see, either by his Words or Looks, that he thought himself at all concerned in the Matter; so that we believe there is not a Man in the World so much Master of his Tongue and Passions as he is.*

This is the more to be admired, because Mr. Locke was naturally a little hasty. But

perceiving their Designs to trapan him, he thought it most prudent to remain silent, easily foreseeing that to defend his Lordship before them could do him no Service, but might bring him into Trouble.

Bishop *Fell*, in what he wrote, without doubt designed to serve Mr. *Locke*; but the King sending a Second Letter, he was forced to remove him from his Fellowship.

After the Death of King *Charles II.* (which was on the 6th of *February*, 1685,) Mr. *Penn*, whom Mr. *Locke* had known at the University, and who very generously imploy'd the Interest he had in King *James*, endeavoured to procure his Pardon, and had certainly obtained it, if Mr. *Locke* had not answered, that he had no Occasion for a Pardon, having been Guilty of no Crime.

In the Spring of the Year 1685 the Duke of *Monmouth* was in *Holland*, and several other Gentlemen and Nobles with him, disaffected to King *James's* Government, making Preparations for his unfortunate Enterprize. King *James* being informed of their Designs, sent to Mr. *Skelton*, his Envoy at the *Hague*, the 17th of *May*, to demand of the *States* Fourscore and Four Persons, and amongst them Mr. *Locke*, whom they had thus described formerly *Secretary to the Earl of Shaftsbury*, altho' he never had that Business or Title in his Lordship's House, but lived there as a Friend: His Name was the last in the List, and, as I remember, 'twas said he was

not in the List that came from *England*, but that the *English Consul*, who was then in *Holland*, ordered it to be added to the rest. However, I believe one may rest satisfied that he had no Correspondence with the Duke of *Monmouth*, of whom he had not such high Thoughts as to expect any Thing from his Undertaking; besides, he was of a peaceable Temper, and rather Timorous than Courageous.

About the End of the Year 1684 he was at *Utrecht*, and the next Spring went to *Amsterdam*, with Design to return to *Utrecht*, as he did afterwards, not imagining he should be esteemed an Accomplice of the Duke of *Monmouth*: He had formerly had a Desire to lodge with Mr. *Guenelon*, but he excus'd himself, because it was not the Custom of their City to entertain Strangers, tho' otherwise he had a great Esteem for him, and was very well pleased with his Visits. But when Mr. *Guenelon* perceived the Danger he was in, and that it was Time to do him a Kindness, he generously engaged his Father-in-Law Mr. *Veen* to entertain him in his House, and wrote to *Utrecht* to advertise him of it, as did Mr. *Limborch* on the Part of Mr. *Veen*; Mr. *Locke* upon this came to *Amsterdam*, and concealed himself at Mr. *Veen*'s Two or Three Months; and in the mean Time Mr. *Limborch* convey'd the Letters that were wrote to him, and kept Mr. *Locke*'s Will, which he desir'd might be sent to one of his Relations, whom
he

he named if he should Die. In the mean Time they consulted one of the Chief Magistrates of the Town, to know if He might be safe there; who replied, that he could not protect him if the King of *England* sent for him, but that he would not betray him, and if Inquiry was made, would not fail to give Notice of it to Mr. *Veen*.

This did a little compose his Mind, and he staid with Mr. *Veen* till *September*, going abroad only in the Night-time, to prevent any Discovery: But being persuaded to go rather to *Cleves*, he went thither, but came back the Beginning of *November*. 'Twas at Mr. *Veen*'s that he compos'd his *Letter of Toleration*, which was Printed at *Tergou* in 1689, and entituled *Epistola de Tolerantia ad Clarissimum virum, T. A. R. P. T. O. L. A. scripta. a P. A. P. O. I. L. A.* The first Letters signifie, *Theologia apud Remonstrantes Professore, Tyrannydis osorem Limburgium Amstelodamensem*; and the Latter, *Pacis amico, Persequutionis osore, Joannē Lockio Anglo*. This Letter was Translated into *English*, and Printed Twice at *London* in the Year 1690. About this Time it was also that Mr. *Locke* read and approved of several Pieces of *Episcopius*; (for till then he knew the Remonstrants only by Hearsay, and a little Conversation he had with them here,) and was surprized to find their Sentiments nearer his own than he imagin'd, and afterwards made
great

great Use of the Light which he received from them.

At the End of the Year Mr. *Locke* went to lodge at Mr. *Guenelon's*, where he was likewise the Year following.

It being evident to all that he had no Hand in the Duke of *Monmouth's* Enterprize, he began to appear again in Public in the Year 1686, and then gave me a small Piece, intituled, * *A new Method of making Common-Place Books*, which is inserted in the Second Volume of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*. He made likewise several Extracts of Books, as that of Mr. *Boyle concerning Specifick Medicines*, which is in the same Volume, and some others that are in the following. I sent him some Copies of his *Method to Utrecht*, (whither he went in *Autumn*,) which I had Printed by themselves, and he ordered me to send some to Mr. *Toignard*, to whom it was Dedicated, tho' his Name was not set before it.

At the End of the Year Mr. *Locke* returned to *Amsterdam*, and took up his Lodgings at Mr. *Guenelon's*, his old Quarters.

In 1687 he desir'd that Mr. *Limborch*, and I, with some other Friends, would set up Conferences, and that to this End we should meet together once a Week, sometimes at one House, and then at another, by Turns ;
and

* This Piece is now Printed with considerable Enlargements among his Posthumous Works.

and that there should be some Question propos'd, of which every one should give his Opinion at the next Meeting; and I have still by me the Rules, which he would have had us observe, written in *Latin* with his own Hand. But our Conferences were interrupted by his Absence, because he went to *Rotterdam*, where he lodged with Mr. *Furley*; he returned again to *Amsterdam*, tho' it was but for a little Time.

Towards the latter End of this Year he made an Abridgment of his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, which was yet in Manuscript. I Translated it into *French*, and Publish'd it in the 8th Volume of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* in *January*, 1688, and I had some Copies of it Printed singly, to which he prefix'd a short Dedication to the Earl of *Pembroke*. This Abridgment pleas'd a great many Persons, and made them desirous of seeing the Work at Large; but several who had never heard of the Name of Mr. *Locke*, and had only seen the Abridgment, in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, thought that it was the Project of a Work of mine, which was but yet designed, and that I Father'd it upon an *English* Man, to know what the World thought of it, but they were soon undeceiv'd.

At length the Happy Revolution in *England*, in 1688. by the Courage and good Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*, opened a Way to his Return into his own Country, whither

he went in *February*, 1689, with the same Fleet that conducted over the *Princess of Orange*. When he came to *London* he endeavoured to recover his Fellowship of *Christ-Church College in Oxford*; not that he had any Design of Living there, but only that the World might see the Wrong that was done him: This would have been granted him, but since the Members of that Society could not come to a Resolution of turning out the Person who was put in his Place, they would have kept him as a Supernumerary, but he withdrew his Suit.

Mr. *Locke* being very much taken Notice of, and Esteemed by several Noblemen, who were after the Revolution in Favour with the Court, he might very easily have obtained some Considerable Post: But he contented himself with being one of the *Commissioners of Appeals*, which brought him in 200 *l. per Ann.* and this suited him, because it did not require a constant Attendance. This Place is at the Disposal of the Lords of the Treasury; and the Lord *Mordaunt* being one of them, and who was since created Earl of *Monmouth*, and then of *Peterborough*, desiring it for him, the other Lords agreed to it. About the same Time Mr. *Locke* had the Offer of a Public Character, and it was put to his Choice, whether he would go as *Envoy*, either to the *Emperor*, to the *Elector of Brandenburg*, or any other Court, where he thought the Air might best agree with his Constitution, which

was very unsettled; but fearing lest the Service of the King might suffer if the Air of the Place did not agree with him, or that it would endanger his Life unless he made a Speedy Return, he refused an Employ of this Nature.

However, he improved his Time another Way, for a *Divine* Writing against his First Letter concerning Toleration, he answered him in 1690 by a Second Letter. He did not put his Name to it, that he might not be engaged in any Personal Quarrels, which might possibly have turned to his Disadvantage, without serving any Ways to the Advancement of Truth; but the Style of it plainly shew'd the Author. It was in the same Year likewise that the First Edition of his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding* was Printed in *Folio*; in 1700 it was Published in *French* at *Amsterdam* by *H. Schelte*; Mr. *Coste*, who was then with Mr. *Locke*, translated it under his Inspection with very great Care, Fidelity and Plainness; and this Version is very much esteemed: It hath made known his Opinions to those that are on this Side the Water, and more at large than the Abridgment that was Published in 1688 could do. He also corrected several Places in the Original, that he might make them more plain and easie to translate, and very carefully revis'd the Translation; so that it is not in the least inferiour to the *English*, and often more clear; it was likewise translated into *Latin* by Mr *Burridge*,

ridge, in 1701. There is besides a small Abridgment of it in *English* by Mr. *Wynne*. The Sixth *English* Edition, in Two Vol. 8vo. is the best, and most enlarged. * Those who have compared it with the former, may have observed in it that Sincerity and Love to Truth which the Author discovers in the Twenty-first Chapter of the Second Book, where he treats concerning *Power*; for he has made several Alterations in the Idea that he had given of the Manner wherein we are determin'd to *Will*. Few Philosophers can persuade themselves to correct their Thoughts; and there is nothing they will not do, rather than confess their Mistakes. But Mr. *Locke* had too great a Love for Truth to follow their Example; and he himself acknowledges in his Preface, that after a more close Examination of the Matter he saw Reason to alter his Opinion.

He Publish'd likewise the same Year his Two Treatises of *Government*; this Book was afterwards Translated into *French*, and Printed at *Amsterdam*; Mr. *Locke* did not put his Name to it, because the Principles which he there establishes are contrary to those which were generally taught in *England* before the Revolution, and which tended to establish an Arbitrary Power, which was not restrain'd by any Laws. He entirely

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* In this Edition are inserted, in their proper Places, his Defence of those Passages objected to by Bishop *Stillington*.

overthrew these *Turkish* Politicks, which some Persons preach'd up as an Article of Religion, to flatter those that aspired to a Power which is above Humane Nature.

Mr. *Locke* lived at *London* about Two Years after the Revolution, esteem'd by all those who knew him; he conversed familiarly with Persons of the highest Rank; but nothing pleased him more than the Weekly Conferences he had with the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was then Lord-Keeper of the Privy-Seal, and who has since been made President of the Privy-Council, which Post he long held with general Approbation under Her present Majesty. When the Air of *London* began to affect his Lungs, he went for some Days to the Earl of *Peterborough's* Seat, near *Fulham*, where he always met with a hearty Welcome; but he was oblig'd afterwards to think of quite leaving *London*, at least all the Winter Season, and to go to some Place at a greater Distance.

He had made some Visits at different Times to Sir *Francis Masham*, who liv'd at *Oates* in *Essex*, about Twenty Miles from *London*, where he found the Air so good, that he thought there was none could suit better with his Constitution; besides the agreeable Company he found at Sir *Francis Masham's* would make the most Melancholy Place agreeable, was one great Motive, no doubt, which inclin'd him to desire that Gentleman to receive him into his Family, that
he

he might settle there during his Life, and apply himself to his Studies as much as his weak Health would allow. He was receiv'd on his own Terms, that he might have his entire Liberty there, and look upon himself as at his own House; and it was in this pleasant Society that he pass'd the rest of his Life, and from which he was absent as little as possible, because the Air of *London* grew more and more troublesome to him; he came thither only in the Summer for Three or Four Months, and if he return'd to *Oates* any Thing indispos'd, the Air of the Country soon recover'd him.

In 1692 he printed his *Third Letter of Toleration*, in which he answer'd some new Objections that had been made against his Opinions with so great Strength and Accuracy, as made it needless for him to write any Thing farther on that Subject: And here I can't but take Notice of the strange and unaccountable Temper of some Men, who tho' they are fully convinced that their clear and distinct Knowledge is of a very small Extent, and that they are very easily mistaken in the Judgments they pass of Things, will yet, when it is in their Power, persecute others because they differ from them in their Notions; and this at the same Time that they would think it very hard, if they were on the weaker Side, to be persecuted on this Account themselves; but it is yet more strange that they should Interest Religion in
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the Case, and employ its Authority to defend those Practices which it expressly forbids. This can only proceed from a Proud and Tyrannical Spirit, which passes upon the World under the Disguise of Piety, almost after the same Manner as the Itch after Arbitrary Power conceals itself under the specious Pretext of the Public Good, how contrary soever it may be to it.

But this is no proper Place to bewail these Irregularities of the Mind of Man; the *English* Nation however is highly oblig'd to Mr. *Locke* for having undeceiv'd a great many Persons, and made them detest those prosecuting Maxims, which, for want of due Consideration they had embrac'd. 'Tis well known that about this Time the Coin of *England* was very bad, having been so much clipped through the Negligence of the preceeding Reigns, who had not taken Care to remedy it, that it wanted above a Third of its due Weight: The Effect of this was, that the People thought themselves a great deal Richer than indeed they were: For although the Coin was not raised in its Value by any Public Authority, it was put off in Trade for above a Third Part more than it weigh'd: This was very prejudicial to Trade on several Accounts, of which I shall not here take any Notice.

Mr. *Locke* had observed this Disorder ever since his Return to *England*, and he frequently spoke of it, that he might put the Nation upon taking some Measures to prevent it. He
said

said then, *That the Nation was in greater Danger from a secret unobserved Abuse, than from all those other Evils, of which Persons were generally so apprehensive; and that if Care were not taken to rectifie the Coin, that Irregularity alone would prove fatal to us, though we should succeed in every Thing else.* One Day, when he seemed very much disturbed about this Matter, some Persons rallied him, as if he tormented himself with a groundless Fear; he answered, *That Persons might laugh if they pleased, but they would find in a very short Time, that if Care was not taken we should want Money in England to buy Bread;* and it happened accordingly in 1695, so that the Parliament was forced to rectifie that Abuse the beginning of the Year following; in order to stir up the *English* Nation to take this Matter into Consideration, Mr. Locke published in 1692 a little Treatise, Intituled, *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of the Interest, and Raising the Value, of Money,* which was sent to a Member of Parliament, 1691, in which we may find several Nice and Curious Observations on both those Subjects, as well as the Trade of *England* in general; afterwards in 1695, resum'd this Subject again, when, according to his Prediction, the Nation's Danger obliged the Parliament to think seriously of this Matter: By this it appears that he was able to reason on the common Affairs of Life, as well as on the most abstract-
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ed Subjects; and that he was none of those Philosophers who spent their whole Lives in the Search after Truths purely Speculative, but by their Ignorance of those Things which concern the Public Good, are rendred incapable of serving their Country.

In 1693 he published his *Thoughts concerning the Education of Children*, (which he considerably improved in some later Editions, the last is the 7th, printed in Twelves, 1712.) This Book was also translated into *French* and *Dutch* in *Holland*; and although there are many Things in it that respect the Faults peculiar to the *English* Way of Educating Children, yet it contains several Remarks that may be useful to other Nations.

In 1695 Mr. *Locke* was made a *Commissioner of the Trade and Plantations*; these Commissioners compose a Council, who take Care of every Thing relating to the *English* Trade and Plantations, and have every one a Salary of a Thousand Pounds a Year. He discharged the Duties of this Place with a great deal of Care, and Universal Approbation, till the Year 1700, when he quitted it, being no longer able to live in *London*, as he did before. He acquainted no Person with his Design of leaving that Place till he had given up his Commission into the King's Hands: His Majesty was very unwilling to receive it, and told Mr. *Locke* he should be very glad if he would continue in his Service, though he gave never so little Attendance; and that he did
not

not desire him to stay in Town one Day to the Prejudice of his Health : But he told his Majesty that he could not in Conscience hold a Place to which a considerable Salary was annexed, without performing the Duties of it, and that he therefore humbly desir'd a Discharge. A great many Persons would not have been so scrupulous in this Matter as he was, but would have accepted the King's Grant, or at least would have endeavour'd to resign such a Place as this to their Advantage.

And indeed he deserv'd to enjoy the Salary belonging to that Place, even though he should have performed none of its Duties, if it were only on the Account of being one of those who took the greatest Pains to convince the Parliament, that the only Way to preserve the Trade of *England*, was to Re-coin the Money without raising its Value to the Public Loss ; for this End he wrote a Little Treatise, Intituled, *New Considerations on the raising the Value of Money*, which he Published in 1695. This Treatise, together with several others, were Reprinted the Year after, with the Title of *Papers concerning Money, Interest, and Trade*. The Parliament following his Opinion in this Matter, in the midst of a Dangerous War, made such a Reformation in the Coin, as many Nations would have hardly undertaken in a Time of Peace : 'Tis well known that there are some Kingdoms, wherein to fill the Princes Treasury out of the Pockets of Private Persons,

the Money is made to rise or fall without any Regard to the Loss the Public sustains thereby ; but such Maxims are not approved of in *England*.

The Ingenious Mr. *J. WATTS* Compos'd the following Lines upon this Occasion.

To *JOHN LOCKE, Esq;* Retir'd from *Business*.

I.

ANGELS are made of Heavenly Things,
And Light and Love our Souls compose,
Their Bliss within their Bosom springs,
Within their Bosom flows.

But narrow Minds still make Pretence
To search the Coasts of Flesh and Sense,
And fetch Diviner Pleasures thence.

MEN are akin to Etherial Forms,
But they belye their Nobler Birth,
Debase their Honour down to Earth,
And claim a Share with Worms.

II.

He that has Treasures of his own
May leave the Cottage or the Throne,
May quit the Globe, and dwell alone
Within his Spacious Mind.

LOCKE

LOCKE *hath a Soul wide as the Sea,
Calm as the Night, Bright as the Day,
There may his vast Ideas play,
Nor feel a Thought confin'd.*

In the same Year, 1695, Mr. Locke published his Treatise of *The Reasonableness of Christianity*; wherein he has proved, that the Christian Religion, as delivered in the Scriptures, is the most reasonable Institution in the World: It was quickly after Translated into *French* and *Dutch*, and attacked in *England* by a passionate Divine. * In 1696 Mr. Locke answered that Book, and after defended his Answer with such Strength of Reason, and yet with so great Moderation, that he might justly have expected of his Adversary a public Acknowledgment of his Error, had he not been one of those Sort of Men who are equally Strangers to Shame and Justice. Mr. Locke was also obliged to Mr. Bold, Minister of *Steeple* in *Dorsetshire*, who defended his Book without knowing the Author, in Two short Discourses which came out in 1697, as also in a Second Answer.

Some Time before this there came out a Book at *London*, written by Mr. Toland, Intituled, *Christianity not Mysterious*; in which the Author pretended to prove, *That there is*
F 2 *nothing*

* Dr. Edwards.

nothing in the Christian Religion, not only which is contrary to Reason, but even which is above it. Mr. Toland, in explaining the Nature of Reason, had made use of several Arguments that were very like some of Mr. Locke's in his Treatise of *Humane Understanding*.

It happened also, that some *English Unitarians* had about that Time publish'd several Pamphlets, in which they talked very much about Reason, and laid down their Notions of what was contrary to it, and affirm'd there was no such Doctrine in the Christian Religion. Mr. Locke had also with a great deal of Truth asserted, that Revelation delivers nothing contrary to any plain Consequences of Reason: All these Things put together engaged Dr. *Stillingfleet*, late Bishop of *Worcester*, to join Mr. Locke in Company with those Persons in a Treatise he publish'd in 1697, wherein he defended the Doctrine of the Trinity against them. In this Book, Chap. 10. he opposed some Notions of Mr. Locke concerning the Knowledge we have of Substances, and some other Things, fearing, without Reason, that those Notions might be brought in Favour of some Heretical Opinions; Mr. Locke answer'd him, and the Bishop reply'd the same Year: This Reply was confuted by a Second Letter of Mr. Locke, which drew a Second Answer from that Learned Bishop in 1698; and Mr. Locke again reply'd, in a Third Letter in 1699, wherein

wherein he discoursed more at large of the *Certainty by Reason, or by Ideas, of the Certainty of Faith, of the Resurrection of the same Body, and the Immateriality of the Soul*, and shew'd the perfect Agreement of his Principles with Faith, that they had not the least Tendency to Scepticism, as Bishop *Stillingfleet* had affirm'd: But the Bishop died sometime after this, and so the Dispute ended.

We may observe Two Things more especially in this Controversie, the one relating to the Subject of it, the other to the Manner wherein it was handled. Every Body admired the Strength of Mr. *Locke's* Reasonings, and his great Clearness and Exactness, not only in explaining his own Notions, but in laying open those of his Adversary: Nor were they less surprized, that a Man of the Bishop's Learning should engage in a Controversie wherein he had all the Disadvantages possible; for he was by no Means able to maintain his Opinions against Mr. *Locke*, whose Notions he neither understood, nor the Thing itself about which he Disputed. This Eminent Prelate had spent the greatest Part of his Time in the Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and reading an infinite Number of Books, but was no great Philosopher, nor had ever used himself to that close Correct Way of Thinking and Writing, in which Mr. *Locke* did particularly excel. However, this Excellent Philosopher, tho' he had much the better in the Controversie, and had Reason

son enough to complain of the Bishop for having charged him unjustly; and without a sufficient Knowledge of the Subject he handled, was yet very far from abusing the Advantages he had, but always detected and refuted his Errors with Civility and Respect. He shews, 'tis true, that the Bishop did not understand the Things he talk'd about, and was very uncorrect in his Expressions, but rather seems to insinuate it, by producing his own Words, and leaving the World to judge, than reflect on him for it. For my Part I confess I never read a Dispute managed in so cool Blood, or with so much Art and Exactness on the one Side, nor on the other, so unjustly, confusedly, or so little to the Credit of the Author.

I was also surprized at the Bishop's Censure of *Curcelleus*, in the 6th Chapter of 'his *Defence of the Trinity*, and wonder'd how he could think so easily to Answer him. I must confess indeed, that the Bishop has Reason in asserting, that St. *Hilary*, in the † Passage *Curcelleus* cites out of his Book, *de Synodis*, does speak to the *Eastern* Bishops, and not to those of *Gaul* and *Germany*, as he thought. But then it must also be granted, that in the main *Curcelleus* has, in his Dissertation concerning the Words *Trinity*, &c. very faithfully represented the Opinion of St. *Hilary*. Bp *Stillingsfleet* had either read this Book
without

† Num. 81. Edit. *Benedict.*

without due Attention, or forgot its Contents; for of all other Books this most clearly proves, that the Orthodox of that Time believ'd, that the Divine Nature as a Species did contain under it Three Persons numerically distinguish'd.

St. Hilary, a little before the * Passage that gave Bp Stillingfleet Occasion to charge Curcelleus with a gross Mistake, explains how according to the *Semi-Arians* it might be said, That the Father and Son *have a like Essence*: And then delivers his own Opinion in the following Words. “ *Caret igitur, Fratres, similitudo Naturæ contumeliæ suspensione; nec potest videri Filius idcirco in proprietate Paternæ Naturæ non esse quia similis est, cum similitudo nulla sit nisi ex æqualitate Naturæ; æqualitas autem Naturæ non potest esse, nisi una sit; una verò non † Personæ Unitate, sed GENERIS.* That is, Therefore, Brethren, the Son may, without Danger of Blasphemy, be said to be of a like Nature with the Father; and tho' he be said to be like him, it does not follow that therefore he is not of the same Nature, for Similitude flows from Equality of Nature; now there can be no Equality of Nature, but where the Nature is one, and that not with a Personal, but Generical Unity. Now a Person who reads this with
any

* Num. 76. *Ejusd. Edit.*

† By Personæ we must understand a Substance, and not a Mode, which is called Personality.

any tolerable Degree of Attention, will easily see, that supposing the Unity of the Divine Nature to be Numerical, 'tis Nonsense to say the Nature of the Son is *equal* or *like* to that of the Father ; but that this Way of Expression is proper enough in the Mouth of those Persons who believe the Father and the Son are one in *Specie*, or *Generically*, as St. Hilary speaks. See also the 15th Article in the *Benedictine* Edition. The same Thing might be plainly proved out of his Books of the *Trinity*: If Bp *Stillingfleet* had examin'd St. Hilary only Carefully, and without Prejudice, he would have been of the same Mind with *Curcellus*, and would never have differ'd with him about a trifling Incident, while, in the Main of the Controversie, he gives a very true Account of the Doctrine of the Fathers in this Point. I shall say no more on this Head, and I hope no Person will be offended at this little Digression I have made, to defend at once the Truth and Honour of *Curcellus*, against the Learned Bp *Stillingfleet*, for whose Excellent Writings I have nevertheless a very high Esteem.

But to return to Mr. *Locke* ; 'tis very strange he should be able to write so much at so great an Age, and when his Health was so infirm, by Reason of the Indisposition of his Lungs. In 1697 he was obliged to go to *London* in very cold Weather, because the King desired to see him ; and that Journey made his Lungs much worse than

than ever they had been before: He was so bad, that for Three or Four Days, while he was in *London*, he could not lye down; and I remember, that in a Letter I receiv'd from him he told me he was reduced to a perfect *Orthopnæa*. *

He returned to *Oates* in so weak a Condition that he never recover'd his former Health. He said, that his Majesty (who was also Asthmatick) having heard of his Skill in Physic, desired to discourse with him about his own Disposition. And I remember I heard, a little while after, that Mr. *Locke* had advised the King to abstain from Wine, and all Foods that were heavy and clogging. But however, the King kept to his usual Manner of Living, tho' he signify'd to some of those who were near his Person that he had a high Esteem for Mr. *Locke*.

Some Years before his Death he apply'd himself entirely to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, and found so much Pleasure therein, that he was very much troubled he had not sooner apply'd his Mind to that Study: The World has seen the Fruits of these Labours in his *Reasonableness of Christianity*, of which we have already spoken, and which is one of the best Pieces that has been Publish'd this many Years on that Subject, and with that Design.

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Above

* A Difficulty of Breathing, when a Man can't fetch his Breath, but by holding his Neck upright.

Above a Year before his Death he grew so very Weak that he could not apply himself closely to any Thing, nor so much as write a Letter to a Friend without great Difficulty. Before he had always made use of his own Hand for whatever he had to write; and so having not used to Dictate, he could not employ an *Amanuensis* to ease himself: But tho' his Body grew weaker, he still kept his Good Humour; and if his Lungs would have permitted him to speak, his Conversation would have been as pleasant and entertaining as ever. A few Weeks before his Death he perceiv'd he should not live long, but yet he continued as Chearful and Pleasant as before; and when some Persons seem'd to wonder at it, he would say, *While we are alive let us live.*

The Study of the Holy Scriptures wrought in him a lively and sincere, tho' unaffected, Piety: Having not been able to go to Church for a considerable Time, he thought convenient some Months before he died to receive the Blessed Sacrament at Home according to a usual Practice of the Church of *England*; and Two of his Friends communicated with him. When the Minister had performed his Office, Mr. *Locke* told him, *That he was in perfect Charity with all Men, and in a sincere Communion with the Church of Christ, by what Name soever it might be distinguished.* He was a Man of too great Understanding to take the Sacrament as a Test of Schism or Party, which

which a great many ignorant Persons do, who, by Communicating with their own Church, condemn all other Christian Societies. He had a deep Sense of the Divine Wisdom, that discovers itself in those Methods God has taken in saving Men; and when he discoursed about it he could not forbear joining with the Apostle in the Exclamation, *Oh the Depths of the Riches and Wisdom of God.* And he was perswaded that all Persons would be of the same Mind who should read the Scriptures without Prejudice; and this Study he very frequently commended to those with whom he conversed towards the latter End of his Life. This Application to these Holy Writings had given him a more Noble and Compleat Idea of the Christian Religion than he had before; and if he had enjoy'd Strength enough to have begun any new Works, 'tis very likely he would have composed some on Purpose, to have impress'd this Great and Sublime Idea on the Minds of others in its full Extent.

Upon this Occasion Mr. *Watts* wrote as follows to *John Shute*, Esq; a Young Gentleman for whom Mr. *Locke* entertain'd a particular Esteem.

To JOHN SHUTE, Esq;

On Mr. LOCKE's Dangerous Sick-
ness some Time after he had re-
tir'd to Study the Scriptures.

I.

AND must the Man of wond'rous Mind,
(Now his Rich Thoughts are just refin'd)
Forsake our longing Eyes?

Reason at length submits to wear
The Wings of Faith, and lo they rear
Her Chariot high, and nobly bear
Her Prophet to the Skies.

II.

Go, Friend, and wait the Prophet's Flight,
Watch if his Mantle chance to light,
And seize it for thy own.

SHUTE is the Darling of his Years,
Young SHUTE his better Likeness bears;
All but his Wrinkles and his Hairs
Are copy'd in his Son.

III. Thus

III.

*Thus when our Follies or our Faults
Call for the Pity of thy Thoughts,
Thy Pen shall make us Wise,
The Sallies of whose Youthful Wit
Could pierce the British Fogs with Light,
Place our true Interest in our Sight,
And open half our Eyes.*

For some Weeks before his Death he could not walk, but was carried about the House in an armed Chair ; my Lady *Masbam* going to see him on the 27th of *October*, 1704, and not finding him in his Study where he us'd to be, but in Bed, seemed to wonder at that Alteration ; he told her he could not bear the Fatigue of rising, having weary'd himself too much with it the Day before, and that he did not know whether he should ever rise again : He could not Eat that Day ; and after Dinner some Persons who kept him Company went into his Chamber, and asked him if they should read something to divert him, but he refused it. However, some Papers being brought into his Chamber, he enquired what they were ; after they were read he said, *That his Work here was almost at an end, and he thanked God for it.* Thereupon
Some-

Somebody coming near his Bed, he desired *They would remember him in the Evening Prayers.* They told him, that if he pleased the Family would come to Prayers into his Chamber, to which he agreed. They asked him if he thought he was near Death, he answer'd, *That he might perhaps die that Night, but that he could not live above Three or Four Days.* He was then in a cold Sweat, but that left him in a little Time. He was asked to drink some Mum, a Liquor which he had drank with Pleasure the Week before, and which, as I have heard him say, he look'd upon to be the most wholesome of all Strong Drinks; he took some Spoonfuls then, and drank to the Health of the Company, *Wishing all of them Happiness when he should be gone;* afterwards there being nobody else in the Chamber but my Lady Masham, who sat by the Bed-side, he exhorted her *To look on this World only as a State of Preparation for a better;* he added, *That he had lived long enough, and that he thanked God he had enjoy'd an Happy Life; but that after all he look'd upon this Life to be nothing but Vanity.* After Supper the Family came up into his Chamber to Prayers, and between Eleven and Twelve a Clock he seem'd to be a little better. My Lady Masham would have watch'd with him, but he would not permit her, saying, *That perhaps he might sleep,* and that if he should find any Alteration he would send for her; he did not rest that Night, but resolved to try
to

to rise the next Day, which he did. He was carried into his Study, and was set in an Easie Chair, where he slept, by Fits, some considerable Time : Then thinking himself somewhat better, he had a mind to be Drest as usual, and asked for some Small-beer, which he used very seldom to taste ; after that he desired my Lady *Masham*, who was reading to herself in the *Psalms* while they Drest him, to read aloud, which accordingly she did, and he seemed very attentive, till he was hinder'd by the nearer Approaches of Death, upon which he desired her to read no more, and expir'd a few Minutes after, on the 28th of *October*, 1704, about Three in the Afternoon, in the 73d Year of his Age.

Thus died one of the greatest Philosophers of our Age, who, after he had made himself a perfect Master of almost all the Parts of Philosophy, and discover'd its greatest Secrets with uncommon Strength of Reason, and Correctness of Thought, happily turned his Studies to the Christian Religion, which he examin'd in its Original with the same Liberty he had used in his Study of other Sciences, and which he judg'd so reasonable and excellent an Institution, that he Dedicated the remainder of his Life to the Contemplation of it, and endeavour'd to raise in the Minds of others the same high Veneration he had for it himself ; and as he did not chuse a Religious Course of Life in a Fit of Discontent or ill Humour, so his Piety was neither tainted
with

with Melancholy nor Superstition. The same Light that guided him in his Philosophical Studies, directed him in explaining the *New-Testament*, and kindled in his Soul a Rational Piety, such as was worthy of him, who gave us our Reason for no other End, but that by which we might be assisted to make a good Use of Revelation, and who by revealing his Will, supposes we will imploy the Judgment and Understanding he has given us, in acknowledging, admiring, and following it.

'Tis needless for me here to attempt a Panegyrick on Mr. *Locke*, his Works, which are read in several Languages are a sufficient, and will be an eternal Monument of his vast Genius, penetrating Wit, and exact Judgment. I shall only insert a Character of him, which I receiv'd from a Considerable Person, to whom he was perfectly well known.

“ Mr. *Locke*, said she, (and I can bear
 “ Witness to her Evidence in a great
 “ Measure by what I have seen myself in
 “ *Holland*,) was a great Philosopher, and a
 “ fit Person to be employ'd in Affairs of the
 “ highest Importance. He understood the
 “ Politer Parts of Learning perfectly well,
 “ and was very Genteel and Engaging in his
 “ Conversation. He knew somewhat of all
 “ those Things that are of real Use to Man-
 “ kind, and was a perfect Master of what
 “ he had particularly studied. But yet he
 “ was

“ was not puff’d up by all this, nor ever
“ seem’d to have a better Opinion of himself
“ because of his Knowledge. No one was
“ farther from assuming a Magisterial Air,
“ or less positive in his Assertions; and
“ he was not in the least offended with
“ those that did not assent to his Opinions.
“ But he cou’d not bear with a sort
“ of Cavillers, who will not drop the Dispute
“ tho’ they have been often refuted,
“ and can only repeat the same Things. He
“ spake to such Persons sometimes with a
“ little Heat, but he himself wou’d first take
“ Notice of his being any ways moved.

“ In the most Considerable Affairs of Life,
“ as well in Matters of Speculation, he
“ was always ready to hear Reason from
“ whomsoever it came. He was indeed the
“ faithful Servant, nay, I may say, the devoted
“ Slave, of Truth, which he loved for
“ itself, and which no Consideration was ever
“ able to make him Desert.

“ He suited his Discourse to the meanest
“ Capacities; and in disputing with such
“ Persons he gave their Objections against
“ him the utmost Weight, not taking Advantage
“ of his Adversaries if they had
“ not expressed themselves so correctly as
“ they ought. He conversed very freely
“ and willingly with all Sorts of Persons,
“ endeavouring to learn something from
“ them: And this proceeded not only from
“ his genteel Education, but from his pro-
“ fessed

“ fessed Opinion, that some good Thing or
 “ other might be learned from any Person
 “ whatsoever. And by this Means he had
 “ attain’d to such a considerable Knowledge
 “ of several particular Arts and Sciences,
 “ that one would have thought he had made
 “ the Study of those Things a great Part of
 “ his Business. For even Tradesmen would
 “ ask his Advice, and were frequently in-
 “ structed by him in Things relating to their
 “ several Employments.

“ If there was any Thing that he cou’d
 “ not bear, ’twas ill Manners, which was in-
 “ deed very ungrateful to him, when he
 “ perceived it did not arise from want of
 “ Conversation, and Knowledge of the
 “ World, but from Pride, Ill-nature, Bru-
 “ tality, and other Vices of that Nature.
 “ Otherwise he was very far from despising
 “ any one though their Persons were
 “ never so mean. He look’d on Civi-
 “ lity to be not only something very agree-
 “ able and proper to win upon Men, but
 “ also a Duty of Christianity, and which
 “ ought to be more pressed, *and urged upon*
 “ *Men*, than it commonly is. He recom-
 “ mended on this Occasion a * Treatise writ-
 “ ten by the Gentlemen of the *Port-Royal*,
 “ *Concerning the Means to preserve Peace*
 “ *among Men*; and he very much admired
 “ some

* 'Tis Printed among the *Essays de Morale. de Port-Royal.*

“ some Sermons he heard from Dr. *Whitchcot*
“ on this Subject, and which are now
“ Printed.

“ His Conversation was very agreeable to
“ all Sorts of People, even to the Ladies
“ themselves; and no Person was more ci-
“ villy entertain'd than he by Persons of
“ the highest Quality. For if he had not
“ naturally those Qualifications that render
“ the Conversation of genteel and accom-
“ plish'd Persons more easie, free, and less
“ formal, than that of other Persons, yet he
“ had acquired them by his Acquaintance
“ with the World. And this recommend-
“ ed him so much the more, because Per-
“ sons who knew him not, did not expect
“ that Politeness in a Man so much given to
“ Study as he was. Those who were desi-
“ rous of his Conversation, to gain those
“ Things that might be expected in a Man of
“ his Learning, and accordingly address'd
“ him with great Respect, were surprized to
“ find in him not only the Civility of a
“ well educated Person, but even all the Po-
“ liteness that could be desired.

“ He spake very often against Raillery,
“ which indeed is the Nicest Point in Con-
“ versation, and of dangerous Consequence,
“ if not prudently managed. And yet no
“ Person rallied with a better Grace than
“ he; but he always took Care to say no-
“ thing offensive or prejudicial to any Man.
“ He knew how to give a pleasant and

“ agreeable Turn to every Thing he said.
“ If he rallied his Friends, it was either for
“ some inconsiderable Faults, or something
“ which ’twas for their Benefit to make
“ known. He was so extraordinary Civil,
“ that when he seem’d disposed to be Merry,
“ the Company was sure he was about to say
“ something to their *Advantage*. He never
“ ridicul’d the Natural Infirmities or Mis-
“ fortunes of any Person.

“ He was very Charitable to the Poor, ex-
“ cept such as were Idle or Prophane,
“ and spent the *Sunday* in the *Ale-houses*,
“ and went not to Church. But above
“ all, he did compassionate those, who
“ after they had labour’d as long as their
“ Strength wou’d hold were reduced to
“ Poverty. He said it was not enough to
“ keep them from starving, but that such a
“ Provision ought to be made for them that
“ they might live comfortably. Accordingly
“ he sought Occasions of doing Good to those
“ who deserved it; and often when he walk-
“ ed out he wou’d visit the Poor of the
“ Neighbourhood, and give them somewhat
“ to supply their Necessities, or buy the
“ Remedies which he prescribed them, if
“ they were Sick, and had no other Physi-
“ cian. He wou’d not let any useful Thing
“ be lost or wasted: He thought that was
“ to destroy those Good Things, of which
“ God has made us only Stewards: Accord-
“ ingly he kept good Orders, and took an
“ Account of every Thing. “ If

“ If he was subject to any Passion it was
“ Anger ; but he had made himself so much
“ Master of it by Reason, that it was very
“ rarely troublesome to himself or others.
“ No One could better expose that Pas-
“ sion, or make it appear more ridiculous,
“ than he. He would say it was of no Use,
“ either in the educating Children, or keeping
“ Servants in Order, but that it did indeed
“ make a Man lose his Authority. He was
“ very kind to his Servants, and would
“ take the Trouble to instruct them with a
“ great deal of Mildness in what Man-
“ ner he expected to be served by them.

“ He not only faithfully kept a Secret that
“ had been trusted with him, but would
“ never report any Thing that might preju-
“ dice the Person from whom he heard it,
“ tho’ his Silence had not been desired : Nor
“ did he ever bring his Friends into any In-
“ convenience thro’ his Inadvertency, or want
“ of Discretion.

“ He was very exact to his Word, and
“ religiously performed whatever he promis’d.
“ He was very scrupulous of giving Recom-
“ mendations of Persons whom he did not
“ well know ; and would by no means com-
“ mend those whom he thought did not
“ deserve it : If he was told that his Re-
“ commendations had not produc’d the Effect
“ expected, he would say, *The Reason of that*
“ *was, because he had never deceived any Person,*
“ *by saying more than he knew ; that he never*
“ *pass’d*

“ *pass'd his Word for any, but such as he*
 “ *believ'd would answer the Character he gave*
 “ *of them; and that if he should do otherwise*
 “ *his Recommendations would be worth nothing.*

“ His greatest Diversion was to discourse
 “ with Sensible Persons, of whose Conver-
 “ sation he was very desirous. He had all
 “ the good Qualities that could render his
 “ Friendship pleasant and agreeable. He
 “ would never Game, but out of Complai-
 “ sance; altho' being often in Company
 “ with those who used it, he could Play
 “ very well if he set about it; but he wou'd
 “ never propose it, for he said it was but an
 “ Amusement for those who wanted Conver-
 “ sation.

“ His Dress was Neat, without either Af-
 “ fection or Singularity.

“ He was naturally very Active, and em-
 “ ploy'd himself as much as his Health would
 “ permit. Sometimes he diverted himself
 “ with working in the Garden, which he
 “ very well understood. He loved walk-
 “ ing, but not being able to walk much thro'
 “ the Disorder of his Lungs, he used to
 “ Ride out after Dinner; and when he could
 “ not bear an Horse, in a Calash. He al-
 “ ways chose to have Company with him,
 “ tho' it were but a Child, for he took Plea-
 “ sure in talking with Children of a good
 “ Education.

“ The Weakness of his Health was a Di-
 “ sturbance to none but himself; and one
 “ might

“ might look on him without any other Con-
“ cern than that of seeing him suffer. He did
“ not differ from others in his Diet, but
“ only in that his ordinary Drink was no-
“ thing but Water, and he thought that was
“ the Means of Lengthening out his Life to
“ such an Age. Tho’ he was of so weak a
“ Constitution, and that it was to this
“ he owed the Preservation of his Eye-sight,
“ which was but little impaired when he
“ Died; for he could read by Candle-light
“ all Sorts of Books, if they were not of a
“ very small Print, and he never used Spe-
“ ctacles. He had no other Distemper but
“ his *Asthma*, excepting that Four Years be-
“ fore his Death he was very Deaf; but it
“ did not last above Six Months: His Deaf-
“ ness depriving him of the Pleasure of Con-
“ versation, in a Letter which he then wrote
“ to one of his Friends, he said, *he did not*
“ *know but it was better to be Blind than*
“ *Deaf*. Otherwise he bore up under his
“ Afflictions very Patiently.

This is a Picture of that Great Man,
drawn after the Life, and wherein he is not
at all flattered: I wish it were in my Power,
not only to make his Memory, but his Genius,
Immortal, by persuading all Students to
search after Truth, and to love and defend it,
as he has done: But the Reading of his Works
will effect that better than all the Praises I
can give him, or all the Arguments I can lay
before them. I

I shall only add, that several Books have been attributed to him, of which he was not the Author, particularly a small Treatise of *the Love of God*; this his Bookseller inform'd me was not his, but is generally believed to be wrote by the Lady *Masham*.

He left several Manuscripts behind him, which were soon Published after his Death by Sir *Peter King*, and *Anthony Collins*, Esq; whom he appointed his Executors, and to whom he gave his Library to be equally divided between them.

In 1705 came out in *Quarto* his Paraphrase and Notes upon St. *Paul's* Epistle to the *Galatians*, which was soon followed by those upon the *Corinthians*, *Romans*, and *Ephesians*; upon the Publication of which Mr *Watts* likewise wrote these Lines.

On Mr. LOCKE's *Annotations upon several Parts of the New-Testament.*

I.

THUS Reason learns by slow Degrees
 What Faith reveals, but still complains
 Of Intellectual Pains,
 And Darkneſs from the too Exuberant Light.
 The Blaze of thoſe Bright Myſteries
 Pour'd all at once on Nature's Eyes,
 Offend and Cloud her feeble Sight.

II.

Reason could scarce sustain to see
Th' Almighty One, th' Eternal Three,
Or bear the Infant Deity;
Scarce could her Pride descend to own
Her Maker stooping from his Throne,
And drest in Glories so unknown.
A Ransom'd World, a Bleeding God,
And Heaven appear'd with flowing Blood,
Were Themes too painful to be understood.

III.

Faith, thou Bright Cherub, speak and say,
Did ever Mind of Mortal Race
Cost thee more Toil or larger Grace
To melt and bend it to obey?
'Twas hard to make so Rich a Soul submit,
And lay her Shining Honours at thy Sovereign
[Feet.

IV.

*Sister of Faith, Fair Charity,
Shew me the wondrous MAN on High;
Tell how HE sees the Godhead Three in
The Bright Conviction fills his Eye, [One;
His Noblest Pow'rs in deep Prostration lye
At the Mysterious Throne.*

I 6c Forgive

- “ *Forgive, he cries, * ye Saints below,*
 “ *The wav’ring and the cold Assent*
 “ *I gave to Themes Divinely True ;*
 “ *Can you admit the Blessed to repent ?*
 “ *Eternal Darkness veil the Lines*
 “ *Of that unhappy Book,*
 “ *Where feeble Reason with false Lustre shines,*
 “ *Where the meer Mortal Pen mistook*
 “ *What the Celestial meant !*

In 1706 were Published in an Octavo Volume some Small Pieces, which the Editor informs us, “ *Are True and Genuine Remains*
 “ *of the Deceased Author ; but for the great-*
 “ *est Part received not his last Hand, being in*
 “ *a great Measure little more than sudden*
 “ *Views, intended to be afterwards revis’d, and*
 “ *farther looked into, but by Sickness, Inter-*
 “ *vention of Business, or Preferable Enquiries,*
 “ *happen’d to be thrust aside, and so lay neg-*
 “ *lected.* The Title of. them runs thus,
Posthumous Works of Mr. John Locke, viz.
 I. Of the Conduct of the Understanding.
 II. An Examination of P. Malebranche’s Opin-
 ion of seeing all Things in GOD. III. A Dis-
 course

* See Mr. Locke’s Annotations on Rom. 3. 25. and Para-
 phrase on Rom. 9. 5. which has inclin’d some Readers to
 doubt whether he was fully persuaded of the Deity and
 Satisfaction of Christ.

course of Miracles. IV. Part of a Fourth Letter for *Toleration*. V. Memoirs relating to the Life of *Anthony*, First Earl of *Shaftsbury*; to which is added his New Method of a Common-Place-Book, written Originally in *French*, as has been already related.

At the End of the Discourse of Miracles Mr. Locke added a Remarkable Note, which is as follows, (*These Thoughts concerning Miracles* (says he) *were occasioned by reading Mr. Fleetwood's * Essay on Miracles, and the Letter* || *writ to him on that Subject: The one of them defining a Miracle to be an Extraordinary Operation performable by God alone, and the other writing of Miracles without any Definition of a Miracle at all.*

In 1708 was Printed a Volume of Letters, 8vo, under the following Title, *Some Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke and several of his Friends*; in the Preface to which the Editor seems to promise a Second Volume, but as yet nothing more of this Kind has appeared.

In 1709 his Paraphrase and Notes upon St. Paul's Epistles were Collected into One Volume, *To which was prefixed, An Essay for the understanding of St. Paul's Epistles, by consulting St. Paul himself.*

I 2

I

* Now Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.

† That Letter is said to be written by Mr. Hoadly.

I shall close all with giving an exact Catalogue of his Works.

BOOKS written by Mr. JOHN LOCKE.

- I. An Essay concerning *Humane Understanding*. 2 Vol. 8vo.
- II. Two Treatises of *Government*; in the former the false Principles and Foundation of *Sir Robert Filmer* and his Followers are detected and overthrown. The latter an Essay concerning the true Original, Extent, and End, of Civil Government. 8vo.
- III. Three Letters concerning *Toleration*. 4to.
- IV. The *Reasonableness of Christianity*, as delivered in the Scriptures. 8vo. Also Two Vindications of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, from the Exceptions of Dr. Edwards, and others. 8vo.
- V. Some Thoughts concerning *Education*. 8vo, and 120.
- VI. Several Papers relating to *Money, Interest and Trade*. 8vo.
- VII. Letter to *Edward*, Lord Bishop of *Worcester*. 8vo.
- VIII. Reply to the Bishop of *Worcester's* Answer. 8vo.
- IX. Reply to the Bishop of *Worcester's* Answer to his Second Letter, where, besides other incident Matters, what his Lordship has said concerning Certainty of Reason, Certainty by Idea's, and Certainty of Faith,

Faith, the Resurrection of the same Body, the Immateriality of the Soul, the Inconsistency of Mr. *Locke's* Notions of the Articles of the Christian Faith, and their Tendency to Scepticism, is examined. 8vo.

X. A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. *Paul* to the *Galatians*, I and II *Corinthians*, *Romans*, *Ephesians*. To which is prefixed an Essay for the understanding of St. *Paul's* Epistles, by consulting St. *Paul* himself. 4to.

XI. Some Familiar Letters between Mr. *Locke* and several of his Friends. 8vo.

XII. Posthumous Works of Mr. *John Locke*. 8vo.

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most obedient, and

most devoted humble Servant,

G. J.

its most Affectionate Son &c.

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Council of War and Holland

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OF THE

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Joseph Addison Esq;

With an

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By her Ladyship's

most obedient and

most devoted humble Servant,

G. J.



THE
PREFACE.



HERE would have been no Occasion for a Preface to the following Memoirs, were it not for a malicious Libel which is lately got into Print, wherein the Author has darted his impotent Reflections at the Character of Mr. ADDISON.

This Libel, in a sportive Criticism on a Poem, (which indeed is an unguarded one, and by no Means equal to the Subject, or the other Works of the Author) publish'd by Dr. Young,
on

The P R E F A C E.

on Mr. ADDISON's Death, has an Infination, that Mr. ADDISON was the Writer of a Comedy, sometime since acted, entitled *The Drummer*; recommended by Sir R. S----: Now I could never learn, upon the strictest Enquiry, that he had any Hand in that Piece; on the contrary, I am inform'd, that a Gentleman now living, and possess'd of a publick Employment, is the Author of it: And I dare say all Persons, who are in the least acquainted with the Writings of Mr. ADDISON, will easily acquit him from having any Concern in that Performance.

If the Play had been his, it cannot be suppos'd it would have needed a Recommendation: And Mr. ADDISON's Reputation (establish'd on Merit) is not to be attack'd in an indecent Manner by every impertinent Pretender to Criticism. His Character and Writings will be defended against Envy and Detraction, as long as Learning

The P R E F A C E.

ing and Poetry are flourishing; and there is a Nobleman of the first Rank, the Protector of his Fame: A Nobleman who possesses all those Virtues which render a Person truly Great and Illustrious: For every Body will agree, that good Sense, fine Learning, polite Manners, the utmost Honour and Generosity, Integrity, Good-nature, and great Abilities, are highly conspicuous in the Earl of WARWICK.

This is all I have to observe by Way of Preface to the following Sheets; and I doubt not but the *Tickler*, who I find has the Talent of Calumny, will, in Time, be easily convinc'd of his Mistake.



MEMOIRS



MEMOIRS

Of the LIFE of the Right Honourable

Joseph Addison, Esq; &c.



PON the Death of any Person of distinguish'd Abilities, it is no more than natural for the World to expect some *MEMOIRS* of the-Deceas'd: His Life and Character are immediately enquir'd after; and the writing them is look'd upon as a Debt due to the Memory of a departed Friend, and also to all Persons of Merit.

These Considerations have prevail'd with me to attempt something in Behalf of the celebrated Mr. *ADDISON*, the most minute Circumstances of whose Life must afford a very pleasurable En-

B

tertainment

tertainment to the Reader: And tho' I confess I am unequal to the Task I have undertaken, yet, as I flatter my self I can give some Account of this Gentleman and his Writings, (an agreeable Curiosity) for his Honour and Reputation, I shall venture to communicate my *MEMOIRS* and *OBSERVATIONS* to the Publick.

And first I am to take Notice, that Mr. *ADDISON* was the Son of the Reverend Dr. *LANCELOT ADDISON*, Dean of *Litchfield*, a very learned and pious Divine. He was born in the Year 1671; and in his Infancy gave great Expectations of that Excellency of Literature and Genius, which afterwards distinguish'd him as the Glory and Ornament of the Age. For his Education, he was first plac'd to the *Charter-House* School, where he attain'd a Perfection in the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages, and from thence was remov'd to the University of *Oxford*.

Here he pursu'd his Studies with the utmost Diligence and Application, and took the Degree of *Master of Arts*, at *St. Mary Magdalen's* College. He was early taken Notice of for his great Progress in Learning, and Knowledge of all *Classical* Authors: His first Exercises were receiv'd with unusual Applause; and the great Delicacy of his Genius, Sweetness of his Manners, Fineness of his Breeding, and his extensive Good-nature, gain'd him an universal Esteem. He

He was honour'd with the Friendship of the politeſt Perſons in the Univerſity, who were ſoon ſenſible of his ſhining Merit. His abounding Modeſty and Humility recommended him to all good Men, and his uncommon Proficiency in ancient and modern Literature made him the moſt acceptable Companion to the Learned. His Sincerity was great and conſpicuous, and as he always deteſted Flattery, ſo he carefully avoided ill-natur'd Satire.

If the Heat of his Youth carry'd him to any Exceſſes, they were very few. No Man ever obſerv'd a better OEconomy of Life than he did from his very Youth; yet his Conduct was far from diſpleaſing Perſons of the moſt libertine Principles: His ſuperior Senſe and Good-manners were their Admiration, and his Good-nature prevalent even with his very Enemies; and his great Humanity they were pleas'd with who did not follow his Example.

He was the Delight and Darling of the Univerſity, courted by every Body, admir'd and imitated by the beſt, but equall'd by few. He was endow'd with all thoſe Virtues on which the Happineſs of Life and Pleaſure of Society depend: His Converſation was ſo engaging, that they who had once taſted it, would deſire no other. His Addreſſes were very taking, and whatever he ſaid in publick or private was ac-

company'd with the greatest Strength of Reason, and all the Graces of Wit.

At *Oxford* he wrote his excellent *Latin* Poems, publish'd in the *Musæ Anglicanæ*: These he dedicated to that great Patron and Encourager of polite Learning, the late Earl of *Hilifax*, who knew the Worth of those admirable Performances, and how to set a Value upon their Author equal to his Merit, which he particularly shew'd by his Friendship to Mr. *ADDISON* ever after. But his greatest Patron was the Lord Keeper *Somers*, who, on his writing a Poem to King *William*, procur'd him a Pension of 300*l. per Ann.* from that Prince, to enable him to travel into *Italy* and other polite Parts of the World.

Now, by a Royal Encouragement, he commenc'd his Travels, and was no less admir'd Abroad than at Home. *Rome* saw one of the finest Gentlemen *England* has bred, with Pleasure, and paid him the Respect which was his Due. The Improvement he made in his Travels is demonstrable from his *Remarks upon several Parts of Italy*, dedicated to the Lord *Somers*. He has given the most beautiful Descriptions of Countries, Antiquities, Rarities, &c. and the best Observations on the Manners, Politics, Religion, &c. of the People, that ever were communicated to the World:
And

And the Advantages to be attain'd by travelling into those Parts, are finely illustrated in his *Preface*.

‘ There is certainly no Place in the
 ‘ World’ (says Mr. *ADDISON*) where a
 ‘ Man may Travel with greater Pleasure
 ‘ and Advantage than in *Italy*. One finds
 ‘ something more particular in the Face
 ‘ of the Country, and more astonishing
 ‘ in the Works of Nature, than can be
 ‘ met with in any other Part of *Europe*.
 ‘ It is the great School of Musick and
 ‘ Painting, and contains in it all the no-
 ‘ blest Productions of Statuary and Archi-
 ‘ tecture both Ancient and Modern. It
 ‘ abounds with Cabinets of Curiosities,
 ‘ and vast Collections of all Kinds of
 ‘ Antiquities. No other Country in the
 ‘ World has such a Variety of Govern-
 ‘ ments, that are so different in their Con-
 ‘ stitutions, and so refin’d in their Poli-
 ‘ ticks. There is scarce any Part of the
 ‘ Nation that is not Famous in History,
 ‘ nor so much as a Mountain or River
 ‘ that has not been the Scene of some
 ‘ extraordinary Action.

This general Account of *Italy* Mr. *ADDISON* gives in his Remarks upon that Country: And in his *Letter from Italy to the Lord Halifax*, he has these Lines,

For

For wheresoe'er I turn my raviſh'd Eyes,
Gay gilded Scenes and ſhining Proſpects riſe,
Poetick Fields encompaſs me around,
And ſtill I ſeem to tread on Claffick Ground:
For here the Muſe ſo oft her Harp has ſtrung,
That not a Mountain rears its Head unſung;
Renown'd in Verſe each ſhady Thicket grows,
And ev'ry Stream in Heav'nly Numbers flows.

His Poetical Description is farther continu'd in his Wish, which follows in the same Poem:

*Bear me some God to Baja's gentle Seats,
Or cover me in Umbria's green Retreats;
Where ev'n rough Rocks with tender Myrtle
[bloom,
And trodden Weeds send out a rich Perfume.
Where Western Gales eternally reside,
And all the Seasons lavish all their Pride,
Blossoms, and Fruits, and Flowers together rise,
And the whole Year in gay Confusion lies.*

He return'd from *Italy* a most accomplish'd Gentleman, and was immediately carefs'd by some of the greatest Persons in the Kingdom, particularly his noble Friends the Lords *Somers* and *Halifax*, by whose Interest and his great Merit, he was made one of the Commissioners of Appeals in the Excise; and, applying himself to Business, it was not long before

fore he had conferr'd on him more eminent Employments.

For he was Under-Secretary to two Secretaries of State, and Secretary of State in *Ireland* under two Lords Lieutenants: The last whereof was the Earl of *Wharton*, with whom he laid the Foundation of his future Fortune: Then 'twas he was first chosen Member of Parliament for *Malmsbury* in the County of *Wilts*. Upon the Demise of the late Queen, he was made Secretary to the Regency; and, since his Majesty's Accession to the Throne, he was preferr'd to be one of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, from whence he was advanc'd to be one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

In all these publick Stations and Trusts he gain'd a wonderful Applause. His great Vivacity, Penetration, Learning, and Observations, render'd him perfectly Master of the most important Business of the State; neither was he wanting in Dispatch, which he did with that Facility, that, in many Cases, what was a Pleasure to him, was almost insuperable to others.

He gave a Lustre to the Places he enjoy'd, and the great Personages he had the Honour to serve: He manag'd his greatest Charge with known Ability; and resign'd it only on Account of his Health,
which

which it was a publick Misfortune he was ever without. If any Objection has been made to his Character, it has proceeded from over-much Modesty, a Fault easily to be forgiven.

Before he was preferr'd to be Secretary of State, he was marry'd to the Countess of *Warwick*; and 'tis no Wonder that a Man of his universal Accomplishments, and fine Person, should be particularly taken Notice of by a Lady of the first Rank, not only for Quality, but for Beauty and Virtue. Her Ladyship found a Happiness in him, seldom to be met with in Alliances with Nobility. He made a most affectionate and endearing Husband; nor was his Behaviour without suitable Returns from his noble Partner: And the mutual Happiness they enjoy'd is admirably describ'd in these Verses, (address'd to the Countess) on their Marriage, by Mr. *Tickell*.

WARWICK! to whom is due alone,
The Heart, and Verse, of ADDISON;
Whate'er was wrote of Thee to Him,
Must seem below the Glorious Theme;
To Faults tho' mercifully blind,
Tho' Candour sways his Gen'rous Mind;
No Vulgar Muse thy Praise must tell,
To One who Sings and Loves so well.

Then

Then give the Word — At thy Desire,
 His Hand to Thee shall strike the Lyre;
 To distant Times transmit thy Name,
 And pay thy Love with deathless Fame.
 No less than deathless Fame he owes,
 For all the Bliss thy Love bestows.
 E'er Troy was built, a hundred Dames
 Set the contending World in Flames,
 And ruin'd Empires with their Eyes,
 Whose Story now forgotten lies.
 A Helen, by great Homer's Care,
 Now seems the first that e'er was Fair.
 In all her Charms the Nymph appears,
 Unfully'd in three thousand Years.
 The Sun himself, and starry Throng,
 Have glitter'd only twice as long.
 Like Fate thy lasting Name shall bless,
 The Poet and the Theme no less:
 Thy matchless Truth and Form divine,
 Thro' many a circling Age shall shine;
 And future Bards their flatter'd Fair,
 To Venus, or to Thee compare.
 Of Right may'st thou the Task impose,
 To whom his boasted Fame he owes.
 Oft as on Britain's crowded Stage
 He ravish'd and reform'd the Age,
 We thought each Heroine there design'd,
 The Work of his inventive Mind:
 But now the Secret we descry;
 Ask, if he dares the Theft deny.
 From Thee he copy'd Martia's Soul,
 And Rosamonda's Beauty stole.

*So when an Angel's Form to grace,
Some Maid to Thornhill lends her Face,
From Heav'n we think th' Idea came,
Nor guess he meant a mortal Dame.*

*But why should I, in lowly Lays,
Relate his known, his meanest Praise?
WARWICK! sole Pleasure of his Breast!
Like thee, was ever Woman blest?
To whom in Nuptial Bands are join'd,
The greatest Heart, the greatest Mind:
From Vice no less than Error free,
And true to Honour, as to thee.
Just Heav'n, that long with Pleasure saw
How firm he kept to Virtue's Law,
Thy Beauty for his Arms prepar'd,
And gives him now his full Reward.*

I now come to Mr. ADDISON's Talents, and a particular Account of his Writings. He was a Man of an extraordinary Genius, his Fancy flowing, his Wit abundant, and his Thoughts great, noble, and elevated: His Style is elegant, his Diction refin'd, and his Reason strong and exalted. In several of his Writings he shew'd the full and lofty Writer, and came up to Horace's Description.

—— Cui mens Divinior, atque os
Magna sonaturum. ———

He

He was equally happy in his Choice of Subjects as in his Election of Words; both were judicious, pure, and blameless: And though *Cowley* says, that Poets are scarce thought Freemen of their Company, without paying some Duties to Love; sooner or later they must all pass through that Tryal, like *Mahometan* Monks, that are bound by their Order, once at least in their Life, to make a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*.

In furias ignemq; ruunt; Amor omnibus idem.

And 'tis very natural to Poets to give themselves a Loose on this Subject; yet this Gentleman has depainted the Passion of Love, in the most lively Manner, in Lines of the strictest Modesty and Decency.

His Pieces, as they are generally writ in the Cause of Virtue, are, like Virtue, lasting, and will with that only dye: His Genius would, with great Ease, turn to any Kind of Writing, like the finest Gold which is most malleable: His Images are strong and lively, his Metaphors bright and beautiful: His Learning, like the Sun, shines through all, and he has no Cloud of Obscenity.

Read him and admire him; admire him once, and you'll admire him farther; your Curiosity, like a Miser's of his Coin, but with more substantial Pleasure, will not be satisfy'd 'till you have examin'd his

Store : And, as upon a Hill, where you see a fine Vale adorn'd with delightful Objects, you are willing to attain the utmost Ascent for the Increase of Prospect, so in reading Mr. *ADDISON*, you read on 'till you have gone through him, and observ'd his Excellencies and great Perfections. His Works are the following, *viz.*

I. *Pax Gulielmi Auspiciis Europæ red-dita. The Peace of Reswick.* Dedicated to the Honourable *Charles Mountague, Esq;* (afterwards Earl of *Halifax*). As a late * Author has observ'd, this is an incomparable Piece ; the Images are chosen with a nice Judgment, work'd up with a Delicacy of Imagination, and plac'd in the strongest Light. Every Thing strikes at the first View, and yet will bear the strictest Eye to re-examine it : The Descriptions, being both just and surprizing, put the Mind upon the full Stretch as they are preparing, and exceed the boldest Expectations when finish'd. This Poem begins,

*Postquam ingens clamôrq, virûm, strepitusq;
(tubarum,
Atq, omnis belli cecidit fragor ; Aspice, Cæsar,
Quæ tibi solliciti, turba importuna, Poëtæ
Munera*

* See the Preface to the Translations of Mr. Addison's Latin Poems.

*Munera deducunt : generosæ à pectore flammæ,
Diræq; Armorum effigies, simulacrâq; belli
Tristia diffugiant : O tandem absiste triumphis
Expletus, penitusq; animo totum excute Martem.*

*When now the Tumult of the Battle dies,
No Shouts the Earth, no Trumpets wake the
(Skies ;
Accept, great Leader, what the pious Throng,
(Less dreadful Musick, and a softer Song)
To sooth the Vengeance of thy Soul inspire,
And ease thy Bosom of its restless Fire.
Let Wars no more, all Nature hush'd to rest,
Nor Scenes of Ruin roll within thy Breast ;
No Schemes of Death, delightful to thy Eyes,
Swell in thy Thoughts, and charm Thee as they
(rise :
Already Fam'd, the Chace of Fame give o'er,
Nor, dark with Lawrels, shade thy Brows
(with more.*

II. *Resurrectio delineata ad Altare Coll.*
Magd. Oxon. This is a noble Piece, drawn
after the Painter with a masterly Hand ;
and the finest Sketch of the Resurrection
that any Age or Language has produc'd.
The Poem, according to the Translator,
is a beautiful and succinct Epitome of all
that has or can ever be said on that im-
portant Subject, the very Text which
the ingenious Dr. Young has so largely
and elegantly paraphras'd upon, in his
excellent Poem on the *Last Day*.

This

*The various Joints resume their ancient Seats,
And ev'ry Limb its former Task repeats.
Here on the guilty Brow pale Horrors glare —*

III. *Ad Insignissimum Virum D. Tho. Bur-*
nettum, Sacræ Theoriæ Telluris Autorem.
In this Ode is beautifully express'd the
general Conflagration by Fire ;

*And now the kindling Orbs on high
All Nature's mournful End proclaim ;
When thy great Work (alas !) must die,
And feed the rich victorious Flame ;
Give Vigour to the wasting Fire,
And with the World too soon expire.*

*While Rocks from melting Mountains flow,
And roll in Streams through Vales below.*

IV. *Ad D. D. Hannes, Insignissimum Me-*
dicum & Poetam. These Odes are writ-
ten in the true Spirit of *Horace* ; and to-
wards the Conclusion of this to *Dr. Han-*
nes, are these admirable Lines.

*One certain Fate by Heav'n decreed,
In Spite of thee we all must try —*

*Thou too shalt with pale Horrour see
The fabled Ghosts which glare below,
Which to the Shades, restrain'd by Thee,
In thinner Shoals descending, flow,
And Death, whose Power you now defy,
Shall boast, her Conqueror can Die.*

His

*His Life alone is greatly blest,
 Whom no intruding Griefs annoy ;
 Who smiles each happy Day, possess'd
 Of chearful Ease and harmless Joy :
 Nor sadly soothing his own Cares,
 Augments himself the Weight he bears.*

*Pleas'd, with a few select'd Friends,
 He views each smiling Ev'ning close ;
 While each succeeding Morn ascends,
 Charg'd with Delights unmark'd with Woes :
 In Pleasures, innocently gay,
 Wears the Remains of Life away.*

V. *Barometri Descriptio.* This is a fine Philosophical Poem, describing the Effects of the Air on that wonderful Instrument with great Exactness, as well as in the most beautiful Poetry.

*This wond'rous Glass a thousand Truths
 (displays,
 And all the Secrets of the Skies betrays.
 By this the Face of Heav'n is justly shown ;
 The Changes told, and all the Seasons known.
 This tells you when to trust a loose Attire,
 And warns you when to hope a Winter Fire.*

VI. *Sphæristerium.* *The Bowling Green.* This Poem contains an admirable Description of the noble Diversion of Bowling, and the various Humours of the Green ; which are express'd in these Lines.

The

*The Leader poises in his Hand the Bowl,
 And gently Launches to the distant Goal :
 The current Orb prolongs its circling Course,
 'Till by Degrees it loses all its Force.
 When now another o'er the Level bounds,
 And Orb succeeding Orb the Block surrounds :
 Scatter'd they lie, and barricade the Green,
 That scarce a single Bowl can pass between.
 When now with better Skill, and nicer Care,
 The dext'ous Youth renews the wooden War;
 And studious the contiguous Globes to part,
 He summons all his Strength and all his Art ;
 Th'exerted Vigour of his Nerves applies,
 And rapid from his Arm the brandish'd Engine
 (flies.*

VII. *Machinae Gesticulantes.* The Puppet
 Show. This Piece and the Battle of the
 Pygmies and Cranes, are of the Mock-
 Heroic Kind of Poetry; the Subjects, (in
 Imitation of *Virgil*) mean and trivial, but
 rais'd to the Heroic by a Pomp of Verse,
 Metaphors, Allusions, and Similes, drawn
 from Things of a higher Class, and such
 as are suited by Nature to convey *Ideas*
 of Greatness to the Mind. This Poem
 begins, in the Translation, thus :

*Of trivial Things I sing, surprizing Scenes,
 Crowds void of Thought, and Nations in
 (Machines.*

A Race diminutive ———

D

And

*And now the speaking Tribe proceeding roams
O'er painted Mansions, and illustrious Domes.
Within this humble Cell, this narrow Wall,
Assemblies, Battels, Conquests, Triumphs, All
That Human Minds can Act, or Pride Survey,
On their low Stage, the little Nation play.*

VIII. ΠΥΓΜΑΙΟ-ΓΕΡΑΝΟ-MAXIA, *five,*
Prælium inter Pygmæos & Grues commissum.
The Scene of Action in this Piece is laid
in *India*. The Original begins :

*Pennatas acies, & lamentabile bellum
Pygmeadum refero ; parvas tu, Musa, cohortes
Instrue : tu gladios, mortemque minantia rostra,
Offensosque Grues, indignantesque pusillam
Militiam celebra ; volucrumque hominumque
(tumultus.*

In the Translation thus :

*The feather'd Warriors, and the Pigmy State,
Record, O Muse ! Their Battels, and their Fate.
Sing their great Wars, and as their Troops
Engage,
Guide the low Heroes, and direct their Rage.
Here Swords all flaming for the Fight display ;
There Beaks as vengeful, and as keen as they :
Dreadfully mingling in one lofty Strain
The Pygmies Courage, and the Foes disdain.
While Birds and Men in direful Conflicts try
The Earth's Command, and Empire of the Sky.*
IX.

IX. *Dissertatio de Insignioribus Romanorum Poetis.* This Piece contains excellent Characters of and Remarks upon the most celebrated Roman Poets.

These are the *Latin Pieces* of Mr. ADDISON, lately collected, with their Translations by several Hands, in one Volume, 8vo. printed for E. Curll.

I now come to the *English Works* of this Gentleman.

X. *A Poem to his Majesty King William III.* Presented to the Lord Keeper Somers in the Year 1695. This was his first Attempt in English Verse of a publick Nature, and by the Friendship of the Lord Somers it met with the greatest Success, as I have already observ'd. It has these Lines in Compliment to King William.

*The Race of Nassau was by Heav'n design'd,
To curb the proud Oppressors of Mankind,
To bind the Tyrants of the Earth with Laws,
And fight in ev'ry injur'd Nation's Cause;
The World's great Patriots; they for Justice call,
And as they favour, Kingdoms rise or fall.*

In another Place speaking of our Victories at Sea, the Author praises Admiral Russel (now Earl of Orford) and the Duke of Ormond.

Here

*Here Ruffel's Actions should my Muse require;
 And would my Strength but second my Desire,
 I'd all his boundless Bravery rehearse,
 And draw his Cannons thund'ring in my Verse:
 High on the Deck shou'd the great Leader stand,
 Wrath in his Look, and Lightning in his Hand;
 Like Homer's Hector, when he flung his Fire
 Amidst a Thousand Ships, and made all
 (Greece retire.*

*But who can Ormond's God-like Acts refuse,
 Ormond, the Theme of ev'ry Oxford Muse!
 Fain would I here his mighty Worth proclaim;
 Attend him in the noble Chace of Fame,
 Through all the Noise and Hurry of the Fight;
 Observe each Blow, and keep him still in Sight.
 O, did our British Peers thus court Renown,
 And grace the Coats their great Fore-fathers
 (won,
 Our Arms would then triumphantly advance,
 Nor Henry be the last that Conquer'd France!*

XI. *A Letter from Italy, to the Right Honourable Charles Lord Halifax, in the Year 1701. This Poem has the finest Description of Italy that ever was writ, intermix'd with the justest Reflections, particularly with Relation to Liberty, where the Poet thus expresses himself:*

*How has kind Heav'n adorn'd the happy Land,
 And scatter'd Blessings with a wasteful Hand!
 But*

*But what avail her unexhausted Stores,
Her blooming Mountains, and her sunny Shores,
With all the Gifts that Heav'n and Earth im-*

*(part,
The Smiles of Nature, and the Charms of Art,
While proud Oppression in her Vallies reigns,
And Tyranny Usurps her happy Plains ?*

*The poor Inhabitant beholds in Vain
The redd'ning Orange and the swelling Grain :
Foyless he sees the growing Oils and Wines,
And in the Myrtle's fragrant Shade repines :
Starves in the midst of Nature's Bounty curst,
And in the laden Vineyard Dies for Thirst.*

*O Liberty, thou Goddess Heav'nly bright,
Profuse of Bliss, and pregnant with Delight,
Eternal Pleasures in thy Presence reign,
And smiling Plenty leads thy wanton Train !
Eas'd of her Load, Subjection grows more light,
And Poverty looks chearful in thy Sight ;
Thou mak'st the gloomy Face of Nature gay,
Giv'st Beauty to the Sun, and Pleasure to the Day.*

*Thee, Goddess, Thee Britannia's Isle adores ;
How has she oft exhausted all her Stores,
How oft in Fields of Death thy Presence sought ;
Nor thinks the mighty Prize too dearly bought.
On foreign Mountains may the Sun refine
The Grapes soft Juice, and mellow it to Wine ;
With Citron Groves adorn a distant Soil,
And the fat Olive swell with Floods of Oil :
We envy not the warmer Clime that lies
In ten Degrees of more indulgent Skies,*

Nor

*Nor at the Coarseness of our Heav'n repine,
 That o'er our Heads the frozen Pleiads shine :
 'Tis Liberty that crowns Britannia's Isle,
 And makes her barren Rocks and her bleak
 (Mountains smile.*

XII. *The Campaign. A Poem. To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough.* This is an excellent Piece, and indeed the best of Mr. ADDISON's Performances in English Poetry. His Description of the Battle of *Blenheim* is admirable ; he begins with moderate Fire, and encreases gradually, 'till he arrives at the Summit of Poetical Fury, but without the least Rant or offensive Harshness : And his Metaphors, and Similes, which are many, are surprizingly beautiful, as appears by the following Lines.

*But, O my Muse, what Numbers wilt thou
 (find
 To sing the furious Troops in Battle join'd !
 Methinks I hear the Drums tumultuous Sound
 The Victor's Shouts and Dying Groans confound,
 The dreadful Burst of Cannon rend the Skies,
 And all the Thunder of the Battle rise.
 'Twas then great Marlbro's mighty Soul was
 (prov'd,
 That, in the Shock of charging Hosts unmov'd,
 Amidst Confusion, Horror, and Despair,
 Examined all the dreadful Scenes of War ;
 In peaceful Thought the Field of Death survey'd,
 To fainting Squadrons sent the timely Aid.
 Inspir'd*

*Inspir'd repuls'd Batallions to engage,
And taught the doubtful Battle where to rage.*

*So when an Angel by divine Command
With rising Tempests shakes a guilty Land,
Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,
Calm and serene he drives the furious Blast;
And pleas'd th' Almighty's Orders to perform,
Rides in the Whirlwind, and directs the Storm.*

And farther, he describes the Defeat of the French Army, and their Flight to the Danube.

*The Rout begins, the Gallic Squadron run,
Compell'd in Crouds to meet the Fate they shun;
Thousandsof fiery Steeds with Wounds transfix'd
Floating in Gore, with their dead Masters mix'd,
Midst Heaps of Spears and Standards driv'n*

*(around,
Lye in the Danube's bloody Whirlpools
(drown'd.*

*Troops of bold Youths, born on the distant Soan,
Or sounding Borders of the rapid Rhone,
Or where the Seine her flow'ry Fields divides,
Or where the Loire through winding Vineyards
(glides;*

*In Heaps the rolling Billows sweep away,
And into Scythian Seas their bloated Corps
(convey.*

*From Blenheim's Tow'rs the Gaul, with
(wild Affright,
Beholds the various Havock of the Fight;
His*

*His waving Banners, that so oft had stood,
Painted in Fields of Death and Streams of
(Blood.*

*While Marlbro' presses to the bold Attack;
Scar'd at his near Approach, Great Louis fears
Vengeance reserv'd for his declining Years,
Forgets his Thirst of Universal Sway,
And scarce can teach his Subjects to obey;
His Arms he finds on vain Attempts employ'd,
Th' ambitious Projects for his Race destroy'd;
The Work of Ages sunk in one Campaign,
And Lives of Millions sacrific'd in vain.*

XIII. *An Account of the English Poets.* This Poem includes Chaucer, Spenser, Cowley, Milton, Waller, Dryden, Lord Halifax, and others, the greatest of our English Bards. The Character of Mr. Dryden and Mr. Congreve are interwoven, and thus describ'd:

*But see where artful Dryden next appears,
Grown old in Rhime, but charming ev'n in Years.
Great Dryden next! whose tuneful Muse
(affords*

*The sweetest Numbers, and the fittest Words.
Whether in Comick Sounds or Tragick Airs
She forms her Voice, she moves our Smiles or
(Tears.*

*If Satire or Heroick Strains she writes,
Her Heroe pleases, and her Satire bites.
From her no harsh, unartful Numbers fall,
She wears all Dresses, and she Charms in all:
How*

How might we fear our English Poetry,
That long has flourish'd, should decay with Thee,
Did not the Muses other Hope appear,
Harmonius Congreve, and forbid our Fear,
Congreve! whose Fancy's unexhausted Store
Has given already much, and promis'd more.
Congreve shall still preserve thy Fame alive,
And Dryden's Muse shall in his Friend revive.

XIV. *To Mr. Dryden. A Poem.* This Piece is chiefly in Praise of Mr. Dryden's Translations. It begins,

How long, Great Poet, shall thy sacred Lays
Provoke our Wonder, and transcend our Praise,
Can neither Injuries of Time nor Age,
Damp thy Poetick Heat and quench thy Rage?
Not so thy Ovid in his Exile wrote,
Grief chill'd his Breast, and checkt his rising
(Thought,
Pensive and Sad, his drooping Muse betrays
The Roman Genius in its last Decays.

Prevailing Warmth has still thy Mind possess'd,
And second Youth is kindled in thy Breast;
Thou mak'st the Beauties of the Romans known,
And England boasts of Riches not her own;
Thy Lines have heighten'd Virgil's Majesty,
And Horace wonders at himself in Thee.
Thou teachest Persius to inform our Isle
In smoother Numbers, and a clearer Stile;
And Juvenal, instructed in thy Page,
Edges his Satire, and improves his Rage.

E

Thy

*Thy Copy casts a fairer Light on all,
And still outshines the bright Original.*

XV. *An Ode for St. Cecilia's Day, at Oxford.* The Author calls this a Song, I presume on Account of its Shortness; but the Words are extremely fine, well adapted to the Day, and exactly fitted for Musick. The Chorus is very transporting.

*Let all Cecilia's Praise proclaim,
Employ the Echo in her Name.
Hark how the Flutes and Trumpets raise,
At bright Cecilia's Name, their Lays;
The Organ labours in her Praise.
Cecilia's Name does all our Numbers grace;
From ev'ry Voice the tuneful Accents fly,
In soaring Trebles now it rises high,
And now it sinks, and dwells upon the Base.
Cecilia's Name through all the Notes we sing,
The Work of ev'ry skilful Tongue,
The Sound of ev'ry trembling String,
The Sound and Triumph of our Song.*

*Musick religious Heats inspires,
It wakes the Soul, and lifts it high,
And wings it with sublime Desires,
And fits it to bespeak the Deity.
Th' Almighty listens to a tuneful Tongue,
And seems well pleas'd, and courted with a*
(Song.

*Soft moving Sounds, and Heav'nly Airs,
Give Force to ev'ry Word, and recommend our*
(Pray'rs.
When

*When Time itself shall be no more,
 And all Things in Confusion hurl'd,
 Musick shall then exert its Pow'r,
 And Sound survive the Ruins of the World :
 Then Saints and Angels shall agree
 In one Eternal Jubilee :
 All Heav'n shall Echo with their Hymns Divine,
 And God himself with Pleasure see,
 The whole Creation in a Chorus join.*

C H O R U S.

*Consecrate the Place and Day,
 To Musick and Cecilia.
 Let no rough Winds approach, nor dare
 Invade the hallow'd Bounds,
 Nor rudely shake the tuneful Air,
 Nor spoil the fleeting Sounds.
 Nor mournful Sigh nor Groan be heard,
 But Gladness dwell on ev'ry Tongue ;
 Whilst all, with Voice and Strings prepar'd,
 Keep up the loud harmonious Song,
 And imitate the Blest above,
 In Joy, and Harmony, and Love.*

XVI. Milton's *Stile imitated, in a Translation of a Story out of the Third Æneid.*

XVII. *A Translation of all Virgil's Fourth Georgick, except the Story of Aristeus. In this, and all his other Translations Mr. ADDISON has been very happy, and sufficiently Shun his great Learning.*

XVIII. Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, the *Second Book*; *Part of the Sixth*, &c.

XIX. *On the Lady Manchester*.

XX. *To her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, with the Tragedy of Cato*. This Poem begins with these Lines :

*The Muse that oft, with sacred Raptures fir'd,
Has gen'rous Thoughts of Liberty inspir'd,
And, boldly rising for Britannia's Lates,
Engag'd great Cato in her Country's Cause,
On you submissive waits ; with Hopes assur'd,
By whom the mighty Blessing stands secur'd,
And all the Glories that our Age adorn,
Are promis'd to a People yet unborn.*

*No longer shall the widow'd Land bemoan
A broken Lineage, and a doubtful Throne ;
But boast her Royal Progeny's Increase,
And count the Pledges of her future Peace.
O Born to strengthen and to grace our Isle !
While you, fair Princess, in your Offspring smile,
Supplying Charms to the succeeding Age,
Each heav'nly Daughter's Triumphs we pre-
(sage ;
Already see th' Illustrious Youths complain,
And pity Monarchs doom'd to sigh in vain.*

*Mean-while, bright Princess, wha with
(graceful Ease,
And native Majesty, art form'd to please,
Behold*

*Behold those Arts with a propitious Eye,
That suppliant to their great Protectress fly !
Then shall they Triumph, and the British Stage
Improve her Manners, and refine her Rage,
More noble Characters expose to View,
And draw her finish'd Heroines from You.*

XXI. *To Sir Godfrey Kneller, on his Majesty's Picture.* This is an admirable Poem ; and, after a general Description of the Picture, the Author proceeds thus to Kneller ;

*The Magick of thy Art calls forth
His Secret Soul and Hidden Worth,
His Probity and Mildness shows,
His Care of Friends, and Scorn of Foes :
In ev'ry Stroke, in ev'ry Line,
Does some exalted Virtue shine,
And Albion's Happiness we trace
Through all the Features of his Face.*

Lower, observing that Sir Godfrey had drawn several other Kings :

*Thou hast in Robes of State array'd,
The Kings of half an Age display'd.*

*Here Swarthy Charles appears, and there
His Brother with dejected Air :
Triumphant Nassau here we find,
And with him bright Maria join'd ;
There*

*There Anna Great, as when she sent
 Her Armies through the Continent,
 E'er yet her Hero was disgrac'd :
 O may fam'd BRUNSWICK be the last,
 (Though Heav'n should with my Wish agree,
 And long preserve thy Art in Thee)
 The Last, the Happiest British King,
 Whom Thou shalt Paint, or I shall sing.*

And towards the Conclusion the Poet
 assembles the Deities :

*Great Pan, who wont to chace the Fair,
 And lov'd the spreading Oak, was there ;
 Old Saturn too, with up-cast Eyes
 Beheld his Abdicated Skies ;
 And mighty Mars, for War renown'd,
 In Adamantine Armour frown'd ;
 By him the childless Goddess rose,
 Minerva, studious to compose
 Her twisted Threads ; the Web she strung,
 And o'er a Loom of Marble hung :
 Thetis, the troubled Ocean's Queen,
 Match'd with a Mortal, next was seen,
 Reclining on a Fun'ral Urn,
 Her short-liv'd Darling Son to mourn.
 The last was He, whose Thunder slew
 The Titan-Race, a Rebel Crew,
 That from a Hundred Hills ally'd,
 In impious Leagues, their King defy'd.*

*This Wonder of the Sculptor's Hand
 Produc'd, his Art was at a Stand :*

For

*For who would hope New Fame to raise,
Or risque his well-establish'd Praise,
That, his high Genius to approve,
Had Drawn a GEORGE, or Carv'd a Jove!*

XXII. ROSAMOND. *An Opera.* Inscrib'd to her Grace the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*, and perform'd at the Queen's Theatre in the *Hay-Market*, in the Year 1702. This Piece for Beauty of Diction exceeds any *English* Performance of the Kind, but it had the Misfortune to be ill ſet to Muſick, which hinder'd the Succeſs it would otherwiſe have found in the Representation; tho' it was nevertheless receiv'd with good Applauſe. The Scene is a Proſpect of *Woodſtock* Park, terminating in the Bower: And the Queen enters, thus deſcribing the latter:

*What Place is here!
What Scenes appear!
Where-e'er I turn my Eyes,
All around
Inchanted Ground,
And ſoft Elyſiums riſe:
Flow'ry Mountains,
Moſſy Fountains,
Shady Woods,
Chryſtal Floods,
With wild Variety ſurprize.*

As

As o'er the hollow Vaults we walk,
 A hundred Echo's round us talk :
 From Hill to Hill the Voice is soft,
 Rocks rebounding,
 Caves resounding.
 Not a single Word is lost.

*O the soft delicious View,
 Ever Glarming, ever New !
 Greens of various Shades arise,
 Deck'd with Flow'rs of various Dyes :
 Paths by meeting Paths are crost,
 Alleys in winding Alleys lost ;
 Fountains playing through the Trees,
 Give Coolness to the passing Breeze.*

A thousand fairy Scenes appear,
 Here a Grove, a Grotto there,
 Here a Rock, and here a Stream,
 Sweet Delusion,
 Gay Confusion,
 All a Vision, all a Dream !

This is follow'd with an excellent Description of Jealousy ; and in the second Scene the King is brought in, return'd from his Wars.

Was ever Nymph like *Rosamond*,
 So fair, so faithful, and so fond,
 Adorn'd with ev'ry Charm and Grace !
 I'm all Desire !
 My Heart's on Fire,
 And leaps and springs to her Embrace.

Full

*Full in the Center of the Grove,
In yon Pavilion made for Love,
Where Woodbines, Roses, Jessamines;
Amarantbs, and Eglantines,
With intermingling Sweets have wove
The particolour'd, gay Alcove.
There I'll retire. —*

*Let neither Envy, Grief, nor Fear,
Nor Love-sick Jealousy appear.
Nor senseless Pomp, nor Noise intrude
On this Delicious Solitude ;
But Pleasure reign thro all the Grove,
And all be Peace, and all be Love.*

*O the pleasing, pleasing Anguish,
When we love, and when we languish !*

Wishes rising !

Thoughts surprizing !

Pleasure courting !

Charms transporting !

Fancy viewing

Joys ensuing !

O the pleasing, pleasing Anguish !

*When the King and Rosamond are to-
gether, Rosamond thus expresses her Love.*

*Ros. My Henry is my Soul's Delight,
My Wish by Day, my Dream by Night.
'Tis not in Language to impart
The secret Meltings of my Heart,
While I my Conqueror survey,
And look my very Soul away.*

F

King.

King. *O may the present Bliss endure,
From Fortune, Time, and Death secure !*

Both. *O may the present Bliss endure !*

King. *My Eye could ever gaze, my Ear
Those gentle Sounds could ever hear.
But O ! with Noon-Day Heats oppress'd,
My aking Temples call for Rest !
In yon cool Grotto's artful Night
Refreshing Slumbers I'll invite,
Then seek again my absent Fair,
With all the Love a Heart can bear.*
[Exit King.]

Rosalind sola.

*From whence this sad, presaging Fear,
This sudden Sigh, this falling Tear ?
Oft in my silent Dreams by Night
With such a Look I've seen him fly,
Wafted by Angels to the Sky,
And lost in endless Tracks of Light ;
While I, abandon'd and forlorn,
To dark and dismal Desarts born,
Through lonely Wilds have seem'd to stray,
A long, uncomfortable Way.*

*They're Fantoms all ; I'll think no
(more :
My Life has endless Joys in Store.
Farewel Sorrow, farewell Fear,
They're Fantoms all ! my Henry's
(here.
After*

After the King has left *Rosamond* some Time to refresh himself, the Queen comes into the Bower with a Bowl of Poison and Dagger; *Rosamond* hearing her advancing, supposes it to be her Lord.

*A sudden Motion shakes the Grove :
I hear the Steps of him I Love ;
Prepare, my Soul, to meet the Bliss !
— Death to my Eyes ! What Sight is this !
The Queen, th'offended Queen I see !
— Open, O Earth, and swallow me !*

Qu. Thus arm'd with double Death I come:
Behold, vain Wretch, behold thy Doom!
Thy Crimes to their full Period tend,
And soon by This, or This, shall end.

Ros. Can Britain's Queen give such Com-
 (mands,
 Or dip in Blood those sacred Hands?

When Tides of youthful Blood run high,
And Scenes of promis'd Joys are nigh,
 Health presuming,
 Beauty blooming,
O, how dreadful 'tis to die!

Think on the soft, the tender Fires,
Melting Thoughts and gay Desires,
That in your own warm Bosom rise,
When languishing with Love-sick Eyes,

That Great, that charming Man you see ;
Think on your self, and pity me !

*Tho' I live wretched, let me live.
In some deep Dungeon let me lye,
Cover'd from ev'ry human Eye,
Banish'd the Day, debarr'd the Light ;
Where Shades of everlasting Night
May this unhappy Face disarm,
And cast a Veil o'er ev'ry Charm :
Offended Heav'n I'll there adore,
Nor see the Sun, nor Henry more.*

When Rosamond has drank the Poison,
and her Corps is carry'd away, the King
enters from his Slumber, in Confusion.

*Some dreadful Birth of Fate is near :
Or why, my Soul, unus'd to fear,
With secret Horror dost thou shake ?
Can Dreams such dire Impressions make !
What means this solemn silent Show !
This Pomp of Death, this Scene of Woe !
Support me, Heav'n ! What's this I || read ?
O Horror ! Rosamond is dead.
What shall I say, or whither turn ?
With Grief, and Rage, and Love I burn :
From Thought to Thought my Soul is tost,
And in the Whirle of Passion lost.
Why did I not in Battle fall,
Crush'd by the Thunder of the Gaul ?*

Why

*Why did the Spear my Bosom miss ?
 The Pow'rs, was I reserv'd for this !*

Distracted with Woe,
 I'll rush on the Foe,
 To seek my Relief :
 The Sword or the Dart
 Shall pierce my sad Heart,
 And finish my Grief.

*Floods of Sorrow will I shed,
 To mourn the lovely Shade !
 My Rosamond alas is dead,
 And where, O where convey'd !*

So bright a Bloom, so soft an Air,
 Did ever Nymph disclose !
 The Lilly was not half so fair,
 Nor half so sweet the Rose.

The Queen asswages the King's Grief,
 and thus rejoices;

If 'tis Joy to wound a Lover,
 How much more to give him Ease ?
 When his Passion we discover,
 O how pleasing 'tis to please !
 The Bliss returns, and we receive
 Transports greater than we give.

At length the King is pacify'd, and
 they both sing.

Who

Who to forbidden Joys would rove,
That knows the Sweets of virtuous Love?

Though it will lengthen my Account
of this *Opera*, I cannot omit inserting Mr.
Tickell's Copy of Verses upon it, which
has such a fine Character of the Perfor-
mance and its Author.

TO the AUTHOR of ROSAMOND.

*THE Opera first Italian Masters taught,
Enrich'd with Songs, but Innocent of*
(Thought.

*Britannia's learned Theater disdains
Melodious Trifles, and enervate Strains ;
And Blushes on her injur'd Stage to see
Nonsense well tun'd, and sweet Stupidity.*

*No Charms are wanting to thy artful Song,
Soft as Corelli, but, as Virgil, Strong.
From Words so sweet new Grace the Notes re-*
(ceive,

*And Musick borrows Helps, she us'd to give.
Thy Style hath match'd what Ancient Romans*
(knew,

*Thy flowing Numbers far excell the New.
Their Cadence in such easie Sound convey'd,
That Height of Thought may seem superflu-*
(ous Aid ;

*Yet in such Charms the noble Thoughts abound,
That needless seem the Sweets of easy Sound.*
Landskips

*Landskips how gay the Bow'ry Grotto yields,
Which Thought creates, and lavish Fancy
(builds!*

*What Art can trace the visionary Scenes,
The flow'ry Groves, and everlasting Greens,
The babling Sounds that Mimick Echo plays,
The fairy Shade, and its eternal Maze,
Nature and Art in all their Charms combin'd,
And all Elysium to one View confin'd !
No farther could Imagination roam,
'Till Vanbrugh fram'd, and Marlbro' rais'd
(the Dome.*

*Ten thousand Pangs my anxious Bosom tear,
When drown'd in Tears I see th' Imploring Fair;
When Bards less soft the moving Words supply,
A seeming Justice dooms the Nymph to die;
But here she begs, nor can she beg in Vain,
(In Dirges thus expiring Swans complain)
Each Verse so swells, expressive of the Woes,
And ev'ry Tear in Lines so mournful flows;
We, spite of Fame, her Fate revers'd believe,
O'erlook her Crimes, and think she ought to
(live.*

*Let Joy transport fair Rosamonda's Shade,
And Wreaths of Myrtle crown the lovely Maid.
While now perhaps with Dido's Ghost she
(roves,
And bears and tells the Story of their Loves,
Alike they Mourn, alike they bless their Fate,
Since Love, which made 'em Wretched, makes
(em Great.
Nor*

*Nor longer that relentless Doom be moan,
Which gain'd a Virgil, and an Addison.*

*Accept, great Monarch, of the British Lays,
The Tribute Song an humble Subject pays.
So tries the artless Lark her early Flight,
And Soars to hail the God of Verse and Light.
Unrivall'd as unmatch'd be still thy Fame,
And thy own Laurels shade thy envy'd Name :
Thy Name, the Boast of all the tuneful Quire,
Shall tremble on the Strings of ev'ry Lyre ;
While with thy Sentiments each Soul complies, }
Feels corresponding Joys or Sorrows rise, }
And views thy Rosamond with Henry's Eyes. }*

XXIII. CATO. *A Tragedy*, Acted at the Theatre Royal, in Drury Lane 1712. This Play was perform'd with very great Applause, beyond any Tragedy that has been represented on the Theatre in the present or any former Age, in this or any other Nation. The Run of it continu'd above a Month, with such Crowds of Spectators, that every Night seem'd to be the first, and the like has not been known. It still does, and I dare say always will bring the politest and most numerous Audiences of any Play in the *English* Language, at least as long as we have a *Booth* to perform the Part of *Cato*, and we have any Notion of Liberty. The Criticks, notwithstanding the Success of this Piece, will not allow it to be a regular Performance ;
but

but as they will certainly agree with me that it has more Characters than One, finely heighten'd with the most beautiful Poetry, and noble Sentiments of Virtue, I shall be particular in my Examination of this Work ; and I doubt not but to please the Reader, by presenting him with an ample Specimen of its several Beauties. It begins calmly, as all Tragedies ought to do.

*The Dawn is over cast, the Morning low'rs,
And heavily in Clouds brings on the Day,
The great, th'important Day ; big with the Fate
Of Cato and of Rome. ———*

*The Ways of Heav'n are Dark and Intricate,
Puzzled in Mazes, and perplext with Errors ;
Our Understanding traces 'em in vain,
Lost and bewilder'd in the fruitless Search ;
Nor sees with how much Art the Windings run,
Nor where the regular Confusion ends.*

These last Lines one of Cato's Sons speaks in the first Act ; and taking Notice of the Afflictions of Life, and the clearing up of Clouds of Misfortune, the Poet has this excellent Simile.

*So the pure limpid Stream, when foul with
(Stains
Of rushing Torrents, and descending Rains,
Works it self clear, and, as it runs, refines,
'Till, by Degrees, the floating Mirrour shines,
Reflects each Flow'r that on the Border grows,
And a new Heav'n in its fair Bosom shows.*
G The

The next Thing I shall observe, is Cato's Answer to Decius, when he is sent by Cæsar to take Care of his Life.

*My Life is grafted on the Fate of Rome:
Would he save Cato? Bid him spare his Coun-*
(try.

*Tell your Dictator this : And tell him, Cato
Disdains a Life which he has Pow'r to offer.*

And afterwards on Valour.

—— True Valour soars above

What the World calls Misfortune and Affli-
(ction.

*These are not Ills ; else would they never fall
On Heav'n's first Favourites, and the best of*
(Men :

*The Gods, in Bounty, work up Storms about us,
That give Mankind Occasion to exert*

Their hidden Strength, and throw out into
(Practice

*Virtues, which shun the Day, and lie conceal'd
In the smooth Seasons and the Calms of Life.*

The following Lines on Honour are excellent.

*Honour's a sacred Tye, the Law of Kings,
The noble Mind's distinguishing Perfection,
That aids and strengthens Virtue, where it*
(meets her,

And imitates her Actions where she is not.

Cato's Advice to his Son to retire, when his Affairs grew desperate, is very much admir'd.

Portius, draw near ! My Son, thou oft hast
(seen
Thy

*Thy Sire engag'd in a corrupted State,
Wrestling with Vice and Faction : Now thou*
(see'st me

*Spent, overpow'r'd, despairing of Success ;
Let me advise thee to retreat betimes
To thy Paternal Seat, the Sabine Field,
Where the great Cenfor toil'd with his own*
(Hands,

*And all our frugal Ancestors were bless'd
In humble Virtues, and a Rural Life.
There live retir'd, pray for the Peace of Rome,
Content thy self to be obscurely Good.
When Vice prevails, and impious Men bear*
(Sway,

The Post of Honour is a private Station.

Then speaking of Greatness,

*O Portius, is there not some chosen Curse,
Some hidden Thunder in the Stores of Heav'n,
Red with uncommon Wrath, to blast the Man,
Who owes his Greatness to his Country's Ruin?*

And in another Place the Author's
Lines on Justice are very good.

— Severity, and Justice in its Rigour,
This awes an impious, bold, offending World,
Commands Obedience, and gives Force to Laws.
When by just Vengeance guilty Mortals perish,
The Gods behold their Punishment with Plea-
And lay th'uplifted Thunder-bolt aside. (sure,

The Poet has this Description of the In-
terval between the Birth and Period of
Plots,

*Remember, Syphax, we must work in Haste :
 O think what anxious Moments pass between
 The Birth of Plots, and their last fatal Periods.
 O ! 'tis a dreadful Interval of Time,
 Fill'd up with Horror all, and big with Death !
 Destruction hangs on ev'ry Word we speak,
 On ev'ry Thought, 'till the concluding Stroke
 Determines all, and closes our Design.*

From Plots I proceed to Love, the
 Passion whereof Mr. Addison has admirably
 describ'd ; and from Love I shall advance
 to Liberty. *Juba* thus begins to
Marcia.

*Hail, charming Maid ! how does thy Beau-
 (ty smooth
 The Face of War, and make ev'n Horror smile !
 At Sight of Thee my Heart shakes off its Sor-
 (rows ;
 I feel a Dawn of Joy break in upon me,
 And for a while forget th' Approach of Cæsar.*

Afterwards, being coolly receiv'd, his
 Disorder is thus related.

*Language is too faint to show
 His Rage of Love ; it preys upon his Life ;
 He pines, he sickens, he despairs, he dies :
 His Passions and his Virtues lie confus'd,
 And mixt together in so wild a Tumult,
 That the whole Man is quite disfigur'd in him.
 Heav'n's ! would one think 'twere possible for
 (Love
 To make such Ravage in a noble Soul !
 When*

When *Marcia* supposes *Juba* to be kill'd, she reveals her Love; and he happening to be near, listens to it.

Marc. O he *was* all made up of Love
(and Charms,
 Whatever Maid could wish, or Man admire :
 Delight of ev'ry Eye : when he appear'd,
 A secret Pleasure gladden'd all that saw him ;
 But when he talk'd, the proudest Roman blush'd
 To hear his Virtues, and old Age grew wise.

*Ye dear Remains of the most lov'd of Men!
Nor Modesty, nor Virtue here forbid
A last Embrace, while thus ———*

Juba enters, and throws himself before her.

Jub. See, Marcia, see,
The happy Juba lives! he lives to catch
That dear Embrace, and to return it too
With mutual Warmth and Eagerness of Love.

Marc. I've been surpriz'd in an unguard-
(ed Hour,
But must not now go back : The Love, that lay
Half smother'd in my Breast, has broke thro' all
Its weak Restraints, and burns in its full
(Lustre,
I cannot, if I would, conceal it from Thee.

Jub. I'm lost in Extasy! And dost thou
(Love,
Thou charming Maid?

Marc. *And dost thou Live to ask it?*

Jub. *This, this is Life indeed! Life worth*
(preserving,
Such

*Such Life as Juba never felt 'till now !
 How shall I speak the Transport of my Soul !
 Marc. Lucia, thy Arm ! O let me rest
 (upon it !*

*The vital Blood, that had forsook my Heart,
 Returns again in such tumultuous Tides,
 It quite o'ercomes me. Lead to my Apart-
 (ment ———*

*O Prince ! I blush to think what I have said ;
 But Fate has wrested the Confession from me ;
 Go on, and prosper in the Paths of Honour,
 Thy Virtue will excuse my Passion for Thee,
 And make the Gods propitious to our Love.*

When Sempronius (in Juba's Dress) had contriv'd to seize Marcia, (in the Close of the Third Act) he breaks out into this Rapture.

*How will my Bosom swell with anxious Joy,
 When I behold her struggling in my Arms,
 With glowing Beauty and disorder'd Charms ;
 While Fear and Anger, with alternate Grace,
 Pant in her Breast, and vary in her Face !
 So Pluto, seiz'd of Proserpine, convey'd
 To Hell's tremendous Gloom th' affrighted Maid,
 There grimly smil'd, pleas'd with the beau-
 (teous Prize,
 Nor envy'd Jove his Sun-shine and his Skies.*

Now I come to the Speeches and Struggles for Liberty, and CATO's Virtue.

—— Turn up thy Eyes to Cato !
*There may'st thou see to what a godlike Height
 The Roman Virtues lift up mortal Man,
 While*

While good, and just, and anxious for his
 (Friends,
 He's still severely bent against himself;
 Renouncing Sleep, and Rest, and Food, and
 (Ease,
 He strives with Thirst and Hunger, Toil and
 (Heat;
 And when his Fortune sets before him all
 The Poms and Pleasures that his Soul can
 (wish,
 His rigid Virtue will accept of none.

—— When Liberty is gone,
 Life grows insipid, and has lost its Relish.
 I'll animate the Soldiers drooping Courage
 With Love of Freedom and Contempt of Life;
 I'll thunder in their Ears their Country's Cause,
 And try to rouse up all that's Roman in 'em.
 'Tis not in Mortals to command Success,
 But we'll do more, my Friends, we'll deserve it.

Gods, can a Roman Senate long debate
 Which of the Two to chuse, Slav'ry or Death!
 No, let us rise at once, gird on our Swords,
 And, at the Head of our remaining Troops,
 Attack the Foe, break thro' the thick Array
 Of his throng'd Legions, and charge Home
 (upon him.
 Perhaps some Arm, more lucky than the rest,
 May reach his Heart, and free the World from
 (Bondage.
 Rise, Fathers, rise! 'tis Rome demands your
 (Help;
 Rise, and revenge her slaughter'd Citizens,
 Or

Or share their Fate ! The Corps of half her
 (Senate
 Manure the Fields of Theffaly, while we
 Sit here, delib'rating in cold Debates,
 If we should sacrifice our Lives to Honour,
 Or wear them out in Servitude and Chains.
 Rouze up for Shame ! our Brothers of Phar-
 (salia
 Point at their Wounds, and cry aloud — To
 (Battle !
 Great Pompey's Shade complains that we are
 (slow,
 And Scipio's Ghost walks unreveng'd amongst
 (us.

After the Meeting and Resolves of the Senate, when News is brought by Portius that his Brother *Marcus* is kill'd, (in the Fourth Act;) CATO's Behaviour on that Occasion is very moving.

Port. Misfortune on Misfortune ! Grief on
 My Brother Marcus — (Grief !

Cato. *Hab ! What has he done ?*
Has he forsook his Post ? has he given Way ?
Did he look tamely on, and let 'em pass ?

Port. Scarce had I left my Father, but I met
 (him
 Born on the Shields of his surviving Soldiers,
 Breathless and pale, and cover'd o'er with
 (Wounds.

Long, at the Head of his few faithful Friends,
 He stood the Shock of a whole Host of Foes,
 'Till obstinately brave, and bent on Death,
 Opprest with Multitudes, he greatly fell.

Cato.

Cato. I'm satisfy'd.

Thanks to the Gods ! my Boy has done his Duty.

CATO, meeting the Corps.

Welcome, my Son ! Here, lay him down,
(my Friends,

Full in my Sight, that I may view at Leisure
The bloody Coarse, and count those glorious
(Wounds.

— How beautiful is Death, when earn'd by
(Virtue !

Who would not be that Youth ? What Pity
(it is

That we can Die but once to serve our Coun-
(try !

— Portius, behold thy Brother, and remem-
(ber

Thy Life is not thy own, when Rome de-
Alas, my Friends ! (mands it.

Why mourn you thus ? Let not a private Loss
Afflict your Hearts. 'Tis Rome requires our
(Tears.

O Liberty ! O Virtue ! O my Country !

At length CATO thus takes Leave of
his Friends.

Farewel, my Friends ! if there be any of You
Who dare not trust the Victor's Clemency,
Know, there are Ships prepar'd by my Command,
Their Sails already op'ning to the Winds,
That shall convey you to the wish'd-for Port.
Is there aught else, my Friends, I can do for You ?

H

The

*The Conqueror draws near. Once more fare-
(wel!*

*If e'er we meet hereafter, we shall meet
In happier Climes, and on a safer Shore,
Where Cæsar never shall approach us more.*

(Pointing to his dead Son.

*There the brave Youth, with Love of Virtue
(fir'd,*

*Who greatly in his Country's Cause expir'd,
Shall know he conquer'd. The firm Patriot
(there,*

*(Who made the Welfare of Mankind his Care)
Tho' still, by Faction, Vice, and Fortune, cross'd,
Shall find the gen'rous Labour was not lost.*

The fifth Act opens with CATO's reasoning with himself on Futurity; having Plato's Book of the Immortality of the Soul in his Hand, and a drawn Sword on the Table. This is the best Part of the Play, and extremely affects the Passions.

*Cato. It must be so— Plato, thou reason'st
(well! —*

*Else whence this pleasing Hope, this fond De-
(sire,*

This longing after Immortality?

*Or whence this secret Dread, and inward
(Horror,*

*Of falling into Nought? Why shrinks the Soul
Back on herself, and startles at Destruction?*

'Tis the Divinity that stirs within us;

*'Tis Heav'n itself, that points out an Hereafter,
And*

And intimates Eternity to Man.

*Eternity ! thou pleasing, dreadful Thought ;
Through what Variety of untry'd Being,
Through what new Scenes and Changes must*

(we pass !

The wide, th' unbounded Prospect, lies before

(me ;

But Shadows, Clouds, and Darkneſs, reſt up-

(on it.

Here will I hold. If there's a Pow'r above us,

(And that there is, all Nature cries aloud

Through all her Works) He muſt delight in

Virtue ;

And that which he delights in, muſt be happy.

But when ! or where ! — This World was

(made for Cæſar.

I'm weary of Conjectures — This muſt end

('em.

(Laying his Hand on his Sword.

Thus am I doubly arm'd : My Death and

(Life,

My Bane and Antidote are both before me :

This in a Moment brings me to an End ;

But This informs me I ſhall never Die.

The Soul, ſecur'd in her Exiſtence, ſmiles

At the drawn Dagger, and deſies its Point :

The Stars ſhall fade away, the Sun himſelf

Grow dim with Age, and Nature ſink in Tears ;

But thou ſhalt flouriſh in Immortal Youth.

What means this Heavineſs that hangs

(upon me ?

This Lethargy that creeps through all my

(Senſes ?

*Nature oppress'd and harass'd out with Care,
Sinks down to Rest. This once I'll favour her.
That my awaken'd Soul may take her Flight,
Renew'd in all her Strength, and fresh with*
(Life,
An Offering fit for Heav'n. Let Guilt or
(Fear
Disturb Man's Rest: Cato knows neither of
('em,
Indiff'rent in his Choice to Sleep or Die.

Enter Portius.

*Port. Alas, my Father !
What means this Sword ? this Instrument of*
Let me convey it hence ! (Death ?
O let the Pray'rs, th'Entreaties of your Friends,
Their Tears, their common Danger, wrest it
(from You.

*O Sir, forgive your Son,
Whose Grief hangs heavy on him ! O my Father !
How am I sure it is not the last Time
I e'er shall call you so ! Be not displeas'd ;
O be not angry with me whilst I weep,
And, in the Anguish of my Heart, beseech You
To quit the dreadful Purpose of your Soul !*

*CATO retiring to refresh himself with
Sleep, falls upon his Sword : And when
he is brought upon the Stage, he thus ex-
presses his Anguish, and Dies.*

Cato — I'm Sick to Death — O ! when shall I
(get loose
From

*From this vain World, th' Abode of Guilt and
(Sorrow!*

*— And yet methinks a Beam of Light breaks in
On my departing Soul. Alas, I fear*

*I've been too hasty. O ye Pow'rs, that search
The Heart of Man, and weigh his inmost
(Thoughts,*

If I have done amiss, impute it not ! —

The best may Err, but you are Good, and—Oh!

The great Concern of CATO's Children and Friends in the *Catastrophe*, is prodigiously moving : And the Play concludes with this excellent Moral.

*From hence, let fierce contending Nations
(know*

What dire Effects from civil Discord flow.

*'Tis this that shakes our Country with Alarms,
And gives up Rome a Prey to Roman Arms,
Produces Fraud, and Cruelty, and Strife,
And robs the guilty World of Cato's Life.*

Thus I have compleated my particular Account of the Poetical Works of Mr. ADDISON, and I hope it will be a Pleasure to the Reader, without giving Offence to any : The Beauties of this Poet are too numerous to pass unobserv'd ; and that alone is a sufficient Apology for my inserting so many of his incomparable Lines. The *Latin* Poems written by Mr. ADDISON
entitle

entitle him to Fame Immortal ; and his *English* Poetry is not less worthy our Commendation ; so that of every Piece of this Author, we may say with *Horace*,

—— *Hic decies repetita placebit.*

His Writings will always please the polite, judicious, and learned ; and every impartial, unprejudic'd Person, will be oblig'd to own his Merit.

Besides his Poetry, the Publick is very much oblig'd to Mr. *ADDISON* for his excellent Criticisms upon *Milton* ; and the *Tatlers*, *Spectators*, *Guardians*, and *Freeholders*, written by him ; which are by all allow'd superior to the Performances of the other ingenious Gentlemen concern'd in those Works. The *Tatlers* and *Spectators* are the most entertaining and Instructive Papers of the Kind that this Age has produc'd ; there is hardly a Vice, Folly, or Vanity, incident to Mankind but they have Expos'd in an admirable manner ; or a moral Duty they have not Commented upon to the Edification of the Reader ; and the *Guardian* and *Freeholder*, the latter wholly written by Mr. *ADDISON*, have in many of them the finest and most rational Observations on Politicks and Government, to inculcate into a freeborn People a true Idea of Happiness, that ever were publish'd.

I have

I have been inform'd, that many Years since, Mr. *ADDISON* had a Brother, who venturing himself to the *East Indies*, after he had been there some Time, and accumulated great Wealth, dy'd in those Parts, and by his Will left his whole Estate to Mr. *ADDISON*; which was a considerable Addition to his Patrimony, and contributed to his making a Figure in the World; tho' his Merit alone recommended him to those Great Employments he held and laid down with so much Honour.

After an Indisposition of some Continuance, which terminated in a Dropsy and Asthma, Mr. *ADDISON* dy'd, at *Holland-House* near *Kensington*, on *Wednesday* the 17th of *June*, 1719. He lay in State in the *Jerusalem* Chamber on the 26th of the same Month, and was afterwards interr'd in *Westminster-Abbey*. He has left Issue, by the Countess of *Warwick* and *Holland*, one Daughter, *Charlotte Addison*, to whom, by his last Will and Testament, the Countess is appointed Guardian; and thro' a prevalent Affection to his deserving Lady, he has given his whole Estate to her Ladyship, upon Condition of paying an Annuity to his Mother, and a considerable Legacy to his Sister, and having an entire Confidence in Her, that she will make a right Application of it, with Respect to his Daughter. This was the utmost an affectionate

affectionate Husband could do for an endearing Wife: And Mr. *ADDISON*, thoroughly sensible of the great Merit of his Lady, the Glory of her Sex, made a Disposition of his Fortune accordingly; but her Loss in him is irreparable; nor does she share the Misfortune only, but the Publick also.

He Dy'd universally lamented, and has left behind him a Character which every one would wish for, but very few attain, *viz.* That of a *Great and Good Man*.

F I N I S.



E R R A T A:

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THE
Secret History
OF THE
Prince of the NAZARENES
AND
Two Turks.

WITH
The Fatal A M O U R between a
beautiful Marry'd LADY, and a
Young NOBLEMAN.

CONTAINING

A remarkable Discovery of her Intrigues
with the young lewd Lord her Gallant.
In a Letter from her injur'd Husband,
to her own Father, remonstrating the
particular Familiarities he had seen pass
between them, at a Time when her
Gallant, to fly the just Resentments of
his Anger, threw himself from her
Chamber-Window; &c.

The Third EDITION.

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T H E

Secret History

O F T H E

Prince of the NAZARENES.



THE Prince of the *Nazarenes* is sprung from one of the most antient and illustrious Families in *Europe*. A Family which has shone very resplendent in former Ages, and furnish'd the enlighten'd World with many princely Assertors of the *Nazarene* Law : Among
 A 2 the

the rest, none seems to have a more strict Regard to the *Life* and *Doctrine* of the mighty *Emperor*, his Master, than this present Prince, who now flourishes and reigns in the Hearts of all his Subjects.

As he has had all the Advantage of Birth and Education, so *Providence* endow'd him with a Soul capable of attaining to all that's *Good* and *Great*.

And whereas the *Dregs* of the World, whose Eyes are too weak to bear the Lustre of his Vertues, have been vilely and maliciously excited to sling their *Party-Scum* at his *Royal Person* and *Family*, yet the more penetrating and judicious Part of Mankind, take Delight in contemplating the many noble Excellencies, and Blessings they share in that Part of the *Administration* he has over them.

And tho' some Princes before him have been so weak, as to suffer their *Creatures* to push 'em upon fatal Measures, yet we see in him, such an *Antipathy* against *Arbitrary* and *Despotick Power*, that it is as an Article of Faith with him, That *Princes* ought to have the tenderest Regard to the *Consciences* of their *Subjects*. And that it is a *Mischief* attended with the most fatal Consequences, to abuse their Power, and break in upon the Rights of their

their People.-- Maxims, not only founded upon Reason, the equitable Law of Nature, but even revealed Religion it self ; which can lead no Prince astray ; but rather swell his Monarchy to the utmost Limits : When, on the other hand, we have seen, that an excessive Rigour, used without Cause, has been very unsuccessful to some Princes ; for, by its alienating the Hearts of the People, they have grown weary under their Government, and (as once wisely) by a general Consent, resolved to chuse better Masters. Nay, it has had such an evil Tendency (if it may be so call'd) that they have been apt to assert, Not only a Right of Chusing themselves a Sovereign, but, likewise, a Right to Divest him of that Power, in case he makes an ill Use of it.---

But as the Validity of this Controversy is none of our Province to decide, we shall wave it, and only say, That when Princes expose themselves to *this* ; use their Subjects as if they were brute Beasts ; and without scruple, violate the most inviolable and sacred Rights, they run a very nice Hazard of losing *All* ; which can only be regain'd but by *Blood and Slaughter* ; and that too, very seldom, thro' the Aversion their Subjects have to *Despotick Power* ;

Power ; especially in those who have a Right to expect, that their *Sovereigns* should submit to the *Laws*, which mutually engage them one to another.

But, lest the Reader should observe by this Digression, that we run from our Subject, we will go on with the Character of the *Nazarene Prince* : And as we only design to give a short Account of his most important Actions, we will skip over those of his youthful Years, and come immediately to speak of him at his entering upon the Administration of a sovereign Prince.

As soon as he held the Reins of Government, he betook himself to a strict Application, in order to the enriching his Subjects ; and shew'd himself very liberal, and of a tender and gentle Nature. He has a great and generous Soul, with as much solid Wit as any Prince in this Age ; both *Friends* and *Enemies* acknowledge it, by doing him Justice herein.

As to his *Humour* it is generally grave, and attracting, (as his *Aspect*) but free, and easy of Access ; which finishes the Number of those Talents peculiar to a Monarch.

These Qualifications of themselves are sufficient to render him *Compleat*, but there

there are yet still greater to come. He is admir'd by all the World, for his Firmness of Courage, which cannot be sufficiently esteem'd ; the Greatness of his Heart, and the Dependance he has upon the Assistance of the *Emperor* his *Master*, whose *Faith* he defends, buoys him up, and protects him against all the Rage of the *heathen World*. His Master had a treacherous Minister, that bore an eminent Post under him ; his Vice-Roy has had many of the same Spirit, whose fatal Enterprizes might even make 'em Wish, *That a Milstone were ty'd about their Necks, and that they were thrown into the Sea*. So that it may be said of him, as of the *Palm-Tree*, the more it is burthen'd, the more it raises its Head, and flourishes.

As to *martial Affairs*, he has approv'd himself an experienc'd General, when in the Field ; not following on the one hand, the Example of those who sleep at their Ease on Beds of Down, whilst their braver Soldiers expose their Lives for their Interests, and are over-whelm'd with Fatigue and Hardship : nor given in to the slovenly Meannesses of others, whose desperate, (or rather mad) Exploits in the *North*, have been as diverting as those of *Don Quixot* and the *Wind-Mill* : But
his

his Method was to keep such fast Intelligence, as that he knew every thing, and could keep a Padlock upon his Intentions, and remain absolute Master of a Secret. Had his great Benefactor—— now Immortal, observ'd so close a Reserv'dness, the Treachery of the K—— of B——, the F—— of C——n, and the mercenary I know not what of S——, had not expos'd his Councils so often, to the breaking of all his Measures.—— But,

To proceed. There is such a Sense of Gratitude in him, that he never suffers any fine Action to go unrewarded. So that it's no Flattery to affirm, that he has distinguish'd himself sublimely among the Princes of this Age.

He is not only Master of most Languages, but has read much, and retain'd it all; and understands the Excellency and Usefulness of Authors extremely.

There is no Secret in *Philosophy*, either Antient or Modern, but what he has penetrated; and more particularly *Theology*. Not that the *Professors* of it, engross all his Inclinations to themselves; his Subjects have a great Share in them, as well as his Affections.

And as for this Prince's Lineage, in general, we find by the several *Genealogies*

And as for this Prince's Lineage in general, we find by the several *Genealogies* in History, that he claims a lineal Descent as a Sovereign Prince, for above Seven Hundred Years; the Family having produced several Emperors and Empresses, besides a long Train of Kings, and Princes: So that even most of the Potentates of *Europe*, are descended from this Family; besides an eminent Tribe of Ecclesiasticks, as Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. spiritual Princes.

In short, this Prince of the *Nazarenes* is the more Illustrious, in that there runs thro' his Veins, not only the *British* Blood, but that of *France*, the antient *Picts*, *Danes*, *Swedes*, *Saxons*, and *Normans*.

So that he exceeds all the Sovereigns on Earth, for the Antiquity of his Royal Descent, being now the most Potent and Opulent Assertor of the *Nazarene* Doctrine.

And that the Sect of the *Nazarenes*, might be secur'd from *Apostatizing* into their former State of *Pseudo-Worship*, synonymous with the Practice of *Pagans*, Providence has given this Prince a numerous Issue, well Educated, and Instructed in the new Laws and Ordinances of their mighty Emperor; whereby the *Haut-Eglise*-
B
sian

lian Patriarchs, whose Expectations are beyond the *Alps*, can never have it in their Power to Saddle their Princees, and ride 'em to Destruction as they have done formerly.

I have seen amongst the most nicest pictures in this Prince's Court, an Original Piece representing one of the Branches of his Family, a most accomplish'd, and brave Prince, yet the implicitness of his Faith and the freeness of his Nature, once sunk him into so much Submission to the *Mufti* at *Rome*, as to hold the Cup to him one Day at Dinner so long on his Knee before he took it, that the crimson Retinue about him, were asham'd of his treating so great a Prince in that manner; telling him that it was time he should take the Cup and drink.

But instead of compensating for this Affront, his spiritual Arrogance continued a greater Piece of Ingratitude towards him in the following History of it.

" This Prince suspecting he should have
 " Issue by his Queen, persuaded her to
 " adopt a certain Cousin of his, and marry
 " his Neice. Which was no sooner
 " done, but the *Mufti* persuaded him to
 " a Disobedience, and the highest Ingratitude,
 " and excited him to rebel against
 " his

" his adopted Parents ; upon which, they
 " justly took up Arms against him, and
 " besieg'd him in a strong Fortrefs not far
 " from *Rome* : But the Success was very
 " unfortunate ; for by a barbarous Strata-
 " gem, the adopted Son, brib'd an old
 " Soldier, in whom the King and Queen
 " had confided, to counterfeit her
 " Seal, whom his Party had invested
 " in another Fortrefs; and in her Name,
 " to write to the King, that with Six of
 " his Confidents, he should come to her
 " by a private Avenue nam'd in her Let-
 " ter ; otherwise she must Surrender and
 " fall into the Hands of her Enemies ; but
 " that she had something to propose to
 " him, that would baffle their Designs.
 " The King believing the Letter real,
 " follow'd the Instructions in it, and set
 " out accordingly ; but was intercepted
 " by a Party in Ambuscade, and carry'd
 " before his adopted Son, who put him
 " in Prison for three Years. During
 " which time, his unhappy Queen was
 " taken and put to Death.——

The preserving of this Piece in the *Nazarene* Family, must certainly excite 'em
 to a very profound Regard to the present
Mufti, who has labour'd hard to give 'em

a Specimen of the good Will he bears them: And 'tis the rather inserted here, that the Reader may recollect what fatal Consequences have attended the Counterfeiting the Seals of Princes, at the Instigation of the *Mufti* of *Rome*, in former Days.

No doubt, but the present Prince of the *Nazarenes* had an Eye upon this Picture, when the *E——r* of *C——n* was stir'd up by the *Mufti*, to persecute the peaceable *Nazarenes* in his Territories; and induc'd him to send his veteran Troops into the *E———*'s Capital City, to make the *Mufti*'s Dragoon keep to the solemn Treaties he had agreed to, in relation to the spiritual Affairs of his Subjects.

And notwithstanding, this Bully stomach'd the Conduct of the *Nazarene* Prince, 'tis certain he could find no Expedient to prevent it. All that he could do, after repeated Advices from the *Mufti*, was to draw up a tedious and absurd Remonstrance of his Grievances, which he laid before the Grand *Cabal* of Princes.

But this *Remonstrance* was soon silenc'd by a *Manifesto* from the Prince: For when it was brought into Debate, in a full Congress, the *E———*'s own Creatures could not justify those *wholsome Severities*

verities he had inflicted upon the conscientious Nazarenes. So that they unanimously resolv'd,

1. That the Prince of the Nazarenes had Justice on his Side, in throwing his Troops into the E——'s Capital City, since it was conformable to the Tenor of the Treaty stipulated between the Two Powers. And,

2dly, That having look'd into several other Treaties since, they found a farther Right confirm'd to the Nazarene Prince, by which he was at liberty, upon any Infringements of the same, to levy Troops, and do himself Justice.

Lastly, That they could not so much as desire the Prince of the Nazarenes to withdraw his Troops from the E——'s Capital, till the Grievances of the Nazarenes were redress'd; it being inconsistent with the Honour and Faith of Princes.

This

This Affair being thus decided, the necessary Orders were given, (*tho much against the Grain*) for the re-instating the *Nazarenes*, in the spiritual Rights and Priviledges they formerly enjoy'd, to the great Mortification of the *Mufti* and his sanguine Party.

We return now to take a *Prospect* of those Demonstrations of Joy his Subjects express'd upon this Occasion. Every one threw up Exultations to Heaven, and express'd with grateful Hearts their Acknowledgments for this Divine Favour.

There were publick Thanksgivings set apart thro' the whole Territories of the *Prince*; and the Cannon from the Ramparts of the Castle were fir'd, with all other suitable Demonstrations of Joy.

And what made the Joy more universal, was no doubt the Remembrance of that fatal Year, wherein another of the *Mufti's* Bigots, most cruelly put to death the Flower of the *Nazarene* Nobility, after he had ruin'd one of the finest Countries in the World, with Fire and Blood.

And that the *Western Nazarenes* may never apostatize to so bloody a Religion, we will insert the following Account of it.

'Tis

'Tis not yet a compleat *Century*, since the Grand-Father and Grand-Mother of this present *Prince* of the *Nazarenes*, were unjustly depriv'd not only of their elepive Kingdom, but of their own Hereditary Dominions; his implacable Enemy penetrating into the very Bowels of their capital City, and oblig'd 'em to fly to some more hospitable Country for Refuge.

The persecuting Conqueror having thus gain'd his *Point*, he took such cruel Methods with the distressed *Nazarenes*, that perhaps the like was never known.

First then, he seiz'd the chiefest of the Nobility in the Kingdom, and put them into *Prison*. Then on a fatal Day, assign'd to act this Tragedy, a *Piece* of *Ordance* was discharg'd, which was to be the Signal of it. As soon as it was heard, all the Gates of the City were shut, and the *Persecutor's* Forces took possession of them, and of most parts of the *City*.

When they found themselves in a Condition to undertake any thing without Fear, a Scaffold was erected in an open place, upon which mounted a tall Man all in Black, with a Masque upon his Face, and a Crucifix in his Hand. They gave him the fatal Name of *Herald of Death*,

Death, by reason that his Office was to signify it to those to whom the Hangman was to give it.

After this mournful Introduction, the most illustrious *Nazarene* Noblemen of the Kingdom, were brought out of Dungeons; several of which Lords being Venerable by Birth, yet they had all the same Fate, which was, to fall by the Sword of the Executioner.

Nor did the Rage of the *Mufti's* Dragoon end here, which put the best Families of the Kingdom into Mourning: His Malice extended yet farther; thirsting after the total Extirpation of the *Nazarenes*, he caus'd the *Charters* and *Patents* together with all other *Papers* and *Parchments*, which contain'd the most valuable *Priviledges* of their Cities, to be brought before him; and having a great Fire lighted in his presence, he flung them all in to it, saying,

'Tis thus that such unhappy Instruments, which have given so much Trouble and Vexation to my Predecessors, ought to perish.

And thus it was that this fine Kingdom was reduc'd into a miserable State of Servitude and Captivity.

Having

Having spoken concisely of this dismal Affair, we return to the Prince's Court, which was very splendid. He gave great Incouragement to Foreigners to resort to it by his collecting together one of the finest Libraries in the World.

Nor was he wanting to encourage Arts and Sciences, which found vast Improvements by him, in their several Branches, particularly *Mechanisms*; much to the Advantage of his Subjects, who were thereby enrich'd, and in a flourishing Condition.

And now having weakly finish'd the Character of this great Prince, in his *Hereditary Dominions*, we will follow him into the Field, at a Time when his Faith and Alliances call'd him to Vindicate the Honour of the Christian *Europe*, against *Turks* and *Infidels*.

There had been handed about, at his going into the Army, an ancient Prophecy, or rather *Hieroglyphick*, in the *Arabian* Tongue, which possess most People with a strong Impulse, that God had declar'd in Favour of him.

Those that pretend to explain *Hieroglyphicks*, would do well to employ their Wits about this; and try if they have
C
Eyes

Eyes strong enough to scrutinize and unfold the Myſteries of it. †

It was, *The Representation of an Amethiſt in a Ring, which had two Proſpects ; the one repreſenting (looking directly upon it) an Angel, holding over the Head of a comely Man, a Crown, with this Motto round it, The Belgick Lyon's Legacy fulfilled. But looking oblong, or ſide ways, it afforded the Proſpect of a Perſon on Horſeback, with a drawn Sword in his Hand, and his Enemies aiming to ſhoot him thro' the Back, with this Motto, Save, generous Ottomans, the Nazarene !*

But as the Reader will hear more of this, in the ſequel of our Hiſtory, we will look into his Succeſſes in the Field.

His Actions in ſeveral Places, quickly let the World ſee that *Fortune* waited upon all his Conduct, to declare every where in his Favour : So that he met with a Reception from his Confederates, with all the Endearments imaginable.

† 'Tis preſumed, by the Compiler of theſe Sheets, that the Explanation of this Hieroglyphick, is the peculiar Province of the Pſeudo-Nazarene Students, grazing upon the Banks of Iſis, and famous for inventing Annually dark and amusing Enigma's.

Having already spoken largely to some material Circumstances arising from the Antiquity and Fidelity of this illustrious Family ; we will look a little into the Actions of the nearest in Blood, to the Prince of the *Nazarenes*.

The Prince his Brother, born about a Year after him, was a most hopeful and promising Prince, in whom might be seen many of the noble Accomplishments which shone in his illustrious Ancestors. He had a wise, penetrating Genius, with a strong Inclination to acquire Glory by the Sword : Which Resolution led him to take up Arms against the Infidels, who blasphemously bid Defiance to the mighty Emperor of the *Nazarenes*.

Many and brave were the Actions of this gallant Prince, the Memory of which, deserves to be transmitted to Posterity, for the singular Bravery, and undaunted Courage which attended them.

For, he had not quite arriv'd to the Age of Thirty, before he spent the last Drop of his Blood, and dy'd gloriously in the Field, being kill'd in a Battle against the *Infidels*, to the unspeakable Grief of his most illustrious Family.

The Third Brother is yet living, and is a Prince every way deserving the Trusts

repos'd in him, particularly that most important Post he now enjoys, as chief General of an Army compos'd of the bravest Troops.

The Fourth princely Brother, magnanimous in Soul, tho' tender in Years, fell a Sacrifice to the rude *Pagans*, as he pusht vigorously into the midst of the Enemy's Troops, about the 21st Year of his Age.

The Fifth, no ways inferiour to the former, for Valour and Conduct, took also to the Wars; in one of which Battles it was his Fate to be kill'd by the then declining *Gauls*, about fifteen Years since.

There is another Prince, the youngest of them all; from whom flows many noble Endowments of Mind, and graceful Ornaments of the Body, which renders him a most accomplish'd Prince.

There is also a most incomparable Princess living, a strict *Nazarene*, marry'd to a potent Monarch, of the same Religion, who is a great *Barrier* against the *Musti* and his *Mussulmen*.

It would fill a Volumn to give an Account of the numerous Issue Heaven has bless'd this Family with; which, in all likelihood, will shine resplendent, and flourish, till the coming of their mighty Emperor.

We

We will therefore leave this pleasing Subject, to finish what we have promis'd in our Title, in relation to the Occurrences of *Two* (*supposed*) *Turks*. We say, (*supposed*) because our Religion wisely prohibits our giving in to a Belief of *Infallibility*. So that whether *Turks*, *Grecians*, or *Armenians*, we will not determine. Not but if they were either of these, they might be more deserving than many modern *Europeans*, whose *Religion* and *Loyalty* have not been altogether so conspicuous and bright, as to make them boast of their Principles.

But, *supposing* 'em *Turks*, they may be Honest, and Generous, notwithstanding the Prejudices of their Education in Matters of Religion.

'Tis therefore, the inquisitive Reader, (who, *Chameleon*-like, feeds upon airy Amusements) is desir'd, not to make the following an *Article of Faith*; but take it just as it occurs, in the Account we here give of it.

All *European* Christians are sensible, that the *Turks* are very strict in their *Morals*, and consequently *true to their Word*. There is among them, as in other Nations, the Spirit of *Gratitude* and *Magnanimity*;
so

so that whatever they may differ from Us *Christians*, they in a great measure atone for, by their Acts of Justice and Honour.

It was upon these Principles, that these *Turks*, of no mean Extraction, but rather Noble by Birth, (some say, the *Kaimacan's* Sons) went as Volunteers into the *Ottoman Army*, which was then bending its Force against some Parts of the christian Empire.

The late Instance of a War between the *Imperialists* and *Turks*, must swell the Reader's Thoughts, with what vast Numbers, and magnificent Appearance, the *Turks* usually take the Field ; so that it suffices to say, that as the Army always carries immense Riches with it, so it must be concluded every one makes a splendid Figure suitable to his Character.

Among the rest, our two young *Turks* in the Wars some Years since, made no small Appearance in the Field.

They were not many Days in the Army, before they were alarm'd with the approach of their Enemy, who were upon a full March to attack them in their Intrenchments : Whereupon the *Ottoman* Generals, immediately gave the necessary Orders to receive them ; so that in a
few

few Hours, there began a most desperate Engagement between both Armies

Many brave Actions were here performed on both sides; but none more immortal, than those of the *Nazarene* Prince, whose intrepid Courage and Bravery, bore down before him, all the Resistance his Enemies could make.

'Twas with Admiration, that the more Honourable of the *Ottomans* saw him do these Wonders, ; who, tho' an Enemy and one, who by the strictness of his *Señt*, was oblig'd to treat them, and their Prophet *Mahomet*, as impious Slaves and Infidels, they could do no less than have a particular Regard for his invincible Conduct.

Amongst the rest of his Admirers, were these two *Turks*, who engaging in the very next Line, had observ'd his Bravery, and kept a very watchful Eye upon him. They saw that what some of their Officers could not do honourably, they were basely contriving with some false *Nazarenes*, to do by Treachery. They saw him mounted on Heaps of slaughter'd *Spahi's*, making his Way thro' Blood ; and with Horror perceiv'd the renegade Assassins, at the very Minute they were going to execute their hellish Treason,
and

and Cowardice ; and it was at the same time, that one of the *Turks* broke thro' the Ranks, and with his Sabre split the Head of the Mifcreant, before he had time to discharge his Pistol.

Nor was his Comerade Volunteer less anxious for his Preservation ; but animated with the same Principle of Honour, rode up to another Wretch, and seizing him by the Beard, at one Blow sent him out of the World.

This was no sooner done, but the *Turks* observing one of the *Bassa's* to rally with a strong Body of Cavalry, they rode off with the Prince, in conjunction with some Troops, which came in to his Assistance.

The Battle being over, the *Nazarene* Prince, born with Gratitude, made it his first Business to Reward his Deliverers, taking them into his Tent, and embrac'd them alternately, with the utmost Demonstrations of his Princely Favour and Affection ; bestow'd munificent Gifts upon 'em ; and gave 'em the liberty of being always near and dear to his Princely Person : Following herein closely the Method of some *Eastern* Princes, in not preferring Persons purely for the Greatness of their Birth, but for the Merits and Vertues of the Mind.

They

They having thus accepted of the Prince's Protection, with infinite Acknowledgments, have ever since continued next to his princely Person, performing all the faithful Offices Day and Night, peculiar to so great a Trust.

In all his Progresses, they accompany him; and not only Shave him, with the most Delicacy and Softness, but are assisting in the Dressing and Undressing of his Person.

Their midnight Minutes, are spent alternately (sometimes jointly) in a piercing Vigilance, whilst the happy Pillow lulls his thoughtful and mighty Genius to Rest.

At the performing their Devoirs to him, they observe the most profound Respect; and 'tis upon the Knee, that they either approach, or withdraw from his Presence. Nay, they have been seen prostrating themselves before him, and kissing the Earth, out of that awful Regard they had to a Prince, so much the peculiar Care of Providence.

D

And

And as this nearness to his Person, and the Confidence the Prince has repos'd in them, must needs let 'em in to some of the minutest Actions of his Life, so have they been heard to speak of his illustrious Vertues, with the greatest Veracity and Honour.

Among the rest, they have declar'd, what the World does now own, *That he is so wise a Prince, he will not suffer the least Piece of Service to him, to go unrewarded; sparing no Cost for the good of his Subjects: That he is so far from giving in to an effeminate Delicacy, that his Looks are not only piercing, but Majestic, commanding an awful Respect and Distance; not declining the doing Justice even to the Poor as well as the Rich. Nor easily shock'd at the formidable Appearances, and Menaces, of his Enemies, either at Home or Abroad. That the Greatness of Majesty, to which Divine Providence has call'd him, has not made him less Thoughtful or Assiduous in his stipulating advantageous Treaties and Alliances, with the greatest Monarchs. That he has a great Soul, with a copious and liberal Disposition: not addicted to Intemperance, or Excess, but*
Con-

Continent and Reserv'd. That his Religion is pure, and fix'd, free from Idolatry and Superstition.

These, and many other are the deserved Characters of the *Nazarene* Prince ; of which, all the illustrious, and true *Nazarenes* about him, are Witnesses, and whose Esteem for him is such, that they are ready to lay down their Lives and Fortunes in the Defence of his sacred Person and Government.

To conclude. If the Reader is not fully satisfied in the above Relation of the *Two Turks*, and will yet be so Inquisitive as to know more than we can inform him, he must be guilty of a great Misdemeanour, and ill Manners, in satisfying his indiscreet Curiosity, since the *Cabinets of Princes* are not to be unlock'd at every one's Pleasure.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY
JOHN B. BOWEN
OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

VOLUME I
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THE
Fatal Amour
BETWEEN A
Beautiful **LADY**
AND A
Young **NOBLEMAN.**



WE need not search into History for Instances of unhappy Marriages ; the Age we live in, affords too many of that Kind ; and though but a melancholly Subject, to treat on, yet 'tis necessary to be known sometimes, that both Sexes in
the

the State of Matrimony, may, by the Misfortunes of others, prevent their own Ruin.

As the Soul of Man governs the Body, so ought the Woman to be subordinate to the Man. All Nations give the Superiority and Domination to him : So that the Woman, in Matrimony, is the greatest *Right* and *Property* a Man can possess.

How bold and daring, then, how horribly impious, must that Robber appear, who is for breaking in upon so sacred a *Rite* ? Certainly there cannot be invented a Punishment softer than Death, to atone for this Violation ; and which the injur'd Husband has often Authority on his side, to punish with his own Hands.

The fair Sex, in this *British Clime*, have no reason to reproach *Foreigners*, for their lascivious *Treasures* and *Felonies*, since the Abuse of those Priviledges they enjoy above other Women, have not made 'em more Virtuous, or Chaste.

Would

Would they be govern'd by the Dictates of Virtue, they'd gladly Copy after the Lady *Theano* in *Plutarch*, who, as she was Dressing herself one Morning, casually expos'd her naked Arm to a Gentleman then present, who was pleas'd to bestow this Compliment upon her :

Ma'am, your Ladiship has a most delicate and lovely Skin.

I allow it Sir (said she) but what adds to its Delicacy and Loveliness, is, that it is reserv'd for no other Person but my Husband.

Intimating, that not only the Arm of a vertuous Woman ought not to be expos'd in common to every rude Eye ; but that the whole Body should be kept vail'd from every one but her Husband.

But so far is the fair Sex advanc'd to the Height of Immodesty, in their Dress, that it is not difficult for a wanton Eye to discover those Parts, the concealing of which, ought to be their greatest Ornament.

But

But Precepts and Examples to the contrary, 'tis fear'd, will have little Influence here, since the repeated Declamations from the *Pulpit*, have not touch'd their Hearts with any true Notions of Vertue, or Honour.

So leaving them to surfeit in their own extravagant Follies, we come to the Matter in hand :

Whether or no that the following *Amour* has run its length to a State of *Impenitency* in the fair *Transgressor*, we have not yet certain Intelligence, no more then what became of her Gallant ; who might justly deserve to be sacrific'd above all mankind.

So that their needs no other Introduction to this *Piece*, than what the Reader will find in the following LETTER, from an injur'd Husband to his Father-in-Law.

My

My Lord;

Notwithstanding the nearness in Blood to your illustrious Person, the many weighty Affairs you have now under your Hand, and the constant Applications you have for the Welfare of your noble Family, yet, sure I am, you cannot but be sensible of the Uneasiness I am under, when I write to you, what would move the most obdurate to Pity.

'Tis therefore I am perswaded, the greatness of your Soul minds nothing more, than to comfort the Afflicted, and support those who are Oppress'd. This emboldens me to give you the trouble of Reading an account of some Undecencies and Violences I have suffer'd of late, which, I believe, will move your Compassion; for I have not drawn them upon my self by any ill Conduct. You your self Sir, shall judge of it, and, if you please, remedy it.

You know, Sir, how I marry'd into your most Illustrious House, and took to my Bed, Madam—— Your Daughter, whose Beauty, and many noble Endowments of Mind, render'd her worthy of the greatest Monarch. And I must further

E

own

own to you, that in the beginning of our Union, her Ladyship pay'd me all the Devours to which it engages those who know the Obligations of it ; and that I thought my self belov'd by her with all the faithfulness imaginable. I answer'd her Esteem and Caresses, according to the Affections and Tenderness of a Husband ; and, I dare persuade my self, that my beautiful Spouse had no Cause to complain, either of my Coldness, Complaisance, or of my Returns. So that we liv'd happy at that time ; and Heaven, who saw our Intelligence, shew'd that he *approv'd of it*, by blessing our Marriage. We had in our first Years several Children ; and, I did not doubt, but that my Spouse, seeing that I made her Mother of a Youth, that promis'd all that could be expected from Us, would yet streighten those Bonds closer which engag'd him to me. But, alas ! I was strangely mistaken, for in a few Years, I began to perceive that my Spouse was tyr'd when we were by ourselves ; and that she had no longer that Air, and endearing Aspect which I usually beheld in her. She soon added Disdain to her ill Humour, and I found my self treated in a haughty manner, which touch'd me to the Soul.

As my Conduct has ever been very regular,

gular, and that I never had any thing to reproach my self of, I imagin'd, I should be able to regain my Spouse's Affections, not being in the least inclin'd to believe, that she could ever give in to so much Indifference, as to let another share that Part of my Bed, which was my only Right and Property. I imagin'd, that this Coldness would soon be over, and that by a due Care, and strict Penetration, I should be able to triumph over any Injustice that should invade me. But, I found, to my Misfortune, that I was mistaken ; and I was but too well convinc'd of it, by an Adventure, which pierc'd my Heart, whereof I am constrain'd to give you, Sir, a particular Relation.

You know, Sir, that it is a Custom among Persons of Quality, to give one another a New-years Gift, on New-years-Day. I thought I should oblige my Lady, by making her a Present at that time. I chose to that end, one of the finest and considerable Jewels I had, which with a Complement suitable to the Occasion, I caus'd to be presented to her. But the Lady, your Daughter, receiv'd it with a discontented Air, and told me in a haughty manner, *That I might have spar'd that Cost, since she had too many of such Trifles,*

by her already. And to add an Affront to her Disdain, that very Day she gave away that fine Present, to a Young Nobleman, who had Merit enough in him to deserve it, had he not made ill Use of those generous Entertainments I gave him in my Family.

But, as my Lord, it was some Time before I knew of this Affront which touch'd me so nearly; yet, I must confess to you, that to ease my self, I was willing to impart my Uneasiness to some Person I could confide in. To that end, I unhappily took for my Confident, that perfidious Nobleman just before-mention'd, who (as I have since reason to believe) was the Cause of my Misfortunes, as I will tell you in a Moment. For, when he perceived that I had made him Master of all my Secrets, he at first seem'd to sympathize with me, as a Friend; and when I saw him thus Concern'd, I ask'd his Advice what to do on that Occasion. He answer'd *Sir, you are prudent, but had I a Wife that us'd me thus, I could hardly forgive her: and I should begin, by refusing her all the Endearments she might expect from me.*

This was the pernicious Advice this Deceiver gave me; who, some Days after, play'd me the basest, most impudent, and unworthy Trick, that was ever put upon

a Person of my Rank and Quality. As I conceal'd nothing from him, and that of all the Retinue about me, I confided most in him, yet I perceiv'd he had gain'd so much Esteem with my Spouse, as to wear the Jewel I gave her, even before my Face.

You must, my Lord, acknowledge, a Man to be of an uncommon Temper, to support himself under all this ; — And therefore, I presume, you will not Blame me, if I kept a very watchful Eye upon the Conduct of Madam — Your Daughter : Not but that I had the Command of my Temper so far, as to Conceal my Resentments from my false Confident.

At first I was resolv'd to take no Notice of this Indiscretion ; but my Passion became too violent to hinder me from going to her Apartments, where, with Looks that bespoke something of Justice in my Demand, I ask'd her for the Jewel I had flung away upon her as a New-Years-Gift. The Shock she was under, to hear me ask it in such Terms, rais'd in her Face such Arguments of Guilt, that She had not Power to make any other Reply, *Than that it might be lost for what she knew.*

This Loss, *said I to her*, inspires me with strange Thoughts ; and I fear you have made an ill Use of it. *How, Sir,*
answer'd

answer'd she, *Do you question my Fidelity ?*
 Yes, said I, sincerely I do question it, and
 shall be very much persuaded, unless this
 Jewel be found, that you have given it
 to some Gallant. To what Gallant? re-
 ply'd she in a Transport. No Man of
 Honour can accuse me of such a Crime.

You have spoken the Truth, added I,
since no Man of Honour will expose himself
to such Suspicion. This Reply, which
 Anger drew suddenly from my Mouth,
 adding to my Passion, made me go on thus.
You take too much upon you, Madam, in
answering me with so much Insolence. But,
let me tell you, if ever you speak to me a-
gain in this manner, it will, perhaps, make
me do violence to my Nature, in covering
your Cheek, and teach you to keep within
the Bounds of Respect.

Fear of drawing some Disgrace upon her
 self, made her absolutely Silent, not with-
 out discovering some sort of Emotion,
 which was an Uneasiness to her Spirits.
 So that I thought it convenient to leave
 her to her self for that time.

But, my Lord, 'tis now Time I should
 acquaint you with the Adventure which
 made me first truly sensible of the great-
 ness of my Misfortune. Some Days after
 the above Discourse, a faithful Domestick
 of

of mine, happened to find, at the Door of my Wife's Closet, a Letter written in *French*, directed to the Young Lord.--He brought it immediately to me. But, O my God ! what became of me, when I found it was a *Billet-Doux*, written by Madam your Daughter to the aforesaid Person of Quality, who express'd herself in the following Words.

*To the most Accomplish'd, and Noble Lord,
the Lord—*

My LORD,

IT seems difficult for me to resist you any longer. Your Love triumphs over mine. I am vanquish'd, and can no longer be otherwise than yours. I have expos'd my self to a thousand Dangers, in receiving your Letters ; and I am Undone, unless you prove Prudent and Faithful. Take care of preserving what you have written to me, and be grateful for the Victory you have obtain'd. Should you henceforward be capable of forsaking me, you were not only the most cruel, but likewise the basest of Mankind. It is easy to deceive our Sex. But the easier it is, the more Shame there is in doing it. Hitherto nothing has past
between

between us, that we have cause to repent ; tell me thou, sincerely, (ah irresistless Fate, if ever there should !) whether you will forsake me, and leave me to the just Re-sentments of those who have a Right to Reproach me for my Indiscretion ; and tell it me before the Fire that consumes me, be grown more violent, and before we proceed further in an Affair, that would prove fatal to us. We must propose an End in all things, which we ought never to swerve from ; and whereas those of my Sex have but little Foresight, I abandon myself to your Conduct, and believe you will have enough for us both. Be careful of your self and me. I am afraid I shall give my self up to you for ever ; and I declare to you, that if you accept me on the Conditions I propose, I shall never be capable of conceiving the Design of retracting. Farewel.

As there was no Name at the bottom of this Letter, the Light I had form'd of this Amour, did not appear conspicuous enough to make me as yet fix it : But however, I remain'd Speechless for some time, and was as much struck by it, as if Thunder had fallen at my Feet. How unfortunate am I ! (said I to my self, being somewhat recover'd from my Surprise)

to have confided in a faithless Creature that betrays me so basely. Having compos'd my self a little, and being resolv'd to know the utmost Extent of my Misfortune, I privately searcht the Cabinet, wherein I found three other Letters written to the said Young Lord, and which I beseech you, Sir, to read, the first of which Letters being as followeth.

To the Noble Lord, the Lord——

My Lord,

I Should write oftner to you, my Lord, if the Opportunities of doing it were more frequent ; I can no longer live contented, but by you : All my Happiness centers in you, and I love you more than myself. You can no longer be ignorant of my Tenderness towards you. You have often beheld my Sufferings, of which my Sighs have been undeniable Proofs. Be not surpriz'd at my discovering my Sentiments to you. You have charm'd me more than all Mankind besides, so that I am the most passionate of all Women. Hitherto I look'd upon Love as a Chimera, and 'tis you that have submitted me to his Empire. Do not wonder at my having liv'd so long in this Ignorance.

F

rance. But your Eyes, whose Darts are so piercing, have penetrated into my very Soul. I am henceforward wholly yours, and am no longer my own. I call you Day and Night, I expect you, I long for you, I only think on you; and your Idea is sole Possessor of my Mind. I have promis'd you all; for you only have gain'd an absolute Power over me. Consider then, what you intend to do; and whether it be not better to save one who adores you, than to kill her who only lives for you. I expect by your Answer, the entire Decision of my Fate. Let the Strokes of your Writing be as piercing as those of your Eyes. If they are, I shall live the happiest and most contented of Womankind; otherwise your Denial will kill with Grief,

Yours---

The Second runs thus:

My Lord,

I Wish you all the Happiness and Prosperity imaginable, for the Kindness you have done me; your Letter has been well and faithfully deliver'd, the Seal unalter'd, and you may rest contented as to that. I can assure you, that I have often interrupted the

the reading of it, to kiss it; not that it is too favourable for me, but because that whatever comes from you, is extreamly dear to me, You ironically desire, that we should cease loving one another; and to justify your desire of extinguishing the Fire, which has kindled it self in your Heart, you alledge the Example of several who have been deceived. But you do it with so much Eloquence, that I am at a loss to know which of the two were^d easier, to forget you, or to cease admiring your Wit. Teach me, if you can, the Secret of driving you out of my Heart, at the same Moment that I discover so many new Charms. Had you been resolv'd to lessen my Passion, you should not have written with so much Wit as you have done. This is call'd kindling the Fire that one would extinguish. I have already often told you, that I am so entirely yours, that it is impossible for me ever to be otherwise. Pity me, then, instead of disputing it, and let your Sentiments be conformable to mine. If you punish her that loves you, how would you use those that should injure you. Proceed without Despair, and do me the favour to let me know, that I am dear to you, and that you will no longer be cruel.

Yours, &c.

F 2

This

This Letter, which I found to be of the same kind, as the preceeding, convinc'd me that the Intrigue was fix'd. I found that the Intelligence was reciprocal, and that Madam, my Spouse, and her Gallant, were in a fair Way.---- But to be better satisfied, I open'd the third Letter, which was in the following Terms.

To the Accomplish'd Lord——

My Lord,

THE Joy I have receiv'd by your Letter, is too great to be express'd. It is true, that the only thing that could any ways diminish it, should be the Doubt you express of my not loving you.— You owe me a Reparation for that Injury; Since I can protest to you, that tho' there are several Persons that cherish you, their Flame is not comparable to mine. Alter your Opinion, then, I beseech you, and tell me no more, that I take a great deal of Pains in vain. If you continue in this Strain, I can assure you, that you will kill, at once, the most faithful of Lovers, and the most sincere of all your Friends. Your Rigors will be much more capable of giving me Death, than the Swords of my greatest Enemies

nemies. I desire but one thing more of you, which is, to have some Sensibility and Acknowledgment for the Tenderneſs I have for you. Tell me only, I love you; and by that Declaration; which will only coſt you three Words, you will make me the happyeſt Woman living. I always wear your Ring, and kiſs it inceſſantly. Farewell.

The reading of theſe three Letters was, to me, like ſo many Darts, which pierc'd my Heart. They inform'd me, or at leaſt, I ſo perſuaded my ſelf, that my Lady grew weary of me, that I was become indifferent to her, and that ſome body had ſtolen her Affections from me. As I lov'd my Spouſe infinitely, I could not reflect on this Loſs, without mortal Grief: And in the Deſign I form'd of regaining her, I reſolv'd to let her know cunningly, that I was not ignorant of her Intrigues.

In order to which, I expected ſome Opportunity ſhould offer it ſelf; but it happen'd otherwiſe: She had been ſo vigilant as to know my Meaſures, and was reſolv'd to complain firſt, and that in the moſt provoking manner, by endeavouring to turn the Tables upon a Husband, that had too great a Regard for her Charms, as to let another Rival her Bed.

And

And here a favourable Juncture occur'd tho' it cost her dear : And thus it happen'd ; which that I may not vary from Matters of Fact, take in her own Words, as she related it to a faithful Niece of mine, who told it me Verbatim afterwards.

‘ **A**ND, now, my Dear Niece, said she,
 ‘ to satisfy you further of that Distance between me and my Husband,
 ‘ you must know, that my Brother-in-Law, and some other Relations, came
 ‘ to Visit us, about that time, whom we
 ‘ entertain’d very splendidly : But, as I
 ‘ could not sit altogether easy under my
 ‘ Husband’s Suspicions, he perceiv’d, that
 ‘ Affliction had over-whelm’d me, and
 ‘ one Day as we sat at Table, said to me,
 ‘ Permit me, dear Sister, to ask the Reason of your appearing so sad. I believe
 ‘ however, that you are very glad to see
 ‘ us ; and I take too great a share in what
 ‘ concerns you, not to desire to know what
 ‘ afflicts you.

‘ *I beg your Pardon, dear Brother, answer’d I, if I am sad at a time when I
 ‘ ought to be so joyful, having so just a
 ‘ Cause for it, as the Honour of seeing you.
 ‘ But I must needs have a very great
 ‘ Cause of Grief, not to be able to over-
 ‘ come*

' *come it in your Presence.* My Husband
 ' who, I thought fear'd the Sequel of
 ' this Discourse, would interrupt it, and
 ' thinking to do it effectually, told my
 ' Brother, it is! so usual a thing for my
 ' Wife to afflict her self at the least Trifle,
 ' that I am already altogether us'd to it :
 ' So that without minding it, we will, if
 ' you believe me, continue our Mirth,
 ' and so much the worse for her, if she
 ' will not make one.

' And these Words he spoke with a
 ' disdainful Air, which touch'd me so
 ' sensibly, that unfortunately for me, it
 ' oblig'd me to make him this Answer,
 ' *Your Suspicions are the only Cause of my*
 ' *Affliction ; 'tis your Amours with a certain*
 ' *Coquette, that disgraces us both ; and I*
 ' *can no longer endure, that such an incon-*
 ' *siderable Creature should so easily rob me*
 ' *of the Tendernefs you owe me.* —

' My Husband answered me by a Blow
 ' on the Ear, This, *said he*, is the Coin
 ' in which I was resolv'd to pay the first
 ' liberty you should take of making me
 ' those kind of Reproaches. That cruel
 ' Blow, which stunn'd me, and bruis'd
 ' all my Nose, having drawn a great deal
 ' of Blood, oblig'd me to rise from Table.
 ' I had so much Power over my self as
 not

' not to answer, for fear of redoubling my
 ' disgrace. I ran to my Closet, where
 ' the grief, spite, and shame of being us'd
 ' thus, before Persons of my Quality,
 ' open'd so large a Flood to my Tears,
 ' that I was cover'd all over with them.
 ' All the Company were disturb'd by it ;
 ' and my Brother who was the Cause (tho'
 ' innocently) of that Affront, was not to
 ' be comforted.

' He came to me, to tell me, that he
 ' thought himself very unhappy to have
 ' contributed to such an Outrage. He pro-
 ' tested to me, that he was mortally grie-
 ' ved at it ; and after having beg'd my Par-
 ' don, he went back to my Husband, whom
 ' he found not cool yet ; and therefore,
 ' not to exasperate him the more, he only
 ' contented himself with saying these few
 ' Words to him. *Ah, my Brother, this is*
 ' *too much.* — Yes, my dear Brother,
 ' *reply'd he,* but the Occasion requir'd it. —

' Thus Matters stood a little, till he
 ' judg'd my Husband capable of Advice,
 ' when he told him plainly, That he was
 ' to Blame ; that those Violences were
 ' unbecoming his Character ; and that a
 ' Young Lady, like me, was not to be
 ' us'd so unworthily. He added, That
 ' having partly been the Cause of that
 Affront,

' Affront, he was not to be Comforted for
 it ; and that he had been far from co-
 ' ming to see him, had he been able to fore-
 ' see that Accident In fine, he declar'd
 ' to him, that he was resolv'd to retire the
 ' next Day ; and even without taking leave
 ' of him, unless he made me Reparation
 ' that very Day for the Affront he had
 ' done me.

' What you desire of me, is so just, *ans-*
 ' *wer'd my Husband*, that you shall be sa-
 ' tisfy'd : At least it shall not be my fault,
 ' if you be not ; for I engage my Word to
 ' you, that I will see my Lady to Day ,
 ' and that I will omit nothing to Disarm
 ' her Anger. You restore me to Life, said
 ' my Brother ; and whereas my Wife and
 ' I have been Witnesses to the Injury, I
 ' hope you will likewise let us be present
 ' at the Reparation. I am so willing, *re-*
 ' *ply'd my Husband*, that if you desire it,
 ' it shall be done instantly. The sooner
 ' the better, *said my Brother* : But suffer
 ' me first to give your Lady Notice of it
 ' and to dispose her to receive you.

' My Husband consented to all ; and
 ' my Brother being come to my Closer,
 ' found me in an inconceivable Sadness,
 ' and said to me, in order to diminish it,
 ' *dear Sister, you will make your self Sick*
 G if

‘ if you abandon yourself thus to your
 ‘ Grief ; and you might even offend God,
 ‘ in suffering it to continue too long. Your
 ‘ Husband is coming to see you ; He is very
 ‘ sorry for the Injury his Passion has dealt
 ‘ with you, and will excuse himself to you
 ‘ for it, Receive it favourably, and be
 ‘ careful not to hinder your Reconciliation
 ‘ by vexing him any farther.

‘ My Brother had hardly spoken thus,
 ‘ when my Husband came into my Closet,
 ‘ and accosted me with a pleasing Coun-
 ‘ tenance, telling me, with that agreeable-
 ‘ ness which is usual to him, and which he
 ‘ can assume when ever he pleases : Well
 ‘ Madam, do you still preserve any Indig-
 ‘ nation against a passionate Husband, who
 ‘ do’s but too well deserve it ? And will
 ‘ you not promise me, to forget what is
 ‘ past, in favour of the Acknowledgments
 ‘ I have of it already ?

‘ I do no longer remember any thing, said
 ‘ I ; and the Grief you express for that
 ‘ which I have receiv’d is too Obliging,
 ‘ not to make me lose the remembrance of it.
 ‘ If I am not yet altogether satisfy’d with
 ‘ both, ’tis only because my dear Brother
 ‘ and Sister, have been Witnesses of our
 ‘ Difference. They have cause to complain
 ‘ of the Manner of their Reception, and must
 needs

‘ needs depart from hence Dissatisfy’d with
 ‘ having seen us in the Disposition where-
 ‘ in we are.

‘ Fear nothing on that side, said my
 ‘ Sister, we are so well pleas’d with what
 ‘ we see at present, that we Congratulate
 ‘ with you about it with all our Hearts.
 ‘ That is very kind, said I, and since you are
 ‘ no longer Concern’d I am willing to for-
 ‘ get all. And for my part, said my Hus-
 ‘ band, embracing me, I, in my turn, will
 ‘ forget all; except the remembering,
 ‘ that you are the best and most generous
 ‘ Women in the World; and I wish that
 ‘ my Cheek may blot out the brutal blow
 ‘ of my Hand.

‘ And here, after some other Discourse
 ‘ of Tendernefs and Reconciliation, seem-
 ‘ ingly to the satisfaction of all the Com-
 ‘ pany, he took leave of me, and left me
 ‘ to my self.

‘ Night being come, and Supper serv’d,
 ‘ I was sent for to come to Table: But
 ‘ being engag’d in written some Letters
 ‘ to be sent by an extraordinary Post that
 ‘ Night, I order’d one of my Gentlewo-
 ‘ men to tell them, That I beg’d ’em to
 ‘ excuse me for eating with them that
 ‘ Night. That I was oblig’d, in haste, to
 ‘ send several Letters, which I could not
 G 2 ‘ defer

‘ defer till another time. They supp’d
 ‘ thus without me, and I caus’d something
 ‘ to be brought to me, which I did eat
 ‘ in haste in my Closet.

‘ My Husband, perhaps, fearing I in-
 ‘ tended to write something about our
 ‘ Differences, being desirous to penetrate
 ‘ into it, or even to hinder it, if it were
 ‘ possible, came to me that very Night.
 ‘ I was surpriz’d to see him : My Letters
 ‘ were already dispatch’d. I was just
 ‘ going to Bed, when he came in, and
 ‘ one of my Women having open’d the
 ‘ Door to him, I come, *said he*, with a
 ‘ gallant Air, to look for a Refuge in
 ‘ this Closet, knowing no Place where I
 ‘ could be with more safety or pleasure.
 ‘ *Sir*, said I, *you have no cause to fear, you*
 ‘ *are Master every where. But if you*
 ‘ *will give me leave to dispose of my own*
 ‘ *Apartment, you must suffer me to enjoy*
 ‘ *that Repose which I stand in need of ;*
 ‘ *and which those Hours allow to all the*
 ‘ *World.*

‘ Will you turn away, *said he*, your
 ‘ Husband, who is alone, and who ex-
 ‘ pected to pass with you the most agree-
 ‘ able Night he ever had. *You have of*
 ‘ *late made me sensible*, said I, *that both my*
 ‘ *Bed and Person are things very indiffe-*
rent

‘ rent to you ; and I would not have you
 ‘ constrain your self so far, as to persuade
 ‘ me that your Mind is alter’d.

‘ However, said he, it is not very ge-
 ‘ nious to be cruel in your own Apart-
 ‘ ment, and to refuse a Man who che-
 ‘ rishes and honours you. You flatter
 ‘ me, Sir, said I, and I have such con-
 ‘ vincing Proofs of it, that if you press
 ‘ me never so little, I will speak more plainly
 ‘ to you. You will oblige me, answer’d
 ‘ he, and I shall be glad to know the
 ‘ Reasons which hinders you from allow-
 ‘ ing me half a Bed, which, by right, I
 ‘ ought to partake with you. ’Tis your
 ‘ Indifference towards me, and the Passion
 ‘ you have for another, reply’d I, which
 ‘ persuades me, that I owe this Return of
 ‘ yours to Policy, and obliges me humbly
 ‘ to intreat you to leave me. For you can
 ‘ no longer give me a Heart, in which I
 ‘ plac’d all the Happiness of my Life. And
 ‘ who has taken it from you ? said my
 ‘ Husband, with some Transport ? You
 ‘ know it better than I, said I ; and, after
 ‘ what is past, I dare no more name the
 ‘ Person I complain of.

‘ For Heaven’s sake, Madam, said he,
 ‘ do no longer oppose the Curiosity I have
 ‘ of knowing the Person who has rob’d
 ‘ you

‘ you of a thing, which you look upon
 ‘ as being of some Value. You are not
 ‘ Ignorant of it, answer’d I ; but instead
 ‘ of obliging me to pronounce an odious
 ‘ Name, rather deliver me up to the Per-
 ‘ son that owns it. I ought to punish her
 ‘ according to her Deserts ; and if you
 ‘ refuse that Sacrifice to me, I shall be-
 ‘ lieve, that when you tell me, that you
 ‘ love me, you add Derision to Treachery.
 ‘ Now I understand you, Madam; reply’d
 ‘ he, I know what you mean : But I
 ‘ protest to you, that you wrong that In-
 ‘ nocent Maid, and that she is not so
 ‘ guilty as you imagine.

‘ What means this Letter then ? said I,
 ‘ which being in French, I read in the
 ‘ following Words,

‘ To Mademoiselle----- the beautiful
 ‘ Charmer of my Soul.

‘ My Life and Soul,

‘ **I**S it possible for me to Live, and not
 ‘ be always contemplating on the many
 ‘ Charms I found in you t’other Night ?
 ‘ And can you forget all my Assiduities
 ‘ and the vehement Passion I have for You.
 ‘ Oh, no Lovely ----- Fair One, I am in-
 ‘ spir’d

‘ *spir’d to believe, you will compleat those*
 ‘ *Felicities uncommon to one, who, mista-*
 ‘ *ken Wretch! has hitherto had nothing*
 ‘ *but Visionary Pleasures in the State I am*
 ‘ *in. ---- ’Tis therefore, I conjure you, to*
 ‘ *let me see you this Night, where one that*
 ‘ *loves you as his Soul, will think himself,*
 ‘ *the happiest Man living to expire in your*
 ‘ *Arms.----*

‘ And does not this Letter, my Lord,
 ‘ equally prove my Misfortune, your In-
 ‘ fidelity, and the Crime of that Cocquete?
 ‘ These are great Words, Madam, reply’d
 ‘ he, but thers is a Mistake, and you frigh-
 ‘ ten your self upon Appearances. Upon
 ‘ Appearances! said I, with some Heat:
 ‘ Know, Sir, that no greater Injury can be
 ‘ done to me; and that nothing but the
 ‘ Blood of her I complain of, can be ca-
 ‘ pable of giving me Satisfaction.

‘ I then pull’d out of my Pocket ano-
 ‘ ther Letter which troubled me, and ha-
 ‘ ving read it aloud, *Well, Sir, said I, will you*
 ‘ *accuse me of wanting just Reasons to pu-*
 ‘ *nish this false One? And will you not*
 ‘ *own, at least, that I am better inform’d of*
 ‘ *your Concerns, than you desir’d?*

‘ My Husband smil’d at this Reproach,
 ‘ and answer’d me with an Air, which
 ‘ appear’d

‘ appear’d pretty sincere to me. Is this
 ‘ all then, Madam? Certainly you wrong
 ‘ your self, in mistaking a Trifle for a
 ‘ thing of Moment. This Letter which
 ‘ alarms you, is only a piece of Wit;
 ‘ and you might certainly be persuaded,
 ‘ that I should have been more careful
 ‘ of it, had I look’d upon it as a thing
 ‘ whereof the Expressions had been dicta-
 ‘ ted by the Heart, or in which I had
 ‘ taken any solid Pleasure. But this is
 ‘ the Reality of the Business: You know
 ‘ that *Mademoiselle* speaks and writes
 ‘ very good *French*. I was willing to
 ‘ exercise my self and her also, to have
 ‘ some kind of Commerce with her in
 ‘ that Language: And whereas nothing
 ‘ is so proper to write to young persons
 ‘ of her Sex, as Gallantry; I acquainted
 ‘ her that *Monsieur* our Nephew lov’d her,
 ‘ and desir’d her to answer him, as if she
 ‘ approv’d of his Passion, and had been
 ‘ proud of it. The poor Lady has had
 ‘ that Complaisance, and has written to me
 ‘ partly as you Translate it; having made
 ‘ me her Confident.

‘ However, said I, *this Commerce is*
 ‘ *very suspicious to me, I have seen sever-*
 ‘ *al Letters that frighted me; and un-*
 ‘ *derstand no jesting, when a young Maid*
 ‘ *writes*

*' writes in such Terms to her Master, and
' my Husband. So, Sir, plead her Cause
' no longer, I beseech you, but deliver her
' up to me for my Revenge.*

*' I should offend Justice, said he, should
' I not protect Innocence. This poor
' Lady has only fail'd in Appearance, in
' obeying me effectively. Therefore, Ma-
' dam, calm your self: For since those
' sort of things are displeasing to you, I
' will renounce them absolutely. You will
' oblige me, said I; and seeing that I
' could obtain no more for him, I told
' him that it was very late, and that the
' number of my Dispatches had wearied
' me, and therefore conjur'd him by his ab-
' sence, to allow me some rest. But why,
' Madam, said he, will you refuse me
' the Favour I desire; and what hinders
' you from granting me a Night, in which
' I propose to much pleasure to my self.*

*' When I had the Felicity of being uni-
' ted to your Ladiship, said I, by the sacred
' Knot of Marriage, I acknowlege you as
' my Master, and engag'd my self to obey
' you. But, Sir, continu'd I weeping,
' would you always give me a divided
' Heart? And can you without regret
' prefer a Rival, who do's not love you so
' much as I do? And who may, without*

H

' wronging

‘ *wronging her self, yield to me in every thing else.*

‘ I tell you Madam, *added he*, that
 ‘ your Suspicions magnify Objects ; and
 ‘ that the Phantasm that troubles you ; is
 ‘ the effect of a deceiv’d Imagination. But
 ‘ let us make Peace, and do not refuse me
 ‘ the Rights of a Husband, which I de-
 ‘ sire of you. I express’d my Consent, by
 ‘ an Obedience ; whereupon causing him-
 ‘ self to be undress’d, we lay together,
 ‘ and were entirely reconcil’d. He pro-
 ‘ tested to me a thousand times, that this
 ‘ Commerce of Letters was innocent ;
 ‘ that *Mademoiselle* was Virtuous ; and
 ‘ that he had rather dye, than violate the
 ‘ Fidelity he had sworn to me.

‘ I answer’d, as I ought, to those kind
 ‘ and satisfying Expressions. I told him
 ‘ that I was very well satisfy’d ; and we
 ‘ rose the next Morning, at least on my
 ‘ part, with a firm Resolution of living,
 ‘ for the future, in a perfect Intelligence.

‘ I relish’d, for some Days, the pleasure
 ‘ of being reconcil’d to what one loves,
 ‘ but that pleasure was not lasting. The
 ‘ *Demon*, who delights in ruining the best
 ‘ Union, came to trouble ours ; and did
 ‘ it in a manner, that has been made too
 ‘ publick I am afraid.’

Thus

Thus, Sir, you may perceive that I deal fairly with your Lordship; but you will more conspicuously see, that these are all Forgeries of your Daughter, proceeding from her own Guilt, when, after having repeated so many Falsities; for, 'tis plain that the Young Lady she there pretends to say was my Mistress, had not been in the Family, for six Months before the Time of her forging the Letter your unhappy Daughter insinuates I writ to her. Nay, Madam, the B——s of —— can Witness for her, who is her Aunt, that she was all that Time, during this fictitious Plan was forming, at one of your Country Seats, 15 Leagues from the Capital of these Territories, and where I never was but once, and that some Years since.

But there will need no farther Apology for my own Conduct in this Affair; when, after having had several Children, by Madam, your Daughter, whom I Lov'd intirely, the World, with your Lordship, will be perswaded to my side, when I come to tell you, what my own Eyes were Witness to; and which, if well weigh'd, will strike with Amazement the inquisitive World.---And thus it comes on.

There was an Appointment made in my Family, to go and spend the Summer,

at the pleasant Town of *H--n*, to which I agreed, and went thither, with my Spouse and a splendid Retinue : where I met with a great Concourse of Persons of Distinction ; the most eminent of which, I invited one Day, to a costly Entertainment ; but I had very much Reason to Repent of this Treat, not so much for the Profuseness of it, but for the Affront my Spouse put upon me, in the Presence of them all. As she was very richly dress'd, (perhaps, with more Gaiety, than usually becomes a Mother of Children) I chanced to lay my Hand on her naked Bosome, for which, she gave me such a disdainful Look, accompanied with such haughty Expressions, that the Company could not but observe, by my Looks, but that my Resentments were proportional to the Affront.

But this is a trivial Matter ; I shall not conceal the most important from you : ---- I had not shar'd above half the Summer's Diversion at this fine Place, but my Business call'd me home. 'Twas my Inclination the whole Family should do the like ; But, Madam, your Daughter was pleas'd to take the Freedom to stay there some Time after me. She knew that it would not please me. And, indeed, she behav'd herself in so high a manner, that I was
 pity'd

pity'd by all those who knew the Sequel of our Differences.

However, having almost spent the Summer, after several Orders for her to come Home.--- She sent me Answers in such a Strain, that they were the most provoking that could come from a Wife.--- One was, *That she was not so indiscreet, but she could tell when her Affairs requir'd her.* Another, *That she knew well enough what Felicity was, since she had no Comptroller at her Country-Seat.* A Third, *That she knew Time was flitting, and that she was not so bad a Register, but that she could tell how long the Season would permit her to stay :--* With other like undutiful Expressions, not fitting for a Husband to bear. ---

Upon this, I sent my positive Commands for her to return in a fix'd Time ; and, that I might not slight some private Intelligence I had gain'd from one, who was always near her, I went incognito, to observe her Behaviour : --- And here, with Grief, Horror, and Shame, my Lord, I come to draw the fatal Scene ! Be it known to you, therefore, that having Intelligence, that she had admitted into her Chamber, a Stranger, I had no longer Patience, but, fir'd with Resentment, I took two of my Domesticks, and, bursting open the Door, rush'd

rush'd in upon her, when I found them sitting together, with a Familiarity no way agreeable to any but Husband and Wife.

Here Patience, immediately took its Flight, and abandon'd me to the most aggravated Passion a Man could bear ; and to act as Rage and Fury prompted me : So that having a Pistol in my Hand, I fir'd it at the Author of my Misfortunes, just as he was leaping into a Mote which surrounded the House.

Whether or no, the Pistol did any Execution, I cannot as yet tell ; but true it is, the Ravisher has never been heard of since.

And, now my Lord, does not this fatal Intrigue merit the highest Resentment ? Certainly, you will not blame me, that, after this Action, I gave Orders that your Daughter should be confin'd to her Chamber, with a Maid or two, and that all my Servants, should strictly watch her Apartments, 'till I knew your Lordship's Pleasure.

But, my Lord, my Spouse having now time to recriminate her false Conduct, and finding her self so narrowly observ'd, that her Spies were uneasy to her, she wrote me the following Letter.

Sir,

S I R,

I Am so much troubled by the many Observators about my Chamber Door Day and Night, that I cannot sufficiently express to you the Anguish it puts me in. The noise they make, frightens me, and my Captivity becomes every Moment more insupportable. Permit me, Sir, to entreat you to behave your self towards me in a manner that may be approv'd of as a Tenderness to my Sex : And give me leave to tell you, that there is no need of placing so many Spies about a Woman that has nothing but her Tears and Innocence to oppose them. I say, particularly, my Innocence, because that after having examin'd my self well, and call'd to mind my Conduct, and my whole Life, I can find nothing in either, wherein I could have intended to offend my Husband. Therefore I conjure you by all that's Good, and by that Tenderness you formerly had for me, to restore me to my Liberty. If I am guilty, 'tis fit I should be punish'd : But if I am innocent, let me enjoy the Priviledges due to a Wife. I desire a fair hearing; and that I may be allow'd to use those Means that may tend to my Justification. I am so strangely disturb'd by the Noise of those you have set over me,
that

that ever since they have chang'd my Closet into a Prison, I have not been able to take any Rest. Be pleas'd to order them to retire; for if you will needs have me observ'd, three or four will be as effectual as so many. I am in a Place where you are absolute Master; and you have no cause to fear an Escape, where you command so strictly, I am

Your disconsolate Wife, and your

most humble and most

obedient Servant, ---

This Letter was deliver'd to me as I was at Table. When I open'd it at first sight, and having read it, order'd all should be dismist but three or four, and those to make as little Disturbance as could be. The Order was immediately put in Execution; and as she was rejoycing at the good Effect her Letter had produc'd, she receiv'd the following Answer I writ to her.

Madam,

I Am much surpriz'd at your seeming to be Ignorant of the Cause of your Confinement. Therefore you accuse me of Injustice, and insinuate

nuate, that I persecute Innocence in your
 Person. However, it is not possible for you
 to have so soon forgotten the Affront at
 H---n, when I order'd you to follow me, and
 order'd it in such a manner as shew'd I would
 be obey'd. Notwithstanding which, you not
 only disobey'd me, but remain'd there several
 Weeks, where you spent an excessive deal of
 Money, without considering that our Estate
 and Effects being already but too much drain'd,
 had no need of such Profusions. I have be-
 sides another Subject of Complaint, which you
 cannot plead Ignorance to. Remember then
 the Affront which you put upon me before
 all my Friends the day of the last Feast.
 You appear'd there in an extraordinary Pomp
 and Magnificence; and were not only glori-
 ously attir'd, but even shew'd your Neck with
 as much affectation as the most publick Coquet
 could do. I imagin'd I should have oblig'd
 you, in patting my Hand upon that part of
 your Body which was so bare, I mean your
 Breast. But I was extreamly surpriz'd at
 your haughty Rebuke. You behav'd your self
 towards me, as if I had been a Stranger to you:
 And you declar'd before all those Gentlemen,
 that in a little time you would not allow
 me any of those Favours which Marriage
 authorizes, and which you had no Right to
 refuse me. Reflect moreover, upon the Ad-
 ventures of your Return, and you will be
 oblig'd to acknowledge, that my Behaviour
 I towards

owards you is very just. Particularly since my Discovery of that most abominable Amour, which must for ever stop your Mouth, and make you think it no hardship if I should find out an expedient in order to our divorce. This is the Reason that induc'd me to confine your Person, as well to hinder your Amours as to satisfy my just Revenge. Therefore if you will follow my Advice, resolve to be calm, and to acquiesce to the Circumstances you are in. Which if you do, perhaps an Expedient may be found out, (after having first Writ to your Father) whereby you shall not only be set at Liberty, but that I will besides, allow you a Pension, fit to maintain one of your Rank. I expect your last Resolution, and am your abused Husband, &c.

After the reading of this surprizing Letter, I was told that she flung herself on the Bed, and remain'd for some time more dead than alive; not knowing what to resolve upon. She saw her self in the Hands of an angry Husband, who had an absolute Power over her: And had no body to advise or comfort her. Nevertheless some thing was to be resolv'd upon, and a positive Answer to be given; and believing I expected it with Impatience, she sent one of her Maids to me, to tell me, That she neither was in a Condition nor had the Will to resist me; That she submitted to all, excepting the consenting to a Divorce; That it was a case of Conscience, which ought not to be

be decided so lightly. That if, however, I was so much bent upon it, that nothing could prevail to the contrary, I might even in that Case receive Satisfaction, since she found her self very much inclin'd to refuse me nothing.

This Maid, who lov'd her, perform'd her Errand faithfully ; and I was so extremely pleas'd with her Message, that I bid her hasten to tell her, That she cannot pitch upon any thing better than Complaisance : And that in order to begin my Acknowledgment of it, I am going to put her more at Liberty. She may walk in the Gardens : And as to the Scruple she expresses about a Divorce, tell her she need not have any, and that I take all the ill she might fear upon my self. Above all, advise her not to write any thing to her Relations about it ; till I have receiv'd an Answer from the most indulgent Lord her Father, but let her behave herself so, as not to give me cause to repent the good Treatment I design'd her.

She did not expect the Effect of my Promise long, that very Evening she went out, and took the Benefit of the Air ; and since that time, has had more Liberty than any one (sorry for the Crimes she stands charg'd withal) would desire.

And thus, my dear Lord, and Father, you have read the Injuries I have receiv'd

from one whom my Bosome has Nurs'd with the most Cherishing Fidelity and Tendernefs. ----- Would to Heaven I could for ever obliterate the Remembrance of those unhappy Transgressions out of my Mind, provided a sincere Contrition and Repentance might accompany her serious Consideration of the Heinousness of them.-----

Sure, I am, that for the sake of my dear Children, I should have some Regard for the Womb that bare them : And with the like Confidence do I believe your paternal Care of her Spiritual Welfare, will recommend to her with all the Force and Energy of Words, the Authotity of a Parent has a Right to inculcate, such wholesome Admonitions, as may put her upon a speedy and strict Examen of her Misconduct, as you have a Way for some seeming Compensation.-----

And now, my Lord, having tir'd your Lordship with what can no ways be grateful to a virtuous Mind, 'tis high time I put a Period to so Melancholly a Subject ; and which shall be concluded with my submissive Expectations of those seasonable Commands you will be pleas'd to lay me under, as to my future Conduct in so nice an Affair. I am, my Lord, with infinite Submission, your afflicted Son, and most humble Servant-----

F I N I S.

